

occurs in the Scriptures, and the obliteration of it by the A. V. is one of the many remarkable variations of our version from the meaning of the sacred text of the Old Testament. For all further information see the above-quoted treatises of Von Hammer and Bayer. [A. P. S.]

ROSIN. Properly "naphtha," as it is both in the LXX. and Vulg. (*νάφθα*, *naphtha*), as well as the Peshito-Syriac. In the Song of the Three Children (23), the servants of the king of Babylon are said to have "ceased not to make the oven hot with *rosin*, pitch, tow, and small wood." Pliny (ii. 101) mentions naphtha as a product of Babylonia, similar in appearance to liquid bitumen, and having a remarkable affinity to fire. To this natural product (known also as Persian naphtha, petroleum, rock oil, Rangoon tar, Burmese naphtha, &c.) reference is made in the passage in question. Sir R. K. Porter thus describes the naphtha springs at Kirkook in Lower Courdistan, mentioned by Strabo (xvii. p. 738):—"They are ten in number. For a considerable distance from them we felt the air sulphurous; but in drawing near it became worse, and we were all instantly struck with excruciating headaches. The springs consist of several pits or wells, seven or eight feet in diameter, and ten or twelve deep. The whole number are within the compass of five hundred yards. A flight of steps has been cut into each pit for the purpose of approaching the fluid, which rises and falls according to the dryness or moisture of the weather. The natives lave it out with ladles into bags made of skins, which are carried on the backs of asses to Kirkook, or to any other mart for its sale. . . . The Kirkook naphtha is principally consumed by the markets in the south-west of Courdistan, while the pits not far from Kufri supply Bagdad and its environs. The Bagdad naphtha is black" (*Trav.* ii. 440). It is described by Dioscorides (i. 101) as the dregs of the Babylonian asphalt, and white in colour. According to Plutarch (*Alex.* 35) Alexander first saw it in the city of Ecbatana, where the inhabitants exhibited its marvellous effects by strewing it along the street which led to his headquarters and setting it on fire. He then tried an experiment on a page who attended him, putting him into a bath of naphtha and setting light to it (Strabo, xvii. p. 743), which nearly resulted in the boy's death. Plutarch suggests that it was naphtha in which Medea steeped the crown and robe which she gave to the daughter of Creon; and Suidas says that the Greeks called it "Medea's oil," but the

Medes "naphtha." The Persian name is **نفت** (*naft*). Posidonius (in Strabo) relates that in Babylonia there were springs of black and white naphtha. The former, says Strabo (xvii. p. 743), were of liquid bitumen, which they burnt in lamps instead of oil. The latter were of liquid sulphur. [W. A. W.]

RUBIES (רִבְיָיִם, *pēnīyyim*; רִבְיָיִם, *pēnīnim*. λίθοι, λ. πολυτελείς: *cunctae opes, cuncta pretiosissima, gemmae, de ultimis finibus, ebor antiquum*), the invariable rendering of the above-named Hebrew words, concerning the meaning of which there is much difference of opinion and great uncertainty.

"The Chald. רִבְיָיִם (Esth. i. 6), which the A. V. renders white," and which seems to be identical with the Arab. **درة**, *durr*, "pearls;" **درة**, *durrak*, "a pearl," is by

"The price of wisdom is above *pēnīnim*" (Jel. xxviii. 18; see also Prov. iii. 15, viii. 11, xxxi. 10). In Lam. iv. 7 it is said, "the Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than *pēnīnim*." A. Boote (*Ani-mad. Sac.* iv. 3), on account of the ruddiness mentioned in the last passage, supposed "coral" to be intended, for which, however, there appears to be another Hebrew word. [CORAL.] J. D. Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 2023) is of the same opinion, and com-

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pares the Hebrew רִבְיָיִם with the Arab. **قنقن**, "branch." Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.) defends this argument. Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 601) contends that the Hebrew term denotes pearls, and explains the "ruddiness" alluded to above, by supposing that the original word (רִבְיָיִם) signifies merely "bright in colour," or "colour of a reddish tinge." This opinion is supported by Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Thren.*), and others, but opposed by Maurer (*Comment.*) and Gesenius. Certainly it would be no compliment to the great people of the land to say that their bodies were as red as coral or rubies, unless we adopt Maurer's explanation, who refers the "ruddiness" to the blood which flowed in their veins. On the whole, considering that the Hebrew word is always used in the plural, we are inclined to adopt Bochart's explanation, and understand pearls to be intended. [PEARLS.] [W. H.]

RUE (ρήγανον: *ruta*) occurs only in Luke xi. 42: "Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs." The rue here spoken of is doubtless the common *Ruta graveolens*, a shrubby plant about 2 feet high, of strong medicinal virtues. It is a native of the Mediterranean coasts, and has been found by Hasselquist on Mount Tabor. Dioscorides (iii. 45) describes two kinds of *ρήγανον*, viz. *π. ὀρεινόν* and *π. κηπευτόν*, which denote the *Ruta montana* and *R. graveolens* respectively. Rue was in great repute amongst the ancients, both as a condiment and as a medicine (Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 8; Columell. *R. Rus.* xii. 7, §5; Dioscorides, *l. c.*). The Talmud enumerates rue amongst kitchen-herbs (*Shebi'ith*, ch. ix. §1), and regards it as free of tithe, as being a plant not cultivated in gardens. In our Lord's time, however, rue was doubtless a garden-plant, and therefore titheable, as is evident from our Lord's words, "these things ought ye to have done." The rue is too well known to need description. [W. H.]

RUFUS (Ρούφος: *Rufus*) is mentioned in Mark xv. 21, along with Alexander, as a son of Simon the Cyrenean, whom the Jews compelled to bear the cross of Jesus on the way to Golgotha (Luke xxiii. 26). As the Evangelist informs his readers who Simon was by naming the sons, it is evident that the latter were better known than the father in the circle of Christians where Mark lived. Again, in Rom. xvi. 13, the Apostle Paul salutes a Rufus whom he designates as "elect in the Lord" (ἐκλεκτὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ), and whose mother he gracefully recognises as having earned a mother's claim upon himself by acts of kindness shown to him. It is generally supposed that this Rufus was identical

some understood to mean "mother of pearl," or the kind of alabaster called in German *Perlenmutterstein*. The LXX. has *ρίβινος λίθος*. See Gesenius, and Winer (*Bibl. Realw.* i. 71).

with the one to whom Mark refers; and in that case, as Mark wrote his gospel in all probability at Rome, it was natural that he should describe to his readers the father (who, since the mother was at Rome while he apparently was not there, may have died, or have come later to that city) from his relationship to two well-known members of the same community. It is some proof at least of the early existence of this view that, in the *Actis Andreae et Petri*, both Rufus and Alexander appear as companions of Peter in Rome. Assuming, then, that the same person is meant in the two passages, we have before us an interesting group of believers—a father (for we can hardly doubt that Simon became a Christian, if he was not already such, at the time of the crucifixion), a mother, and two brothers, all in the same family. Yet we are to bear in mind that Rufus was not an uncommon name (Wetstein, *Nov. Test.*, vol. i. p. 634); and possibly, therefore, Mark and Paul may have had in view different individuals. [H. B. H.]

RUHAMAH (רַחֲמָה: ἠλεημένη: *miseriam consecuta*). The margin of our version renders it "having obtained mercy" (Hos. ii. 1). The name, if name it be, is like Lo-ruhamah, symbolical, and as that was given to the daughter of the prophet Hosea, to denote that God's mercy was turned away from Israel, so the name Ruhamah is addressed to the daughters of the people to denote that they were still the objects of His love and tender compassion.

RUMAH (רומָה: Ρουμά; Alex. Ρυμα; Joseph. Ἀβαύμα: *Ruma*). Mentioned, once only (2 K. xxiii. 36), as the native place of a certain Pedaiah, the father of Zebudah, a member of the harem of king Josiah, and mother of Eliakim or Jehoiakim king of Judah.

It has been conjectured to be the same place as Arumah (Judg. ix. 41), which was apparently near Shechem. It is more probable that it is identical with Dumah, one of the towns in the mountains of Judah, near Hebron (Josh. xv. 52), not far distant from Libnah, the native town of another of Josiah's wives. The Hebrew D and R are so similar as often to be confounded together, and Dumah must have, at any rate, been written Rumah in the Hebrew text from which the LXX. translated, since they give it as Remna and Rouma.

Josephus mentions a Rumah in Galilee (*B. J.* iii. 7, §21). [G.]

RUSH. [REED.]

RUST (βρῶσις, ἶος: *aerugo*) occurs as the translation of two different Greek words in Matt. vi. 19, 20, and in Jam. v. 3. In the former passage the word βρῶσις, which is joined with σῆς, "moth," has by some been understood to denote the larva of some moth injurious to corn, as the *Tinea granella* (see Stainton, *Insecta Britan.* iii. 30). The Hebrew רִשָּׁ (Is. l. 9) is rendered βρῶσις by Aquila; comp. also *Epist. Jerem.* v. 12, ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ βρωμάτων, "from rust and moths" (*A. V. Bar.* vi. 12). Scultetus (*Exerc. Evang.* ii. 35, *Crit. Sac.* vi.) believes that the words σῆς καὶ βρῶσις are an hendiadys for σῆς βρώσκων. The word can scarcely be taken to signify "rust," for which there is another term, ἶος, which is used by St. James to express rather the "tarnish" which overspreads silver than "rust," by which name we now understand "oxide of iron." Βρῶσις is no

doubt intended to have reference in a general sense to any corrupting and destroying substance that may attack treasures of any kind which have long been suffered to remain undisturbed. The allusion of St. James is to the corroding nature of ἶος on metals. Scultetus correctly observes, "aerugine deformantur quidem, sed non corrumpuntur nummi;" but though this is strictly speaking true, the ancients, just as ourselves in common parlance, spoke of the corroding nature of "rust" (comp. Hammond, *Annotat.* in Matt. vi. 19). [W. H.]

RUTH (רֹוּת: Ρούθ: probably for רַעֲוִית, "a friend," the feminine of Reu). A Moabitish woman, the wife, first, of Mahlon, secondly of Boaz, and by him mother of Obed, the ancestress of David and of Christ, and one of the four women (Thamar, Ranab, and Uriah's wife being the other three) who are named by St. Matthew in the genealogy of Christ. [RAHAB.] The incidents in Ruth's life, as detailed in the beautiful book that bears her name, may be epitomised as follows. A severe famine in the land of Judah, caused perhaps by the occupation of the land by the Moabites under Eglon (as Ussher thinks possible),^b induced Elimelech, a native of Bethlehem Ephratah, to emigrate into the land of Moab, with his wife Naomi, and his two sons, Mahlon and Chilion. At the end of ten years Naomi, now left a widow and childless, having heard that there was plenty again in Judah, resolved to return to Bethlehem, and her daughter-in-law, Ruth, returned with her. "Whither thou goest, I will go, and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God: where thou diest I will die, and there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me;" was the expression of the unalterable attachment of the young Moabitish widow to the mother, to the land, and to the religion of her lost husband. They arrived at Bethlehem just at the beginning of barley harvest, and Ruth, going out to glean for the support of her mother-in-law and herself, chanced to go into the field of Boaz, a wealthy man, the near kinsman of her father-in-law Elimelech. The story of her virtues and her kindness and fidelity to her mother-in-law, and her preference for the land of her husband's birth, had gone before her; and immediately upon learning who the strange young woman was, Boaz treated her with the utmost kindness and respect, and sent her home laden with corn which she had gleaned. Encouraged by this incident, Naomi instructed Ruth to claim at the hand of Boaz that he should perform the part of her husband's near kinsman, by purchasing the inheritance of Elimelech, and taking her to be his wife. But there was a nearer kinsman than Boaz, and it was necessary that he should have the option of redeeming the inheritance for himself. He, however, declined, fearing to mar his own inheritance. Upon which, with all due solemnity, Boaz took Ruth to be his wife, amidst the blessings and congratulations of their neighbours. As a singular example of virtue and piety in a rude age and among an idolatrous people; as one of the first-fruits of the Gentile harvest gathered into the Church; as the heroine of a story of exquisite beauty and simplicity; as illustrating in her history the workings of Divine Providence, and the truth of the

^a Some think it is for רַחֲמָה, "beauty."

^b Patrick suggests the famine in the days of Gideon (*Judg.* vi. 3, 4).

saying that "the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous;" and for the many interesting revelations of ancient domestic and social customs which are associated with her story, Ruth has always held a foremost place among the Scripture characters. St. Augustine has a curious speculation on the relative blessedness of Ruth, twice married, and by her second marriage becoming the ancestress of Christ, and Anna remaining constant in her widowhood (*De bono Viduit.*). Jerome observes that we can measure the greatness of Ruth's virtue by the greatness of her reward—"Ex ejus semine Christus oritur" (*Epist. xxii. ad Paulam*). As the great-grandmother of King David, Ruth must have flourished in the latter part of Eli's judgeship, or the beginning of that of Samuel. But there seem to be no particular notes of time in the book, by which her age can be more exactly defined. The story was put into its present shape, avowedly, long after her lifetime: see Ruth i. 1, iv. 7, 17. (Bertheau on Ruth, in the *Exeg. Handb.*; Rosenmüll. *Proem. in Lib. Ruth*; Parker's *De Wette*; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 205, iii. 760 sqq.) [A. C. H.]

RYE (תַּרְמוֹת, *cussemeth*: ζέα, ὄλυρα: *far, vicia*) occurs in Ex. ix. 32; Is. xxviii. 25: in the latter the margin reads "spelt." In Ez. iv. 9 the text has "fitches" and the margin "rie." There are many opinions as to the signification of *Cussemeth*; some authorities maintaining that fitches are denoted, others oats, and others rye. Celsius has shown that in all probability "spelt" is intended (*Hierob.* ii. 98), and this opinion is supported by the LXX. and the Vulg. in Ex. ix. 32, and by the Syriac versions. Rye is for the most part a northern plant, and was probably not cultivated in Egypt or Palestine in early times, whereas spelt has been long cultivated in the East, where it is held in high estimation. Herodotus (ii. 36) says the Egyptians "make bread from spelt (ἀπὸ ὄλυρέων), which some call zea." See also Pliny (*N. H.* xviii. 8) and Dioscorides (ii. 111), who speaks of two kinds. The *Cussemeth* was cultivated in Egypt; it was not injured by the hail-storm of the seventh plague (*Ex. l. c.*), as it was not grown up. This cereal was also sown in Palestine (*Is. l. c.*), on the margins or "headlands" of the fields (תְּבֵלֹתָי); it was used for mixing with wheat, barley, &c., for making bread (*Ez. l. c.*). The Arabic, *Chirsanat*, "spelt," is regarded by Gesenius as identical with the Hebrew word, *m* and *n* being interchanged and *r* inserted. "Spelt" (*Triticum spelta*) is grown in some parts of the south of Germany; it differs but slightly from our common wheat (*T. vulgare*). There are three kinds of spelt, viz. *T. spelta*, *T. dicoccum* (Rice wheat), and *T. monococcum*. [W. H.]

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SAB'AOTH, THE LORD OF (Κύριος σαβαώθ: *Domínus Sabaoth*). The name is found in the English Bible only twice (Rom. ix. 29; James v. 4). It is probably more familiar through its occurrence in the Sanctus of the Te Deum—"Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." It is too often

^a Can it be this phrase which determined the use of the Te Deum as a thanksgiving for victories?

^b For the passages which follow, the writer is indebted

considered to be a synonym of, or to have some connexion with Sabbath, and to express the idea of rest. And this not only popularly, but in some of our most classical writers.^b Thus Spenser, *Faery Queen*, canto viii. 2:—

"But thenceforth all shall rest eternally
With Him that is the God of Sabaoth hight:
O that great Sabaoth God, grant me that Sabaoth's
sight."

And Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, ii. 24:—
" . . . sacred and inspired Divinity, the Sabaoth and part of all men's labours and peregrinations." And Johnson, in the 1st edition of whose *Dictionary* (1755) Sabaoth and Sabbath are treated as the same word. And Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, i. ch. 11 (1st ed.):—"a week, aye the space between two Sabaoths." But this connexion is quite fictitious. The two words are not only entirely different, but have nothing in common.

Sabaoth is the Greek form of the Hebrew word *tsebáôth*, "armies," and occurs in the oft-repeated formula which is translated in the Authorised Version of the Old Test. by "Lord of hosts," "Lord God of hosts." We are apt to take "hosts" (probably in connexion with the modern expression the "heavenly host") as implying the angels—but this is surely inaccurate. *Tsebáôth* is in constant use in the O. T. for the national army or force of fighting-men,^c and there can be no doubt that in the mouth and the mind of an ancient Hebrew, *Jehovah-tsebáôth* was the leader and commander of the armies of the nation, who "went forth with them" (Ps. xlv. 9), and led them to certain victory over the worshippers of Baal, Chemosh, Molech, Ashtaroth, and other false gods. In later times it lost this peculiar significance, and became little if anything more than an alternative title for God. The name is not found in the Pentateuch, or the Books of Joshua, Judges, or Ruth. It is frequent in the Books of Samuel, rarer in Kings, is found twice only in the Chronicles, and not at all in Ezekiel; but in the Psalms, in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the minor Prophets it is of constant occurrence, and in fact is used almost to the exclusion of every other title. [G.]

SA'BAT (Σαβάτ; Alex. Σαφάτ: *Phasphat*).
1. The sons of Sabat are enumerated among the sons of Solomon's servants who returned with Zorobabel (1 Esd. v. 34). There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

2. (Σαβάρ: *Sabath*.) The month SEBAT (1 Macc. xvi. 14).

SABATE'AS (Σαβαταῖος; Alex. Σαββαταῖας: *Sabbatheus*). SHABBETHAI (1 Esd. ix. 48; comp. Neh. viii. 7).

SAB'ATUS (Σάβαθος: *Zabdis*). ZABAD (1 Esd. ix. 28; comp. Ezr. x. 27).

SAB'BAN (Σαβάννος: *Banni*). BINNUI 1 (1 Esd. viii. 63; comp. Ezr. viii. 33).

SABBATH (שַׁבָּת, "a day of rest," from שָׁבַת, "to cease to do," "to rest"). This is the obvious and undoubted etymology. The resemblance of the word to שֶׁבַע, "seven," misled Lactantius (*Inst.* iii. 14) and others; but it does not seem more than accidental. Bähr (*Symbolik*, ii. 533-4) does not reject the derivation from שָׁבַת

to the kindness of a friend.

^c צְבָאוֹת. See 1 Sam. xii. 9, 1 K. i. 19, and *passim* in Burgh's *Concordance*, p. 1058.

but traces that to שֹׁב, somewhat needlessly and fancifully, as it appears to us. Plutarch's association of the word with the Bacchanalian cry σαβοῖ may of course be dismissed at once. We have also (Ex. xvi. 23, and Lev. xxiii. 24) שַׁבְּתוֹן, of more intense signification than שַׁבַּת; also שַׁבַּת שַׁבְּתוֹן, "a Sabbath of Sabbaths" (Ex. xxxi. 15, and elsewhere). The name *Sabbath* is thus applied to divers great festivals, but principally and usually to the seventh day of the week, the strict observance of which is enforced not merely in the general Mosaic code, but in the Decalogue itself.

The first Scriptural notice of the weekly Sabbath, though it is not mentioned by name, is to be found in Gen. ii. 3, at the close of the record of the six days' creation. And hence it is frequently argued that the institution is as old as mankind, and is consequently of universal concern and obligation. We cannot, however, approach this question till we have examined the account of its enforcement upon the Israelites. It is in Ex. xvi. 23-29 that we find the first incontrovertible institution of the day, as one given to, and to be kept by, the children of Israel. Shortly afterwards it was re-enacted in the Fourth Commandment, which gave it a rank above that of an ordinary law, making it one of the signs of the Covenant. As such it remained together with the Passover, the two forming the most solemn and distinctive features of Hebrew religious life. Its neglect or profanation ranked foremost among national sins; the renewed observance of it was sure to accompany national reformation.

Before, then, dealing with the question whether its original institution comprised mankind at large, or merely stamped on Israel a very marked badge of nationality, it will be well to trace somewhat of its position and history among the chosen people.

Many of the Rabbis date its first institution from the incident* recorded in Ex. xv. 25; and believe that the "statute and ordinance" there mentioned as being given by God to the children of Israel was that of the Sabbath, together with the commandment to honour father and mother, their previous law having consisted only of what are called the "seven precepts of Noah." This, however, seems to want foundation of any sort, and the statute and ordinance in question are, we think, sufficiently explained by the words of ver. 26, "If thou wilt diligently hearken," &c. We are not on sure ground till we come to the unmistakable institution in chap. xvi. in connexion with the gathering of manna. The words in this latter are not in themselves enough to indicate whether such institution was altogether a novelty, or whether it referred to a day the sanctity of which was already known to those to whom it was given. There is plausibility certainly in the opinion of Grotius, that the day was already known, and in some measure observed as holy, but that the rule of abstinence from work was first given then, and shortly afterwards more explicitly imposed in the Fourth Commandment. There it is distinctly set forth, and extended to the whole of an Israelite's household, his son and his daughter, his slaves, male and female, his ox and his ass, and the stranger within his gates. It would seem that by this last was understood the stranger who while still uncircumcised yet worshipped the true God; for the mere heathen stranger was

not considered to be under the law of the Sabbath. In the Fourth Commandment, too, the institution is grounded on the revealed truth of the six days creation and the Divine rest on the seventh; but in the version of it which we find in Deuteronomy a further reason is added—"and remember that thou wast a stranger in the land of Egypt, and that the LORD thy God brought thee forth with a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm; therefore the LORD thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day" (Deut. v. 15).

Penalties and provisions in other parts of the Law construed the abstinence from labour prescribed in the commandment. It was forbidden to light a fire, a man was stoned for gathering sticks, on the Sabbath. At a later period we find the Prophet Isaiah uttering solemn warnings against profaning, and promising large blessings on the due observance of the day (Is. lviii. 13, 14). In Jeremiah's time there seems to have been an habitual violation of it, amounting to transacting on it such an extent of business as involved the carrying burdens about (Jer. xvii. 21-27). His denunciations of this seem to have led the Pharisees in their bondage to the letter to condemn the impotent man for carrying his bed on the Sabbath in obedience to Christ who had healed him (John v. 10). We must not suppose that our Lord prescribed a real violation of the Law; and it requires little thought to distinguish between such a natural and almost necessary act as that which He commanded, and the carrying of burdens in connexion with business which is denounced by Jeremiah. By Ezekiel (xx. 12-24), a passage to which we must shortly return, the profanation of the Sabbath is made foremost among the national sins of the Jews. From Nehemiah x. 31, we learn that the people entered into a covenant to renew the observance of the Law, in which they pledged themselves neither to buy nor sell victuals on the Sabbath. The practice was then not infrequent, and Nehemiah tells us (xiii. 15-22) of the successful steps which he took for its stoppage.

Henceforward there is no evidence of the Sabbath being neglected by the Jews, except such as (1 Macc. i. 11-15, 39-45) went into open apostasy. The faithful remnant were so scrupulous concerning it, as to forbear fighting in self-defence on that day (1 Macc. ii. 36), and it was only the terrible consequences that ensued which led Mattathias and his friends to decree the lawfulness of self-defence on the Sabbath (1 Macc. ii. 41).

When we come to the N. T. we find the most marked stress laid on the Sabbath. In whatever ways the Jew might err respecting it, he had altogether ceased to neglect it. On the contrary, wherever he went its observance became the most visible badge of his nationality. The passages of Latin literature, such as Ovid, *Art. Amat.* i. 415; Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96-106, which indicate this, are too well known to require citation. Our Lord's mode of observing the Sabbath was one of the main features of His life, which His Pharisaic adversaries most eagerly watched and criticised. They had by that time invented many of those fantastic prohibitions whereby the letter of the commandment seemed to be honoured at the expense of its whole spirit, dignity, and value; and our Lord, coming to vindicate and fulfil the Law in its real scope and intention, must needs come into collision with these.

Before proceeding to any of the more curious

* Vide Patrick *in loc.*, and Selden, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* ii. 3.

* Vide Grotius *in loc.*, who refers to Aben-ezra.

questions connected with the Sabbath, such as that of its alleged pre-Mosaic origin and observance, it will be well to consider and determine what were its true idea and purpose in that Law of which beyond doubt it formed a leading feature, and among that people for whom, if for none else, we know that it was designed. And we shall do this with most advantage, as it seems to us, by pursuing the inquiry in the following order:—

I. By considering, with a view to their elimination, the Pharisaic and Rabbinical prohibitions. These we have the highest authority for rejecting, as inconsistent with the true scope of the Law.

II. By taking a survey of the general Sabbatical periods of Hebrew time. The weekly Sabbath stood in the relation of keynote to a scale of Sabbatical observance, mounting to the Sabbatical year and the year of Jubilee.^c It is but reasonable to suspect that these can in some degree interpret each other.

III. By examining the actual enactments of Scripture respecting the seventh day, and the mode in which such observance was maintained by the best Israelites.

I. Nearly every one is aware that the Pharisaic and Rabbinical schools invented many prohibitions respecting the Sabbath of which we find nothing in the original institution. Of these some may have been legitimate enforcements in detail of that institution, such as the Scribes and Pharisees "sitting in Moses' seat" (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3) had a right to impose. How a general law is to be carried out in particular cases, must often be determined for others by such as have authority to do so. To this class may belong the limitation of a Sabbath-day's journey, a limitation not absolutely at variance with the fundamental canon that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath, although it may have proceeded from mistaking a temporary enactment for a permanent one. Many, however, of these prohibitions were fantastic and arbitrary, in the number of those "heavy burdens and grievous to be borne" which the later expounders of the Law "laid on men's shoulders." We have seen that the impotent man's carrying his bed was considered a violation of the Sabbath—a notion probably derived from Jeremiah's warnings against the commercial traffic carried on at the gates of Jerusalem in his day. The harmless act of the disciples in the corn-field, and the beneficent healing of the man in the synagogue with the withered hand (Matt. xii. 1-13), were alike regarded as breaches of the Law. Our Lord's reply in the former case will come before us under our third head; in the latter He appeals to the practice of the objectors, who would any one of them raise his own sheep out of the pit into which the animal had fallen on the Sabbath-day. From this appeal, we are forced to infer that such practice would have been held lawful at the time and place in which He spoke. It is remarkable, however, that we find it prohibited in other traditions, the law laid down being, that in this case a man might throw some needful nourishment to the animal, but must not pull him out till the next day. (See Heylin, *Hist. of Sabbath*, i. 8, quoting Buxtorf.) This rule possibly came into existence in consequence of our Lord's appeal, and with a view to warding off the necessary

^c It is obvious from the whole scope of the chapter that the words, "Ye shall keep my sabbaths," in Lev. xxvi. 2, related to all these. In the ensuing threat of

inference from it. Still more fantastic prohibitions were issued. It was unlawful to catch a flea on the Sabbath, except the insect were actually hurting his assailant, or to mount into a tree, lest a branch or twig should be broken in the process. The Samaritans were especially rigid in matters like these; and Dositheus, who founded a sect amongst them, went so far as to maintain the obligation of a man's remaining throughout the Sabbath in the posture wherein he chanced to be at its commencement—a rule which most people would find quite destructive of its character as a day of rest. When minds were occupied with such *micrology*, as this has been well called, there was obviously no limit to the number of prohibitions which they might devise, confusing, as they obviously did, abstinence from action of every sort with rest from business and labour.

That this perversion of the Sabbath had become very general in our Saviour's time is apparent both from the recorded objections to acts of His on that day, and from His marked conduct on occasions to which those objections were sure to be urged. There is no reason, however, for thinking that the Pharisees had arrived at a sentence against pleasure of every sort on the sacred day. The duty of hospitality was remembered. It was usual for the rich to give a feast on that day; and our Lord's attendance at such a feast, and making it the occasion of putting forth His rules for the demeanour of guests, and for the right exercise of hospitality, show that the gathering of friends and social enjoyment were not deemed inconsistent with the true scope and spirit of the Sabbath. It was thought right that the meats, though cold, should be of the best and choicest, nor might the Sabbath be chosen for a fast.

Such are the inferences to which we are brought by our Lord's words concerning, and works on, the sacred day. We have already protested against the notion which has been entertained that they were breaches of the Sabbath intended as harbingers of its abolition. Granting for argument's sake that such abolition was in prospect, still our Lord, "made under the Law," would have violated no part of it so long as it was Law. Nor can anything be inferred on the other side from the Evangelist's language (John v. 18). The phrase "He had broken the Sabbath," obviously denotes not the character of our Saviour's act, but the Jewish estimate of it. He had broken the Pharisaic rules respecting the Sabbath. Similarly His own phrase, "the priests profane the Sabbath and are blameless," can only be understood to assert the lawfulness of certain acts done for certain reasons on that day, which, taken in themselves and without those reasons, would be profanations of it. There remains only His appeal to the eating of the shewbread by David and his companions, which was no doubt in its matter a breach of the Law. It does not follow, however, that the act in justification of which it is appealed to was such a breach. It is rather, we think, an argument *a fortiori*, to the effect, that if even a positive law might give place on occasion, much more might an arbitrary rule like that of the Rabbis in the case in question.

Finally, the declaration that "the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath," must not be viewed

judgment in case of neglect or violation of the Law, the Sabbatical year would seem to be mainly referred to (ver. 1, 34, 35).

as though our Lord held Himself free from the Law respecting it. It is to be taken in connexion with the preceding words, "the Sabbath was made for man," &c., from which it is an inference, as is shown by the adverb *therefore*; and the Son of Man is plainly speaking of Himself as *the Man*, the Representative and Exemplar of all mankind, and teaching us that the human race is lord of the Sabbath, the day being made for man, not man for the day.

If, then, our Lord, coming to fulfil and rightly interpret the Law, did thus protest against the Pharisaical and Rabbinical rules respecting the Sabbath, we are supplied by this protest with a large negative view of that ordinance. The acts condemned by the Pharisees *were not* violations of it. Mere action, as such, was not a violation of it, and far less was a work of healing and beneficence. To this we shall have occasion by and bye to return. Meanwhile we must try to gain a positive view of the institution, and proceed in furtherance of this to our second head.

II. The Sabbath, as we have said, was the keynote to a scale of Sabbatical observance—consisting of itself, the seventh month, the seventh year, and the year of Jubilee. As each seventh day was sacred, so was each seventh month, and each seventh year. Of the observances of the seventh month, little needs be said. That month opened with the Feast of Trumpets, and contained the Day of Atonement and Feast of Tabernacles—the last named being the most joyful of Hebrew festivals. It is not apparent, nor likely, that the whole of the month was to be characterised by cessation from labour; but it certainly has a place in the Sabbatical scale. Its great centre was the Feast of Tabernacles or Ingathering, the year and the year's labour having then done their work and yielded their issues. In this last respect its analogy to the weekly Sabbath is obvious. Only at this part of the Sabbatical cycle do we find any notice of humiliation. On the Day of Atonement the people were to afflict their souls (Lev. xxiii. 27-29).

The rules for the Sabbatical year are very precise. As labour was prohibited on the seventh day, so the land was to rest every seventh year. And as each forty-ninth year wound up seven of such weeks of years, so it either was itself, or it ushered in, what was called "the year of Jubilee."

In Exodus xxiii. 10, 11, we find the Sabbatical year placed in close connexion with the Sabbath day, and the words in which the former is prescribed are analogous to those of the Fourth Commandment: "Six years thou shalt sow thy land and gather in the fruits thereof; but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat." This is immediately followed by a renewed proclamation of the law of the Sabbath, "Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest: that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy landmaid, and the stranger may be refreshed." It is impossible to avoid perceiving that in these passages the two institutions are put on the same ground, and are represented as quite homogeneous. Their aim, as here exhibited, is eminently a beneficent one. To give rights to classes that would otherwise have been without such, to the bondman and bondmaid, nay, to the beast of the field, is viewed here as their main end. "The stranger, too, is comprehended in the benefit. Many, we

suspect, while reading the Fourth Commandment, merely regard him as subjected, together with his host and family, to a prohibition. But if we consider how continually *the stranger* is referred to in the enactments of the Law, and that with a view to his protection, the instances being one-and-twenty in number, we shall be led to regard his inclusion in the Fourth Commandment rather as a benefit conferred than a prohibition imposed on him.

The same beneficent aim is still more apparent in the fuller legislation respecting the Sabbatical year which we find in Lev. xxv. 2-7, "When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the Lord. Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof; but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath unto the Lord; thou shalt neither sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard. That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: for it is a year of rest unto the land. And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy slave, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee, and for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be meat." One great aim of both institutions, the Sabbath-day and the Sabbatical year, clearly was to debar the Hebrew from the thought of absolute ownership of anything. His time was not his own, as was shown him by each seventh day being the Sabbath of the Lord his God; his land was not his own but God's (Lev. xxv. 23), as was shown by the Sabbath of each seventh year, during which it was to have rest, and all individual right over it was to be suspended. It was also to be the year of release from debt (Deut. xv.). We do not read much of the way in which, or the extent to which, the Hebrews observed the Sabbatical year. The reference to it (2 Chr. xxxvi. 21) leads us to conclude that it had been much neglected previous to the Captivity, but it was certainly not lost sight of afterwards, since Alexander the Great absolved the Jews from paying tribute on it, their religion debarring them from acquiring the means of doing so. [SABBATICAL YEAR.]

The year of Jubilee must be regarded as completing this Sabbatical Scale, whether we consider it as really the forty-ninth year, the seventh of a week of Sabbatical years or the fiftieth, a question on which opinions are divided. [JUBILEE, YEAR OF.] The difficulty in the way of deciding for the latter, that the land could hardly bear enough spontaneously to suffice for two years, seems disposed of by reference to Isaiah xxxvii. 30. Adopting, therefore, that opinion as the most probable, we must consider each week of Sabbatical years to have ended in a double Sabbatical period, to which, moreover, increased emphasis was given by the peculiar enactments respecting the second half of such period, the year of Jubilee.

Those enactments have been already considered in the article just referred to, and throw further light on the beneficent character of the Sabbatical Law.

III. We must consider the actual enactments of Scripture respecting the seventh day. However non-homogeneous the different Sabbatical periods may be, the weekly Sabbath is, as we have said, the

tonic or keynote. It alone is prescribed in the Decalogue, and it alone has in any shape survived the earthly commonwealth of Israel. We must still postpone the question of its observance by the patriarchs, and commence our inquiry with the institution of it in the wilderness, in connexion with the gathering of manna (Ex. xvi. 23). The prohibition to gather the manna on the Sabbath is accompanied by one to bake or to seethe on that day. The Fourth Commandment gives us but the generality, "all manner of work," and, seeing that action of one kind or another is a necessary accompaniment of waking life, and cannot therefore in itself be intended, as the later Jews imagined, by the prohibition, we are left to seek elsewhere for the particular application of the general principle. That general principle in itself, however, obviously embraces an abstinence from worldly labour or occupation, and from the enforcing such on servants or dependents, or on the stranger. By him, as we have said, is most probably meant the partial proselyte, who would not have received much consideration from the Hebrews had they been left to themselves, as we must infer from the numerous laws enacted for his protection. Had man been then regarded by him as made for the Sabbath, not the Sabbath for man, that is, had the prohibitions of the commandment been viewed as the putting on of a yoke, not the conferring of a privilege, one of the dominant race would probably have felt no reluctance to placing such a stranger under that yoke. The naming him therefore in the commandment helps to interpret its whole principle, and testifies to its having been a beneficent privilege for all who came within it. It gave rights to the slave, to the despised stranger, even to the ox and the ass.

This beneficent character of the Fourth Commandment is very apparent in the version of it which we find in Deuteronomy: "Keep the Sabbath-day to sanctify it, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee. Six days thou shalt labour and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy bondman, nor thy bondwoman, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: that thy bondman and thy bondwoman may rest as well as thou. And remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day" (Deut. v. 12-15). But although this be so, and though it be plain that to come within the scope of the commandment was to possess a franchise, to share in a privilege, yet does the original proclamation of it in Exodus place it on a ground which, closely connected no doubt with these others, is yet higher and more comprehensive. The Divine method of working and rest is there proposed to man as the model after which he is to work and to rest. Time then presents a perfect whole, is then well rounded and entire, when it is shaped into a week, modelled on the six days of creation and their following Sabbath. Six days' work and the seventh day's rest conform the life of man to the method of his Creator. In distributing his life thus, man may look up to God as his Archetype. We need not suppose that the Hebrew, even in that early stage of spiritual education, was limited by so gross a conception as that

of God working and then resting, as it needing rest. The idea awakened by the record of creation and by the Fourth Commandment is that of work that has a consummation, perfect in itself and coming to a perfect end; and man's work is to be like this, not aimless, indefinite, and incessant, but having an issue on which he can repose, and see and rejoice in its fruits. God's rest consists in His seeing that all which He has made is very good; and man's works are in their measure and degree very good when a six days' faithful labour has its issue in a seventh of rest after God's pattern. It is most important to remember that the Fourth Commandment is not limited to a mere enactment respecting one day, but prescribes the due distribution of a week, and enforces the six days' work as much as the seventh day's rest.

This higher ground of observance was felt to invest the Sabbath with a theological character, and rendered it the great witness for faith in a personal and creating God. Hence its supremacy over all the Law, being sometimes taken as the representative of it all (Neh. ix. 14). The Talmud says that "the Sabbath is in importance equal to the whole Law;" that "he who desecrates the Sabbath openly is like him who transgresses the whole Law;" while Maimonides winds up his discussion of the subject thus: "He who breaks the Sabbath openly is like the worshipper of the stars, and both are like heathens in every respect."

In all this, however, we have but an assertion of the general principle of resting on the Sabbath, and must seek elsewhere for information as to the details wherewith that principle was to be brought out. We have already seen that the work forbidden is not to be confounded with action of every sort. To make this confusion was the error of the later Jews, and their prohibitions would go far to render the Sabbath incompatible with waking life. The terms in the commandment show plainly enough the sort of work which is contemplated. They are *תעבד* and *מלאכה*, the former denoting *servile work*, and the latter *business* (see Gesenius *sub. voc.*; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, iv. 195). The Pentateuch presents us with but three applications of the general principle. The lighting a fire in any house on the Sabbath was strictly forbidden (Ex. xxxv. 3) and a man was stoned for gathering sticks on that day (Num. xv. 32-36). The former prohibition is thought by the Jews to be of perpetual force; but some at least of the Rabbis have held that it applies only to lighting a fire for culinary purposes, not to doing so in cold weather for the sake of warmth. The latter case, that of the man gathering sticks, was perhaps one of more *labour* and *business* than we are apt to imagine. The third application of the general principle which we find in the Pentateuch was the prohibition to go out of the camp, the command to every one to abide in his place (Ex. xvi. 29) on the Sabbath-day. This is so obviously connected with the gathering the manna, that it seems most natural to regard it as a mere temporary enactment for the circumstances of the people in the wilderness. It was, however, afterwards considered by the Hebrews a permanent law, and applied, in the absence of the camp, to the city in which a man might reside. To this was appended the *dictum* that a space of two thousand cubits on every side of a city belonged to it, and to go that distance beyond the walls was permitted as "a Sabbath-day's journey."

The reference of Isaiah to the Sabbath gives us

no details. Those in Jeremiah and Nehemiah now that carrying goods for sale, and buying such, were equally profanations of the day.

There is no ground for supposing that to engage the enemy on the Sabbath was considered unlawful before the Captivity. On the contrary, there is much force in the argument of Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, iv. 196) to show that it was not. His reasons are as follows:—

1. The prohibited שְׂבָעָה , *service*, does not even suggest the thought of war.

2. The enemies of the chosen people would have continually selected the Sabbath as a day of attack, had the latter been forbidden to defend themselves then.

3. We read of long-protracted sieges, that of Rabbah (2 Sam. xi., xii.), and that of Jerusalem in the reign of Zedekiah, which latter lasted a year and a half, during which the enemy would certainly have taken advantage of any such abstinence from warfare on the part of the chosen people.

At a subsequent period we know (1 Macc. ii. 34-38) that the scruple existed and was acted on with most calamitous effects. Those effects led (1 Macc. ii. 41) to determining that action in self-defence was lawful on the Sabbath, initiatory attack not. The reservation was, it must be thought, nearly as great a misconception of the institution as the overruled scruple. Certainly warfare has nothing to do with the servile labour or the worldly business contemplated in the Fourth Commandment, and is, as regards religious observance, a law to itself. Yet the scruple, like many other scruples, proved a convenience, and under the Roman Empire the Jews procured exemption from military service by means of it. It was not, however, without its evils. In the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey (Joseph. Ant. xiv. 4), as well as in the final one by Titus, the Romans took advantage of it, and, abstaining from attack, prosecuted on the Sabbath, without molestation from the enemy, such works as enabled them to renew the assault with increased resources.

So far therefore as we have yet gone, so far as the negative side of Sabbatical observance is concerned, it would seem that servile labour, whether that of slaves or of hired servants, and all worldly business on the part of masters, was suspended on the Sabbath, and the day was a common right to rest and be refreshed, possessed by all classes in the Hebrew community. It was thus, as we have urged, a beneficent institution.^d As a sign between God and His chosen people, it was also a monitor of faith, keeping up a constant witness, on the ground taken in Gen. ii. 3, and in the Fourth Commandment, for the one living and personal God whom they worshipped, and for the truth, in opposition to all the cosmogonies of the heathen, that everything was created by Him.

We must now quit the negative for the positive side of the institution.

In the first place, we learn from the Pentateuch that the morning and evening sacrifice were both doubled on the Sabbath-day, and that the fresh shew-bread was then baked, and substituted on the Table for that of the previous week. And this at once leads to the observation that the negative rules, proscribing work, lighting of fires, &c., did not apply to the rites of religion. It became a *dictum* that *there was no Sabbath in holy things*. To this our Saviour appeals when He says that the

priests in the Temple profane the Sabbath and are blameless.

Next, it is clear that individual offerings were not breaches of the Sabbath; and from this doubtless came the feasts of the rich on that day, which were sanctioned, as we have seen, by our Saviour's attendance on one such. It was, we may be pretty sure, a feast on a sacrifice, and therefore a religious act. All around the giver, the poor as well as others, were admitted to it. Yet further, "in cases of illness, and in any, even the remotest, danger," the prohibitions of work were not held to apply. The general principle was that "the Sabbath is delivered into your hand, not you into the hand of the Sabbath" (comp. Mark ii. 27, 28).

We have no ground for supposing that anything like the didactic institutions of the synagogue formed part of the original observance of the Sabbath. Such institutions do not come into being while the matter to which they relate is itself only in process of formation. Expounding the Law presumes the completed existence of the Law, and the removal of the living lawgiver. The assertion of the Talmud that "Moses ordained to the Israelites that they should read the Law on the Sabbath-days, the feasts, and the new moons," in itself improbable, is utterly unsupported by the Pentateuch. The rise of such custom in after times is explicable enough. [SYNAGOGUE.] But from an early period, if not, as is most probable, from the very institution, occupation with holy themes was regarded as an essential part of the observance of the Sabbath. It would seem to have been an habitual practice to repair to a prophet on that day, in order, it must be presumed, to listen to his teaching (2 K. iv. 23). Certain Psalms too, *e. g.* the 92nd, were composed for the Sabbath, and probably used in private as well as in the Tabernacle. At a later period we come upon precepts that on the Sabbath the mind should be uplifted to high and holy themes—to God, His character, His revelations of Himself, His mighty works. Still the thoughts with which the day was invested were ever thoughts, not of restriction, but of freedom and of joy. Such indeed would seem, from Neh. viii. 9-12, to have been essential to the notion of a *holy* day. We have more than once pointed out that pleasure, as such, was never considered by the Jews a breach of the Sabbath; and their practice in this respect is often animadverted on by the early Christian Fathers, who taunt them with abstaining on that day only from what is good and useful, but indulging in dancing and luxury. Some of the heathen, indeed, such as Tacitus, imagined that the Sabbath was kept by them as a fast, a mistake which might have arisen from their abstinence from cookery on that day, and perhaps, as Heylin conjectures, from their postponement of their meals till the more solemn services of religion had been performed. But there can be no doubt that it was kept as a feast, and the phrase *luxus Sabbataris*, which we find in Sidonius Apollinaris (i. 2), and which has been thought a proverbial one, illustrates the mode in which they celebrated it in the early centuries of our era. The following is Augustine's description of their practice:—"Ecce hodiernus dies Sabbati est: hunc in presenti tempore otio quod corporaliter languido et fluxo et luxurioso celebrant Judaei. Vacant enim ad nugas, et cum Deus prae-

^d In this light the Sabbath has found a champion in one who would not, we suppose, have paid it much respect

in its theological character; we mean no less a person than M. Proudhon (*De la Célébration du Dimanche*).

ceperit Sabbatum, illi in his quae Deus prohibet exercent Sabbatum. Vacatio nostra a malis operibus, vacatio illorum a bonis operibus est. Melius est enim arare quam saltare. Illi ab opere bono vacant, ab opere nugatorio non vacant" (Aug. *Enarr. in Psalmos*, Ps. xci.: see too Aug. *De decem Chordis*, iii. 3; Chrysost. *Homil. I., De Lazaro*; and other references given by Bingham, *Eccl. Ant.* lib. xx. cap. ii.). And if we take what alone is in the Law, we shall find nothing to be counted absolutely obligatory but rest, cessation from labour. Now, as we have more than once had occasion to observe, rest, cessation from labour, cannot in the waking moments mean avoidance of all action. This, therefore, would be the question respecting the scope and purpose of the Sabbath which would always demand to be devoutly considered and intelligently answered—what is truly rest, what is that cessation from labour which is really Sabbatical? And it is plain that, in application and in detail, the answer to this must almost indefinitely vary with men's varying circumstances, habits, education, and familiar associations.

We have seen, then, that, for whomsoever else the provision was intended, the chosen race were in possession of an ordinance, whereby neither a man's time nor his property could be considered absolutely his own, the seventh of each week being holy to God, and dedicated to rest after the pattern of God's rest, and giving equal rights to all. We have also seen that this provision was the tonic to a chord of Sabbatical observance, through which the same great principles of God's claim and society's, on every man's time and every man's property, were extended and developed. Of the Sabbatical year, indeed, and of the year of Jubilee, it may be questioned whether they were ever persistently observed, the only indications that we possess of Hebrew practice respecting them being the exemption from tribute during the former accorded to the Jews by Alexander, to which we have already referred, and one or two others, all, however, after the Captivity. [SABBATICAL YEAR; YEAR OF JUBILEE.]

But no doubt exists that the weekly Sabbath was always partially, and in the Pharisaic and subsequent times very strictly, however mistakenly, observed.

We have hitherto viewed the Sabbath merely as a Mosaic ordinance. It remains to ask whether, first, there be indications of its having been previously known and observed; and, secondly, whether it have an universal scope and authority over all men.

The former of these questions is usually approached with a feeling of its being connected with the latter, and perhaps therefore with a bias in favour of the view which the questioner thinks will support his opinion on the latter. It seems, however, to us, that we may dismiss any anxiety as to the results we may arrive at concerning it. No doubt, if we see strong reason for thinking that the Sabbath had a pre-Mosaic existence, we see something in it that has more than a Mosaic character and scope. But it might have had such without having an universal authority, unless we are prepared to ascribe that to the prohibition of eating blood or things strangled. And again, it might have originated in the Law of Moses, and yet possess an universally human scope, and an authority over all men and through all time. Whichever way, therefore, the second of our questions is to be determined, we may easily approach the first without anxiety.

The first and chief argument of those who maintain that the Sabbath was known before Moses,

is the reference to it in Gen. ii. 2, 3. This is considered to represent it as co-aeval with man, being instituted at the Creation, or at least, as Lightfoot views the matter, immediately upon the Fall. This latter opinion is so entirely without rational ground of any kind that we may dismiss it at once. But the whole argument is very precarious. We have no materials for ascertaining, or even conjecturing, which was put forth first, the record of the Creation, or the Fourth Commandment. If the latter, then the reference to the Sabbath in the former is abundantly natural. Had, indeed, the Hebrew tongue the variety of preterite tenses of the Greek, the words in Genesis might require careful consideration in that regard; but as the case is, no light can be had from grammar; and on the supposition of these being written after the Fourth Commandment, their absence, or that of any equivalent to them, would be really marvellous.

The next indication of a pre-Mosaic Sabbath has been found in Gen. iv. 3, where we read that "in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord." The words rendered *in process of time* mean literally "at the end of days," and it is contended that they designate a fixed period of days, probably the end of a week, the seventh or Sabbath-day. Again, the division of time into weeks seems recognised in Jacob's courtship of Rachel (Gen. xxix. 27, 28). Indeed the large recognition of that division from the earliest time is considered a proof that it must have had an origin above and independent of local and accidental circumstances, and been imposed on man at the beginning from above. Its arbitrary and factitious character is appealed to in further confirmation of this. The sacredness of the seventh day among the Egyptians, as recorded by Herodotus, and the well-known words of Hesiod respecting it, have long been cited among those who adopt this view, though neither of them in reality gives it the slightest support. Lastly, the opening of the Fourth Commandment, the injunction to *remember* the Sabbath-day, is appealed to as proof that that day was already known.

It is easy to see that all this is but a precarious foundation on which to build. It is not clear that the words in Gen. iv. 3 denote a fixed division of time of any sort. Those in Gen. xxix. obviously do, but carry us no farther than proving that the week was known and recognized by Jacob and Laban; though it must be admitted that, in the case of time so divided, sacred rites would probably be celebrated on a fixed and statedly recurring day. The argument from the prevalence of the weekly division of time would require a greater approach to universality in such practice than the facts exhibit, to make it a cogent one. That division was unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans, being adopted by the latter people from the Egyptians, as must be inferred from the well-known passage of Dion Cassius (xxxvii. 18, 19), at a period in his own time comparatively recent; while of the Egyptians themselves it is thought improbable that they were acquainted with such division in early times. The sacredness of the seventh day mentioned by Hesiod, is obviously that of the seventh day, not of the week, but of the month. And even after the weekly division was established, no trace can be found of anything resembling the Hebrew Sabbath.

While the injunction in the Fourth Commandment to *remember* the Sabbath-day may refer only to its previous institution in connexion with the gathering

of manna, or may be but the natural precept to keep in mind the rule about to be delivered—a phrase natural, and continually recurring in the intercourse of life, as, for example, between parent and child—on the other hand, the perplexity of the Israelites respecting the double supply of manna on the sixth day (Ex. xvi. 22) leads us to infer that the Sabbath for which such extra supply was designed was not then known to them. Moreover the language of Ezekiel (xx.) seems to designate it as an ordinance distinctively Hebrew and Mosaic.

We cannot then, from the uncertain notices which we possess, infer more than that the weekly division of time was known to the Israelites and others before the Law of Moses. [WEEK.] There is probability, though not more, in the opinion of Grotius, that the seventh day was deemed sacred to religious observance; but that the Sabbatical observance of it, the cessation from labour, was superinduced on it in the wilderness.

But to come to our second question, it by no means follows, that even if the Sabbath were no older than Moses, its scope and obligation are limited to Israel, and that itself belongs only to the obsolete enactments of the Levitical Law. That law contains two elements, the code of a particular nation, and commandments of human and universal character. For it must not be forgotten that the Hebrew was called out from the world, not to live on a narrower but a far wider footing than the children of earth; that he was called out to be the true man, bearing witness for the destiny, exhibiting the aspect, and realizing the blessedness, of true manhood. Hence, we can always see, if we have a mind, the difference between such features of his Law as are but local and temporary, and such as are human and universal. To which class belongs the Sabbath, viewed simply in itself, is a question which will soon come before us, and one which does not appear hard to settle. Meanwhile, we must inquire into the case as exhibited by Scripture.

And here we are at once confronted with the fact that the command to keep the Sabbath forms part of the Decalogue. And that the Decalogue had a rank and authority above the other enactments of the Law, is plain to the most cursory readers of the Old Testament, and is indicated by its being written on the two Tables of the Covenant. And though even the Decalogue is affected by the New Testament, it is not so in the way of repeal or obliteration. It is raised, transfigured, glorified there, but itself remains in its authority and supremacy. Not to refer just now to our Saviour's teaching (Matt. xix. 17-19), of which it might be alleged that it was delivered when, and to the persons over whom, the Old Law was in force—such passages as Rom. xiii. 8, 9, and Eph. vi. 2, 3, seem decisive of this. In some way, therefore, the Fourth Commandment has an authority over, and is to be obeyed by, Christians, though whether in the letter, or in some large spiritual sense and scope, is a question which still remains.

The phenomena respecting the Sabbath presented by the New Testament are, 1st, the frequent reference to it in the four Gospels; and 2ndly, the silence of the Epistles, with the exception of one place (Col. ii. 16, 17), where its repeal would seem to be asserted, and perhaps one other (Heb. iv. 9).

1st. The references to it in the four Gospels are, it needs not be said, numerous enough. We have already seen the high position which it took in the

minds of the Rabbis, and the strange code of prohibitions which they put forth in connexion with it. The consequence of this was, that no part of our Saviour's teaching and practice would seem to have been so eagerly and narrowly watched as that which related to the Sabbath. He seems even to have directed attention to this, thereby intimating surely that on the one hand the misapprehension, and on the other the true fulfilment of the Sabbath were matters of deepest concern. We have already seen the kind of prohibitions against which both His teaching and practice were directed; and His two pregnant declarations, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," and "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," surely exhibit to us the Law of the Sabbath as human and universal. The former sets it forth as a privilege and a blessing, and were we therefore to suppose it absent from the provisions of the covenant of grace, we must suppose that covenant to have stinted man of something that was made for him, something that conduces to his well-being. The latter wonderfully exalts the Sabbath by referring it, even as do the record of Creation and the Fourth Commandment, to God as its archetype; and in showing us that the repose of God does not exclude work—inasmuch as God opens His hand daily and filleth all things living with plenteousness—show us that the rest of the Sabbath does not exclude action, which would be but a death, but only that weekday action which requires to be wound up in a rest that shall be after the pattern of His, who though He has rested from all the work that He hath made, yet "worketh hitherto."

2ndly. The Epistles, it must be admitted, with the exception of one place, and perhaps another to which we have already referred, are silent on the subject of the Sabbath. No rules for its observance are ever given by the Apostles—its violation is never denounced by them, Sabbath-breakers are never included in any list of offenders. Col. ii. 16, 17, seems a far stronger argument for the abolition of the Sabbath in the Christian dispensation than is furnished by Heb. iv. 9 for its continuance; and while the first day of the week is more than once referred to as one of religious observance, it is never identified with the Sabbath, nor are any prohibitions issued in connexion with the former, while the omission of the Sabbath from the list of "necessary things" to be observed by the Gentiles (Acts xv. 29), shows that they were regarded by the Apostles as free from obligation in this matter.

When we turn to the monuments which we possess of the early Church, we find ourselves on the whole carried in the same direction. The seventh day of the week continued, indeed, to be observed, being kept as a feast by the greater part of the Church, and as a fast from an early period by that of Rome, and one or two other Churches of the West; but not as obligatory on Christians in the same way as on Jews. The Council of Laodicea prohibited all scruple about working on it; and there was a very general admission among the early Fathers that Christians did not *Sabbatize* in the letter.

Again, the observance of the Lord's Day as a Sabbath would have been well nigh impossible to the majority of Christians in the first ages. The slave of the heathen master, and the child of the heathen father, could neither of them have the control of his own conduct in such a matter; while the Christian in general would have been at once

betrayed and dragged into notice if he was found abstaining from labour of every kind, not on the seventh but the first day of the week. And yet it is clear that many were enabled without blame to keep their Christianity long a secret; nor does there seem to have been any obligation to divulge it, until heathen interrogation or the order to sacrifice dragged it into daylight.

When the early Fathers speak of the Lord's Day, they sometimes, perhaps, by comparing, connect it with the Sabbath; but we have never found a passage, previous to the conversion of Constantine, prohibitory of any work or occupation on the former, and any such, did it exist, would have been in a great measure nugatory, for the reasons just alleged. [LORD'S DAY.] After Constantine things become different at once. His celebrated edict prohibitory of judicial proceedings on the Lord's Day was probably dictated by a wish to give the great Christian festival as much honour as was enjoyed by those of the heathen, rather than by any reference to the Sabbath or the Fourth Commandment; but it was followed by several which extended the prohibition to many other occupations, and to many forms of pleasure held innocent on ordinary days. When this became the case, the Christian Church, which ever believed the Decalogue, in some sense, to be of universal obligation, could not but feel that she was enabled to keep the Fourth Commandment in its letter as well as its spirit; that she had not lost the type even in possessing the antitype; that the great law of week-day work and seventh-day rest, a law so generous and so ennobling to humanity at large, was still in operation. True, the name Sabbath was always used to denote the seventh, as that of the Lord's Day to denote the first, day of the week, which latter is nowhere habitually called the Sabbath, so far as we are aware, except in Scotland and by the English Puritans. But it was surely impossible to observe both the Lord's Day, as was done by Christians after Constantine, and to read the Fourth Commandment, without connecting the two; and, seeing that such was to be the practice of the developed Church, we can understand how the silence of the N. T. Epistles, and even the strong words of St. Paul (Col. ii. 16, 17), do not impair the human and universal scope of the Fourth Commandment, exhibited so strongly in the very nature of the Law, and in the teaching respecting it of Him who came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil.

In the East, indeed, where the seventh day of the week was long kept as a festival, that would present itself to men's minds as the Sabbath, and the first day of the week would appear rather in its distinctively Christian character, and as of Apostolical and ecclesiastical origin, than in connexion with the Old Law. But in the West the seventh day was kept for the most part as a fast, and that for a reason merely Christian, viz. in commemoration of our Lord's lying in the sepulchre throughout that day. Its observance therefore would not obscure the aspect of the Lord's Day as that of hebdomadal rest and refreshment, and as consequently the prolongation of the Sabbath in the essential character of that benignant ordinance; and, with some variation, therefore, of verbal statement, a connexion between the Fourth Commandment and the first day of the week (together, as should be remembered, with the other festivals of the Church), came to be perceived and proclaimed.

Attention has recently been called, in connexion with our subject, to a circumstance which is important, the adoption by the Roman world of the Egyptian week almost contemporaneously with the founding of the Christian Church. Dion Cassius speaks of that adoption as recent, and we are therefore warranted in conjecturing the time of Hadrian as about that wherein it must have established itself. Here, then, would seem a signal Providential preparation for providing the people of God with a literal Sabbatismus; for prolonging in the Christian kingdom that great institution which, whether or not historically older than the Mosaic Law, is yet in its essential character adapted to all mankind, a witness for a personal Creator and Sustainer of the universe, and for His call to men to model their work, their time, and their lives, on His pattern.

Were we prepared to embrace an exposition which has been given of a remarkable passage already referred to (Heb. iv. 8-10), we should find it singularly illustrative of the view just suggested. The argument of the passage is to this effect, that the rest on which Joshua entered, and into which he made Israel to enter, cannot be the true and final rest, inasmuch as the Psalmist long afterwards speaks of the entering into that rest as still future and contingent. In ver. 9 we have the words "there remaineth, therefore, a rest for the people of God." Now it is important that throughout the passage the word for rest is *κατάπαυσις*, and that in the words just quoted it is changed into *σαββατισμός*, which certainly means the keeping of rest, the act of sabbatizing rather than the objective rest itself. It has accordingly been suggested that those words are not the author's conclusion—which is to be found in the form of thesis in the declaration "we which have believed do enter into rest"—but a parenthesis to the effect that "to the people of God," the Christian community, there remaineth, *there is left, a Sabbatizing*, the great change that has passed upon them and the mighty elevation to which they have been brought as on other matters, so as regards the Rest of God revealed to them, still leaving scope for and justifying the practice.* This exposition is in keeping with the general scope of the Ep. to the Hebrews; and the passage thus viewed will seem to some minds analogous to xiii. 10. It is given by Owen, and is elaborated with great ingenuity by Dr. Wardlaw in his *Discourses on the Sabbath*. It will not be felt fatal to it that more than 300 years should have passed before the Church at large was in a situation to discover the heritage that had been preserved to her, or to enter on its enjoyment, when we consider how development, in all matters of ritual and ordinance, must needs be the law of any living body, and much more of one which had to struggle from its birth with the impeding forces of a heathen empire, frequent persecution, and an unreclaimed society. In such case was the early Church, and therefore she might well have to wait for a Constantine before she could fully open her eyes to the fact that sabbatizing was still left to her, and her members might well be permitted not to see the truth in any steady or consistent way even then.

The objections, however, to this exposition are

* According to this exposition the words of ver. 10 "for he that hath entered, &c." are referred to Christ.

away and great, one being, that it has occurred to so few among the great commentators who have laboured on the Ep. to the Hebrews. Chrysostom (*in loc.*) denies that there is any reference to hebdomadal sabbatizing. Nor have we found any commentators, besides the two just named, who admit that there is such, with the single exception of Ebrard. Dean Alford notices the interpretation only to condemn it, while Dr. Hessey gives another, and that the usual explanation of the verse, suggesting a sufficient reason for the change of word from *κατάπαυσις* to *σαββατισμός*. It would not have been right, however, to have passed it over in this article without notice, as it relates to a passage of Scripture in which Sabbath and Sabbatical ideas are markedly brought forward.

It would be going beyond the scope of this article to trace the history of opinion on the Sabbath in the Christian Church. Dr. Hessey, in his *Bampton Lectures*, has sketched and distinguished every variety of doctrine which has been or still is maintained on the subject.

The sentiments and practice of the Jews subsequent to our Saviour's time have been already referred to. A curious account—taken from Buxtorf, *De Synag.*—of their superstitions, scruples, and prohibitions, will be found at the close of the first part of Heylin's *Hist. of the Sabbath*. Calmet, (art. "Sabbath"), gives an interesting sketch of their family practices at the beginning and end of the day. And the estimate of the Sabbath, its uses, and its blessings, which is formed by the more spiritually minded Jews of the present day may be inferred from some striking remarks of Dr. Kalisch (*Comm. on Exodus*), p. 273, who winds up with quoting a beautiful passage from the late Mrs. Horatio Montefiore's work, *A Few Words to the Jews*.

Finally, M. Proudhon's striking pamphlet, *De la Célébration du Dimanche considérée sous les rapports de l'Hygiène publique, de la Morale, des relations de Famille et de Cité*, Paris, 1850, may be studied with great advantage. His remarks (p. 67) on the advantages of the precise proportion established, six days of work to one of rest, and the inconvenience of any other that could be arranged, are well worth attention.

The word *Sabbath* seems sometimes to denote a week in the N. T. Hence, by the Hebrew usage of reckoning time by cardinal numbers, *ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββατῶν*, means on the first day of the week. The Rabbis have the same phraseology, keeping, however, the word *Sabbath* in the singular.

On the phrase of St. Luke, vi. 1, *ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*, see SABBATICAL YEAR.

This article should be read in connexion with that on the LORD'S DAY.

Literature:—*Critici Sacri*, on Exod.; Heylin's *Hist. of the Sabbath*; Selden, *De Jure Natur. et Gent.*; Buxtorf, *De Synag.*; Barrow, *Expos. of the Decalogue*; Paley, *Moral and Political Philosophy*, v. 7; James, *On the Sacraments and Sabbath*; Whately's *Thoughts on the Sabbath*; Wardlaw, *On the Sabbath*; Maurice, *On the Sabbath*; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, arts. exciv.—vi., clxviii.; Oehler, in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* "Sabbath;" Wiener, *Realwörterbuch*, "Sabbath;" Bähr, *Symbolik des Mos. Cult.* vol. ii. bk. iv. ch. 11, §2; Kalisch, *Historical and Critical Commentary on O. T. in Exod.* XX.; Proudhon, *De la Célébration du Dimanche*; and especially Dr. Hessey's *Sunday*; the *Bampton Lecture for 1860*. [F. G.]

SABBATH-DAY'S JOURNEY (*Σαββάτου ὁδός*, Acts i. 12). On occasion of a violation of the commandment by certain of the people who went to look for manna on the seventh day, Moses enjoined every man to "abide in his place," and forbade any man to "go out of his place" on that day (Ex. xvi. 29). It seems natural to look on this as a mere enactment *pro re natâ*, and having no bearing on any state of affairs subsequent to the journey through the wilderness and the daily gathering of manna. Whether the earlier Hebrews did or did not regard it thus, it is not easy to say. Nevertheless, the natural inference from 2 K. iv. 23 is against the supposition of such a prohibition being known to the spokesman, Elisha almost certainly living—as may be seen from the whole narrative—much more than a Sabbath Day's Journey from Shunem. Heylin infers from the incidents of David's flight from Saul, and Elijah's from Jezebel, that neither felt bound by such a limitation. Their situation, however, being one of extremity, cannot be safely argued from. In after times the precept in Ex. xvi. was undoubtedly viewed as a permanent law. But as some departure from a man's own place was unavoidable, it was thought necessary to determine the allowable amount, which was fixed at 2000 paces, or about six furlongs, from the wall of the city.

Though such an enactment may have proceeded from an erroneous view of Ex. xvi. 29, it is by no means so superstitious and unworthy on the face of it as are most of the Rabbinical rules and prohibitions respecting the Sabbath Day. In the case of a general law, like that of the Sabbath, some authority must settle the application in details, and such an authority "the Scribes and Pharisees sitting in Moses' seat" were entitled to exercise. It is plain that the limits of the Sabbath Day's Journey must have been a great check on the profanation of the day in a country where business was entirely agricultural or pastoral, and must have secured to "the ox and the ass" the rest to which by the Law they were entitled.

Our Saviour seems to refer to this law in warning the disciples to pray that their flight from Jerusalem in the time of its judgment should not be "on the Sabbath Day" (Matt. xxiv. 20). The Christians of Jerusalem would not, as in the case of Gentiles, feel free from the restrictions on journeying on that day; nor would their situation enable them to comply with the forms whereby such journeying when necessary was sanctified; nor would assistance from those around be procurable.

The permitted distance seems to have been grounded on the space to be kept between the Ark and the people (Josh. iii. 4) in the wilderness, which tradition said was that between the Ark and the tents. To repair to the Ark being, of course, a duty on the Sabbath, the walking to it was no violation of the day; and it thus was taken as the measure of a lawful Sabbath Day's Journey. We find the same distance given as the circumference outside the walls of the Levitical cities to be counted as their suburbs (Num. xxxv. 5). The *terminus a quo* was thus not a man's own house, but the wall of the city where he dwelt, and thus the amount of lawful Sabbath Day's journeying must therefore have varied greatly: the movements of a Jew in one of the small cities of his own land being restricted indeed when compared with those of a Jew in Alexandria, Antioch or Rome.

When a man was obliged to go farther than a Sabbath Day's Journey, on some good and allowable ground, it was incumbent on him on the evening before to furnish himself with food enough for two meals. He was to sit down and eat at the appointed distance, to bury what he had left, and utter a thanksgiving to God for the appointed boundary. Next morning he was at liberty to make this point his *terminus a quo*.

The Jewish scruple to go more than 2000 paces from his city on the Sabbath is referred to by Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, iv. 2; by Jerome, *ad Galgassiam*, quaest. 10; and by Oecumenius—with some apparent difference between them as to the measurement. Jerome gives Akiba, Simeon, and Hillel, as the authorities for the lawful distance. [F. G.]

SABBATHE'US (Σαββαθαῖος: *Sabbathaeus*). SHABBETHAI the Levite (1 Esd. ix. 14; comp. Ezr. x. 15).

SABBATICAL YEAR. As each seventh day and each seventh month were holy, so was each seventh year, by the Mosaic code. We first encounter this law in Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, given in words corresponding to those of the Fourth Commandment, and followed (ver. 12) by the re-enforcement of that commandment. It is impossible to read the passage and not feel that the Sabbath Day and the Sabbatical year are parts of one general law.

The commandment is, to sow and reap for six years, and to let the land rest on the seventh, "that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat." It is added, "In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard and thy oliveyard."

We next meet with the enactment in Lev. xxv. 2-7, and finally in Deut. xv., in which last place the new feature presents itself of the seventh year being one of release to debtors.

When we combine these several notices, we find that every seventh year the land was to have rest to *enjoy her Sabbaths*. Neither tillage nor cultivation of any sort was to be practised. The spontaneous growth of the soil was not to be reaped by the owner, whose rights of property were in abeyance. All were to have their share in the gleanings: the poor, the stranger, and even the cattle.

This singular institution has the aspect, at first sight, of total impracticability. This, however, wears off when we consider that in no year was the owner allowed to reap the whole harvest (Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22). Unless, therefore, the remainder was gleaned very carefully, there may easily have been enough left to ensure such spontaneous deposit of seed as in the fertile soil of Syria would produce some amount of crop in the succeeding year, while the vines and olives would of course yield their fruit of themselves. Moreover, it is clear that the owners of land were to lay by corn in previous years for their own and their families' wants. This is the unavoidable inference from Lev. xxv. 20-22. And though the right of property was in abeyance during the Sabbatical year, it has been suggested that this only applied to the fields, and not to the gardens attached to houses.

The claiming of debts was unlawful during this year, as we learn from Deut. xv. The exceptions laid down are in the case of a foreigner, and that of there being no poor in the land. This latter, however, it is straightway said, is what will never happen. But though debts might not be claimed, it is not said that they might not be voluntarily

paid; and it has been questioned whether the release of the seventh year was final or merely lasted through the year. This law was virtually abrogated in later times by the well-known *prosbol* of the great Hillel, a permission to the judges to allow a creditor to enforce his claim whenever he required to do so. The formula is given in the Mishna (*Sheviith*, 10, 4).

The release of debtors during the Sabbatical year must not be confounded with the release of slaves on the seventh year of their service. The two are obviously distinct—the one occurring at one fixed time for all, while the other must have varied with various families, and with various slaves.

The spirit of this law is the same as that of the weekly Sabbath. Both have a beneficent tendency, limiting the rights and checking the sense of property; the one puts in God's claims on time, the other on the land. The land shall "keep a Sabbath unto the Lord." "The land is mine."

There may also have been, as Kalisch conjectures, an eye to the benefit which would accrue to the land from lying fallow every seventh year, in a time when the rotation of crops was unknown.

The Sabbatical year opened in the Sabbatical month, and the whole Law was to be read every such year, during the Feast of Tabernacles, to the assembled people. It was thus, like the weekly Sabbath, no mere negative rest, but was to be marked by high and holy occupation, and connected with sacred reflection and sentiment.

At the completion of a week of Sabbatical years, the Sabbatical scale received its completion in the year of Jubilee. For the question whether that was identical with the seventh Sabbatical year, or was that which succeeded it, *i. e.* whether the year of Jubilee fell every forty-ninth or every fiftieth year, see JUBILEE, YEAR OF.

The next question that presents itself regarding the Sabbatical year relates to the time when its observance became obligatory. It has been inferred from Leviticus xxv. 2, "When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a Sabbath unto the Lord," that it was to be held by the people on the first year of their occupation of Canaan; but this mere literalism gives a result in contradiction to the words which immediately follow: "Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof; but in the seventh year shall be a Sabbath of rest unto the land." It is more reasonable to suppose, with the best Jewish authorities, that the law became obligatory fourteen years after the first entrance into the Promised Land, the conquest of which took seven years and the distribution seven more.

A further question arises. At whatever period the obedience to this law ought to have commenced, was it in point of fact obeyed? This is an inquiry which reaches to more of the Mosaic statutes than the one now before us. It is, we apprehend, rare to see the whole of a code in full operation; and the phenomena of Jewish history previous to the Captivity present us with no such spectacle. In the threatenings contained in Lev. xxvi., judgments on the violation of the Sabbatical year are particularly contemplated (vers. 33, 34); and that it was greatly if not quite neglected appears from 2 Chron.

^a פרוסבול = probably προβουλή or προσβολή. For this and other curious speculations on the etymology of the word see Buxtorf. *! ex. Talmud*. 1807

xxvi. 20, 21: "Them that escaped from the sword carried he away to Babylon; where they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia: to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths; for as long as she lay desolate she kept Sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years." Some of the Jewish commentators have inferred from this that their forefathers had neglected exactly seventy Sabbatical years. If such neglect was continuous, the law must have been disobeyed throughout a period of 490 years, *i. e.* through nearly the whole duration of the monarchy; and as there is nothing in the previous history leading to the inference that the people were more scrupulous then, we must look to the return from captivity for indications of the Sabbatical year being actually observed. Then we know the former neglect was replaced by a punctilious attention to the Law; and as its leading feature, the Sabbath, began to be scrupulously revered, so we now find traces of a like observance of the Sabbatical year. We read (1 Macc. vi. 49) that "they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, it being a year of rest to the land." Alexander the Great is said to have exempted the Jews from tribute during it, since it was unlawful for them to sow seed or reap harvest then; so, too, did Julius Caesar (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, §6). Tacitus (*Hist.* lib. v. 2, §4), having mentioned the observance of the Sabbath by the Jews, adds:—"Dein blandienti inertia septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum." And St. Paul, in reproaching the Galatians with their Jewish tendencies, taxes them with observing *years* as well as days and months and times (Gal. iv. 10), from which we must infer that the teachers who communicated to them those tendencies did more or less the like themselves. Another allusion in the N. T. to the Sabbatical year is perhaps to be found in the phrase, ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ (Luke vi. 1). Various explanations have been given of the term, but one of the most probable is that it denotes the first Sabbath of the second year in the cycle (Wieseler, quoted by Alford, vol. i.). [F. G.]

SABBE'US (Σαββαίος; Alex. Σαββαίος: *Sabbaius*), 1 Esdr. ix. 32. [SHEMAIAH, 14.]

SABE'ANS. [SHEBA.]

SA'BI (Σαβίην; Alex. Σαβίη: *Sabathen*). "The children of Pochereth of Zebaim" appear in 1 Esdr. v. 34 at "the sons of Phacareth, the sons of Sabi."

SAB'TAH (סַבְתָּה, in 21 MSS. שַׁבְתָּה, Gen. i. 7; סַבְתָּה, 1 Chr. i. 9, A. V. SABTA: Σαβατθά: *Sabatha*). The third in order of the sons of Cush. In accordance with the identifications of the settlements of the Cushites in the article ARABIA and elsewhere, Sabtah should be looked for along the southern coast of Arabia. The writer has found no traces in Arab writers; but the statements of Pliny (vi. 32, §155, xii. 32), Ptolemy (vi. 7, p. 411), and Anon. *Peripl.* (27), respecting Sabbatha, Sabota, or Sabotale, metropolis of the Atramitae (probably the Chatramotitae), seem to point to a trace of the tribe which descended from Sabtah, always supposing that this city Sabbatha was not a corruption or dialectic variation of Saba, Seba, or Sheba. This point will be discussed under SHEBA. It is only necessary to remark here that the indications afforded by the Greek and Roman writers of Arabian geography require very cautious handling, pre-

senting, as they do, a mass of contradictions and transparent travellers' tales respecting the unknown regions of Arabia the Happy, Arabia Thurifera, &c. Ptolemy places Sabbatha in 77° long. 16° 30' lat. It was an important city, containing no less than sixty temples (Pliny, *N. H.* vi. c. xxiii. §32); it was also situate in the territory of king Elisarus, or Eleazus (comp. *Anon. Peripl.* ap. Müller, *Geog. Min.* 278-9), supposed by Fresnel to be identical with "Ascharides," or "Alascharissoun," in Arabia (*Journ. Asiat. Nouv. Série*, x. 191). Winer thinks the identification of Sabtah with Sabbatha, &c., to be probable; and it is accepted by Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, Gen. x. and *Atlas*). It certainly occupies a position in which we should expect to find traces of Sabtah, where are traces of Cushite tribes in very early times, on their way, as we hold, from their earlier colonies in Ethiopia to the Euphrates.

Gesenius, who sees in Cush only Ethiopia, "has no doubt that Sabtah should be compared with Σαβάρ, Σαβά, Σαβαί (see Strab. xvi. p. 770, Casaub.; Ptol. iv. 10), on the shore of the Arabian Gulf, situated just where Arkiko is now, in the neighbourhood of which the Ptolemies hunted elephants. Amongst the ancient translators, Pseudojonathan saw the true meaning, rendering it סַמְרָא, for which read סַמְרָא, *i. e.* the Sembritae, whom Strabo (*loc. cit.* p. 786) places in the same region. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §1) understands it to be the inhabitants of Astabora" (Gesenius, ed. Tregelles, s. v.). Here the etymology of Sabtah is compared plausibly with Σαβάρ; but when probability is against his being found in Ethiopia, etymology is of small value, especially when it is remembered that Sabat and its variations (Sabax, Sabai) may be related to *Seba*, which certainly was in Ethiopia. On the Rabbinical authorities which he quotes we place no value. It only remains to add that Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 1712) removes Sabtah to Ceuta opposite Gibraltar, called in Arabic

Sebtah, سبتة (comp. Marásid, s. v.); and that Bochart (*Phaleg*, i. 114, 115, 252, *seqq.*), while he mentions Sabbatha, prefers to place Sabtah near the western shore of the Persian Gulf, with the Saphtha of Ptolemy, the name also of an island in that gulf. [E. S. P.]

SAB'TECHA, and SAB'TECHA (סַבְתָּחָה: Σαβαθακά, Σεβεθαχά: *Sabatacha, Sabathacha*, Gen. x. 7, 1 Chr. i. 9). The fifth in order of the sons of Cush, whose settlements would probably be near the Persian Gulf, where are those of Raamah, the next before him in the order of the Cushites. [RAAMAH, DEDAN, SHEBA.] He has not been identified with any Arabic place or district, nor satisfactorily with any name given by classical writers. Bochart (who is followed by Bunsen, *Bibelo.*, Gen. x. and *Atlas*) argues that he should be placed in Carmania, on the Persian shore of the gulf, comparing Sabtechah with the city of Samydace of Steph. Byz (*Σαμυδάκη* or *Σαμυκάδη* of Ptol. vi. 8, 7). This etymology appears to be very far-fetched. Gesenius merely says that Sabtechah is the proper name of a district of Ethiopia, and adds the reading of the Targ. Pseudojonathan (סַבְתָּחַי, *Zingitani*). [E. S. P.]

SA'CAR (שַׁכָּר: 'Αχάρ; Alex. Σαχάρ: *Sachar*).

1. A Hararite, father of Ahiam, one of David's mighty men (1 Chr. xi. 35). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 33 he is called SHARAB, but Kennicott regards Sa'ar as the correct reading.

2. (Σαχάρ.) The fourth son of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xxvi. 4).

SACKBUT (סַבְבֹּת, Dan. iii. 5; שַׁבְבֹּת, Dan. iii. 7, 10, 15: σαμβύκη: *sambuca*). The rendering in the A. V. of the Chaldee *sabbēcā*. If this musical instrument be the same as the Greek *σαμβύκη* and Latin *sambuca*,^a the English translation is entirely wrong. The sackbut was a wind-instrument; the *sambuca* was played with strings. Mr. Chappell says (*Pop. Mus.* i. 35), "The sackbut was a bass trumpet with a slide, like the modern trombone." It had a deep note according to Drayton (*Polyolbion*, iv. 365):

"The hoboy, sagbut deep, recorder, and the flute."

The *sambuca* was a triangular instrument with four or more strings played with the fingers. According to Athenaeus (xiv. 633), Masurius described it as having a shrill tone; and Euphorion, in his book on the Isthmian Games, said that it was used by the Parthians and Troglodytes, and had four strings. Its invention is attributed to one Sambyx, and to Sibylla its first use (Athen. xiv. 637). Juba, in the 4th book of his *Theatrical History*, says it was discovered in Syria, but Neanthes of Cyzicum, in the first book of the *Hours*, assigns it to the poet Ibycus of Rhegium (Athen. iv. 77). This last tradition is followed by Suidas, who describes the *sambuca* as a kind of triangular harp. That it was a foreign instrument is clear from the statement of Strabo (x. 471), who says its name is barbarous. Isidore of Seville (*Orig.* iii. 20) appears to regard it as a wind instrument, for he connects it with the *sambucus*, or elder, a kind of light wood of which pipes were made.

The *sambuca* was early known at Rome, for Plautus (*Stich.* ii. 2, 57) mentions the women who played it (*sambucæ*, or *sambucistriae*, as they are called in Livy, xxxix. 6). It was a favourite among the Greeks (Polyb. v. 37), and the Rhodian women appear to have been celebrated for their skill on this instrument (Athen. iv. 129).

There was an engine called *sambuca* used in siege operations, which derived its name from the musical instrument, because, according to Athenaeus (xiv. 634), when raised it had the form of a ship and a ladder combined in one. [W. A. W.]

SACKCLOTH (שַׂק: σάκκος: *saccus*). A coarse texture, of a dark colour, made of goats' hair (Is. l. 3; Rev. vi. 12), and resembling the *cilicium* of the Romans. It was used (1.) for making sacks, the same word describing both the material and the article (Gen. xlii. 25; Lev. xi. 32; Josh. ix. 4); and (2.) for making the rough garments used by mourners, which were in extreme cases worn next the skin (1 K. xxi. 27; 2 K. vi. 30; Job xvi. 15; Is. xxxii. 11), and this even by females (Joel i. 8; 2 Macc. iii. 19), but at other times were worn over the coat or *cethoneth* (Jon. iii. 6) in lieu of the outer garment. The robe probably resembled a sack in shape, and fitted close to the person, as we may infer from the application of the term *châgar*^b to the process of putting it on (2 Sam. iii. 31; Ez. vii. 18, &c.). It was confined by a girdle of similar material (Is. iii. 24). Sometimes it was worn throughout the night (1 K. xxi. 27). [W. L. B.]

^a Compare *ambubaia*, from Syr. אַבְבַּיָּא, *abbûbâ*, a flute, where the *m* occupies the place of the dagesh.

^b חָגַר.

SACRIFICE. The peculiar features of each kind of sacrifice are referred to under their respective heads; the object of this article will be:—

I. To examine the meaning and derivation of the various words used to denote sacrifice in Scripture.

II. To examine the historical development of sacrifice in the Old Testament.

III. To sketch briefly the theory of sacrifice, as it is set forth both in the Old and New Testaments, with especial reference to the Atonement of Christ.

I. Of all the words used in reference to sacrifice, the most general appear to be—

(a.) מִנְחָה, *minchah*, from the obsolete root מָנַח, "to give;" used in Gen. xxxii. 13, 20, 21, of a gift from Jacob to Esau (LXX. δῶρον); in 1 Sam. viii. 2, 6 (ξένια), in 1 K. iv. 21 (δῶρα), in 2 K. xvii. 4 (μαναά), of a tribute from a vassal king; in Gen. iv. 3, 5, of a sacrifice generally (δῶρον and θυσία, indifferently); and in Lev. ii. 1, 4, 5, 6, joined with the word *korban*, of an unbloody sacrifice, or "meat-offering" (generally δῶρον θυσία). Its derivation and usage point to that idea of sacrifice, which represents it as an Eucharistic gift to God our King.

(b.) קָרְבָּן, *korban*, derived from the root קָרַב, "to approach," or (in Hiphil) to "make to approach;" used with *minchah* in Lev. ii. 1, 4, 5, 6, (LXX. δῶρον θυσία), generally rendered δῶρον (see Mark vii. 11, κορβᾶν, ὃ ἐστὶ δῶρον) or προσφορά. The idea of a gift hardly seems inherent in the root; which rather points to sacrifice, as a symbol of communion or covenant between God and man.

(c.) זֶבַח, *zebach*, derived from the root זָבַח, to "slaughter animals," especially to "slay in sacrifice," refers emphatically to a bloody sacrifice, one in which the shedding of blood is the essential idea. Thus it is opposed to *minchah*, in Ps. xl. 6 (θυσίαν καὶ προσφοράν), and to *olah* (the whole burnt-offering) in Ex. x. 25, xviii. 12, &c. With it the expiatory idea of sacrifice is naturally connected.

Distinct from these general terms, and often appended to them, are the words denoting special kinds of sacrifice:—

(d.) עֹלָה, *olah* (generally ὄλοκαύτωμα), the "whole burnt-offering."

(e.) שְׁלֵמִים, *shelem* (θυσία σωτηρίου), used frequently with זֶבַח, and sometimes called קָרְבָּן, the "peace-" or "thank-offering."

(f.) חַטָּאת, *chattâth* (generally περὶ ἁμαρτίας), the "sin-offering."

(g.) עֲשָׂת, *âshâm* (generally πλημμελεῖα), the "trespass-offering."

For the examination of the derivation and meaning of these, see each under its own head.

II. (A.) ORIGIN OF SACRIFICE.

In tracing the history of sacrifice, from its first beginning to its perfect development in the Mosiac ritual, we are at once met by the long-disputed question, as to the *origin of sacrifice*; whether it arose from a natural instinct of man, sanctioned and guided by God, or whether it was the subject of some distinct primeval revelation.

It is a question, the importance of which has probably been exaggerated. There can be no doubt

that sacrifice was sanctioned by God's Law, with a special typical reference to the Atonement of Christ; its universal prevalence, independent of, and often opposed to, man's natural reasonings on his relation to God, shows it to have been primeval, and deeply rooted in the instincts of humanity. Whether it was first enjoined by an external command, or whether it was based on that sense of sin and lost communion with God, which is stamped by His hand on the heart of man—is a historical question, perhaps insoluble, probably one which cannot be treated at all, except in connexion with some general theory of the method of primeval revelation, but certainly one, which does not affect the authority and the meaning of the rite itself.

The great difficulty in the theory, which refers it to a distinct command of God, is the total silence of Holy Scripture—a silence the more remarkable, when contrasted with the distinct reference made in Gen. ii. to the origin of the Sabbath. Sacrifice when first mentioned, in the case of Cain and Abel, is referred to as a thing of course; it is said to have been brought by men; there is no hint of any command given by God. This consideration, the strength of which no ingenuity* has been able to impair, although it does not actually disprove the formal revelation of sacrifice, yet at least forbids the assertion of it, as of a positive and important doctrine.

Nor is the fact of the mysterious and supernatural character of the doctrine of Atonement, with which the sacrifices of the O. T. are expressly connected, any conclusive argument on this side of the question. All allow that the eucharistic and deprecatory ideas of sacrifice are perfectly natural to man. The higher view of its expiatory character, dependent, as it is, entirely on its typical nature, appears but gradually in Scripture. It is veiled under other ideas in the case of the patriarchal sacrifices. It is first distinctly mentioned in the Law (Lev. xvii. 11, &c.); but even then the theory of the sin-offering, and of the classes of sins to which it referred, is allowed to be obscure and difficult; it is only in the N. T. (especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews) that its nature is clearly unfolded. It is as likely that it pleased God gradually to superadd the higher idea to an institution, derived by man from the lower ideas (which must eventually find their justification in the higher), as that He originally commanded the institution when the time for the revelation of its full meaning was not yet come. The rainbow was just as truly the symbol of God's new promise in Gen. ix. 13-17, whether it had or had not existed, as a natural phenomenon before the Flood. What God sets His seal to, He makes a part of His revelation, whatever its origin may be. It is to be noticed (see Warburton's *Div. Leg.* ix. c. 2) that, except in Gen. xv. 9, the method of patriarchal sacrifice is left free, without any direction on the part of God, while in all the Mosaic ritual the limitation and regulation of sacrifice, as to time, place, and material, is a most prominent feature, on which much of its distinction from heathen sacrifice depended. The inference is

at least probable, that when God sanctioned formally a natural rite, then, and not till then, did He define its method.

The question, therefore, of the origin of sacrifice is best left in the silence, with which Scripture surrounds it.

(B.) ANTE-MOSAIC HISTORY OF SACRIFICE.

In examining the various sacrifices, recorded in Scripture before the establishment of the Law, we find that the words specially denoting expiatory sacrifice (תָּנַחַח and זָבַח) are not applied to them. This fact does not at all show, that they were not actually expiatory, nor even that the offerers had not that idea of expiation, which must have been vaguely felt in all sacrifices; but it justifies the inference, that this idea was not then the prominent one in the doctrine of sacrifice.

The sacrifice of Cain and Abel is called *minchah*, although in the case of the latter it was a bloody sacrifice. (So in Heb. xi. 4 the word *θυσία* is explained by the *τοῖς δώροις* below.) In the case of both it would appear to have been eucharistic, and the distinction between the offerers to have lain in their "faith" (Heb. xi. 4). Whether that faith of Abel referred to the promise of the Redeemer, and was connected with any idea of the typical meaning of sacrifice, or whether it was a simple and humble faith in the unseen God, as the giver and promiser of all good, we are not authorised by Scripture to decide.

The sacrifice of Noah after the Flood (Gen. viii. 20) is called burnt-offering (*ólah*). This sacrifice is expressly connected with the institution of the *Covenant* which follows in ix. 8-17. The same ratification of a covenant is seen in the defined offering of Abraham, especially enjoined and burnt-by God in Gen. xv. 9; and is probably to be traced in the "building of altars" by Abraham on entering Canaan at Bethel (Gen. xii. 7, 8) and Mamre (xiii. 18), by Isaac at Beersheba (xxvi. 25), and by Jacob at Shechem (xxxiii. 20), and in Jacob's setting up and anointing of the pillar at Bethel (xxviii. 18, xxxv. 14). The sacrifice (*zebach*) of Jacob at Mizpah also marks a covenant with Laban, to which God is called to be a witness and a party. In all these, therefore, the prominent idea seems to have been what is called the *federative*, the recognition of a bond between the sacrificer and God, and the dedication of himself, as represented by the victim, to the service of the Lord.

The sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. xxii. 1-13) stands by itself, as the sole instance in which the idea of human sacrifice was even for a moment, and as a trial, countenanced by God. Yet in its principle it appears to have been of the same nature as before: the voluntary surrender of an only son on Abraham's part, and the willing dedication of himself on Isaac's, are in the foreground; the expiatory idea, if recognised at all, holds certainly a secondary position.

In the burnt-offerings of Job for his children (Job i. 5) and for his three friends (xlii. 8), we, for the first time, find the expression of the desire

actually a male), still it does not settle the matter. The Lord even then speaks of sacrifice as existing, and as known to exist: He does not institute it. The supposition that the "skins of beasts" in Gen. iii. 21 were skins of animals sacrificed by God's command is a pure assumption. The argument on Heb. xi. 4, that faith can rest only on a distinct Divine command as to the special occasion of its exercise, is contradicted by the general definition of it given in v. 1.

* See, for example (as in Faber's *Origin of Sacrifice*), the elaborate reasoning on the translation of תָּנַחַח in Gen. iv. 7. Even supposing the version, a "sin-offering coucheth at the door" to be correct, on the ground of general usage of the word, of the curious version of the LXX., and of the remarkable grammatical construction of the masculine participle, with the feminine noun (as referring to the fact that the sin-offering was

of expiation for sin, accompanied by repentance and prayer, and brought prominently forward. The same is the case in the words of Moses to Pharaoh, as to the necessity of sacrifice in the wilderness (Ex. x. 25), where sacrifice (*zebach*) is distinguished from burnt-offering. Here the main idea is at least deprecatory; the object is to appease the wrath, and avert the vengeance of God.

(C.) THE SACRIFICES OF THE MOSAIC PERIOD.

These are inaugurated by the offering of the PASSOVER and the sacrifice of Ex. xxiv. The Passover indeed is unique in its character, and seems to embrace the peculiarities of all the various divisions of sacrifice soon to be established. Its ceremonial, however, most nearly resembles that of the sin-offering in the emphatic use of the blood, which (after the first celebration) was poured at the bottom of the altar (see Lev. iv. 7), and in the care taken that none of the flesh should remain till the morning (see Ex. xii. 10, xxxiv. 25). It was unlike it in that the flesh was to be eaten by all (not burnt, or eaten by the priests alone), in token of their entering into covenant with God, and eating "at His table," as in the case of a peace-offering. Its peculiar position as a historical memorial, and its special reference to the future, naturally mark it out as incapable of being referred to any formal class of sacrifice; but it is clear that the idea of salvation from death by means of sacrifice is brought out in it with a distinctness before unknown.

The sacrifice of Ex. xxiv., offered as a solemn inauguration of the Covenant of Sinai, has a similarly comprehensive character. It is called a "burnt-offering" and "peace-offering" in v. 5; but the solemn use of the blood (comp. Heb. ix. 18-22) distinctly marks the idea that expiatory sacrifice was needed for entering into covenant with God, the idea of which the sin- and trespass-offerings were afterwards the symbols.

The Law of Leviticus now unfolds distinctly the various forms of sacrifice:—

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| (a.) <i>The burnt-offering.</i> | SELF-DEDICATORY. |
| (b.) <i>The meat-offering (unbloody)</i> | } EUCHARISTIC. |
| <i>The peace-offering (bloody)</i> | |
| (c.) <i>The sin-offering</i> | } EXPIATORY. |
| <i>The trespass-offering</i> | |

To these may be added,—

(d.) *The incense* offered after sacrifice in the Holy Place, and (on the Day of Atonement) in the Holy of Holies, the symbol of the intercession of the priest (as a type of the Great High Priest), accompanying and making efficacious the prayer of the people.

In the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Lev. viii.) we find these offered, in what became ever afterwards the appointed order: first came the sin-offering, to prepare access to God; next the burnt-offering, to mark their dedication to His service; and thirdly the meat-offering of thanksgiving. The same sacrifices, in the same order, with the addition of a peace-offering (eaten no doubt by all the people), were offered a week after for all the congregation, and accepted visibly by the descent of fire upon the burnt-offering. Henceforth the sacrificial system was fixed in all its parts, until He should come whom it typified.

It is to be noticed that the Law of Leviticus

^b For instances of infringement of this rule uncensured, see Judg. ii. 5, vi. 26, xiii. 19; 1 Sam. xi. 15, xvi. 5; 2 Sam. vi. 13; 1 K. iii. 2, 3. Most of these cases are special,

takes the rite of sacrifice for granted (see Lev. i. 2, ii. 1, &c., "If a man bring an offering, ye shall, &c."), and is directed chiefly to guide and limit the exercise. In every case but that of the peace-offering, the nature of the victim was carefully prescribed, so as to preserve the ideas symbolized, but so as to avoid the notion (so inherent in heathen systems, and finding its logical result in human sacrifice) that the more costly the offering the more surely must it meet with acceptance. At the same time, probably in order to impress this truth on their minds, and also to guard against corruption by heathenish ceremonial, and against the notion that sacrifice in itself, without obedi-ence, could avail (see 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23), the place of offering was expressly limited, first to the Tabernacle,^b afterwards to the Temple. This ordinance also necessitated their periodical gathering as one nation before God, and so kept clearly before their minds their relation to Him as their national King. Both limitations brought out the great truth, that God Himself provided the way by which man should approach Him, and that the method of reconciliation was initiated by Him, and not by them.

In consequence of the peculiarity of the Law, it has been argued (as by Outram, Warburton, &c.) that the whole system of sacrifice was only a condescension to the weakness of the people, borrowed more or less, from the heathen nations, especially from Egypt, in order to guard against worse superstition and positive idolatry. The argument is mainly based (see Warb. *Div. Leg.* iv., sect. vi. 2) on Ez. xx. 25, and similar references in the O. and N. T. to the nullity of all mere ceremonial. Taken as an explanation of the theory of sacrifice, it is weak and superficial; it labours under two fatal difficulties, the historical fact of the primeval existence of sacrifice, and its typical reference to the one Atonement of Christ, which was foreordained from the very beginning, and had been already typified, as for example, in the sacrifice of Isaac. But as giving a reason for the minuteness and elaboration of the Mosaic ceremonial, so remarkably contrasted with the freedom of patriarchal sacrifice, and as furnishing an explanation of certain special rites, it may probably have some value. It certainly contains this truth, that the craving for visible tokens of God's presence, and visible rites of worship, from which idolatry proceeds, was provided for and turned into a safe channel, by the whole ritual and typical system, of which sacrifice was the centre. The contact with the gigantic system of idolatry, which prevailed in Egypt, and which had so deeply tainted the spirit of the Israelites, would doubtless render such provision then especially necessary. It was one part of the prophetic office to guard against its degradation into formalism, and to bring out its spiritual meaning with an ever-increasing clearness.

(D.) POST-MOSAIC SACRIFICES.

It will not be necessary to pursue, in detail, the history of Post-Mosaic Sacrifice, for its main principles were now fixed for ever. The most remarkable instances of sacrifice on a large scale are by Solomon at the consecration of the Temple (1 K. viii. 63), by Jehoiada after the death of Athaliah (2 Chr. xxiii. 18), and by Hezekiah at his great Passover and restoration of the Temple-worship

some authorized by special command; but the Law probably did not attain to its full strictness till the foundation of the Temple.

2 Chr. xxx. 21-24). In each case, the lavish use of victims was chiefly in the peace-offerings, which were a sacred national feast to the people at the Table of their Great King.

The regular sacrifices in the Temple service were:—

(a.) BURNT-OFFERINGS.

1. The daily burnt-offerings (Ex. xxix. 38-42).
2. The double burnt-offerings on the Sabbath (Num. xxviii. 9, 10).
3. The burnt-offerings at the great festivals (Num. xxviii. 11-xxix. 39).

(b.) MEAT-OFFERINGS.

1. The daily meat-offerings accompanying the daily burnt-offerings (flour, oil, and wine) (Ex. xxix. 40, 41).
2. The shew-bread (twelve loaves with frankincense), renewed every Sabbath (Lev. xxiv. 5-9).
3. The special meat-offerings at the Sabbath and the great festivals (Num. xxviii., xxix.).
4. The first-fruits, at the Passover (Lev. xxiii. 10-14), at Pentecost (xxiii. 17-20), both "wave-offerings;" the first-fruits of the dough and threshing-floor at the harvest-time (Num. xv. 20, 21; Deut. xvi. 1-11), called "heave-offerings."

(c.) SIN-OFFERINGS.

1. Sin-offering (a kid) each new moon (Num. xxviii. 15).
2. Sin-offerings at the Passover, Pentecost, Feast of Trumpets, and Tabernacles (Num. xxviii. 22, 30, xxix. 5, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38).
3. The offering of the two goats (the goat sacrificed, and the scape-goat) for the people, and of the bullock for the priest himself, on the Great Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi.).

(d.) INCENSE.

1. The morning and evening incense (Ex. xxx. 7-8).
2. The incense on the Great Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 12).

Besides these public sacrifices, there were offerings of the people for themselves individually; at the purification of women (Lev. xii.), the presentation of the first-born, and circumcision of all male children, the cleansing of the leprosy (Lev. xiv.) or any uncleanness (Lev. xv.), at the fulfilment of Nazaritic and other vows (Num. vi. 1-21), on occasions of marriage and of burial, &c., &c., besides the frequent offering of private sin-offerings. These must have kept up a constant succession of sacrifices every day; and brought the rite home to every man's thought, and to every occasion of human life.

(III.) In examining the doctrine of sacrifice, it is necessary to remember, that, in its development, the order of idea is not necessarily the same as the order of time. By the order of sacrifice in its perfect form (as in Lev. viii.) it is clear that the sin-offering occupies the most important place, the burnt-offering comes next, and the meat-offering or peace-offering last of all. The second could only be offered, after the first had been accepted; the third was only a subsidiary part of the second. Yet, in actual order of time, it has been seen, that the patriarchal sacrifices partook much more of the nature of the peace-offering and burnt-offering; and that, under the Law, by which was "the know-

ledge of sin" (Rom. iii. 20) the sin-offering was for the first time explicitly set forth. This is but natural, that the deepest ideas should be the last in order of development.

It is also obvious, that those, who believe in the unity of the O. and N. T., and the typical nature of the Mosaic Covenant, must view the type in constant reference to the antitype, and be prepared therefore to find in the former vague and recondite meanings, which are fixed and manifested by the latter. The sacrifices must be considered, not merely as they stand in the Law, or even as they might have appeared to a pious Israelite; but as they were illustrated by the Prophets, and perfectly interpreted in the N. T. (e. g. in the Epistle to the Hebrews). It follows from this, that, as belonging to a system which was to embrace all mankind in its influence, they should be also compared and contrasted with the sacrifices and worship of God in other nations, and the ideas which in them were dimly and confusedly expressed.

It is needless to dwell on the universality of heathen sacrifices,* and difficult to reduce to any single theory the various ideas involved therein. It is clear, that the sacrifice was often looked upon as a gift or tribute to the gods: an idea which (for example) runs through all Greek literature, from the simple conception in Homer to the caricatures of Aristophanes or Lucian, against the perversion of which St. Paul protested at Athens, when he declared that God *needed* nothing at human hands (Acts xvii. 25). It is also clear that sacrifices were used as prayers, to obtain benefits, or to avert wrath; and that this idea was corrupted into the superstition, denounced by heathen satirists as well as by Hebrew prophets, that by them the gods' favour could be purchased for the wicked, or their "envy" be averted from the prosperous. On the other hand, that they were regarded as thank-offerings, and the feasting on their flesh as a partaking of the "table of the gods" (comp. 1 Cor. x. 20, 21), is equally certain. Nor was the higher idea of sacrifice, as a representation of the self-devotion of the offerer, body and soul, to the god, wholly lost, although generally obscured by the grosser and more obvious conceptions of the rite. But, besides all these, there seems always to have been latent the idea of propitiation, that is, the belief in a communion with the gods, natural to man, broken off in some way, and by sacrifice to be restored. The emphatic "shedding of the blood," as the essential part of the sacrifice, while the flesh was often eaten by the priests or the sacrificer, is not capable of any full explanation by any of the ideas above referred to. Whether it represented the death of the sacrificer, or (as in cases of national offering of human victims, and of those self-devoted for their country) an atoning death for him; still, in either case, it contained the idea that "without shedding of blood is no remission," and so had a vague and distorted glimpse of the great central truth of Revelation. Such an idea may be (as has been argued) "unnatural," in that it could not be explained by natural reason; but it certainly was not unnatural, if frequency of existence, and accordance with a deep natural instinct be allowed to preclude that epithet.

Now the essential difference between these heathen views of sacrifice and the Scriptural doctrine of the O. T. is not to be found in its denial of any of

* see Magee's *Diss. on Sacr.*, vol. 1. diss. v., and Ernst and Lessault's *Treatise on Greek and Roman Sacrifice*,

quoted in notes 23, 26, to Thomson's *Bampton Lectures*, 1853.

these ideas. The very names used in it for sacrifice (as is seen above) involve the conception of the rite as a gift, a form of worship, a thank-offering, a self-devotion, and an atonement. In fact, it brings out, clearly and distinctly, the ideas which in heathenism were uncertain, vague, and perverted.

But the essential points of distinction are two. First, that whereas the heathen conceived of their gods as alienated in jealousy or anger, to be sought after, and to be appeased by the unaided action of man, Scripture represents God Himself as approaching man, as pointing out and sanctioning the way by which the broken covenant should be restored. This was impressed on the Israelites at every step by the minute directions of the Law, as to time, place, victim, and ceremonial, by its utterly discountenancing the "will-worship," which in heathenism found full scope, and rioted in the invention of costly or monstrous sacrifices. And it is especially to be noted, that this particularity is increased, as we approach nearer to the deep propitiatory idea; for that, whereas the patriarchal sacrifices generally seem to have been undefined by God, and even under the Law, the nature of the peace-offerings, and (to some extent) the burnt-offerings, was determined by the sacrificer only, the solemn sacrifice of Abraham in the inauguration of his covenant was prescribed to him, and the sin-offerings under the Law were most accurately and minutely determined. (See, for example, the whole ceremonial of Lev. xvi.) It is needless to remark, how this essential difference purifies all the ideas above noticed from the corruptions, which made them odious or contemptible, and sets on its true basis the relation between God and fallen man.

The second mark of distinction is closely connected with this, inasmuch as it shows sacrifice to be a scheme proceeding from God, and, in His foreknowledge, connected with the one central fact of all human history. It is to be found in the typical character of all Jewish sacrifices, on which, as the Epistle to the Hebrews argues, all their efficacy depended. It must be remembered that, like other ordinances of the Law, they had a twofold effect, depending on the special position of an Israelite, as a member of the natural Theocracy, and on his general position, as a man in relation with God. On the one hand, for example, the sin-offering was an atonement to the national law for moral offences of negligence, which in "presumptuous," *i. e.* deliberate and wilful crime, was rejected (see Num. xv. 27-31; and comp. Heb. x. 26, 27). On the other hand it had, as the prophetic writings show us, a distinct spiritual significance, as a means of expressing repentance and receiving forgiveness, which could have belonged to it only as a type of the Great Atonement. How far that typical meaning was recognized at different periods and by different persons, it is useless to speculate: but it would be impossible to doubt, even if we had no testimony on the subject, that, in the face of the high spiritual teaching of the Law and the Prophets, a pious Israelite must have felt the nullity of material sacrifice in itself, and so believed it to be availing only as an ordinance of God, shadowing out some great spiritual truth, or action of His. Nor is it

^d Some render this (like *sacer*) "accursed;" but the primitive meaning, "clean," and the usage of the word, seem decisive against this. LXX. *ἀγία* (*vid.* Gesen. s. v.).

^e In Lev. i. 4, it is said to "atone" (*כָּפַר*, *i. e.* to "cover," and so to "do away;" LXX. *ἐξιλάσασθαι*). The

unlikely that, with more or less distinctness, he connected the evolution of this, as of other truths, with the coming of the promised Messiah. But, however this be, we know that, in God's purpose, the whole system was typical, that all its spiritual efficacy depended on the true sacrifice which it represented, and could be received only on condition of Faith, and that, therefore, it passed away when the Antitype was come.

The nature and meaning of the various kinds of sacrifice is partly gathered from the form of their institution and ceremonial, partly from the teaching of the Prophets, and partly from the N. T., especially the Epistle to the Hebrews. All had relation, under different aspects, to a *Covenant* between God and man.

The SIN-OFFERING represented that Covenant as broken by man, and as knit together again, by God's appointment, through the "shedding of blood." Its characteristic ceremony was the sprinkling of the blood before the veil of the Sanctuary, the putting some of it on the horns of the altar of incense, and the pouring out of all the rest at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering. The flesh was in no case touched by the offerer; either it was consumed by fire without the camp, or it was eaten by the priest alone in the holy place, and everything that touched it was holy (*קֹדֶשׁ*).^d This latter point marked the distinction from the peace-offering, and showed that the sacrificer had been rendered unworthy of communion with God. The shedding of the blood, the symbol of life, signified that the death of the offender was deserved for sin, but that the death of the victim was accepted for his death by the ordinance of God's mercy. This is seen most clearly in the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement, when, after the sacrifice of the one goat, the high-priest's hand was laid on the head of the scape-goat—which was the other part of the sin-offering—with confession of the sins of the people, that it might visibly bear them away, and so bring out explicitly, what in other sin-offerings was but implied. Accordingly we find (see quotation from the Mishna in *Outr. De Sacr.* i. c. xv., §10) that, in all cases, it was the custom for the offerer to lay his hand on the head of the sin-offering, to confess generally or specially his sins, and to say, "Let this be my expiation." Beyond all doubt the sin-offering distinctly witnessed, that sin existed in man, that the "wages of that sin was death," and that God had provided an Atonement by the vicarious suffering of an appointed victim. The reference of the Baptist to a "Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world," was one understood and hailed at once by a "true Israelite."

The ceremonial and meaning of the BURNT-OFFERING were very different. The idea of expiation seems not to have been absent from it (for the blood was sprinkled round about the altar of sacrifice);^e and, before the Levitical ordinance of the sin-offering to precede it, this idea may have been even prominent. But in the system of Leviticus it is evidently only secondary. The main idea is the offering of the whole victim to God, representing (as the laying of the hand on its head shows) the

same word is used below of the sin-offering; and the later Jews distinguished the burnt-offering as atoning for thoughts and designs, the sin-offering for acts of transgression. (See *Jonath. Paraphr. on Lev. vi. 17, &c.*, quoted by *Outram*.)

devotion of the sacrificer, body and soul, to Him. The death of the victim was (so to speak) an incidental feature, to signify the completeness of the devotion; and it is to be noticed that, in all solemn sacrifices, no burnt-offering could be made until a previous sin-offering had brought the sacrificer again into covenant with God. The main idea of this sacrifice must have been representative, not vicarious, and the best comment upon it is the exhortation in Rom. xii. 1, "to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God."

The MEAT-OFFERINGS, the peace or thank-offering, the first-fruits, &c., were simply offerings to God of His own best gifts, as a sign of thankful homage, and as a means of maintaining His service and His servants. Whether they were regular or voluntary, individual or national, independent or subsidiary to other offerings, this was still the leading idea. The meat-offering, of flour, oil, and wine, seasoned with salt, and hallowed by frankincense, was usually an appendage to the devotion implied in the burnt-offering; and the peace-offerings for the people held the same place in Aaron's first sacrifice (Lev. ix. 22), and in all others of special solemnity. The characteristic ceremony in the peace-offering was the eating of the flesh by the sacrificer (after the fat had been burnt before the Lord, and the breast and shoulder given to the priests). It betokened the enjoyment of communion with God at "the table of the Lord," in the gifts which His mercy had bestowed, of which a choice portion was offered to Him, to His servants, and to His poor (see Deut. xiv. 28, 29). To this view of sacrifice allusion is made by St. Paul in Phil. iv. 18; Heb. xiii. 15, 16. It follows naturally from the other two.

It is clear from this, that the idea of sacrifice is a complex idea, involving the propitiatory, the dedicatory, and the eucharistic elements. Any one of these, taken by itself, would lead to error and superstition. The propitiatory alone would tend to the idea of atonement by sacrifice for sin, as being effectual without any condition of repentance and faith; the self-dedicatory, taken alone, ignores the barrier of sin between man and God, and undermines the whole idea of atonement; the eucharistic alone leads to the notion that mere gifts can satisfy God's service, and is easily perverted into the heathenish attempt to "bribe" God by vows and offerings. All three probably were more or less implied in each sacrifice, each element predominating in its turn: all must be kept in mind in considering the historical influence, the spiritual meaning, and the typical value of sacrifice.

Now the Israelites, while they seem always to have retained the ideas of propitiation and of eucharistic offering, even when they perverted these by half-heathenish superstition, constantly ignored the self-dedicatory, which is the link between the two, and which the regular burnt-offering should have impressed upon them as their daily thought and duty. It is therefore to this point that the teaching of the Prophets is mainly directed; its key-note is contained in the words of Samuel: "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (1 Sam. xv. 22). So Isaiah declares (as in i. 10-20) that "the Lord delights not in the blood of bullocks, or lambs, or goats;" that to those who "cease to do evil and learn to do well. . . . though their sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow." Jeremiah reminds them (vii. 22, 23) that the Lord did not "command burnt-offerings

or sacr. ~~ses~~ ' under Moses, but said, "Obey my voice, and I will be your God." Ezekiel is full of indignant protests (see xx. 39-44) against the pollution of God's name by offerings of those whose hearts were with their idols. Hosea sets forth God's requirements (vi. 6) in words which our Lord Himself sanctioned: "I desired mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings." Amos (v. 21-27) puts it even more strongly, that God "hates" their sacrifices, unless "judgment run down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream." And Micah (vi. 6-8) answers the question which lies at the root of sacrifice, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord?" by the words, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?" All these passages, and many others, are directed to one object—not to discourage sacrifice, but to purify and spiritualize the feelings of the offerers.

The same truth, here enunciated from without, is recognized from within by the Psalmist. Thus he says, in Ps. xl. 8-11, "Sacrifice and meat-offering, burnt-offering and sin-offering, Thou hast not required;" and contrasts with them the homage of the heart—"mine ears hast Thou bored," and the active service of life—"Lo! I come to do Thy will, O God." In Ps. l. 13, 14, sacrifice is contrasted with prayer and adoration (comp. Ps. cxli. 2): "Thinkest thou that I will eat bulls' flesh, and drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving, pay thy vows to the Most Highest, and call upon me in time of trouble." In Ps. li. 16, 17, it is similarly contrasted with true repentance of the heart: "The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit, a broken and a contrite heart." Yet here also the next verse shows that sacrifice was not superseded, but purified: "Then shalt thou be pleased with burnt-offerings and oblations; then shall they offer young bullocks upon thine altar." These passages are correlative to the others, expressing the feelings, which those others in God's Name require. It is not to be argued from them, that this idea of self-dedication is the main one of sacrifice. The idea of propitiation lies below it, taken for granted by the Prophets as by the whole people, but still enveloped in mystery until the Antitype should come to make all clear. For the evolution of this doctrine we must look to the N. T.; the preparation for it by the Prophets was (so to speak) negative, the pointing out the nullity of all other propitiations in themselves, and then leaving the warnings of the conscience and the cravings of the heart to fix men's hearts on the better Atonement to come.

Without entering directly on the great subject of the Atonement (which would be foreign to the scope of this article), it will be sufficient to refer to the connexion, established in the N. T., between it and the sacrifices of the Mosaic system. To do this, we need do little more than analyse the Epistle to the Hebrews, which contains the key of the whole sacrificial doctrine.

In the first place, it follows the prophetic books by stating, in the most emphatic terms, the intrinsic nullity of all mere material sacrifices. The "gifts and sacrifices" of the first tabernacle could "never make the sacrificers perfect in conscience" (*κατὰ συνείδησιν*); they were but "carnal ordinances, imposed on them till the time of reformation" (*διορθώσεως*) (Heb. ix. 9, 10). The very fact of their constant repetition is said to prove this imperfection,

which depends on the fundamental principle, "that it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin" (x. 4). But it does not lead us to infer, that they actually had no spiritual efficacy, if offered in repentance and faith. On the contrary, the object of the whole Epistle is to show their typical and probationary character, and to assert that in virtue of it alone they had a spiritual meaning. Our Lord is declared (see 1 Pet. i. 20) "to have been foreordained" as a sacrifice "before the foundation of the world;" or (as it is more strikingly expressed in Rev. xiii. 8) "slain from the foundation of the world." The material sacrifices represented this Great Atonement, as already made and accepted in God's foreknowledge; and to those who grasped the ideas of sin, pardon, and self-dedication, symbolized in them, they were means of entering into the blessings which the One True Sacrifice alone procured. Otherwise the whole sacrificial system could have been only a superstition and a snare. The sins provided for by the sin-offering were certainly in some cases moral. [See SIN-OFFERING.] The whole of the Mosaic description of sacrifices clearly implies some real spiritual benefit to be derived from them, besides the temporal privileges belonging to the national theocracy. Just as St. Paul argues (Gal. iii. 15-29) that the Promise and Covenant to Abraham were of primary, the Law only of secondary, importance, so that men had *under* the Law more than they had *by* the Law; so it must be said of the Levitical sacrifices. They could convey nothing in themselves; yet, as types, they might, if accepted by a true, though necessarily imperfect, faith, be means of conveying in some degree the blessings of the Antitype.

This typical character of all sacrifice being thus set forth, the next point dwelt upon is the union in our Lord's Person of the priest, the offerer, and the sacrifice. [PRIEST.] The imperfection of all sacrifices, which made them, in themselves, liable to superstition, and even inexplicable, lies in this, that, on the one hand, the victim seems arbitrarily chosen to be the substitute for, or the representative of, the sacrificer;† and that, on the other, if there be a barrier of sin between man and God, he has no right of approach, or security that his sacrifice will be accepted; that there needs, therefore, to be a Mediator, *i. e.* (according to the definition of Heb. v. 1-4), a true Priest, who shall, as being One with man, offer the sacrifice, and accept it, as being One with God. It is shown that this imperfection, which necessarily existed in all types, without which indeed they would have been substitutes, not preparations for the Antitype, was altogether done away in Him; that in the first place He, as the representative of the whole human race, offered no arbitrarily-chosen victim, but the willing sacrifice of His own blood; that, in the second, He was ordained by God, by a solemn oath, to be a high-priest for ever, "after the order of Melchizedek," one "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin," united to our human nature, susceptible to its infirmities and trials, yet, at the same time, the True Son of God, exalted far above all created things, and ever living to make intercession in heaven, now that His sacrifice is over, and that, in the last place, the barrier between man and God is by His mediation done away for ever, and the Most Holy Place once for all opened

† It may be remembered that devices, sometimes ludicrous, sometimes horrible, were adopted to make the

to man. All the points, in the doctrine of sacrifice which had before been unintelligible, were thus made clear.

This being the case, it next follows that all the various kinds of sacrifices were, each in its measure, representatives and types of the various aspects of the Atonement. It is clear that the Atonement, in this Epistle, as in the N. T. generally, is viewed in a twofold light.

On the one hand, it is set forth distinctly as a vicarious sacrifice, which was rendered necessary by the sin of man, and in which the Lord "bare the sins of many." It is its essential characteristic, that in it He stands absolutely alone, offering His sacrifice without any reference to the faith or the conversion of men—offering it indeed for those who "were still sinners" and at enmity with God. Moreover it is called a "propitiation" (*ἱλασμός* or *ἱλαστήριον*, Rom. iii. 24; 1 John ii. 2); a "ransom" (*ἀπολύτρωσις*, Rom. iii. 25; 1 Cor. i. 30, &c.); which, if words mean anything, must imply that it makes a change in the relation between God and man, from separation to union, from wrath to love, and a change in man's state from bondage to freedom. In it, then, He stands out alone as the Mediator between God and man; and His sacrifice is offered once for all, never to be imitated or repeated.

Now this view of the Atonement is set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as typified by the sin-offering; especially by that particular sin-offering with which the high-priest entered the Most Holy Place on the Great Day of Atonement (ix. 7-12); and by that which hallowed the inauguration of the Mosaic covenant, and cleansed the vessels of its ministration (ix. 13-23). In the same way, Christ is called "our Passover, sacrificed for us" (1 Cor. v. 7); and is said, in even more startling language, to have been "made sin for us," though He "knew no sin" (2 Cor. v. 21). This typical relation is pursued even into details, and our Lord's suffering without the city is compared to the burning of the public or priestly sin-offerings without the camp (Heb. xiii. 10-13). The altar of sacrifice (*θυσιαστήριον*) is said to have its antitype in His Passion (xiii. 10). All the expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices of the Law are now for the first time brought into full light. And though the principle of vicarious sacrifice still remains, and must remain, a mystery, yet the fact of its existence in Him is illustrated by a thousand types. As the sin-offering, though not the earliest, is the most fundamental of all sacrifices, so the aspect of the Atonement, which it symbolizes, is the one on which all others rest.

On the other hand, the sacrifice of Christ is set forth to us, as the completion of that perfect obedience to the will of the Father, which is the natural duty of sinless man, in which He is the representative of all men, and in which He calls upon us, when reconciled to God, to "take up the Cross and follow Him." "In the days of His flesh He offered up prayers and supplications . . . and was heard, in that He feared; though He were a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things which He suffered, and being made perfect" (by that suffering; see ii. 10), "He became the author of salvation to all them that obey Him" (v. 7, 8, 9). In this view His death is not the principal object; we dwell rather on His lowly Incarnation, and His life of humility, temptation, and suffering, to which that

victim appear willing; and that voluntary sacrifice, such as that of the Decil, was held to be the noblest of all.

death was but a fitting close. In the passage above referred to the allusion is not to the Cross of Calvary, but to the agony in Gethsemane, which bowed His human will to the will of His Father. The main idea of this view of the Atonement is representative, rather than vicarious. In the first view the "second Adam" undid by His atoning blood the work of evil which the first Adam did; in the second He, by His perfect obedience, did that which the first Adam left undone, and, by His grace making us like Himself, calls upon us to follow Him in the same path. This latter view is typified by the burnt-offering: in respect of which the N. T. merely quotes and enforces the language already cited from the O. T., and especially (see Heb. x. 6-9) the words of Ps. xl. 6, &c., which contrast with material sacrifice the "doing the will of God." It is one, which cannot be dwelt upon at all without a previous implication of the other; as both were embraced in one act, so are they inseparably connected in idea. Thus it is put forth in Rom. xii. 1, where the "mercies of God" (i. e. the free salvation, through the sin-offering of Christ's blood, dwelt upon in all the preceding part of the Epistle) are made the ground for calling on us "to present our bodies, a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God," inasmuch as we are all (see v. 5) one with Christ, and members of His body. In this sense it is that we are said to be "crucified with Christ" (Gal. ii. 20; Rom. vi. 6); to have "the sufferings of Christ abound in us" (2 Cor. i. 5); even to "fill up that which is behind" (τὰ ὑστερήματα) thereof (Col. i. 24); and to "be offered" (σπένδασθαι) "upon the sacrifice of the death" of others (Phil. ii. 17; comp. 2 Tim. iv. 6; 1 John iii. 16). As without the sin-offering of the Cross, this, our burnt-offering, would be impossible, so also without the burnt-offering the sin-offering will to us be unavailing.

With these views of our Lord's sacrifice on earth, as typified in the Levitical sacrifices on the outer altar, is also to be connected the offering of His Intercession for us in heaven, which was represented by the incense. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, this part of His priestly office is dwelt upon, with particular reference to the offering of incense in the Most Holy Place by the high-priest on the Great Day of Atonement (Heb. ix. 24-28; comp. iv. 14-16, vi. 19, 20, vii. 25). It implies that the sin-offering has been made once for all, to rend asunder the veil (of sin) between man and God; and that the continual burnt-offering is now accepted by Him for the sake of the Great Interceding High-priest. That intercession is the strength of our prayers, and "with the smoke of its incense" they rise up to heaven (Rev. viii. 4). [PRAYER.]

The typical sense of the meat-offering, or peace-offering, is less connected with the sacrifice of Christ Himself, than with those sacrifices of praise, thanksgiving, charity, and devotion, which we, as Christians, offer to God, and "with which He is well pleased" (Heb. xiii. 15, 16) as with "an odour of sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable to God" (Phil. iv. 18). They betoken that, through the peace won by the sin-offering, we have already been enabled to dedicate ourselves to God, and they are, as it were, the ornaments and accessories of that self-dedication.

Such is a brief sketch of the doctrine of Sacrifice. It is seen to have been deeply rooted in men's hearts; and to have been, from the beginning, accepted and sanctioned by God, and made by Him one channel of His Revelation. In virtue of that sanction it had

a value, partly symbolical, partly actual, but in all respects derived from the one True Sacrifice, of which it was the type. It involved the expiatory, the self-dedicatory, and the eucharistic ideas, each gradually developed and explained, but all capable of full explanation only by the light reflected back from the Antitype.

On the antiquarian part of the subject valuable information may be found in Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, and Outram, *De Sacrificiis*. The question of the origin of sacrifice is treated clearly on either side by Faber, *On the (Divine) Origin of Sacrifice*, and by Davison, *Inquiry into the Origin of Sacrifice*; and Warburton, *Div. Leg.* (b. ix. c. 2). On the general subject, see Magee's *Dissertation on Atonement*; the Appendix to Tholuck's *Treatise on the Hebrews*; Kurtz, *Der Alttestamentliche Opfercultus*, Mitau, 1862; and the catalogue of authorities in Winer's *Realwörterb.* "Opfer." But it needs for its consideration little but the careful study of Scripture itself. [A. B.]

SADAMI'AS (*Sadanias*). The name of SHAL-LUM, one of the ancestors of Ezra, is so written in 2 Esd. i. 1.

SA'DAS (Ἀρχαί; Alex. Ἀσταδ: *Archad*), AZGAD (1 Esd. v. 13; comp. Ezr. ii. 12). The form Sadas is retained from the Geneva Version.

SADDE'US (Λοδδαῖος; Alex. Δολδαῖος: *Lod-deus*). "IDDO, the chief at the place Casiphia," is called in 1 Esd. viii. 45, "Saddeus the captain, who was in the place of the treasury." In 1 Esd. viii. 46 the name is written "Daddeus" in the A. V., as in the Geneva Version of both passages.

SAD'DUC (Σαδδούκος: *Sadoc*). ZADOC the high-priest, ancestor of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 7).

SADDUCEES (Σαδδουκαῖοι: *Sadhucaei*. Matt. iii. 7, xvi. 1, 6, 11, 12, xxii. 23, 34; Mark xii. 18; Luke xx. 27; Acts iv. 1, v. 17, xxiii. 6, 7, 8). A religious party or school among the Jews at the time of Christ, who denied that the oral law was a revelation of God to the Israelites, and who deemed the written law alone to be obligatory on the nation, as of divine authority. Although frequently mentioned in the New Testament in conjunction with the Pharisees, they do not throw such vivid light as their great antagonists on the real significance of Christianity. Except on one occasion, when they united with the Pharisees in insidiously asking for a sign from heaven (Matt. xvi. 1, 4, 6), Christ never assailed the Sadducees with the same bitter denunciations which he uttered against the Pharisees; and they do not, like the Pharisees, seem to have taken active measures for causing Him to be put to death. In this respect, and in many others, they have not been so influential as the Pharisees in the world's history; but still they deserve attention, as representing Jewish ideas before the Pharisees became triumphant, and as illustrating one phase of Jewish thought at the time when the new religion of Christianity, destined to produce such a momentous revolution in the opinions of mankind, issued from Judaea.

Authorities.—The sources of information respecting the Sadducees are much the same as for the Pharisees. [PHARISEES, p. 885.] There are, however, some exceptions negatively. Thus, the Sadducees are not spoken of at all in the fourth Gospel, where the Pharisees are frequently mentioned, John vii. 32, 45, xi. 47, 57, xviii. 3, viii. 3, 13-19, ix. 13; an omission, which, as Geiger suggests, is not unim-

portant in reference to the criticism of the Gospels (*Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 107). Moreover, while St. Paul had been a Pharisee and was the son of a Pharisee; while Josephus was a Pharisee, and the Mishna was a Pharisaical digest of Pharisaical opinions and practices, not a single undoubted writing of an acknowledged Sadducee has come down to us, so that for an acquaintance with their opinions we are mainly dependent on their antagonists. This point should be always borne in mind in judging their opinions, and forming an estimate of their character, and its full bearing will be duly appreciated by those who reflect that even at the present day, with all the checks against misrepresentation arising from publicity and the invention of printing, probably no religious or political party in England would be content to accept the statements of an opponent as giving a correct view of its opinions.

Origin of the name.—Like etymologies of words, the origin of the name of a sect is, in some cases, almost wholly immaterial, while in other cases it is of extreme importance towards understanding opinions which it is proposed to investigate. The origin of the name Sadducees is of the latter description; and a reasonable certainty on this point would go far towards ensuring correct ideas respecting the position of the Sadducees in the Jewish State. The subject, however, is involved in great difficulties. The Hebrew word by which they are called in the Mishna is *Tsedúkím*; the plural of *Tsádók*, which undoubtedly means "just," or "righteous," but which is never used in the Bible except as a proper name, and in the Anglican Version is always translated "Zadok" (2 K. xv. 33; 2 Sam. viii. 17; 1 Chr. vi. 8, 13, &c.; Neh. iii. 4, 29, xi. 11). The most obvious translation of the word, therefore, is to call them Zadoks or Zadokites; and a question would then arise as to why they were so called. The ordinary Jewish statement is that they are named from a certain Zadok, a disciple of the Antigonus of Socho, who is mentioned in the Mishna (*Avóth* i.) as having received the oral law from Simon the Just, the last of the men of the Great Synagogue. It is recorded of this Antigonus that he used to say: "Be not like servants who serve their Master for the sake of receiving a reward, but be like servants who serve their master without a view of receiving a reward;" and the current statement has been that Zadok, who gave his name to the Zadokites or Sadducees, misinterpreted this saying so far, as not only to maintain the great truth that virtue should be the rule of conduct without reference to the rewards of the individual agent, but likewise to proclaim the doctrine that there was no future state of rewards and punishments. (See Buxtorf, *s. v.* צדוק; Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae on Matth.* iii. 8; and the Note of Maimonides in Surenhusius's *Mishna*, iv. p. 411.) If, however, the statement is traced up to its original source, it is found that there is no mention of it either in the Mishna, or in any other part of the Talmud (Geiger's *Urschrift*, &c., p. 105) and that the first mention of something of the kind is in a small work by a certain Rabbi Nathan, which he wrote on

^a *Aruch*, or *Arúc* (הערוך), means "arranged," or "set in order." The author of this work was another Rabbi Nathan Ben Jehiel, president of the Jewish Academy at Rome, who died in 1106, A.D. (See Bartolucci, *Bibl. Rabb.* iv. 261). The reference to Rabbi Nathan, author of the

the Treatise of the Mishna called the *Avóth*, or "Fathers." But the age in which this Rabbi Nathan lived is uncertain (Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinnica*, vol. iii. p. 770), and the earliest mention of him is in a well-known Rabbinical dictionary called the *Aruch*,^a which was completed about the year 1105, A.D. The following are the words of the above mentioned Rabbi Nathan of the *Avóth*. Adverting to the passage in the Mishna, already quoted, respecting Antigonus's saying, he observes, "Antigonus of Socho had two disciples who taught the saying to their disciples, and these disciples again taught it to their disciples. At last these began to scrutinize it narrowly, and said, 'What did our Fathers mean in teaching this saying? Is it possible that a labourer is to perform his work all the day, and not receive his wages in the evening? Truly, if our Fathers had known that there is another world and a resurrection of the dead, they would not have spoken thus.' They then began to separate themselves from the law; and so there arose two Sects, the Zadokites and Baithusians, the former from Zadok, and the latter from Baithos." Now it is to be observed on this passage that it does not justify the once current belief that Zadok himself misinterpreted Antigonus's saying; and it suggests no reason why the followers of the supposed new doctrines should have taken their name from Zadok rather than Antigonus. Bearing this in mind, in connexion with several other points of the same nature, such as for example, the total silence respecting any such story in the works of Josephus or in the Talmud; the absence of any other special information respecting even the existence of the supposed Zadok; the improbable and childishly illogical reasons assigned for the departure of Zadok's disciples from the Law; the circumstance that Rabbi Nathan held the tenets of the Pharisees, that the statements of a Pharisee respecting the Sadducees must always be received with a certain reserve, that Rabbi Nathan of the *Avóth*, for aught that has ever been proved to the contrary, may have lived as long as 1000 years after the first appearance of the Sadducees as a party in Jewish history, and that he quotes no authority of any kind for his account of their origin, it seems reasonable to reject this Rabbi Nathan's narration as unworthy of credit. Another ancient suggestion concerning the origin of the name "Sadducees," is in Epiphanius (*Adversus Haereses*, i. 4), who states that the Sadducees called themselves by that name from "righteousness," the interpretation of the Hebrew word *Zedek*; "and that there was likewise anciently a Zadok among the priests, but that they did not continue in the doctrines of their chief." But this statement is unsatisfactory in two respects. 1st. It does not explain why, if the suggested etymology was correct, the name of the Sadducees was not *Tsaddíkím* or *Zaddikites*, which would have been the regular Hebrew adjective for the "Just," or "Righteous;" and 2ndly. While it evidently implies that they once held the doctrines of an ancient priest, Zadok, who is even called their chief or master (*ἐπιστάτης*), it does not directly assert that there was any connexion between his name and theirs; nor yet does it say that the coincidence between the two names was accidental.

treatise on the *Avóth*, is made in the *Aruch* under the word *ביתוסין*. The treatise itself was published in a Latin translation by F. Tayler, at London, 1657. The original passage respecting Zadok's disciples is printed by Geiger in Hebrew, and translated by him, *Urschrift*, &c., p. 105.

Moreover, it does not give information as to when Zadok lived, nor what were those doctrines of his which the Sadducees once held, but subsequently departed from. The unsatisfactoriness of Epiphanius's statement is increased by its being coupled with an assertion that the Sadducees were a branch broken off from Dositheus; or in other words Schismatics from Dositheus (ἀπόσπασμα ὄντες ἀπὸ Δοσιθεοῦ); for Dositheus was a heretic who lived about the time of Christ (Origen, *contra Celsum*, lib. i. c. 17; Clemens, *Recognit.* ii. 8; Photius, *Biblioth.* c. xxx.), and thus, if Epiphanius was correct, the opinions characteristic of the Sadducees were reproductions of the Christian aera; a supposition contrary to the express declaration of the Pharisee Josephus, and to a notorious fact of history, the connexion of Hyrcanus with the Sadducees more than 100 years before Christ. (See Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 9, §6, and xviii. 1, §2, where observe the phrase ἐκ τοῦ πένυ ἀρχαίου. . .). Hence Epiphanius's explanation of the origin of the word Sadducees must be rejected with that of Rabbi Nathan of the *Avôth*. In these circumstances, if recourse is had to conjecture, the first point to be considered is whether the word is likely to have arisen from the meaning of "righteousness," or from the name of an individual. This must be decided in favour of the latter alternative, inasmuch as the word Zadok never occurs in the Bible, except as a proper name; and then we are led to inquire as to who the Zadok of the Sadducees is likely to have been. Now, according to the existing records of Jewish history, there was one Zadok of transcendent importance, and only one; viz., the priest who acted such a prominent part at the time of David, and who declared in favour of Solomon, when Abiathar took the part of Adonijah as successor to the throne (1 K. i. 32-45). This Zadok was tenth in descent, according to the genealogies, from the high-priest, Aaron; and whatever may be the correct explanation of the statement in the 1st Book of Kings ii. 35, that Solomon put him in the room of Abiathar, although on previous occasions he had, when named with him, been always mentioned first (2 Sam. xv. 35, xix. 11; cf. viii. 17), his line of priests appears to have had decided pre-eminence in subsequent history. Thus, when in 2 Chr. xxxi. 10 Hezekiah is represented as putting a question to the priests and Levites generally, the answer is attributed to Azariah, "the chief priest of the house of Zadok:" and in Ezekiel's prophetic vision of the future Temple, "the sons of Zadok," and "the priests the Levites of the seed of Zadok" are spoken of with peculiar honour, as those who kept the charge of the sanctuary of Jehovah, when the children of Israel went astray (Ez. xl. 46, xlii. 19, xlv. 15, xlvi. 11). Now, as the transition from the expression "sons of Zadok," and "priests of the seed of Zadok" to Zadokites is easy and obvious, and as in the Acts of the Apostles v. 17, it is said, "Then the high-priest rose, and all they that were with him, which is the sect of the Sadducees, and were filled with indignation," it has been conjectured by Geiger that the Sadducees or Zadokites were originally identical with the sons of Zadok, and constituted what may be termed a kind of sacerdotal aristocracy (*Urschrift* &c., p. 104). To these were afterwards attached all who for any reason reckoned themselves as

belonging to the aristocracy; such, for example, as the families of the high-priest; who had obtained consideration under the dynasty of Herod. These were for the most part judges,^b and individuals of the official and governing class. Now, although this view of the Sadducees is only inferential, and mainly conjectural, it certainly explains the name better than any other, and elucidates at once in the Acts of the Apostles the otherwise obscure statement that the high-priest, and those who were with him, were the sect of the Sadducees. Accepting, therefore, this view till a more probable conjecture is suggested, some of the principal peculiarities, or supposed peculiarities of the Sadducees will now be noticed in detail, although in such notice some points must be touched upon, which have been already partly discussed in speaking of the Pharisees.

I. The leading tenet of the Sadducees was the negation of the leading tenet of their opponents. As the Pharisees asserted, so the Sadducees denied, that the Israelites were in possession of an Oral Law transmitted to them by Moses. The manner in which the Pharisees may have gained acceptance for their own view is noticed elsewhere in this work [vol. ii. p. 887]; but, for an equitable estimate of the Sadducees, it is proper to bear in mind emphatically how destitute of historical evidence the doctrine was which they denied. That doctrine is at the present day rejected, probably by almost all, if not by all, Christians; and it is indeed so foreign to their ideas, that the greater number of Christians have never even heard of it, though it is older than Christianity, and has been the support and consolation of the Jews under a series of the most cruel and wicked persecutions to which any nation has ever been exposed during an equal number of centuries. It is likewise now maintained, all over the world, by those who are called the orthodox Jews. It is therefore desirable, to know the kind of arguments by which at the present day, in an historical and critical age, the doctrine is defended. For this an opportunity has been given during the last three years by a learned French Jew, Grand-Rabbi of the circumscription of Colmar (Klein, *Le Judaïsme, ou la Vérité sur le Talmud*, Mulhouse, 1859), who still asserts as a fact, the existence of a Mosaic Oral Law. To do full justice to his views, the original work should be perused. But it is doing no injustice to his learning and ability, to point out that not one of his arguments has a positive historical value. Thus he relies mainly on the inconceivability (as will be again noticed in this article) that a Divine revelation should not have explicitly proclaimed the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, or that it should have promulgated laws, left in such an incomplete form, and requiring so much explanation, and so many additions, as the laws in the Pentateuch. Now, arguments of this kind may be sound or unsound; based on reason, or illogical; and for many they may have a philosophical or theological value; but they have no pretence to be regarded as historical, inasmuch as the assumed premisses, which involve a knowledge of the attributes of the Supreme Being, and the manner in which He would be likely to deal with man, are far beyond the limits of historical verification. The nearest approach to an historical argument

^b According to the Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 2, no one was "clean," in the Levitical sense, to act as a judge in capital trials, except priests, Levites, and Israelites whose

daughters might marry priests. This again tallies with the explanation offered in the text, of the Sadducees, as a sacerdotal aristocracy, being "with the high-priest."

is the following (p. 10): "In the first place, nothing proves better the fact of the existence of the tradition than the belief itself in the tradition. An entire nation does not suddenly forget its religious code, its principles, its laws, the daily ceremonies of its worship, to such a point, that it could easily be persuaded that a new doctrine presented by some impostors is the true and only explanation of its law, and has always determined and ruled its application. Holy Writ often represents the Israelites as a stiff-necked people, impatient of the religious yoke, and would it not be attributing to them rather an excess of docility, a too great condescension, a blind obedience, to suppose that they suddenly consented to troublesome and rigorous innovations which some persons might have wished to impose on them some fine morning? Such a supposition destroys itself, and we are obliged to acknowledge that the tradition is not a new invention, but that its birth goes back to the origin of the religion; and that transmitted from father to son as the word of God, it lived in the heart of the people, identified itself with the blood, and was always considered as an inviolable authority." But if this passage is carefully examined, it will be seen that it does not supply a single fact worthy of being regarded as a proof of a Mosaic Oral Law. Independent testimony of persons contemporary with Moses that he had transmitted such a law to the Israelites would be historical evidence; the testimony of persons in the next generation as to the existence of such an Oral Law which their fathers told them came from Moses, would have been secondary historical evidence; but the belief of the Israelites on the point 1200 years after Moses, cannot, in the absence of any intermediate testimony, be deemed evidence of an historical fact. Moreover, it is a mistake to assume, that they who deny a Mosaic Oral Law, imagine that this Oral Law was at some one time, as one great system, introduced suddenly amongst the Israelites. The real mode of conceiving what occurred is far different. After the return from the Captivity, there existed probably amongst the Jews a large body of customs and decisions not contained in the Pentateuch; and these had practical authority over the people long before they were attributed to Moses. The only phenomenon of importance requiring explanation is not the existence of the customs sanctioned by the Oral Law, but the belief accepted by a certain portion of the Jews that Moses had divinely revealed those customs as laws to the Israelites. To explain this historically from written records is impossible, from the silence on the subject of the very scanty historical Jewish writings purporting to be written between the return from the Captivity in 538 before Christ and that uncertain period when the canon was closed, which at the earliest could not have been long before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, B. C. 164. For all this space of time, a period of about 374 years, a period as long as from the accession of Henry VII. to the present year (1862) we have no Hebrew account, nor in fact any contemporary account, of the history of the Jews in Palestine, except what may be contained in the short works entitled Ezra and Nehemiah. And the last named of these works does not carry the

^c See p. 32 of *Essay on the Revenues of the Church of England*, by the Rev. Morgan Cove, Prebendary of Hereford, and Rector of Eaton Bishop. 578 pp. London, Rivington, 1816. Third Edition. "Thus do we return again to the original difficulty [the origin of tithes], to the solution of which the strength of human reason is unequal.

history much later than one hundred years after the return from the Captivity: so that there is a long and extremely important period of more than two centuries and a half before the heroic rising of the Maccabees, during which there is a total absence of contemporary Jewish history. In this dearth of historical materials, it is idle to attempt a positive narration of the circumstances under which the Oral Law became assigned to Moses as its author. It is amply sufficient if a satisfactory suggestion is made as to how it *might* have been attributed to Moses, and in this there is not much difficulty for any one who bears in mind how notoriously in ancient times laws of a much later date were attributed to Minos, Lycurgus, Solon, and Numa. The unreasonableness of supposing that the belief in the Oral tradition being from Moses must have coincided in point of time with the acceptance of the Oral tradition, may be illustrated by what occurred in England during the present century. During a period when the fitness of maintaining the clergy by tithes was contested, the theory was put forth that the origin of tithes was to be assigned to "an unrecorded revelation made to Adam."^c Now, let us suppose that England was a country as small as Judaea; that the English were as few in number as the Jews of Judaea must have been in the time of Nehemiah, that a temple in London was the centre of the English religion, and that the population of London hardly ever reached 50,000. [JERUSALEM, p. 1025.] Let us further suppose that printing was not invented, that manuscripts were dear, and that few of the population could read. Under such circumstances it is not impossible that the assertion of an unrecorded revelation made to Adam, might have been gradually accepted by a large religious party in England as a divine authority for tithes. If this belief had continued in the same party during a period of more than 2000 years, if that party had become dominant in the English Church, if for the first 250 years every contemporary record of English history became lost to mankind, and if all previous English writings merely condemned the belief by their silence, so that the precise date of the origin of the belief could not be ascertained, we should have a parallel to the way in which a belief in a Mosaic Oral Law may possibly have arisen. Yet it would have been very illogical for an English reasoner in the year 4000 A. D. to have argued from the burden and annoyance of paying tithes to the correctness of the theory that the institution of tithes was owing to this unrecorded revelation to Adam. It is not meant by this illustration to suggest that reasons as specious could be advanced for such a divine origin of tithes as even for a Mosaic Oral Law. The main object of the illustration is to show that the existence of a practice, and the belief as to the origin of a practice, are two wholly distinct points; and that there is no necessary connexion in time between the introduction of a practice, and the introduction of the prevalent belief in its origin.

Under this head we may add that it must not be assumed that the Sadducees, because they rejected a Mosaic Oral Law, rejected likewise all traditions and all decisions in explanation of passages in the Pentateuch. Although they protested against the

Nor does there remain any other method of solving it, but by assigning the origin of the custom, and the peculiar observance of it, to some unrecorded revelation made to Adam, and by him and his descendants delivered down to posterity."

assertion that such points had been divinely settled by Moses, they probably, in numerous instances, followed practically the same traditions as the Pharisees. This will explain why in the Mishna specific points of difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees are mentioned, which are so unimportant; such, e. g. as whether touching the Holy Scriptures made the hands technically "unclean," in the Levitical sense, and whether the stream which flows when water is poured from a clean vessel into an unclean one is itself technically "clean" or "unclean" (*Fachim*, iv. 6, 7). If the Pharisees and Sadducees had differed on all matters not directly contained in the Pentateuch, it would scarcely have been necessary to particularize points of difference such as these, which to Christians imbued with the genuine spirit of Christ's teaching (Matt. xv. 11; Luke xi. 37-40), must appear so trifling, as almost to resemble the products of a diseased imagination.^d

II. The second distinguishing doctrine of the Sadducees, the denial of man's resurrection after death, followed in their conceptions as a logical conclusion from their denial that Moses had revealed to the Israelites the Oral Law. For on a point so momentous as a second life beyond the grave, no religious party among the Jews would have deemed themselves bound to accept any doctrine as an article of faith, unless it had been proclaimed by Moses, their great legislator; and it is certain that in the written Law of the Pentateuch there is a total absence of any assertion by Moses of the resurrection of the dead. The absence of this doctrine, so far as it involves a future state of rewards and punishments, is emphatically manifest from the numerous occasions for its introduction in the Pentateuch, among the promises and threats, the blessings and curses, with which a portion of that great work abounds. In the Law Moses is represented as promising to those who are obedient to the commands of Jehovah the most alluring temporal rewards, such as success in business, the acquisition of wealth, fruitful seasons, victory over their enemies, long life, and freedom from sickness (Deut. vii. 12-15, xxviii. 1-12; Ex. xx. 12, xxiii. 25, 26); and he likewise menaces the disobedient with the most dreadful evils which can afflict humanity, with poverty, fell diseases, disastrous and disgraceful defeats, subjugation, dispersion, oppression, and overpowering anguish of heart (Deut. xxviii. 15-68); but in not a single instance does he call to his aid the consolations and terrors of rewards and punishments hereafter. Moreover, even in a more restricted indefinite sense, such as might be involved in the transmigration of souls, or in the immortality of the soul as believed in by Plato, and apparently by Cicero,^e there is a similar absence of any assertion by Moses of a resurrection of the dead. This fact is presented to Christians in a striking manner by the well-known words of the Pentateuch which are quoted by Christ in argument with the Sadducees on this subject (Ex. iii. 1, 16; Mark xii. 26, 27; Matt. xxii. 31, 32; Luke

xx. 37). It cannot be doubted that in such a case Christ would quote to his powerful adversaries the most cogent text in the Law; and yet the text actually quoted does not do more than suggest an inference on this great doctrine. Indeed it must be deemed probable that the Sadducees, as they did not acknowledge the divine authority of Christ, denied even the logical validity of the inference, and argued that the expression that Jehovah was the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, did not necessarily mean more than that Jehovah had been the God of those patriarchs while they lived on earth, without conveying a suggestion, one way or another, as to whether they were or were not still living elsewhere. It is true that in other parts of the Old Testament there are individual passages which express a belief in a resurrection, such as in Is. xxvi. 19, Dan. xii. 2, Job xix. 26, and in some of the Psalms; and it may at first sight be a subject of surprise that the Sadducees were not convinced by the authority of those passages. But although the Sadducees regarded the books which contained these passages as sacred, it is more than doubtful whether any of the Jews regarded them as sacred in precisely the same sense as the written Law. There is a danger here of confounding the ideas which are now common amongst Christians, who regard the whole ceremonial law as abrogated, with the ideas of Jews after the time of Ezra, while the Temple was still standing, or even with the ideas of orthodox modern Jews. To the Jews Moses was and is a colossal Form, pre-eminent in authority above all subsequent prophets. Not only did his series of signs and wonders in Egypt and at the Red Sea transcend in magnitude and brilliancy those of any other holy men in the Old Testament, not only was he the centre in Mount Sinai of the whole legislation of the Israelites, but even the mode by which divine communications were made to him from Jehovah was peculiar to him alone. While others were addressed in visions or in dreams, the Supreme Being communicated with him alone mouth to mouth and face to face (Num. xii. 6, 7, 8; Ex. xxxiii. 11; Deut. v. 4, xxxiv. 10-12). Hence scarcely any Jew would have deemed himself bound to believe in man's resurrection, unless the doctrine had been proclaimed by Moses; and as the Sadducees disbelieved the transmission of any Oral Law by Moses, the striking absence of that doctrine from the written law freed them from the necessity of accepting the doctrine as divine. It is not meant by this to deny that Jewish believers in the resurrection had their faith strengthened and confirmed by allusions to a resurrection in scattered passages of the other sacred writings; but then these passages were read and interpreted by means of the central light which streamed from the Oral Law. The Sadducees, however, not making use of that light, would have deemed all such passages inconclusive, as being, indeed, the utterances of holy men, yet opposed to other texts which had equal claims to be pronounced sacred, but which could scarcely be sup-

^d Many other points of difference, ritual and juridical, are mentioned in the Gemaras. See Graetz, (iii. pp. 514-18). But it seems unsafe to admit the Gemaras as an authority for statements respecting the Pharisees and Sadducees. See, as to the date of those works, the article PHARISEES.

^e See *De Senectute*, xxiii. This treatise was composed within two years before Cicero's death, and although a

dialogue, may perhaps be accepted as expressing his philosophical opinions respecting the immortality of the soul. He had held, however, very different language in his oration *pro Cluentio*, cap. lxi., in a passage which is a striking proof of the popular belief at Rome in his time. See also Sallust, *Cætilin.* li.; Juvenal, ii. 149; and Pliny the Elder vii. 56

posed to have been written by men who believed in a resurrection (Is. xxxviii. 18, 19; Ps. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 10, 11, 12; Eccles. ix. 4-10). The real truth seems to be that, as in Christianity the doctrine of the resurrection of man rests on belief in the resurrection of Jesus, with subsidiary arguments drawn from texts in the Old Testament, and from man's instincts, aspirations, and moral nature; so, admitting fully the same subsidiary arguments, the doctrine of the resurrection among Pharisees, and the successive generations of orthodox Jews, and the orthodox Jews now living, has rested, and rests, on a belief in the supposed Oral Law of Moses. On this point the statement of the learned Grand-Rabbi to whom allusion has been already made deserves particular attention. "What causes most surprise in perusing the Pentateuch is the silence which it seems to keep respecting the most fundamental and the most consoling truths. The doctrines of the immortality of the soul, and of retribution beyond the tomb, are able powerfully to fortify man against the violence of the passions and the seductive attractions of vice, and to strengthen his steps in the rugged path of virtue: of themselves they smooth all the difficulties which are raised, all the objections which are made, against the government of a Divine Providence, and account for the good fortune of the wicked and the bad fortune of the just. But man searches in vain for these truths, which he desires so ardently; he in vain devours with avidity each page of Holy Writ; he does not find either them, or the simple doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, explicitly announced. Nevertheless truths so consoling and of such an elevated order cannot have been passed over in silence, and certainly God has not relied on the mere sagacity of the human mind in order to announce them only implicitly. *He has transmitted them verbally, with the means of finding them in the text. A supplementary tradition was necessary, indispensable: this tradition exists. Moses received the Law from Sinai, transmitted it to Joshua, Joshua to the elders, the elders transmitted it to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the great synagogue*" (Klein, *Le Judaisme ou la Vérité sur le Talmud*, p. 15).

In connexion with the disbelief of a resurrection by the Sadducees, it is proper to notice the statement (Acts xxiii. 8) that they likewise denied there was "angel or spirit." A perplexity arises as to the precise sense in which this denial is to be understood. Angels are so distinctly mentioned in the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament, that it is hard to understand how those who acknowledged the Old Testament to have divine authority could deny the existence of angels (see Gen. xvi. 7, xix. 1, xxii. 11, xxviii. 12; Ex. xxiii. 20; Num. xxii. 23; Judg. xiii. 18; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, and other passages). The difficulty is increased by the fact that no such denial of angels is recorded of the Sadducees either by Josephus, or in the Mishna, or, it is said, in any part of the Talmudical writings. The two principal explanations which have been suggested are, either that the Sadducees regarded the angels of the Old Testament as transitory unsubstantial representations of Jehovah, or that they disbelieved, not the angels of the Old Testament, but merely the angelical system which had become developed in the popular belief of the Jews after their return from the Babylonian Captivity (Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*,

iii. 364). Either of these explanations may possibly be correct; and the first, although there are numerous texts to which it did not apply, would have received some countenance from passages wherein the same divine appearance which at one time is called the "angel of Jehovah" is afterwards called simply "Jehovah" (see the instances pointed out by Gesenius, s. v. *מַלְאָכִים*, Gen. xvi. 7, 13, xxii. 11, 12, xxxi. 11, 16; Ex. iii. 2, 4; Judg. vi. 14, 22, xiii. 18, 22). Perhaps, however, another suggestion is admissible. It appears from Acts xxiii. 9, that some of the scribes on the side of the Pharisees suggested the possibility of a spirit or an angel having spoken to St. Paul, on the very occasion when it is asserted that the Sadducees denied the existence of angel or spirit. Now the Sadducees may have disbelieved in the occurrence of any such phenomena in their own time, although they accepted all the statements respecting angels in the Old Testament; and thus the key to the assertion in the 8th verse that the Sadducees denied "angel or spirit" would be found exclusively in the 9th verse. This view of the Sadducees may be illustrated by the present state of opinion among Christians, the great majority of whom do not in any way deny the existence of angels as recorded in the Bible, and yet they certainly disbelieve that angels speak, at the present day, even to the most virtuous and pious of mankind.

III. The opinions of the Sadducees respecting the freedom of the will, and the way in which those opinions are treated by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5, §9), have been noticed elsewhere [PHARISEES, p. 895], and an explanation has been there suggested of the prominence given to a difference in this respect between the Sadducees and the Pharisees. It may be here added that possibly the great stress laid by the Sadducees on the freedom of the will may have had some connexion with their forming such a large portion of that class from which criminal judges were selected. Jewish philosophers in their study, although they knew that punishments as an instrument of good were unavoidable, might indulge in reflections that man seemed to be the creature of circumstances, and might regard with compassion the punishments inflicted on individuals whom a wiser moral training and a more happily balanced nature might have made useful members of society. Those Jews who were almost exclusively religious teachers would naturally insist on the inability of man to do anything good if God's Holy Spirit were taken away from him (Ps. li. 11, 12), and would enlarge on the perils which surrounded man from the temptations of Satan and evil angels or spirits (1 Chr. xxi. 1; Tob. iii. 17). But it is likely that the tendencies of the judicial class would be more practical and direct, and more strictly in accordance with the ideas of the Levitical prophet Ezekiel (xxiii. 11-19) in a well-known passage in which he gives the responsibility of bad actions, and seems to attribute the power of performing good actions, exclusively to the individual agent. Hence the sentiment of the lines—

"Our acts our Angels are, or good or ill,
Our fatal shadows that walk by us still,"

would express that portion of truth on which the Sadducees, in inflicting punishments, would dwell with most emphasis: and as, in some sense, they disbelieved in angels, these lines have a peculiar

claim to be regarded as a correct exponent of Sadducean thought.¹ And yet perhaps, if writings were extant in which the Sadducees explained their own ideas, we might find that they reconciled these principles, as we may be certain that Ezekiel did, with other passages apparently of a different import in the Old Testament, and that the line of demarcation between them and the Pharisees was not, in theory, so very sharply marked as the account of Josephus would lead us to suppose.

IV. Some of the early Christian writers, such as Epiphanius (*Hæres.* xiv.), Origen, and Jerome (in their respective Commentaries on Matt. xxii. 31, 32, 33) attribute to the Sadducees the rejection of all the Sacred Scriptures except the Pentateuch. Such rejection, if true, would undoubtedly constitute a most important additional difference between the Sadducees and Pharisees. The statement of these Christian writers is, however, now generally admitted to have been founded on a misconception of the truth, and probably to have arisen from a confusion of the Sadducees with the Samaritans. See Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ* on Matt. iii. 7; Herzfeld's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 363. Josephus is wholly silent as to an antagonism on this point between the Sadducees and the Pharisees; and it is absolutely inconceivable that on the three several occasions when he introduces an account of the opinions of the two sects, he should have been silent respecting such an antagonism, if it had really existed (*Ant.* xiii. 5, §9, xviii. 1, §3; *B. J.* ii. 8, §14). Again, the existence of such a momentous antagonism would be incompatible with the manner in which Josephus speaks of John Hyrcanus, who was high-priest and king of Judæa thirty-one years, and who nevertheless, having been previously a Pharisee, became a Sadducee towards the close of his life. This Hyrcanus, who died about 106 B.C., had been so inveterately hostile to the Samaritans, that when about three years before his death, he took their city Samaria, he razed it to the ground; and he is represented to have dug caverns in various parts of the soil in order to sink the surface to a level or slope, and then to have diverted streams of water over it, in order to efface marks of such a city having ever existed. If the Sadducees had come so near to the Samaritans as to reject the divine authority of all the books of the Old Testament, except the Pentateuch, it is very unlikely that Josephus, after mentioning the death of Hyrcanus, should have spoken of him as he does in the following manner:—"He was esteemed by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges, the government of the nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy. For God was with him, and enabled him to know future events." Indeed, it may be inferred from this passage that Josephus did not even deem it a matter of vital importance whether a high-priest was a Sadducee or a Pharisee—a latitude of toleration which we may be confident he would not have indulged in, if the divine authority of all the books of the Old Testament, except the Pentateuch, had been at stake. What probably had more influence than anything else in occasioning this misconception respecting the Sadducees, was the circumstance that

in arguing with them on the doctrine of a future life, Christ quoted from the Pentateuch only, although there are stronger texts in favour of the doctrine in some other books of the Old Testament. But probable reasons have been already assigned why Christ in arguing on this subject with the Sadducees referred only to the supposed opinions of Moses rather than to isolated passages extracted from the productions of any other sacred writer.

V. In conclusion, it may be proper to notice a fact, which, while it accounts for misconceptions of early Christian writers respecting the Sadducees, is on other grounds well worthy to arrest the attention. This fact is the rapid disappearance of the Sadducees from history after the first century, and the subsequent predominance among the Jews of the opinions of the Pharisees. Two circumstances, indirectly, but powerfully, contributed to produce this result: 1st. The state of the Jews after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus; and 2ndly. The growth of the Christian religion. As to the first point it is difficult to over-estimate the consternation and dismay which the destruction of Jerusalem occasioned in the minds of sincerely religious Jews. Their holy city was in ruins; their holy and beautiful Temple, the centre of their worship and their love, had been ruthlessly burnt to the ground, and not one stone of it was left upon another: their magnificent hopes, either of an ideal king who was to restore the empire of David, or of a Son of Man who was to appear to them in the clouds of heaven, seemed to them for a while like empty dreams; and the whole visible world was, to their imagination, black with desolation and despair. In this their hour of darkness and anguish, they naturally turned to the consolations and hopes of a future state, and the doctrine of the Sadducees that there was nothing beyond the present life, would have appeared to them cold, heartless, and hateful.—Again, while they were sunk in the lowest depths of depression, a new religion which they despised as a heresy and a superstition, of which one of their own nation was the object, and another the unrivalled missionary to the heathen, was gradually making its way among the subjects of their detested conquerors, the Romans. One of the causes of its success was undoubtedly the vivid belief in the resurrection of Jesus, and a consequent resurrection of all mankind, which was accepted by its heathen converts with a passionate earnestness, of which those who at the present day are familiar from infancy with the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead can form only a faint idea. To attempt to check the progress of this new religion among the Jews by an appeal to the temporary rewards and punishments of the Pentateuch, would have been as idle as an endeavour to check an explosive power by ordinary mechanical restraints. Consciously, therefore, or unconsciously, many circumstances combined to induce the Jews, who were not Pharisees, but who resisted the new heresy, to rally round the standard of the Oral Law, and to assert that their holy legislator, Moses, had transmitted to his faithful people by word of mouth, although not in writing, the revelation of a future state of rewards and punishments. A great belief was thus built up on a great fiction

¹ The preceding lines would be equally applicable, if, as is not improbable, the Sadducees likewise rejected the Chaldaean belief in astrology, so common among the Jews and Christians of the Middle Ages.—

"Man is his own Star; and the soul that can
Render an honest and a perfect man,
Commands all light, all influence, all fate:
Nothing to him falls early, or too late."

FLETCHER'S Lines "Upon an Honest Man's Fortune"

early teaching and custom supplied the place of evidence; faith in an imaginary fact produced results as striking as could have flowed from the fact itself; and the doctrine of a Mosaic Oral Law, enshrining convictions and hopes deeply rooted in the human heart, has triumphed for nearly 1800 years in the ideas of the Jewish people. This doctrine, the pledge of eternal life to them, as the resurrection of Jesus to Christians, is still maintained by the majority of our Jewish contemporaries; and it will probably continue to be the creed of millions long after the present generation of mankind has passed away from the earth.‡ [E. T.]

SA'DOC (*Sadoch*). 1. ZADOK the ancestor of Ezra (2 Esd. i. 1; comp. Ezr. vii. 2).

2. (Σαδώκ: *Sadoc*.) A descendant of Zerubbabel in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Matt. i. 14).

SAFFRON (סַפְרָן, *carcôm*: κρόκος: *crocus*) is mentioned only in Cant. iv. 14 with other odorous substances, such as spikenard, calamus, cinnamon, &c.; there is not the slightest doubt that "saffron" is the correct rendering of the Hebrew word; the Arabic *Kurkum* is similar to the Hebrew, and denotes the *Crocus sativus*, or "saffron crocus." Saffron has from the earliest times been in high esteem as a perfume: "it was used," says Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 138), "for the same purposes as the modern pot-pourri." Saffron was also used in seasoning dishes (Apicius, p. 270), it entered into the composition of many spirituous extracts which retained the scent (see Beckmann's *Hist. of Invent.* i. p. 175, where the whole subject is very fully discussed). The part of the plant which was used was the stigma, which was pulled out of the flower and then dried. Dr. Royle says, that "sometimes the stigmas are prepared by being submitted to pressure, and thus made into cake saffron, a form in which it is still imported from Persia into India." Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 36) states that in certain places, as around Magnesia, large quantities of saffron are gathered and exported to different places in Asia and Europe. Kitto (*Phys. Hist. of Palest.* p. 321) says that the Safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), a very different plant from the crocus, is cultivated in Syria for the sake of the flowers which are used in dyeing, but the *Karkôm* no doubt denotes the *Crocus sativus*. The word saffron is derived from the Arabic *Zafran*, "yellow." This plant gives its name to Saffron-Walden, in Essex, where it is largely cultivated: it belongs to the Natural Order *Iridaceae*. [W. H.]

SA'LA (Σαλά: *Sale*). SALAH, or SHELAH, the father of Eber (Luke iii. 35).

SA'LAH (שַׁלְיָהוּ: Σαλά: *Sale*). The son of Arphaxad and father of Eber (Gen. x. 24, xi. 12-14; Luke iii. 35). The name is significant of *extension*, the cognate verb being applied to the spreading out of the roots and branches of trees (Jer. xvii. 8; Ez. xvii. 6). It thus seems to imply the historical fact of the gradual extension of a branch of the Semitic race from its original seat in Northern Assyria towards the river Euphrates. A place with a similar name in Northern Mesopotamia is noticed by Syrian writers (Knobel, *in Gen.* xi.); but we

‡ In Germany and elsewhere, some of the most learned Jews disbelieve in a Mosaic Oral Law; and Judaism seems ripe to enter on a new phase. Based on the Old Testament, but avoiding the mistakes of the Karaites, it might still have a great future; but whether it could last

can hardly assume its identity with the *Salah* of the Bible. Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 354) and Von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 205) regard the name as purely fictitious, the former explaining it as a son or offspring, the latter as the father of a race. That the name is significant does not prove it fictitious, and the conclusions drawn by these writers are unwarranted. [W. L. B.]

SAL'AMIS (Σαλαμίς: *Salamis*), a city at the east end of the island of Cyprus, and the first place visited by Paul and Barnabas, on the first missionary journey, after leaving the mainland at Seleucia. Two reasons why they took this course obviously suggest themselves, viz. the fact that Cyprus (and probably Salamis) was the native-place of Barnabas, and the geographical proximity of this end of the island to Antioch. But a further reason is indicated by a circumstance in the narrative (Acts xiii. 5). Here alone, among all the Greek cities visited by St. Paul, we read expressly of "synagogues" in the plural. Hence we conclude that there were many Jews in Cyprus. And this is in harmony with what we read elsewhere. To say nothing of possible mercantile relations in very early times [CHRISTIANITY; CYPRUS], Jewish residents in the island are mentioned during the period when the Seleucidae reigned at Antioch (1 Macc. xv. 23). In the reign of Augustus the Cyprian copper-mines were farmed to Herod the Great (*Joseph. Ant.* xvi. 4, §5), and this would probably attract many Hebrew families: to which we may add evidence to the same effect from Philo (*Legat. ad Caium*) at the very time of St. Paul's journey. And again at a later period, in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, we are informed of dreadful tumults here, caused by a vast multitude of Jews, in the course of which "the whole populous city of Salamis became a desert" (Milman's *Hist. of the Jews*, iii. 111, 112). We may well believe that from the Jews of Salamis came some of those early Cypriote Christians, who are so prominently mentioned in the account of the first spreading of the Gospel beyond Palestine (Acts xi. 19, 20), even before the first missionary expedition. Mnason (xxi. 16) might be one of them. Nor ought Mark to be forgotten here. He was at Salamis with Paul, and his own kinsman Barnabas; and again he was there with the same kinsman after the misunderstanding with St. Paul and the separation (xv. 39).

Salamis was not far from the modern *Famagousta*. It was situated near a river called the *Pediaeus*, on low ground, which is in fact a continuation of the plain running up into the interior towards the place where *Nicosia*, the present capital of Cyprus, stands. We must notice in regard to Salamis that its harbour is spoken of by Greek writers as very good; and that one of the ancient tables lays down a road between this city and PAPHOS, the next place which Paul and Barnabas visited on their journey. Salamis again has rather an eminent position in subsequent Christian history. Constantine or his successor rebuilt it, and called it *Constantia* ("Salamis, quae nunc Constantia dicitur," Hieronym. *Philem.*), and, while it had this name, Epiphanius was one of its bishops.

another 1800 years with the belief in a future life, as a revealed doctrine, depending not on a supposed revelation by Moses, but solely on scattered texts in the Hebrew Scriptures, is an interesting subject for speculation.

Of the travellers who have visited and described Salamis, we must particularly mention Pococke (*Desc. of the East*, ii. 214) and Ross (*Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos, und Cypern*, 118-125). These travellers notice, in the neighbourhood of Salamis, a village named *St. Sergius*, which is doubtless a reminiscence of Sergius Paulus, and a large Byzantine church bearing the name of *St. Barnabas*, and associated with a legend concerning the discovery of his relics. The legend will be found in Cedrenus (i. 618, ed. Bonn). [BARNABAS; SERGIUS PAULUS.] [J. S. H.]

SALASADA'I (Σαλασοδαί, Σαρασαδαί, Σουρισαδάι), a variation for *Swrisadai* (Σουρισαδαί, Num. i. 6 in Jud. viii. 1. [ZURISHADDAI.] [B. F. W.]

SALATHIEL (לְנִיחִיָּאֵל: Σαλαθιήλ: *Salathiel*: "I have asked God"^a), son of Jechonias king of Judah, and father of Zerobabel, according to Matt. i. 12; but son of Neri, and father of Zerobabel, according to Luke iii. 27; while the genealogy in 1 Chr. iii. 17-19, leaves it doubtful whether he is the son of Assir or Jechonias, and makes Zerobabel his nephew. [ZERUBBABEL.] Upon the incontrovertible principle that no genealogy would assign to the true son and heir of a king any inferior and private parentage, whereas, on the contrary, the son of a private person would naturally be placed in the royal pedigree on his becoming the rightful heir to the throne; we may assert, with the utmost confidence, that St. Luke gives us the true state of the case, when he informs us that Salathiel was the son of Neri, and a descendant of Nathan the son of David.^b And from his insertion in the royal pedigree, both in 1 Chr. and St. Matthew's gospel, after the childless Jechonias,^c we infer, with no less confidence, that, on the failure of Solomon's line, he was the next heir to the throne of David. The appearance of Salathiel in the two pedigrees, though one deduces the descent from Solomon and the other from Nathan, is thus perfectly simple, and, indeed, necessary; whereas the notion of Salathiel being called Neri's son, as Yardley and others have thought, because he married Neri's daughter, is palpably absurd on the supposition of his being the son of Jechonias. On this last principle you *might* have had two but about a *million* different pedigrees between Jechonias and Christ;^d and yet you have no rational account, why there should actually be more than one. It may therefore be considered as certain, that Salathiel was the son of Neri, and the heir of Jechonias. The question whether he was the father of Zerubbabel will be considered under that article.^e Besides the passages already cited, Salathiel occurs in 1 Esdr. v. 5, 48, 56, vi. 2; 2 Esdr. v. 16.

As regards the orthography of the name, it has,

^a Possibly with an allusion to 1 Sam. i. 20, 27, 28. See Broughton's *Our Lord's Family*.

^b It is worth noting that Josephus speaks of Zerobabel as "the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah" (A. J. xi. 3, §10). Had he believed him to be the son of Jechonias, of whom he had spoken (x. 11, §2), he could hardly have failed to say so. Comp. x. 7, §1.

^c Of Jechonias God swore that he should die leaving a child behind him; wherefore it were flat atheism to pretend that he naturally became father to Salathiel. Though St. Luke had never left us Salathiel's family up to Nathan, while brother to Solomon, to show that Salathiel was of another family, God's oath should make us believe that, without any further record" (Broughton, *ut sup.*).

as noted above, two forms in Hebrew. The contracted form is peculiar to Haggai, who uses it three times out of five; while in the first and last verse of his prophecy he uses the full form, which is also found in Ezr. iii. 2; Neh. xii. 1. The LXX. everywhere have Σαλαθιήλ, while the A. V. has (probably with an eye to correspondence with Matt. and Luke) Salathiel in 1 Chr. iii. 17, but everywhere else in the O. T. SHEALTIEL. [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST; JEHOIACHIN.] [A. C. H.]

SAL'CAH' (סַלְחָה: Σεκχαλ, 'Αχά, Σελά; Alex. ΕΛχα, Ασελχα, Σελχα: *Salecha, Salacha*). A city named in the early records of Israel as the extreme limit of Bashan (Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xlii. 11) and of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 11). On another occasion the name seems to denote a district rather than a town (Josh. xii. 5). By Eusebius and Jerome it is merely mentioned, apparently without their having had any real knowledge of it.

It is doubtless identical with the town of *Sülkhad*, which stands at the southern extremity of the Jebel Hauran, twenty miles S. of *Kunawat* (the ancient Kenath), which was the southern outpost of the *Leja*, the Argob of the Bible. *Sülkhad* is named by both the Christian and Mahomedan historians of the middle ages (Will. of Tyre, xvi. 8, "Selcath;" Abulfeda, in Schultens' *Index geogr.* "Sarchad"). It was visited by Burckhardt (*Syria*, Nov. 22, 1810), Seetzen and others, and more recently by Porter, who describes it at some length (*Five Years*, ii. 176-116). Its identification with Salcah appears to be due to Gesenius (*Burckhardt's Reisen*, 507).

Immediately below *Sülkhad* commences the plain of the great Euphrates desert, which appears to stretch with hardly an undulation from here to *Busra* on the Persian Gulf. The town is of considerable size, two to three miles in circumference, surrounding a castle on a lofty isolated hill, which rises 300 or 400 feet above the rest of the place (Porter, 178, 179). One of the gateways of the castle bears an inscription containing the date of A.D. 246 (180). A still earlier date, viz. A.D. 196 (Septimius Severus), is found on a grave-stone (185). Other scanty particulars of its later history will be found in Porter. The hill on which the castle stands was probably at one time a crater, and its sides are still covered with volcanic cinder and blocks of lava. [G.]

SAL'CHAH (סַלְחָה: 'ΕΛχά: *Selcha*). The form in which the name, elsewhere more accurately given SALCAH, appears in Deut. iii. 10 only. The *Targum Pseudojon.* gives it סַלְחָה *i. e.* Selucia; though which Seleucia they can have supposed was here intended it is difficult to imagine. [G.]

^d See a curious calculation in Blackstone's *Comment.* ii. 203, that in the 20th degree of ancestry every man has above a million of ancestors, and in the 40th upwards of a million millions.

^e The theory of two Salathiels, of whom each had a son called Zerubbabel, though adopted by Hottinger and J. G. Vossius, is scarcely worth mentioning, except as a curiosity.

^f One of the few instances of our translators having represented the Hebrew Caph by C. Their common practice is to use ch for it—as indeed they have done on one occurrence of this very name. [SALCHAH; and compare CALEB; CAPTOR; CARMEL; COZBI; CUSH, &c.]

SA'LEM (שָׁלֵם, *i. e.* Shalem: Σαλήμ: Salem).

1. The place of which Melchizedek was king (Gen. xiv. 18; Heb. vii. 1, 2). No satisfactory identification of it is perhaps possible. The indications of the narrative are not sufficient to give any clue to its position. It is not even safe to infer, as some have done,^a that it lay between Damascus and Sodom; or though it is said that the king of Sodom—who had probably regained his own city after the retreat of the Assyrians—went out to meet (לִקְרַאת) ^b Abram, yet it is also distinctly stated that this was after Abram had returned (אַחֲרֵי שׁוּבוֹ) from the slaughter of the kings. Indeed, it is not certain that there is any connexion of time or place between Abram's encounter with the king of Sodom and the appearance of Melchizedek. Nor, supposing this last doubt to be dispelled, is any clue afforded by the mention of the Valley of Shaveh, since the situation even of that is more than uncertain.

Dr. Wolff—no mean authority on Oriental questions—in a striking passage in his last work, implies that Salem was—what the author of the Epistle of the Hebrews understood it to be—a title, not the name of a place. “Melchizedek of old . . . had a royal title; he was ‘King of Righteousness,’ in Hebrew *Melchi-zedek*. And he was also ‘King of Peace,’ *Melek-Salem*. And when Abraham came to his tent he came forth with bread and wine, and was called ‘the Priest of the Highest,’ and Abraham gave him a portion of his spoil. And just so Wolff's friend in the desert of Meru in the kingdom of Khiva . . . whose name is Abd-er-Rahman, which means ‘Slave of the merciful God’ . . . has also a royal title. He is called Shahe-Adaalat, ‘King of Righteousness’—the same as *Melchizedek* in Hebrew. And when he makes peace between kings he bears the title, Shahe Soolkh, ‘King of Peace’—in Hebrew *Melek-Salem*.”

To revert, however, to the topographical question; two main opinions have been current from the earliest ages of interpretation. 1. That of the Jewish commentators, who—from Onkelos (*Targum*) and Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 10; *Ant.* i. 10, §2, vii. 3, §2) to Kalisch (*Comm. on Gen.* p. 360)—with one voice affirm that Salem is Jerusalem, on the ground that Jerusalem is so called in Ps. lxxvi. 2, the Psalmist, after the manner of poets, or from some exigency of his poem, making use of the archaic name in preference to that in common use. This is quite feasible; but it is no argument for the identity of Jerusalem with the Salem of Melchizedek. See this well put by Reland (*Pal.* 833). The Christians of the 4th century held the same belief with the Jews, as is evident from an expression of Jerome (“*nostri omnes*,” *Ep. ad Evangelum*, §7).

2. Jerome himself, however, is not of the same opinion. He states (*Ep. ad Evang.* §7) without hesitation, though apparently (as just observed) alone in his belief, that the Salem of Melchizedek was not Jerusalem, but a town near Scythopolis, which in his day was still called Salem, and where the vast ruins of the palace of Melchizedek were

^a For instance, Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii.; 4 Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 410.

^b The force of this word is *occurrere in obviam* (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1233 b).

^c Professor Stanley seems to have been the first to call attention to this (*S. & P.* 249). See *Eupolemi Fragmenta*, auctore G. A. Kuhlmeier (Berlin, 1840); one of those excellent monographs which we owe to the German academical custom of demanding a treatise at each step in honours.

still to be seen. Elsewhere (*Onom.* “Salem”) he locates it more precisely at eight Roman miles from Scythopolis, and gives its then name as Salumias. Further, he identifies this Salem with the Salim (Σαλείμ) of St. John the Baptist. That a Salem existed where St. Jerome thus places it there need be no doubt. Indeed, the name has been recovered at the identical distance below *Beisán* by Mr. Van de Velde, at a spot otherwise suitable for Aenon. But that this Salem, Salim, or Salumias was the Salem of Melchizedek, is as uncertain as that Jerusalem was so. The ruins were probably as much the ruins of Melchizedek's palace as the remains at *Ramet el-Khalil*, three miles north of Hebron, are those of “Abraham's house.” Nor is the decision assisted by a consideration of Abram's homeward route. He probably brought back his party by the road along the Ghor as far as Jericho, and then turning to the right ascended to the upper level of the country in the direction of Mamre; but whether he crossed the Jordan at the *Jisr Benat Yakub* above the Lake of Gennesaret, or at the *Jisr Mejamis* below it, he would equally pass by both Scythopolis and Jerusalem. At the same time it must be confessed that the distance of Salem (at least eighty miles from the probable position of Sodom) makes it difficult to suppose that the king of Sodom can have advanced so far to meet Abram, adds its weight to the statement that the meeting took place after Abram had returned—not during his return—and is thus so far in favour of Salem being Jerusalem.

3. Professor Ewald (*Geschichte*, i. 410 note) pronounces that Salem is a town on the further side of Jordan, on the road from Damascus to Sodom, quoting at the same time John iii. 23, but the writer has in vain endeavoured to discover any authority for this, or any notice of the existence of the name in that direction either in former or recent times.

4. A tradition given by Eupolemus, a writer known only through fragments preserved in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius (ix. 17), differs in some important points from the Biblical account. According to this the meeting took place in the sanctuary of the city Argarizin, which is interpreted by Eupolemus to mean “the Mountain of the Most High.” Argarizin^d is of course *har Gerizim*, Mount Gerizim. The source of the tradition is therefore, probably Samaritan, since the encounter of Abram and Melchizedek is one of the events to which the Samaritans lay claim for Mount Gerizim. But it may also proceed from the identification of Salem with Shechem, which lying at the foot of Gerizim would easily be confounded with the mountain itself. [See SHALEM.]

5. A Salem is mentioned in Judith iv. 4, among the places which were seized and fortified by the Jews on the approach of Holofernes. “The valley of Salem,” as it appears in the A. V. (τὸν ἀλάμω Σαλήμ), is possibly, as Reland has ingeniously suggested (*Pal.* “Salem,” p. 977), a corruption of ἀλάμω εἰς Σαλήμ—“into the plain to Salem.” If ἀλάμω is here, according to frequent usage, the Jordan^e valley, then the Salem referred to must

^d Pliny uses nearly the same form—Argaris (*H. N.* v. 14).

^e ἀλάμω is commonly employed in Palestine topography for the great valley of the Jordan (see Eusebius and Jerome, *Onomasticon*, “Aulon”). But in the Book of Judith it is used with much less precision in the general sense of valley or plain.

surely be that mentioned by Jerome, and already noticed. But in this passage it may be with equal probability the broad plain of the *Mukhna* which stretches from Ebal and Gerizim on the one hand, to the hills on which *Salim* stands on the other, which is said to be still called the "plain of *Salim*" (Porter, *Handbook*, 340 a), and through which runs the central north road of the country. Or, as is perhaps still more likely, it refers to another *Salim* near *Zerin* (Jezreel), and to the plain which runs up between those two places, as far as *Jenin*, and which lay directly in the route of the Assyrian army. There is nothing to show that the invaders reached as far into the interior of the country as the plain of the *Mukhna*. And the other places enumerated in the verse seem, as far as they can be recognized, to be points which guarded the main approaches to the interior (one of the chief of which was by Jezreel and Engannim), not towns in the interior itself, like Shechem or the Salem near it.

2. (שָׁלִים: ἐν εἰρήνῃ: in pace), Ps. lxxvi. 2.

It seems to be agreed on all hands that Salem is here employed for Jerusalem, but whether as a mere abbreviation to suit some exigency of the poetry, and point the allusion to the peace (*salem*) which the city enjoyed through the protection of God, or whether, after a well-known habit of poets,^b it is an antique name preferred to the more modern and familiar one, is a question not yet decided. The latter is the opinion of the Jewish commentators, but it is grounded on their belief that the Salem of Melchizedek was the city which afterwards became Jerusalem. This is to beg the question. See a remarkable passage in Geiger's *Urschrift*, &c., 74-6.

The antithesis in verse 1 between "Judah" and "Israel," would seem to imply that some sacred place in the northern kingdom is being contrasted with Zion, the sanctuary of the south. And if there were in the Bible any sanction to the identification of Salem with Shechem (noticed above), the passage might be taken as referring to the continued relation of God to the kingdom of Israel. But there are no materials even for a conjecture on the point. Zion the sanctuary, however, being named in the one member of the verse, it is tolerably certain that Salem, if Jerusalem, must denote the secular part of the city—a distinction which has been already noticed [vol. i. 1026] as frequently occurring and implied in the Psalms and Prophecies. [G.]

SA'LIM (Σαλείμ; Alex. Σαλλειμ: *Salim*).

A place named (John iii. 23) to denote the situation of Aenon, the scene of St. John's last baptisms—*Salim* being the well-known town or spot, and Aenon a place of fountains, or other water, near it. There is no statement in the narrative itself fixing the situation of *Salim*, and the only direct testimony we possess is that of Eusebius and Jerome, who both affirm unhesitatingly (*Onom.* "Aenon") that it existed in their day near the Jordan, eight Roman miles south of Scythopolis. Jerome adds (under "Salem") that its name was then *Salumias*. Elsewhere (*Ep. ad Evangelium*, §7, 8) he states

^a The writer could not succeed (in 1861) in eliciting any trace for any part of the plain. The name, given in answer to repeated questions, for the Eastern branch or leg of the *Mukhna* was always *Wady Sajda*.

^b The above is the reading of the Vulgate and of the "Septuagint Psalter." But in the *Liber Psalmorum juxta Hebraicam veritatem*, in the *Divina Bibliotheca* included

that it was identical with the Salem of Melchizedek.

Various attempts have been more recently made to determine the locality of this interesting spot.

1. Some (as Alford, *Greek Test.* ad loc.) propose SHILHIM and AIN, in the arid country far in the south of Judaea, entirely out of the circle of associations of St. John or our Lord. Others identify it with the SHALIM of 1 Sam. ix. 4, but this latter place is itself unknown, and the name in Hebrew contains ש, to correspond with which the name in St. John should be Σεγαλείμ or Σααλείμ.

2. Dr. Robinson suggests the modern village of *Salim*, three miles E. of *Nablús* (*B. R.* iii. 333), but this is no less out of the circle of St. John's ministrations, and is too near the Samaritans; and although there is some reason to believe that the village contains "two sources of living water" (*ib.* 298), yet this is hardly sufficient for the abundance of deep water implied in the narrative. A writer in the *Colonial Ch. Chron.*, No. cxxvi. 464, who concurs in this opinion of Dr. Robinson, was told of a village an hour east (?) of *Salim* "named *Ain-ún*, with a copious stream of water." The district east of *Salim* is a blank in the maps. *Yanun* lies about 1½ hour S.E. of *Salim*, but this can hardly be the place intended; and in the description of Van de Velde, who visited it (*ii.* 303), no stream or spring is mentioned.

3. Dr. Barclay (*City*, &c., 564) is filled with an "assured conviction" that *Salim* is to be found in *Wady Seleim*, and Aenon in the copious springs of *Ain Farah* (*ib.* 559), among the deep and intricate ravines some five miles N.E. of Jerusalem. This certainly has the name in its favour, and, if the glowing description and pictorial woodcut of Dr. Barclay may be trusted—has water enough, and of sufficient depth for the purpose.

4. The name of *Salim* has been lately discovered by Mr. Van de Velde (*Syr. & Pal.* ii. 345, 6) in a position exactly in accordance with the notice of Eusebius, viz. six English miles south of *Beisán*, and two miles west of the Jordan. On the northern base of *Tell Redghah* is a site of ruins, and near it a Mussulman tomb, which is called by the Arabs *Sheykh Salim* (see also *Memoir*, 345). Dr. Robinson (*iii.* 333) complains that the name is attached only to a Mussulman sanctuary, and also that no ruins of any extent are to be found on the spot; but with regard to the first objection, even Dr. Robinson does not dispute that the name is there, and that the locality is in the closest agreement with the notice of Eusebius. As to the second it is only necessary to point to *Kefr-Saba*, where a town (*Antipatris*), which so late as the time of the destruction of Jerusalem was of great size and extensively fortified, has absolutely disappeared. The career of St. John has been examined in a former part of this work, and it has been shown with great probability that his progress was from south to north, and that the scene of his last baptisms was not far distant from the spot indicated by Eusebius, and now recovered by Mr. Van de Velde. [*JORDAN*, vol. i. p. 1128.] *Salim* fulfils also the conditions implied in the name of Aenon (springs), and the direct

in the Benedictine Edition of Jerome's works, the reading is *Salem*.

^b The Arab poets are said to use the same abbreviation (*Gesenius, Thes.* 1422 b). The preference of an archaic to a modern name will surprise no student of poetry. Few things are of more constant occurrence.

statement of the text, that the place contained abundance of water. "The brook of *Wady Chusneh* runs close to it, a splendid fountain gushes out beside the *Wely*, and rivulets wind about in all directions. . . . Of few places in Palestine could it so truly be said, 'Here is much water'" (*Syr. & Pal.* ii. 346).

A tradition is mentioned by Reland (*Palaestina*, 978) that Salim was the native place of Simon Zelotes. This in itself seems to imply that its position was, at the date of the tradition, believed to be nearer to Galilee than to Judaea. [G.]

SALLA'I (שָׁלַי, in pause שָׁלַי: Σηλί; Alex. Σηλεί: *Sellai*). 1. A Benjamite, who with 928 of his tribe settled in Jerusalem after the captivity (*Neh.* xi. 8).

2. (Σαλαί.) The head of one of the courses of priests who went up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (*Neh.* xii. 20). In *Neh.* xii. 7 he is called SALLU.

SAL'LU (שָׁלֹו: Σαλώμ, Σηλώ; Alex. Σαλώ in 1 Chr.: *Salo, Sellum*). 1. The son of Meshullam, a Benjamite who returned and settled in Jerusalem after the captivity (1 Chr. ix. 7; *Neh.* xi. 7)

2. (Om. in Vat. MS.; Alex. Σαλουαί: *Sellum*.) The head of one of the courses of priests who returned with Zerubbabel (*Neh.* xii. 7). Called also SALLAI.

SALLUMUS (Σαλουμος; Alex. Σαλλουμος: *Salumus*). **SHALLUM** (1 *Esd.* ix. 25; comp. *Ezr.* x. 24).

SAL'MA, or **SAL'MON** (הַשָּׁלֹו, אֲשֶׁלֹו, or שָׁלֹו: Σαμων; Alex. Σαμων, but Σαλωμων both MSS. in *Ruth* iv.: *Salmon*). Son of Nahshon, the prince of the children of Judah, and father of Boaz, the husband of Ruth. Salmon's age is distinctly marked by that of his father Nahshon, and with this agrees the statement in 1 Chr. ii. 51, 54, that he was of the sons of Caleb, and the father, or head man of Bethlehem-Ephrath, a town which seems to have been within the territory of Caleb (1 Chr. ii. 50, 51). [EPHRATAH; BETHLEHEM.] On the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, Salmon took Rahab of Jericho to be his wife, and from this union sprang the Christ. [RAHAB.] From the circumstance of Salmon having lived at the time of the conquest of Canaan, as well as from his being the first proprietor of Bethlehem, where his family continued so many centuries, perhaps till the reign of Domitian (*Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* ii. 20), he may be called the founder of the house of David. Besides Bethlehem, the Netophathites, the house of Joab, the Zorites, and several other families, looked to Salmon as their head (1 Chr. ii. 54, 55).

Two circumstances connected with Salmon have caused some perplexity. One, the variation in the orthography of his name. The other, an apparent variation in his genealogy.

As regards the first, the variation in proper

^a Eusebius (*Chron. Canon.* lib. 1. 22) has no misgiving as to the identity of Salma.

^b See a work by Reuss, *Der acht und sechzigste Psalm, ein Denkmal exegetischer Noth und Kunst, zu Ehren unserer ganzen Zukunft*, Jena, 1851. Independently of its many obscure allusions, the 68th Psalm contains thirteen ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, including הַשָּׁלֹו. It may be observed that this word is scarcely, as Gesenius suggests, analogous to הַלְלִים, הַאֲדִים. Hiphils of colour; for these words have

names (whether caused by the fluctuations of copyists, or whether they existed in practice, and were favoured by the significance of the names), is so extremely common, that such slight differences as those in the three forms of this name are scarcely worth noticing. Compare *e. g.* the different forms of the name *Shimea*, the son of Jesse, in 1 Sam. xvi. 9; 2 Sam. xiii. 3; 1 Chr. ii. 13: or of *Simon*, Peter, in Luke v. 4, &c.; Acts xv. 14. See other examples in *Hervey's Geneal. of our Lord*, ch. vi. and x. Moreover, in this case, the variation from *Salma* to *Salmon* takes place in two consecutive verses, viz., *Ruth* iv. 20, 21, where the notion of two different persons being meant, though in some degree sanctioned by the authority of Dr. Kennicott (*Dissert.* i. p. 184, 543), is not worth refuting. As regards the *Salma* of 1 Chr. ii. 51, 54, his connection with Bethlehem identifies him with the son of Nahshon, and the change of the final ך into ך belongs doubtless to the late date of the Book of Chronicles. The name is so written also in 1 Chr. ii. 11. But the truth is that the sole reason for endeavouring to make two persons out of *Salma* and *Salmon*, is the wish to lengthen the line between *Salma* and *David*, in order to meet the false chronology of those times.

The variation in *Salma's* genealogy, which has induced some to think that the *Salma* of 1 Chr. ii. 51, 54 is a different person from the *Salma* of 1 Chr. ii. 11, is more apparent than real. It arises from the circumstance that Bethlehem-Ephrath, which was *Salmon's* inheritance, was part of the territory of Caleb, the grandson of Ephrath; and this caused him to be reckoned among the sons of Caleb. But it is a complete misunderstanding of the language of such topographical genealogies to suppose that it is meant to be asserted that *Salmon* was the literal son of Caleb. Mention is made of *Salma* only in *Ruth* iv. 20, 21; 1 Chr. ii. 11, 51, 54; *Matt.* i. 4, 5; *Luke* iii. 32. The questions of his age and identity are discussed in the *Geneal. of our Lord*, ch. iv. and ix.; *Jackson, Chron. Antiq.* i. 171; *Hales, Analysis*, iii. 44; *Burton, Geneal.* i. 189; *Dr. Mill, Vindic. of our Lord's Geneal.* 123, &c. [A. C. H.]

SALMANA'SAR (*Salmanasar*). **SHALMANESER**, king of Assyria (2 *Esd.* xiii. 40).

SAL'MON (שָׁלֹו: Σέλωμων: *Salmon*, *Judg.* ix. 48). The name of a hill near *Shechem*, on which Abimelech and his followers cut down the bough with which they set the tower of *Shechem* on fire. Its exact position is not known.

It is usually supposed that this hill is mentioned in a verse of perhaps the most difficult of all the *Psalms*^b (*Ps.* lxviii. 14); and this is probably though the passage is peculiarly difficult, and the precise allusion intended by the poet seems hopelessly lost. Commentators differ from each other, and *Fürst*, within 176 pages of his *Handwörterbuch*, differs from himself (see שָׁלֹו and שָׁלֹו). Indeed

a signification of colour in Kal. The really analogous word is הַמְטִיר, "he makes it rain," which bears the same relation to מֵטֵר, "rain," which הַשָּׁלֹו bears to שָׁלֹו, "snow." Owing, probably, to Hebrew religious conceptions of natural phenomena, no instance occurs of הַמְטִיר used as a neuter in the sense of "it rains," though this would be grammatically admissible.

of six distinguished modern commentators—De Wette, Hitzig, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, and Hupfeld—no two give distinctly the same meaning; and Mr. Keble, in his admirable Version of the Psalms, gives a translation which, though poetical, as was to be expected, differs from any one of those suggested by these six scholars. This is not the place for an exhaustive examination of the passage. It may be mentioned, however, that the literal translation of the words תִּשְׁלֵג בַּצִּלְמוֹן is “Thou makest it snow,” or “It snows,” with liberty to use the word either in the past or in the future tense. As notwithstanding ingenious attempts, this supplies no satisfactory meaning, recourse is had to a translation of doubtful validity, “Thou makest it white as snow,” or “It is white as snow”—words to which various metaphorical meanings have been attributed. The allusion which, through the Lexicon of Gesenius, is most generally received, is that the words refer to the ground being snow-white with bones after a defeat of the Canaanite kings; and this may be accepted by those who will admit the scarcely permissible meaning, “white as snow,” and who cannot rest satisfied without attaching some definite signification to the passage. At the same time it is to be remembered that the figure is a very harsh one; and that it is not really justified by passages quoted in illustration of it from Latin classical writers, such as, “campique ingentes ossibus albet” (Virg. *Aen.* xii. 36), and “humanis ossibus albet humus” (Ovid, *Fast.* i. 558), for in these cases the word “bones” is actually used in the text, and is not left to be supplied by the imagination. Granted, however, that an allusion is made to bones of the slain, there is a divergence of opinion as to whether Salmon was mentioned simply because it had been the battle-ground in some great defeat of the Canaanitish kings, or whether it is only introduced as an image of snowy whiteness. And of these two explanations, the first would be on the whole most probable; for Salmon cannot have been a very high mountain, as the highest mountains near Shechem are Ebal and Gerizim, and of these Ebal, the highest of the two, is only 1028 feet higher than the city (see EBAL, p. 470; and Robinson's *Gesenius*, 895 a). If the poet had desired to use the image of a snowy mountain, it would have been more natural to select Hermon, which is visible from the eastern brow of Gerizim, is about 10,000 feet high, and is covered with perpetual snow. Still it is not meant that this circumstance by itself would be conclusive; for there may have been particular associations in the mind of the poet, unknown to us, which led him to prefer Salmon.

In despair of understanding the allusion to Salmon, some suppose that Salmôn, i. e. *Tsalmôn*, is not a proper name in this passage, but merely signifies “darkness;” and this interpretation, supported by the Targum, though opposed to the Septuagint, has been adopted by Ewald, and in the first statement in his Lexicon is admitted by Fürst. Since *tsalmôn* signifies “shade,” this is a bare etymological possibility. But no such word as *tsalmôn* occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew language; while there are several other words for darkness, in different degrees of meaning, such as the ordinary word *choshék*, *ophel*, *aphêlah*, and *'araphel*.

Unless the passage is given up as corrupt, it seems more in accordance with reason to admit that there was some allusion present to the poet's mind,

the key to which is now lost; and this ought not to surprise any scholar who reflects how many allusions there are in Greek poets—in Pindar, for example, and in Aristophanes—which would be wholly unintelligible to us now, were it not for the notes of Greek scholiasts. To these notes there is nothing exactly analogous in Hebrew literature; and in the absence of some such assistance, it is unavoidable that there should be several passages in the O. T. respecting the meaning of which we must be content to remain ignorant. [E. T.]

SAL'MON the father of Boaz (Ruth iv. 20, 21; Matt. i. 4, 5; Luke iii. 32). [SALMA.]

SALMONE (Σαλμώνη: *Salmon*). The East point of the island of CRETE. In the account of St. Paul's voyage to Rome this promontory is mentioned in such a way (Acts xxvii. 7) as to afford a curious illustration both of the navigation of the ancients and of the minute accuracy of St. Luke's narrative. We gather from other circumstances of the voyage that the wind was blowing from the N.W. (ἐναντίους, ver. 4; βραδυπλοῦντες, ver. 7). [See MYRA.] We are then told that the ship, on making CNIDUS, could not, by reason of the wind, hold on her course, which was past the south point of Greece, W. by S. She did, however, just fetch Cape Salmone, which bears S.W. by S. from Cnidus. Now we may take it for granted that she could have made good a course of less than seven points from the wind [SHIP]: and, starting from this assumption, we are at once brought to the conclusion that the wind must have been between N.N.W. and W.N.W. Thus what Paley would have called an “undesigned coincidence” is elicited by a cross-examination of the narrative. This ingenious argument is due to Mr. Smith of Jordanhill (*Voy. and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, pp. 73, 74, 2nd ed.), and from him it is quoted by Conybeare and Howson (*Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, ii. 393, 2nd ed.). To these books we must refer for fuller details. We may just add that the ship had had the advantages of a weather shore, smooth water, and a favouring current, before reaching Cnidus, and that by running down to Cape Salmone the sailors obtained similar advantages under the lee of Crete, as far as FAIR HAVENS, near LASAEA. [J. S. H.]

SA'LOM (Σαλώμ: *Salom*). The Greek form 1. of Shallum, the father of Hilkiah (Bar. i. 7). [SHALLUM.] 2. (*Salomus*) of Salu the father of Zimri (1 Macc. ii. 26). [SALU.]

SALO'ME (Σαλώμη: *Salome*). 1. The wife of Zebedee, as appears from comparing Matt. xxvii. 56 with Mark xv. 40. It is further the opinion of many modern critics that she was the sister of Mary, the mother of Jesus, to whom reference is made in John xix. 25. The words admit, however, of another and hitherto generally received explanation, according to which they refer to the “Mary the wife of Cleophas” immediately afterwards mentioned. In behalf of the former view, it may be urged that it gets rid of the difficulty arising out of two sisters having the same name—that it harmonises John's narrative with those of Matthew and Mark—that this circuitous manner of describing his own mother is in character with St. John's manner of describing himself—that the absence of any connecting link between the second and third designations may be accounted for on the ground that the four are arranged in two distinct couplets—and, lastly, that the Peshito, the Persian, and the

Aethiopic versions mark the distinction between the second and third by interpolating a conjunction. On the other hand, it may be urged that the difficulty arising out of the name may be disposed of by assuming a double marriage on the part of the father—that there is no necessity to harmonise John with Matthew and Mark, for that the time and the place in which the groups are noticed differ materially—that the language addressed to John, “Behold thy mother!” favours the idea of the absence rather than of the presence of his natural mother—and that the varying traditions^a current in the early Church as to Salome’s parents, worthless as they are in themselves, yet bear a negative testimony against the idea of her being related to the mother of Jesus. Altogether we can hardly regard the point as settled, though the weight of modern criticism is decidedly in favour of the former view (see Wieseler, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1840, p. 648). The only events recorded of Salome are that she preferred a request on behalf of her two sons for seats of honour in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xx. 20), that she attended at the crucifixion of Jesus (Mark xv. 40), and that she visited his sepulchre (Mark xvi. 1). She is mentioned by name only on the two latter occasions.

2. The daughter of Herodias by her first husband, Herod Philip (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, §4). She is the “daughter of Herodias” noticed in Matt. xiv. 6 as dancing before Herod Antipas, and as procuring at her mother’s instigation the death of John the Baptist. She married in the first place Philip the tetrarch of Trachonitis, her paternal uncle, and secondly Aristobulus, the king of Chalcis. [W. L. B.]

SALT (מֶלַח: ἅλα: *sal*). Indispensable as salt is to ourselves, it was even more so to the Hebrews, being to them not only an appetizing condiment in the food both of man (Job vi. 6) and beast (Is. xxx. 24, see margin), and a most valuable antidote to the effects of the heat of the climate on animal food, but also entering largely into their religious services as an accompaniment to the various offerings presented on the altar (Lev. ii. 13). They possessed an inexhaustible and ready supply of it on the southern shores of the Dead Sea. Here may have been situated the Valley of Salt (2 Sam. viii. 13), in proximity to the mountain of fossil salt which Robinson (*Researches*, ii. 108) describes as five miles in length, and as the chief source of the salt in the sea itself. Here were the saltpits (Zeph. ii. 9), probably formed in the marshes at the southern end of the lake, which are completely coated with salt, deposited periodically by the rising of the waters; and here also were the successive pillars of salt which tradition has from time to time identified with Lot’s wife (Wisd. x. 7; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 11. §4). [SEA, THE SALT.] Salt might also be procured from the Mediterranean Sea, and from this source the Phoenicians would naturally obtain the supply necessary for salting fish (Neh. xiii. 16) and for other purposes. The Jews appear to have distinguished between rock-salt and that which was gained by evaporation, as the Talmudists particularize one species (probably the latter) as the “salt of Sodom” (Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 718). The notion that this expression means bitumen rests on no foundation. The saltpits formed an important source of revenue to the

^a According to one account she was the daughter of Joseph by a former marriage (Epiphani. *Haer.* lxxviii. 8):

rulers of the country (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, §2) and Antiochus conferred a valuable boon on Jerusalem by presenting the city with 375 bushels of salt for the Temple service (*Ant.* xii. 3, §3). In addition to the uses of salt already specified, the inferior sorts were applied as a manure to the soil or to hasten the decomposition of dung (Matt. x. 13; Luke xiv. 35). Too large an admixture, however, was held to produce sterility, as exemplified on the shores of the Dead Sea (Deut. xxix. 23; Zeph. ii. 9): hence a “salt” land was synonymous with barrenness (Job xxxix. 6, see margin; Jer. xvii. 6; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 8, §2, ἀλμυράθη και ἄγονος); and hence also arose the custom of sowing with salt the foundations of a destroyed city (Judg. ix. 45), as a token of its irretrievable ruin. It was the belief of the Jews that salt would, by exposure to the air, lose its virtue (μωρανθη, Matt. v. 13) and become saltless (ἄναλον, Mark ix. 50). The same fact is implied in the expressions of *Pliny sal iners* (xxx. 39), *sal tabescere* (xxx. 44); and Maundrell (*Early Travels*, p. 512, Bohn) asserts that he found the surface of a salt rock in this condition. The associations connected with salt in Eastern countries are important. As one of the most essential articles of diet, it symbolized hospitality; as an antiseptic, durability, fidelity, and purity. Hence the expression, “covenant of salt” (Lev. ii. 13; Num. xviii. 19; 2 Chr. xiii. 5), betokening an indissoluble alliance between friends; and again the expression, “salted with the salt of the palace” (Ezr. iv. 14), not necessarily meaning that they had “maintenance from the palace,” as the A. V. has it, but that they were bound by sacred obligations of fidelity to the king. So in the present day, “to eat bread and salt together” is an expression for a league of mutual amity (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 232); and, on the other hand, the Persian term for traitor is *nemekharam*, “faithless to salt” (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 790). It was probably with a view to keep this idea prominently before the minds of the Jews that the use of salt was enjoined on the Israelites in their offerings to God: for in the first instance it was specifically ordered for the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 13), which consisted mainly of flour, and therefore was not liable to corruption. The extension of its use to burnt sacrifices was a later addition (Ez. xliii. 24; Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 9, §1), in the spirit of the general injunction at the close of Lev. ii. 13. Similarly the heathens accompanied their sacrifices with salted barley-meal, the Greeks with their οὐλοχύται (Horn. *Il.* i. 449), the Romans with their *mola salsa* (Horn. *Sat.* ii. 3, 200) or their *salsae fruges* (Virg. *Aen.* ii. 133). It may of course be assumed that in all of these cases salt was added as a condiment; but the strictness with which the rule was adhered to—no sacrifice being offered without salt (Plin. *xxx.* 41), and still more the probable, though perhaps doubtful, admixture of it in incense (Ex. xxx. 35, where the word rendered “tempered together” is by some understood as “salted”)—leads to the conclusion that there was a symbolical force attached to its use. Our Lord refers to the sacrificial use of salt in Mark ix. 49, 50, though some of the other associations may also be implied. The purifying property of salt, as opposed to corruption, led to its selection as the outward sign in Elisha’s miracle (2 K. ii. 20, 21), and is also developed in the N. T.

according to another, the wife of Joseph (Niceph. *ll.* ii. 3).

(Matt. v. 13 Col. iv. 6). The custom of rubbing infants with salt (Ez. xvi. 4) originated in sanitary considerations, but received also a symbolical meaning. [W. L. B.]

SALT, CITY OF (חַלְמַיִת : αἱ πόλεις ἑσθλῶν; Alex. αἱ πόλεις αλων: *civitas Salis*). The fifth of the six cities of Judah which lay in the "wilderness" (Josh. xv. 62). Its proximity to Engedi, and the name itself, seem to point to its being situated close to or at any rate in the neighbourhood of the Salt-sea. Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 109) expresses his belief that it lay somewhere near the plain at the south end of that lake, which he would identify with the Valley of Salt. This, though possibly supported by the reading of the Vatican LXX., "the cities of Sodom," is at present a mere conjecture, since no trace of the name or the city has yet been discovered in that position. On the other hand, Mr. Van de Velde (*Syr. & Pal.* ii. 99, *Memoir*, 111, and *Map*) mentions a *Nahr Maleh* which he passed in his route from *Wady el-Rmail* to *Sebbeh*, the name of which (though the orthography is not certain) may be found to contain a trace of the Hebrew. It is one of four ravines which unite to form the *Wady el Bedun*. Another of the four, *W. 'Amreh* (*Syr. & P.* ii. 99; *Memoir*, 111, *Map*), recalls the name of Gomorrah, to the Hebrew of which it is very similar. [G.]

SALT, VALLEY OF (חַלְמַיִת אֵי, but twice with the article, חַלְמַיִת אֵי : Γεβελέμ, Γεμελέδ, καιλάς, and φάραγξ, τῶν ἀλῶν; Alex. Γημαλα, Γαιμελα: *Vallis Salinarum*). A certain valley, or perhaps more accurately a "ravine," the Hebrew word *Ge* appearing to bear that signification—in which occurred two memorable victories of the Israelite arms.

1. That of David over the Edomites (2 Sam. viii. 13; 1 Chr. xviii. 12). It appears to have immediately followed his Syrian campaign, and was itself one of the incidents of the great Edomite war of extermination.* The battle in the Valley of Salt appears to have been conducted by Abishai (1 Chr. xviii. 12), but David and Joab were both present in person at the battle and in the pursuit and campaign which followed; and Joab was left behind for six months to consummate the doom of the conquered country (1 K. xi. 15, 16; Ps. lx. title). The number of Edomites slain in the battle is uncertain: the narratives of Samuel and Chronicles both give it at 18,000, but this figure is lowered in the title of Ps. lx. to 12,000.

2. That of Amaziah (2 K. xiv. 7; 2 Chr. xxv. 11), who is related to have slain ten thousand Edomites in this valley, and then to have proceeded, with 10,000 prisoners, to the stronghold of the nation at *has-Sela*, the Cliff, *i. e.* Petra, and, after taking it, to have massacred them by hurling them down the precipice which gave its ancient name to the city.

* The Received Text of 2 Sam. viii. 13 omits the mention of Edomites; but from a comparison of the parallel passages in 1 Chr. and in the title of Ps. lx. there is good ground for believing that the verse originally stood thus: "And David made himself a name [when he returned from smiting the Aramites] [and when he returned he smote the Edomites] in the Valley of Salt—eighteen thousand;" the two clauses within brackets having been omitted by the Greek and Hebrew scribes respectively, owing to the very close resemblance of the words with which each clause finishes—אֲרָמִים and אֲדָמִים. This is the conjecture of Thénius (*Exeg. Handbuch*), and is

Neither of these notices affords any clue to the situation of the Valley of Salt, nor does the cursory mention of the name ("Gemela" and "Mela") in the *Onomasticon*. By Josephus it is not named on either occasion. Seetzen (*Reisen*, ii. 356) was probably the first to suggest that it was the broad open plain which lies at the lower end of the Dead Sea, and intervenes between the lake itself and the range of heights which crosses the valley at six or eight miles to the south. The same view is taken (more decisively) by Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 109). The plain is in fact the termination of the *Ghór* or valley through which the Jordan flows from the Lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea. Its N.W. corner is occupied by the *Khashm Usdúm*, a mountain of rock salt, between which and the lake is an extensive salt marsh, while salt streams and brackish springs pervade, more or less, the entire western half of the plain. Without presuming to contradict this suggestion, which yet can hardly be affirmed with safety in the very imperfect condition of our knowledge of the inaccessible regions S. and S.E. of the Dead Sea, it may be well to call attention to some considerations which seem to stand in the way of the implicit reception which most writers have given it since the publication of Dr. R.'s *Researches*.

(a) The word *Ge* (גַּי), employed for the place in question, is not, to the writer's knowledge, elsewhere applied to a broad valley or sunk plain of the nature of the lower *Ghór*. Such tracts are denoted in the Scripture by the words *Emek* or *Bika'ah*, while *Ge* appears to be reserved for clefts or ravines of a deeper and narrower character. [VALLEY.]

(b) *A priori*, one would expect the tract in question to be called in Scripture by the peculiar name uniformly applied to the more northern parts of the same valley—*ha-Arâbah*—in the same manner that the Arabs now call it *el-Ghór*—*Ghór* being their equivalent for the Hebrew *Arâbah*.

(c) The name "Salt," though at first sight conclusive, becomes less so on reflection. It does not follow, because the Hebrew word *melach* signifies salt, that therefore the valley was salt. A case exactly parallel exists at *el-Milh*, the representative of the ancient MOLADAH, some sixteen miles south of Hebron. Like *melach*, *milh* signifies salt; but there is no reason to believe that there is any salt present there, and Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 201 note) himself justly adduces it as "an instance of the usual tendency of popular pronunciation to reduce foreign proper names to a significant form." Just as *el-Milh* is the Arabic representative of the Hebrew Moladah, so possibly was *ge-melach* the Hebrew representative of some archaic Edomite name.

(d) What little can be inferred from the narrative as to the situation of the *Ge-Melach* is in favour of its being nearer to Petra. Assuming *Selah* to be Petra (the chain of evidence for which

adopted by Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, note to the passage). Ewald has shown (*Gesch.* iii. 201, 2) that the whole passage is very much disordered. וַיַּעַשׂ שֵׁם should probably be rendered "and set up a monument," instead of "and gat a name" (*Gesen. Thes.* 1431 b); Michaelis (*Suppl.* No. 2501, and note to *Bibel für Ungel.*); De Wette (*Bibel*); LXX. Κοισλ. καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐστηλωμένην; Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.*), crexit fornicem triumphalem. Raschi interprets it "reputation," and makes the reputation to have arisen from David's good act in burying the dead even of his enemies.

is tolerably connected), it seems difficult to believe that a large body of prisoners should have been dragged for upwards of fifty miles through the heart of a hostile and most difficult country, merely for massacre. [G.]

SALU (שָׁלוֹם: *Salu*; Alex. *Salu*). The father of Zimri the prince of the Simeonites, who was slain by Phinehas (Num. xxv. 14). Called also SALOM.

SALUM (Σαλούμ: *Esmennus*). 1. SHALLUM, the head of a family of gatekeepers (A. V. "porters") of the Temple (1 Esd. v. 28; comp. Ezr. ii. 42).

2. (Σαλήμος: *Solome*.) SHALLUM, the father of Hilkiah and ancestor of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 1; comp. Ezr. vii. 2). Called also SADAMIAS and SADOM.

SALUTATION. Salutations may be classed under the two heads of conversational and epistolary. The salutation at meeting consisted in early times of various expressions of blessing, such as "God be gracious unto thee" (Gen. xliii. 29); "Blessed be thou of the Lord" (Ruth iii. 10; 1 Sam. xv. 13); "The Lord be with you," "The Lord bless thee" (Ruth ii. 4); "The blessing of the Lord be upon you; we bless you in the name of the Lord" (Ps. cxxix. 8). Hence the term "bless" received the secondary sense of "salute," and is occasionally so rendered in the A. V. (1 Sam. xiii. 10, xxv. 14; 2 K. iv. 29, x. 15), though not so frequently as it might have been (*e. g.* Gen. xxvii. 23, xlvii. 7, 10; 1 K. viii. 66). The blessing was sometimes accompanied with inquiries as to the health either of the person addressed or his relations. The Hebrew term used in these instances (*shálóm*^a) has no special reference to "peace," as stated in the marginal translation, but to general well-being, and strictly answers to our "welfare," as given in the text (Gen. xliii. 27; Ex. xviii. 7). It is used not only in the case of salutation (in which sense it is frequently rendered "to salute," *e. g.* Judg. xviii. 15; 1 Sam. x. 4; 2 K. x. 13); but also in other cases where it is designed to soothe or to encourage a person (Gen. xliii. 23; Judg. vi. 23, xix. 20; 1 Chr. xii. 18; Dan. x. 19; compare 1 Sam. xx. 21, where it is opposed to "hurt;" 2 Sam. xviii. 28, "all is well;" and 2 Sam. xi. 7, where it is applied to the progress of the war). The salutation at parting consisted originally of a simple blessing (Gen. xxiv. 60, xxviii. 1, xlvii. 10; Josh. xxii. 6), but in later times the term *shálóm* was introduced here also in the form "Go in peace," or rather "Farewell" (1 Sam. i. 17, xx. 42; 2 Sam. xv. 9). This^b was current at the time of our Saviour's ministry (Mark v. 34; Luke vii. 50; Acts xvi. 36), and is adopted by Him in His parting address to His disciples (John xiv. 27). It had even passed into a salutation on meeting, in such forms as "Peace be to this house" (Luke x. 5), "Peace be unto you" (Luke xxiv. 36; John xx. 19). The more common salutation, however, at this period was borrowed from the Greeks, their word *χαίρειν* being used both at meeting (Matt. xxvi. 49, xxviii. 9; Luke i. 28), and probably also at departure. In modern times the ordinary mode of address current in the East resembles the Hebrew:—*Es-selám alcyhum*, "Peace be on you" (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* ii. 7), and

^a שָׁלוֹם.

^b The Greek expression is evidently borrowed from the Hebrew, the preposition *eis* not betokening the state *unto*,

the term "salam" has been introduced into our own language to describe the Oriental salutation.

The forms of greeting that we have noticed, were freely exchanged among persons of different ranks on the occasion of a casual meeting, and this even when they were strangers. Thus Boaz exchanged greeting with his reapers (Ruth ii. 4), the traveller on the road saluted the worker in the field (Ps. cxxix. 8), and members of the same family interchanged greetings on rising in the morning (1 Pet. xxvii. 14). The only restriction appears to have been in regard to religion; the Jew of old, as the Mohammedan of the present day, paying the compliment only to those whom he considered "brethren," *i. e.* members of the same religious community (Matt. v. 47; Lane, ii. 8; Niebuhr, *Descript.* p. 43). Even the Apostle St. John forbids an interchange of greeting where it implied a wish for the success of a bad cause (2 John 11). In modern times the Orientals are famed for the elaborate formality of their greetings, which occupy a very considerable time; the instances given in the Bible do not bear such a character, and therefore the prohibition addressed to persons engaged in urgent business, "Salute no man by the way" (2 K. iv. 29; Luke x. 4), may best be referred to the delay likely to ensue from subsequent conversation. Among the Persians the monarch was never approached without the salutation "Oh, king! live for ever" (Dan. ii. 4, &c.). There is no evidence that this ever became current among the Jews: the expression in 1 K. i. 31, was elicited by the previous allusion on the part of David to his own decease. In lieu of it we meet with the Greek *χαίρειν*, "hail!" (Matt. xxvii. 29). The act of salutation was accompanied with a variety of gestures expressive of different degrees of humiliation, and sometimes with a kiss. [ADORATION; KISS.] These acts involved the necessity of dismounting in case a person were riding or driving (Gen. xxiv. 64; 1 Sam. xxv. 23; 2 K. v. 21). The same custom still prevails in the East (Niebuhr's *Descript.* p. 39).

The epistolary salutations in the period subsequent to the O. T. were framed on the model of the Latin style: the addition of the term "peace" may, however, be regarded as a vestige of the old Hebrew form (2 Macc. i. 1). The writer placed his own name first, and then that of the person whom he saluted; it was only in special cases that this order was reversed (2 Macc. i. 1, ix. 19; 1 Esdr. vi. 7). A combination of the first and third persons in the terms of the salutation was not unfrequent (Gal. i. 1, 2; Philem. 1; 2 Pet. i. 1). The term used (either expressed or understood) in the introductory salutation was the Greek *χαίρειν* in an elliptical construction (1 Macc. x. 18; 2 Macc. ix. 19; 1 Esdr. viii. 9; Acts xxiii. 26); this, however, was more frequently omitted, and the only Apostolic passages in which it occurs are Acts xv. 23 and James i. 1, a coincidence which renders it probable that St. James composed the letter in the former passage. A form of prayer for spiritual mercies was also used, consisting generally of the terms "grace and peace," but in the three Pastoral Epistles and in 2 John, "grace, mercy, and peace," and in Jude "mercy, peace, and love." The concluding salutation consisted occasionally of a translation of the Latin *valete* (Acts xv. 29, xxiii. 30), but more frequently

which, but answering to the Hebrew *shalom* in which the person departs.

usually of the term ἀσπάζομαι, "I salute," or the cognate substantive, accompanied by a prayer for peace or grace. St. Paul, who availed himself of an amanuensis (Rom. xvi. 22), added the salutation with his own hand (1 Cor. xvi. 21; Col. iv. 18; 2 Thes. iii. 17). The omission of the introductory salutation in the Epistle to the Hebrews is very noticeable.

[W. L. B.]

SAM' AEL (Σαλαμιήλ: *Salathiel*), a variation for (margin) Salamiel [SHELUMIEL] in Jud. viii. 1 (comp. Num. i. 6). The form in A. V. is given by Aldus.

[B. F. W.]

SAMAI'AS (Σαμαίας: *Semeias*). 1. SHEMAIAH the Levite in the reign of Josiah (1 Esd. i. 9; comp. 2 Chr. xxxv. 9).

2. SHEMAIAH of the sons of Adonikam (1 Esd. viii. 39; comp. Ezr. viii. 13).

3. (Σεμεί; Alex. Σεμείας: om. in Vulg.) The "great Samaias," father of Ananias and Jonathas (Tob. v. 13).

SAMA'RIA (שָׁמֶרֶן, *i. e.* Shomerôn: Chald. שַׁמְרִיָּא; Σαμάρεια, Σεμηρών, Σομόρων^a; Joseph. Σαμάρεια, but *Ant.* viii. 12, §5, Σεμαρεών: *Samaria*), a city of Palestine.

The word *Shomerôn* means, etymologically, "pertaining to a watch," or "a watch-mountain;" and we should almost be inclined to think that the peculiarity of the situation of Samaria gave occasion to its name. In the territory originally belonging to the tribe of Joseph, about six miles to the north-west of Shechem, there is a wide basin-shaped valley, encircled with high hills, almost on the edge of the great plain which borders upon the Mediterranean. In the centre of this basin, which is on a lower level than the valley of Shechem, rises a less elevated oblong hill, with steep yet accessible sides, and a long flat top. This hill was chosen by Omri, as the site of the capital of the kingdom of Israel. The first capital after the secession of the ten tribes had been Shechem itself, whither all Israel had come to make Rehoboam king. On the separation being fully accomplished, Jeroboam rebuilt that city (1 K. xii. 25), which had been razed to the ground by Abimelech (Judg. ix. 45). But he soon moved to Tirzah, a place, as Dr. Stanley observes, of great and proverbial beauty (Cant. vi. 4); which continued to be the royal residence until Zimri burnt the palace and perished in its ruins (1 K. xiv. 17; xv. 21, 33; xvi. 6-18). Omri, who prevailed in the contest for the kingdom that ensued, after "reigning six years" there, "bought the hill of Samaria (שָׁמֶרֶן הַהַר; τὸ ἄσος τὸ Σεμηρών) of Shemer (שֶׁמֶר; Σεμήρ, Joseph. Σέμαρος) for two talents of silver, and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, after the name of the owner of the hill, Samaria" (1 K. xvi. 23, 24). This statement of course dispenses with the etymology above alluded to; but the central position of the hill, as Herod sagaciously observed long afterwards, made it admirably adapted for a place of *observation*, and a fortress to awe the neighbouring country. And the singular beauty of the spot, upon which, to this hour, travellers dwell with admiration, may have struck Omri, as it afterwards struck the tasteful Idumean (*B. J.* i. 21, §2; *Ant.* xv. 8, §5).

^a The prevailing LXX. form in the O. T. is Σαμάρεια, with the following remarkable exceptions:—1 K. xvi. 24, Σεμηρών . . . Σεμηρών (Mai, Σαμηρών); Ezr. iv. 10 Σομό-

From the date of Omri's purchase, B.C. 925, Samaria retained its dignity as the capital of the ten tribes. Ahab built a temple to Baal there (1 K. xvi. 32, 33); and from this circumstance a portion of the city, possibly fortified by a separate wall, was called "the city of the house of Baal" (2 K. x. 25). Samaria must have been a place of great strength. It was twice besieged by the Syrians, in B.C. 901 (1 K. xx. 1), and in B.C. 892 (2 K. vi. 24-vii. 20); but on both occasions the siege was ineffectual. On the latter, indeed, it was relieved miraculously, but not until the inhabitants had suffered almost incredible horrors from famine during their protracted resistance. The possessor of Samaria was considered to be *de facto* king of Israel (2 K. xv. 13, 14); and woes denounced against the nation were directed against it by name (Is. vii. 9, &c.). In B.C. 721, Samaria was taken, after a siege of three years, by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria (2 K. xviii. 9, 10), and the kingdom of the ten tribes was put an end to. [See below, No. 3.] Some years afterwards the district of which Samaria was the centre was repopled by Esarhaddon; but we do not hear especially of the city until the days of Alexander the Great. That conqueror took the city, which seems to have somewhat recovered itself (Euseb. *Chron.* ad ann. Abr. 1684), killed a large portion of the inhabitants, and suffered the remainder to settle at Shechem. [SHECHEM; SYCHAR.] He replaced them by a colony of Syro-Macedonians, and gave the adjacent territory (Σαμαρειτῆς χώρα) to the Jews to inhabit (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 4). These Syro-Macedonians occupied the city until the time of John Hyrcanus. It was then a place of considerable importance, for Josephus describes it (*Ant.* xiii. 10, §2) as a very strong city (πόλις ὀχυρωτάτη). John Hyrcanus took it after a year's siege, and did his best to demolish it entirely. He intersected the hill on which it lay with trenches: into these he conducted the natural brooks, and thus undermined its foundations. "In fact," says the Jewish historian, "he took away all evidence of the very existence of the city." This story at first sight seems rather exaggerated, and inconsistent with the hilly site of Samaria. It may have referred only to the suburbs lying at its foot. "But," says Prideaux (*Conn.* B.C. 109, note), "Benjamin of Tudela, who was in the place, tells us in his Itinerary^b that there were upon the top of this hill many fountains of water, and from these water enough may have been derived to fill these trenches." It should also be recollected that the hill of Samaria was lower than the hills in its neighbourhood. This may account for the existence of these springs. Josephus describes the extremities to which the inhabitants were reduced during this siege, much in the same way that the author of the Book of Kings does during that of Benhadad (comp. *Ant.* xiii. 10, §2, with 2 K. vi. 25). John Hyrcanus' reasons for attacking Samaria were the injuries which its inhabitants had done to the people of Marissa, colonists and allies of the Jews. This confirms what was said above, of the cession of the Samaritan neighbourhood to the Jews by Alexander the Great.

After this disaster (which occurred in B.C. 109), the Jews inhabited what remained of the city; at least we find it in their possession in the time of Alexander Jannæus (*Ant.* xiii. 15, §4), and until

ρων (Mai, Σομόρων); Neb. iv. 2, Is. vii. 9, Σομόρον.

^b No such passage, however, now exists in Benjamin of Tudela. See the editions of Asher and cf Bohn.

Pompey gave it back to the descendants of its original inhabitants (τοῖς οἰκήτοσιν). These οἰκήτορες may possibly have been the Syro-Macedonians, but it is more probable that they were Samaritans proper, whose ancestors had been dispossessed by the colonists of Alexander the Great. By directions of Gabinius, Samaria and other demolished cities were rebuilt (*Ant.* xiv. 5, §3). But its more effectual rebuilding was undertaken by Herod the Great, to whom it had been granted by Augustus, on the death of Antony and Cleopatra (*Ant.* xiii. 10, §3, xv. 8, §5; *B. J.* i. 20, §3). He called it *Sebaste* Σεβαστή = *Augusta*, after the name of his patron (*Ant.* xv. 7, §7). Josephus gives an elaborate description of Herod's improvements. The wall surrounding it was 20 stadia in length. In the middle of it was a close, of a stadium and a half square, containing a magnificent temple, dedicated to the Caesar. It was colonised by 6000 veterans and others, for whose support a most beautiful and rich district surrounding the city was appropriated. Herod's motives in these arrangements were probably, first, the occupation of a commanding position, and then the desire of distinguishing himself for taste by the embellishment of a spot already so adorned by nature (*Ant.* xv. 8, §5; *B. J.* i. 20, §3; 21, §2).

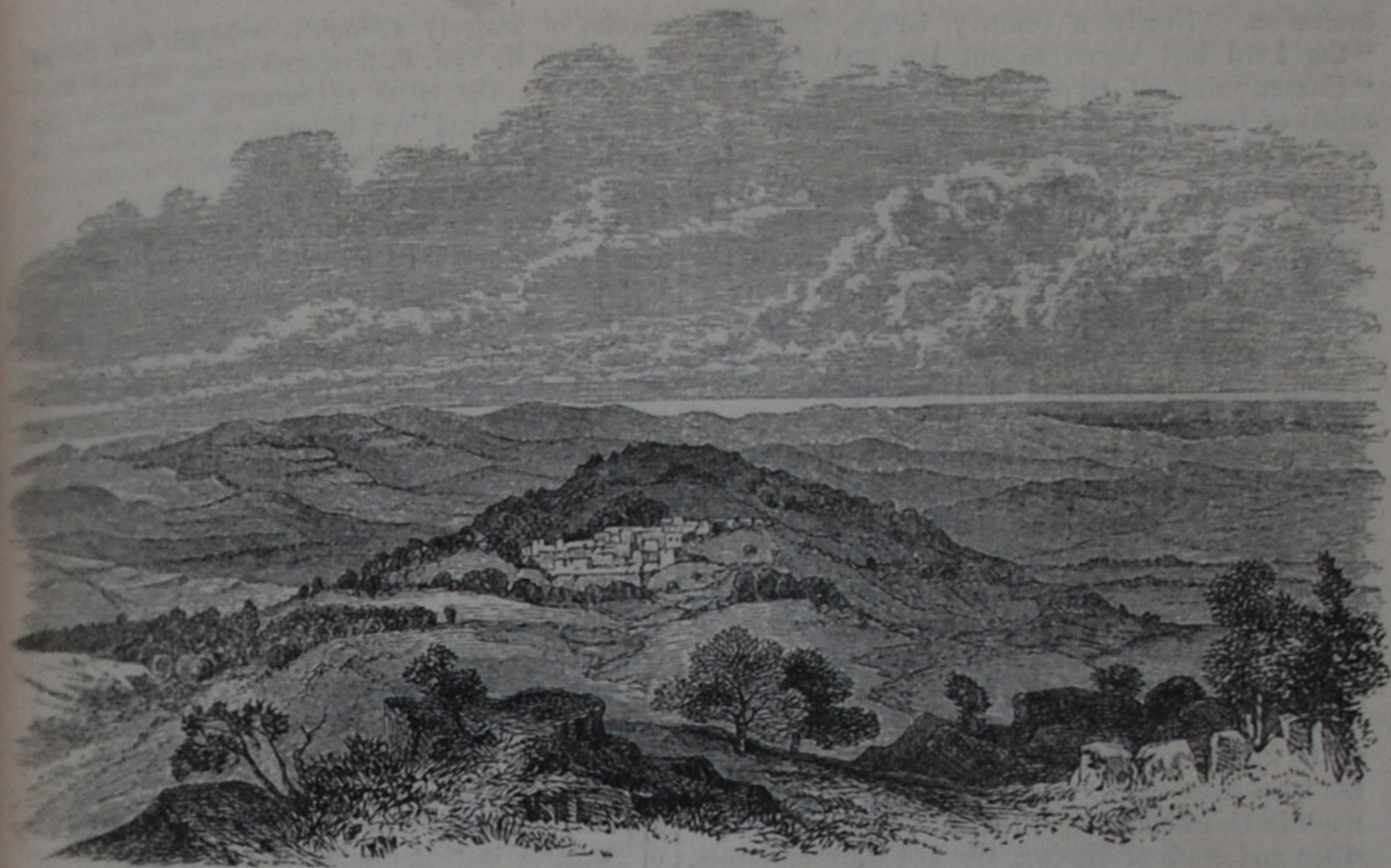
How long Samaria maintained its splendour after Herod's improvements we are not informed. In the N. T. the city itself does not appear to be mentioned, but rather a portion of the district to which, even in older times, it had extended its name. Our Version, indeed, of Acts viii. 5 says that Philip the deacon "went down to the city of Samaria;" but the Greek of the passage is simply εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας. And we may fairly argue, both from the absence of the definite article, and from the probability that, had the city Samaria been intended, the term employed would have been *Sebaste*, that some one city of the district, the name of which is not specified, was in the mind of the writer. In verse 9 of the same chapter "the people of Samaria" represents τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας; and the phrase in verse 25, "many villages of the Samaritans," shows that the operations of evangelizing were not confined to the city of Samaria itself, if they were ever carried on there. Comp. Matt. x. 5, "Into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not;" and John iv. 4, 5, where, after it has been said, "And He must needs go through Samaria," obviously the district, it is subjoined, "Then cometh He to a city of Samaria called Sychar." Henceforth its history is very unconnected. Septimius Severus planted a Roman colony there in the beginning of the third century (Ulpian, *Leg. I. de Censibus*, quoted by Dr. Robinson). Various specimens of coins struck on the spot have been preserved, extending from Nero to Geta, the brother of Caracalla (Vaillant, in *Numism. Imper.*, and Noris, quoted by Reland). But, though the seat of a Roman colony, it could not have been a place of much political importance. We find in the *Codex* of Theodosius, that by A.D. 409 the Holy Land had been divided into Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia. Palaestina Prima included the country of the Philistines, Samaria (the district), and the northern part of Judaea; but its capital was not Sebaste, but Caesarea. In an ecclesiastical point of view it stood rather higher. It was an episcopal see probably as early as the third century. At any rate its bishop was present amongst those of Palestine at the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, and subscribed its acts as "Maximus (al. Marinus)

Sebastenus." The names of some of his successors have been preserved—the latest of them mentioned is Pelagius, who attended the Synod at Jerusalem A.D. 536. The title of the see occurs in the earlier Greek *Notitiae*, and in the later Latin ones (Reland, *Pal.* 214-229). Sebaste fell into the hands of the Mahomedans during the siege of Jerusalem. In the course of the Crusades a Latin bishopric was established there, the title of which was recognised by the Roman Church until the fourteenth century. At this day the city of Oni and of Herod is represented by a small village retaining few vestiges of the past except its name, *Sebüstieh*, an Arabic corruption of Sebaste. Some architectural remains it has, partly of Christian construction or adaptation, as the ruined church of St. John the Baptist, partly, perhaps, traces of Idumaeen magnificence. "A long avenue of broken pillars (says Dr. Stanley), apparently the main street of Herod's city, here, as at Palmyra and Damascus, adorned by a colonnade on each side, still lines the topmost terrace of the hill." But the fragmentary aspect of the whole place exhibits a present fulfilment of the prophecy of Micah (i. 6), though it may have been fulfilled more than once previously by the ravages of Shalmaneser or of John Hyrcanus. "I will make Samaria as a heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard; and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof" (Mic. i. 6; comp. Hos. xiii. 16).

St. Jerome, whose acquaintance with Palestine imparts a sort of probability to the tradition which prevailed so strongly in later days, asserts that Sebaste, which he invariably identifies with Samaria, was the place in which St. John the Baptist was imprisoned and suffered death. He also makes it the burial-place of the prophets Elisha and Obadiah (see various passages cited by Reland, pp. 980-981). Epiphanius is at great pains, in his work *Adv. Haereses* (lib. i.), in which he treats of the heresies of the Samaritans with singular minuteness, to account for the origin of their name. He interprets it as סִמְרִישׁ, φύλακες, or "keepers." The hill on which the city was built was, he says, designated Somer or Someron (Σωμήρ, Σωμόρων), from a certain Someron the son of Somer, whom he considers to have been of the stock of the ancient Perizzites or Girgashites, themselves descendants of Canaan and Ham. But he adds, the inhabitants may have been called Samaritans from their guarding the land, or (coming down much later in their history) from their guarding the Law, as distinguished from the later writings of the Jewish Canon, which they refused to allow. [See SAMARITANS.]

For modern descriptions of the condition of Samaria and its neighbourhood, see Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, ii. 127-33; Reland's *Palaestina*, 344, 979-982; Raumer's *Palästina*, 144-148, notes; Van de Velde's *Syria and Palestine*, i. 363-388, and ii. 295, 296, *Map*, and *Memoir*; Dr. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 242-246; and a short article by Mr. G. Williams in the *Dict. of Geog.* Dr. Kitto, in his *Physical History of Palestine*, pp. cxvii., cxviii., has an interesting reference to an extract from Sandys, illustrative of its topography and general aspect at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

2. The Samaria named in the present text of 1 Macc. v. 66 (τὴν Σαμαρείαν: *Samariam*) is evidently an error. At any rate the well-known



Sejustiyeh, the ancient SAMARIA, from the E. N. E.

Behind the city are the mountains of Ephraim, verging on the Plain of Sharon. The Mediterranean Sea is in the furthest distance. The original sketch from which this view is taken was made by William Tipping, Esq., in 1842, and is engraved by his kind permission.

maria of the Old and New Testaments cannot be intended, for it is obvious that Judas, in passing from Hebron to the land of the Philistines (Azotus), could not make so immense a *détour*. The true correction is doubtless supplied by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8, §6), who has Marissa (*i. e.* MARESHA), a place which lay in the road from Hebron to the Philistine Plain. One of the ancient Latin Versions exhibits the same reading; which is accepted by Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 361) and a host of commentators (see Grimm, *Kurzg. Exeg. Handb.*, on the passage). Drusus proposed Shaaraim; but this is hardly so feasible as Maresha, and has no external support.

3. SAMARIA (ἡ Σαμαρείτις χώρα; Joseph. χώρα Σαμαρέων; Ptol. Σαμαρίς, Σαμαρεία: Samaria).

SAMARITANS (שַׁמְרֹנִים: Σαμαρείται; Joseph. Σαμαρείς).

There are few questions in Biblical philology upon which, in recent times, scholars have come to such opposite conclusions as the extent of the territory to which the former of these words is applicable, and the origin of the people to which the latter is applied in the N. T. But a probable solution of them may be gained by careful attention to the historical statements of Holy Scripture and of Josephus, and by a consideration of the geographical features of Palestine.

In the strictest sense of the term, a SAMARITAN would be an inhabitant of the *city* of Samaria. But it is not found at all in this sense, exclusively at any rate, in the O. T. In fact, it only occurs there once, and then in a wider signification, in 2 K. xvii. 29. There it is employed to designate those whom the king of Assyria had "placed in (what are called) the *cities* of Samaria (whatever these may be) instead of the children of Israel."

Were the word Samaritan found elsewhere in the O. T., it would have designated those who belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, which in a large sense was called Samaria. And as the extent of that kingdom varied, which it did very much, gradually

diminishing to the time of Shalmaneser, so the extent of the word Samaritan would have varied.

SAMARIA at first included all the tribes over which Jeroboam made himself king, whether east or west of the river Jordan. Hence, even before the *city* of Samaria existed, we find the "old prophet who dwelt at Bethel" describing the predictions of "the man of God who came from Judah," in reference to the altar at Bethel, as directed not merely against that altar, but "against all the houses of the high-places which are in the *cities of Samaria*" (1 K. xiii. 32), *i. e.*, of course, the cities of which Samaria was, or was to be, the head or capital. In other places in the historical books of the O. T. (with the exception of 2 K. xvii. 24, 26, 28, 29) Samaria seems to denote the *city* exclusively. But the prophets use the word, much as did the old prophet of Bethel, in a greatly extended sense. Thus the "calf of Bethel" is called by Hosea (viii. 5, 6) the "calf of Samaria;" in Amos (iii. 9) the "mountains of Samaria" are spoken of; and the "captivity of Samaria and her daughters" is a phrase found in Ezekiel (xvi. 53). Hence the word Samaritan must have denoted every one subject to the king of the northern capital.

But, whatever extent the word might have acquired, it necessarily became contracted as the limits of the kingdom of Israel became contracted. In all probability the territory of Simeon and that of Dan were very early absorbed in the kingdom of Judah. This would be one limitation. Next, in B.C. 771 and 740 respectively, "Pul, king of Assyria, and Tilgath-pilneser, king of Assyria, carried away the Reubenites and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan" (1 Chr. v. 26). This would be a second limitation. But the latter of these kings went further: "He took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria" (2 K. xv. 29). This would be a third

limitation. Nearly a century before, B.C. 860, "the Lord had begun to cut Israel short;" for "Hazeel, king of Syria, smote them in all the coasts of Israel; from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan" (2 K. x. 32, 33). This, however, as we may conjecture from the diversity of expression, had been merely a passing inroad, and had involved no permanent subjection of the country, or deportation of its inhabitants. The invasions of Pul and of Tilgath-pilneser were utter clearances of the population. The territory thus desolated by them was probably occupied by degrees by the pushing forward of the neighbouring heathen, or by straggling families of the Israelites themselves. In reference to the northern part of Galilee we know that a heathen population prevailed. Hence the phrase "Galilee of the Nations," or "Gentiles" (Is. ix. 1; 1 Mac. v. 15). And no doubt this was the case also beyond Jordan.

But we have yet to arrive at a fourth limitation of the kingdom of Samaria, and, by consequence, of the word Samaritan. It is evident from an occurrence in Hezekiah's reign, that just before the deposition and death of Hoshea, the last king of Israel, the authority of the king of Judah, or, at least, his influence, was recognised by portions of Asher, Issachar, and Zebulun, and even of Ephraim and Manasseh (2 Chr. xxx. 1-26). Men came from all those tribes to the Passover at Jerusalem. This was about B.C. 726. In fact, to such miserable limits had the kingdom of Samaria been reduced, that when, two or three years afterwards, we are told that "Shalmaneser came up throughout the land," and after a siege of three years "took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor by the river Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 K. xvii. 5, 6), and when again we are told that "Israel was carried away out of their own land into Assyria" (2 K. xvii. 23), we must suppose a very small field of operations. Samaria (the city), and a few adjacent cities or villages only, represented that dominion which had once extended from Bethel to Dan northwards, and from the Mediterranean to the borders of Syria and Ammon eastwards. This is further confirmed by what we read of Josiah's progress, in B.C. 641, through "the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim and Simeon, even unto Naphtali" (2 Chr. xxxiv. 6). Such a progress would have been impracticable had the number of cities and villages occupied by the persons then called Samaritans been at all large.

This, however, brings us more closely to the second point of our discussion, the origin of those who are in 2 K. xvii. 29, and in the N. T., called Samaritans. Shalmaneser, as we have seen (2 K. xvii. 5, 6, 26), carried Israel, *i. e.* the remnant of the ten tribes which still acknowledged Hoshea's authority, into Assyria. This remnant consisted, as has been shown, of Samaria (the city) and a few adjacent cities and villages. Now, 1. Did he carry away all their inhabitants, or no? 2. Whether they were wholly or only partially desolated, who replaced the deported population? On the answer to these inquiries will depend our determination of the questions, were the Samaritans a mixed race, composed partly of Jews, partly of new settlers, or were they purely of foreign extraction?

In reference to the former of these inquiries, it may be observed that the language of Scripture

admits of scarcely a doubt. "Israel was carried away" (2 K. xvii. 6, 23), and other nations were placed "in the cities of Samaria *instead* of the children of Israel" (2 K. xvii. 24). There is no mention whatever, as in the case of the somewhat parallel destruction of the kingdom of Judah, of "the poor of the land being left to be vine-dressers and husbandmen" (2 K. xxv. 12). We add, that, had any been left, it would have been impossible for the new inhabitants to have been so utterly unable to acquaint themselves with "the manner of the God of the land," as to require to be taught by some priest of the captivity sent from the king of Assyria. Besides, it was not an unusual thing with Oriental conquerors actually to exhaust a land of its inhabitants. Comp. Herod. iii. 149, "The Persians dragged (*σαγηνεύσαντες*) Samos, and delivered it up to Syloson stript of all its men;" and, again, Herod. vi. 31, for the application of the same treatment to other islands, where the process called *σαγηνεύειν* is described, and is compared to a hunting out of the population (*ἐκθηρεύειν*). Such a capture is presently contrasted with the capture of other territories to which *σαγηνεύειν* was not applied. Josephus's phrase in reference to the cities of Samaria is that Shalmaneser "transplanted all the people" (*Ant.* ix. 14, §1). A threat against Jerusalem, which was indeed only partially carried out, shows how complete and summary the desolation of the last relics of the sister kingdom must have been: "I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab: and I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish: he wipeth and turneth it upon the face thereof" (2 K. xxi. 13). This was uttered within forty years after B.C. 721, during the reign of Manasseh. It must have derived much strength from the recentness and proximity of the calamity.

We may then conclude that the cities of Samaria were not merely partially, but wholly evacuated of their inhabitants in B.C. 721, and that they remained in this desolated state until, in the words of 2 K. xvii. 24, "the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava (Ivah, 2 K. xviii. 34), and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel: and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof." Thus the new Samaritans—for such we must now call them—were Assyrians by birth or subjugation, were utterly strangers in the cities of Samaria, and were exclusively the inhabitants of those cities. An incidental question, however, arises, Who was the king of Assyria that effected this colonization? At first sight, one would suppose Shalmaneser; for the narrative is scarcely broken, and the re-peopling seems to be a natural sequence of the depopulation. Such would appear to have been Josephus' view, for he says of Shalmaneser, "when he had removed the people out of their land, he brought other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called (for there is still in Persia a river of that name), into Samaria and the country of the Israelites" (*Ant.* ix. 14, §1, 3; x. 9, §7); but he must have been led to this interpretation simply by the juxtaposition of the two transactions in the Hebrew text. The Samaritans themselves, in *Ezr.* iv. 2, 10, attributed their colonization not to Shalmaneser, but to "Esar-haddon, king of Assur," or to "the great and noble Asnapper," either the king himself or one of his generals. It was probably on his invasion of Judah, in the reign of Manasseh, about B.C. 677, that Esarhaddon discovered the

impolicy of leaving a tract upon the ~~very~~ frontiers of that kingdom thus desolate, and determined to garrison it with foreigners. The fact, too, that some of these foreigners came from Babylon would seem to direct us to Esarhaddon, rather than to his grandfather, Shalmaneser. It was only recently that Babylon had come into the hands of the Assyrian king. And there is another reason why this date should be preferred. It coincides with the termination of the sixty-five years of Isaiah's prophecy, delivered B.C. 742, within which "Ephraim should be broken that it should not be a people" (Is. vii. 8). This was not effectually accomplished until the very land itself was occupied by strangers. So long as this had not taken place, there might be hope of return: after it had taken place, no hope. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 9, §7) expressly notices this difference in the cases of the ten and of the two tribes. The land of the former became the possession of foreigners, the land of the latter not so.

These strangers, whom we will now assume to have been placed in "the cities of Samaria" by Esarhaddon, were of course idolaters, and worshipped a strange medley of divinities. Each of the five nations, says Josephus, who is confirmed by the words of Scripture, had its own god. No place was found for the worship of Him who had once called the land His own, and whose it was still. God's displeasure was kindled, and they were infested by beasts of prey, which had probably increased to a great extent before their entrance upon it. "The Lord sent lions among them, which slew some of them." On their explaining their miserable condition to the king of Assyria, he despatched one of the captive priests to teach them "how they should fear the Lord." The priest came accordingly, and henceforth, in the language of the sacred historian, they "feared the Lord, and served their graven images, both their children and their children's children: as did their fathers, so do they unto this day" (2 K. xvii. 41). This last sentence was probably inserted by Ezra. It serves two purposes: 1st, to qualify the pretensions of the Samaritans of Ezra's time to be pure worshippers of God—they were no more exclusively His servants, than was the Roman emperor who desired to place a statue of Christ in the Pantheon entitled to be called a Christian; and, 2ndly, to show how entirely the Samaritans of later days differed from their ancestors in respect to idolatry. Josephus' account of the distress of the Samaritans, and of the remedy for it, is very similar, with the exception that with him they are afflicted with pestilence.

Such was the origin of the post-captivity or new Samaritans—men not of Jewish extraction, but from the farther East: "the Cuthaeans had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called 'Samaritans,' taking the name of the country to which they were removed," says Josephus (*Ant.* x. 9, §7). And again he says (*Ant.* ix. 14, §3) they are called "in Hebrew 'Cuthaeans,' but in Greek 'Samaritans.'" Our Lord expressly terms them *ἀλλογενεῖς* (Luke xvii. 18); and Josephus' whole account of them shows that he believed them to have been *μέτοικοι ἀλλοεθνῆς*, though, as he tells us in two places (*Ant.* ix. 14, §3, and x. 8, §6), they sometimes gave a different account of their origin. But of this bye and bye. A gap exists in their history until Judah has returned from captivity. They then desire to be allowed to participate in the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. It is curious, and perhaps indicative of the

treacherous character of their designs, to find them even then called, by anticipation, "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" (Ezr. iv. 1), a title which they afterwards fully justified. But, so far as professions go, they are not enemies; they are most anxious to be friends. Their religion, they assert, is the same as that of the two tribes, therefore they have a right to share in that great religious undertaking. But they do not call it a *national* undertaking. They advance no pretensions to Jewish blood. They confess their Assyrian descent, and even put it forward ostentatiously, perhaps to enhance the merit of their partial conversion to God. That it was but partial they give no hint. It may have become purer already, but we have no information that it had. Be this, however, as it may, the Jews do not listen favourably to their overtures. Ezra, no doubt, from whose pen we have a record of the transaction, saw them through and through. On this the Samaritans throw off the mask, and become open enemies, frustrate the operations of the Jews through the reigns of two Persian kings, and are only effectually silenced in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, B.C. 519.

The feud, thus unhappily begun, grew year by year more inveterate. It is probable, too, that the more the Samaritans detached themselves from idols, and became devoted exclusively to a sort of worship of Jehovah, the more they resented the contempt with which the Jews treated their offers of fraternization. Matters at length came to a climax. About B.C. 409, a certain Manasseh, a man of priestly lineage, on being expelled from Jerusalem by Nehemiah for an unlawful marriage, obtained permission from the Persian king of his day, Darius Nothus, to build a temple on Mount Gerizim, for the Samaritans, with whom he had found refuge. The only thing wanted to crystallise the opposition between the two races, viz., a rallying point for schismatical worship, being now obtained, their animosity became more intense than ever. The Samaritans are said to have done everything in their power to annoy the Jews. They would refuse hospitality to pilgrims on their road to Jerusalem, as in our Lord's case. They would even waylay them in their journey (*Joseph. Ant.* xx. 6, §1); and many were compelled through fear to take the longer route by the east of Jordan. Certain Samaritans were said to have once penetrated into the Temple of Jerusalem, and to have defiled it by scattering dead men's bones on the sacred pavement (*Ant.* xviii. 2, §2). We are told too of a strange piece of mockery which must have been especially resented. It was the custom of the Jews to communicate to their brethren still in Babylon the exact day and hour of the rising of the paschal moon, by beacon-fires commencing from Mount Olivet, and flashing forward from hill to hill until they were mirrored in the Euphrates. So the Greek poet represents Agamemnon as conveying the news of Troy's capture to the anxious watchers at Mycenae. Those who "sat by the waters of Babylon" looked for this signal with much interest. It enabled them to share in the devotions of those who were in their father-land, and it proved to them that they were not forgotten. The Samaritans thought scorn of these feelings, and would not unfrequently deceive and disappoint them, by kindling a rival flame and perplexing the watchers on the mountains.* Their

* "This fact," says Dr. Trench, "is mentioned by Makrizi (see De Sacy's *Chrest. Arabe*, ii. 159), who affirms that it was this which put the Jews on making accurate

own temple on Gerizim they considered to be much superior to that at Jerusalem. There they sacrificed a passover. Towards the mountain, even after the temple on it had fallen, wherever they were, they directed their worship. To their copy of the Law they arrogated an antiquity and authority greater than attached to any copy in the possession of the Jews. The Law (*i. e.* the five books of Moses) was their sole code; for they rejected every other book in the Jewish canon. And they professed to observe it better than did the Jews themselves, employing the expression not unfrequently, "The Jews indeed do so and so; but we, observing the letter of the Law, do otherwise."

The Jews, on the other hand, were not more conciliatory in their treatment of the Samaritans. The copy of the Law possessed by that people they declared to be the legacy of an apostate (Manasseh), and cast grave suspicions upon its genuineness. Certain other Jewish renegades had from time to time taken refuge with the Samaritans. Hence, by degrees, the Samaritans claimed to partake of Jewish blood, especially if doing so happened to suit their interest (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §6; ix. 14, §3). A remarkable instance of this is exhibited in a request which they made to Alexander the Great, about B.C. 332. They desired to be excused payment of tribute in the Sabbatical year, on the plea that as true Israelites, descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh, sons of Joseph, they refrained from cultivating their land in that year. Alexander, on cross-questioning them, discovered the hollowness of their pretensions. (They were greatly disconcerted at their failure, and their dissatisfaction probably led to the conduct which induced Alexander to besiege and destroy the city of Samaria. Shechem was indeed their metropolis, but the destruction of Samaria seems to have satisfied Alexander.) Another instance of claim to Jewish descent appears in the words of the woman of Samaria to our Lord, John iv. 12, "Art Thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the well?" A question which she puts without recollecting that she had just before strongly contrasted the Jews and the Samaritans. Very far were the Jews from admitting this claim to consanguinity on the part of these people. They were ever reminding them that they were after all mere Cuthaeans, mere strangers from Assyria. They accused them of worshipping the idol-gods buried long ago under the oak of Shechem (Gen. xxxv. 4). They would have no dealings with them that they could possibly avoid.^b "Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil," was the mode in which they expressed themselves when at a loss for a bitter reproach. Every thing that a Samaritan had touched was as swine's flesh to them. The Samaritan was publicly cursed in their synagogues—could not be adduced as a witness in the Jewish courts—could not be admitted to any sort of proselytism—and was thus, so far as the Jew could affect his position, excluded from hope of eternal life. The traditional hatred in which the Jew held him is expressed in Eccles. i. 25, 26, "There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation: they that sit on the mountain of Samaria;

calculations to determine the moment of the new moon's appearance (comp. Schoettgen's *Hor. Heb.* i. 344)."

^b This prejudice had, of course, sometimes to give way to necessity, for the disciples had gone to Sychar to buy food, while our Lord was talking with the woman of Samaria by the well in its suburb (John iv. 8). And from Luke ix. 52, we learn that the disciples went before our

and they that dwell among the Philistines; and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem." And so long was it before such a temper could be banished from the Jewish mind, that we find even the Apostles believing that an inhospitable slight shown by a Samaritan village to Christ would be not unduly avenged by calling down fire from heaven.

"Ye know not what spirit ye are of," said the large-hearted Son of Man, and we find Him on one occasion uttering anything to the disparagement of the Samaritans. His words, however, and the records of His ministrations confirm most thoroughly the view which has been taken above, that the Samaritans were not Jews. At the first sending forth of the Twelve (Matt. x. 5, 6) He charges them, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." So again, in His final address to them on Mount Olivet, "Ye shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts i. 8). So the nine unthankful lepers, Jews, were contrasted by Him with the tenth leper, the thankful stranger (*ἀλλογενής*), who was a Samaritan. So, in His well-known parable, a merciful Samaritan is contrasted with the unmerciful priest and Levite. And the very worship of the two races is described by Him as different in character. "Ye worship ye know not what," this is said of the Samaritans: "We know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews" (John iv. 22).

Such were the Samaritans of our Lord's day: a people distinct from the Jews, though lying in the very midst of the Jews; a people preserving their identity, though seven centuries had rolled away since they had been brought from Assyria by Esarhaddon, and though they had abandoned their polytheism for a sort of ultra Mosaicism; a people, whose though their limits had been gradually contracted, and the rallying place of their religion on Mount Gerizim had been destroyed one hundred and sixty years before by John Hyrcanus (B.C. 130), and though Samaria (the city) had been again and again destroyed, and though their territory had been the battle-field of Syria and Egypt—still preserved their nationality, still worshipped from Shechem and their other impoverished settlements towards their sacred hill; still retained their nationality, and could not coalesce with the Jews:

ὄξος τ' ἀλειφά τ' ἐγχεάς ταύτῳ κύτει,
διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν οὐ φίλως προσεννέποις.

Not indeed that we must suppose that the whole of the country called in our Lord's time Samaria, was in the possession of the Cuthæan Samaritans, or that it had ever been so. "Samaria," says Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 3, §4) "lies between Judæa and Galilee. It commences from a village called Ginaea (*Jenin*), on the great plain (that of Esdraelon), and extends to the toparchy of Acrabatta," in the lower part of the territory of Ephraim. These points, indicating the extreme northern and the extreme southern parallels of latitude between which Samaria was situated, enable us to fix its boundaries with tolerable

Lord at His command into a certain village of the Samaritans "to make ready" for Him. Unless, indeed (though, as we see on both occasions, our Lord's influence over them was not yet complete), we are to attribute this partial abandonment of their ordinary scruples to the change which His example had already wrought in them.

about certainty. It was bounded northward by the range of hills which commences at Mount Carmel on the west, and, after making a bend to the south-west, runs almost due east to the valley of the Jordan, forming the southern border of the plain of Esdraelon. It touched towards the south, as nearly as possible, the northern limits of Benjamin. Thus it comprehended the ancient territory of Ephraim, and of those Manassites who were west of Jordan. "Its character," Josephus continues, "is in no respect different from that of Judaea. Both abound in mountains and plains, and are suited for agriculture, and productive, wooded, and full of fruits both wild and cultivated. They are not abundantly watered; but much rain falls there. The springs are of an exceedingly sweet taste; and, on account of the quantity of good grass, the cattle there produce more milk than elsewhere. But the best proof of their richness and fertility is that both are thickly populated." The accounts of modern travellers confirm this description by the Jewish historian of the "good land" which was allotted to that powerful portion of the house of Joseph which crossed the Jordan, on the first division of the territory. The Cuthaeon Samaritans, however, possessed only a few towns and villages of this large area, and these lay almost together in the centre of the district. Shechem or Sychar (as it was contemptuously designated) was their chief settlement, even before Alexander the Great destroyed Samaria, probably because it lay almost close to Mount Gerizim. Afterwards it became more prominently so, and there, on the destruction of the Temple on Gerizim, by John Hyrcanus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, §1), they built themselves a temple. The modern representative of Shechem is *Nâblus*, a corruption of Neapolis, or the "New Town," built by Vespasian a little to the west of the older town which was then ruined. At *Nâblus* the Samaritans have still a settlement, consisting of about 200 persons. Yet they observe the Law, and celebrate the Passover on a sacred spot on Mount Gerizim, with an exactness of minute ceremonial which the Jews themselves have long intermitted:

"Quamquam diruta, servat
ignem Trojanum, et Vestam colit Alba minorem."

The Samaritans were very troublesome both to their Jewish neighbours and to their Roman masters, in the first century, A.D. Pilate chastised them with a severity which led to his own downfall (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, §1), and a slaughter of 10,600 of them took place under Vespasian (*B. J.* iii. 7, §32). In spite of these reverses they increased greatly in numbers towards its termination, and appear to have grown into importance under Dositheus, who was probably an apostate Jew. Epiphanius (*adv. Haereses*, lib. i.), in the fourth century, considers them to be the chief and most dangerous adversaries of Christianity, and he enumerates the several sects into which they had by that time divided themselves. They were popularly, and even by some of the Fathers, confounded with the Jews, inasmuch that a legal interpretation of the Gospel was described as a tendency to *Σαμαρειτισμός* or *Ἰουδαϊσμός*. This confusion, however, did not extend to an identification of the two races. It was simply an assertion that their extreme opinions were identical. And previously to an outrage which they committed on the Christian at Neapolis in the reign of Zeno, towards the end of the fifth century, the distinction between them and the Jews was sufficiently known, and even recognised in the Theo-

dosian Code. This was so severely punished, that they sank into an obscurity, which, though they are just noticed by travellers of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, was scarcely broken until the sixteenth century. In the latter half of that century a correspondence with them was commenced by Joseph Scaliger. (De Sacy has edited two of their letters to that eminent scholar.) Job Ludolf received a letter from them, in the latter half of the next century. These three letters are to be found in Eichhorn's *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur*, vol. xiii. They are of great archaeological interest, and enter very minutely into the observances of the Samaritan ritual. Among other points worthy of notice in them is the inconsistency displayed by the writers in valuing themselves on not being Jews, and yet claiming to be descendants of Joseph. See also De Sacy's *Correspondance des Samaritains, &c.*, in *Notices et Extr. des MSS. de la Biblioth. du Roi, &c.*, vol. xii. And, for more modern accounts of the people themselves, Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, ii. 280-311; iii. 129-30; Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 46-78; Van de Velde's *Syria and Palestine*, ii. 296 seq.; Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 240; Rogers' *Notices of the Modern Samaritans*, p. 25; Grove's account of their Day of Atonement in *Vacation Tourists for 1861*; and Dr. Stanley's, of their Passover, in his *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, App. iii.

The view maintained in the above remarks, as to the purely Assyrian origin of the New Samaritans, is that of Suicer, Reland, Hammond, Drusius in the *Critici Sacri*, Maldonatus, Hengstenberg, Hävernich, Robinson, and Dean Trench. The reader is referred to the very clear but too brief discussion of the subject by the last mentioned learned writer, in his *Parables*, pp. 310, 311, and to the authorities, especially De Sacy, which are there quoted. There is no doubt in the world that it was the ancient view. We have seen what Josephus said, and Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, say the same thing. Socrates, it must be admitted, calls the Samaritans *ἀπόσχισμα Ἰουδαίων*, but he stands almost alone among the ancients in making this assertion. Origen and Cyril indeed both mention their claim to descent from Joseph, as evidenced in the statement of the woman at the well, but mention it only to declare it unfounded. Others, as Winer, Döllinger, and Dr. Davidson, have held a different view, which may be expressed thus in Döllinger's own words: "In the northern part of the Promised Land (as opposed to Judaea proper) there grew up a mingled race which drew its origin from the remnant of the Israelites who were left behind in the country on the removal of the Ten Tribes, and also from the heathen colonists who were transplanted into the cities of Israel. Their religion was as hybrid as their extraction: they worshipped Jehovah, but, in addition to Him, also the heathen idols of Phoenician origin which they had brought from their native land" (*Heidenthum und Judenthum*, p. 739, §7). If the words of Scripture are to be taken alone, it does not appear how this view is to be maintained. At any rate, as Drusius observes, the only mixture was that of Jewish apostate fugitives, long after Esarhaddon's colonization, not at the time of the colonization. But modern as this view is, it has for some years been the popular one, and even Dr. Stanley seems, though quite incidentally, to have admitted it (*S. & P.* 240). He does not, however,

enter upon its defence. Mr. Grove is also in favour of it. See his notice already mentioned.

The authority due to the copy of the Law possessed by the Samaritans, and the determination whether the Samaritan reading of Deut. xxvii. 4, *Gerizim*, or that of the Hebrew, *Ebal*, is to be preferred, are discussed in the next article. [See SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH; EBAL; GERIZIM; SHECHEM; SICHEM; SYCHAR.] J. A. H.]

SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, a Recension of the commonly received Hebrew Text of the Mosaic Law, in use with the Samaritans, and written in the ancient Hebrew (*Ibri*), or so-called Samaritan character.^a This recension is found vaguely quoted by some of the early Fathers of the Church, under the name of "Παλαιότατον Ἑβραϊκὸν τὸ παρὰ Σαμαρειταῖς," in contradistinction to the "Ἑβραϊκὸν τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις;" further, as "Samaritanorum Volumina," &c. Thus Origen on Num. xiii. 1, . . . "ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ τούτων Σαμαρειτῶν Ἑβραϊκοῦ μετεβάλομεν;" and on Num. xxi. 13, . . . "ἃ ἐν μόνοις τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν εὔρομεν," &c. Jerome, Prol. to Kings: "Samaritani etiam Pentateuchum Moysis totidem (? 22, like the "Hebrews, Syrians and Chaldaeans") litteris habent, figuris tantum et apicibus discrepantes." Also on Gal. iii. 10, "quam ob causam"—(viz. Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, being quoted there from Deut. xxvii. 26, where the Masoretic text has only אָרֹר אִשְׁרָ לֹא יִקִּים אֹתָם—דְּבַר־יְהוָה הַזֶּה הוֹאֵת לֹא יִקִּים אֹתָם—"cursed be he that confirmeth not^b the words of this Law to do them;" while the LXX. reads πᾶς ἄνθρωπος . . . πᾶσι τοῖς λόγοις)—"quam ob causam Samaritanorum Hebraea volumina relegens invenit scriptum esse;" and he forthwith charges the Jews with having deliberately taken out the לֹא, because they did not wish to be bound *individually* to all the ordinances: forgetting at the same time that this same לֹא occurs in the very next chapter of the Masoretic text (Deut. xxviii. 15):—"All his commandments and his statutes." Eusebius of Caesarea observes that the LXX. and the Sam. Pent. agree against the Received Text in the number of years from the Deluge to Abraham. Cyril of Alexandria speaks of certain words (Gen. iv. 8), wanting in the Hebrew, but found in the Samaritan. The same remark is made by Procopius of Gaza with respect to Deut. i. 6; Num. x. 10, x. 9, &c. Other passages are noticed by Diodorus, the Greek Scholiast, &c. The Talmud, on the other hand, mentions the Sam. Pent. distinctly and contemptuously as a clumsily forged record: "You have falsified^c your Pentateuch," said R. Eliezer b. Shimon to the Samaritan scribes, with reference to a passage in Deut. xi. 30, where the well-understood word Shechem was gratuitously inserted after "the plains of Moreh,"—"and you have not profited aught by it" (comp. *Jer. Sotah* 21 b, cf. 17; *Babli* 33 b). On another occasion they are ridiculed on account of their ignorance of one of the simplest rules of Hebrew Grammar, displayed in their Pentateuch; viz. the use of the ה locale (unknown, however, according to *Jer. Meg.* 6, 2, also to the people of Jerusalem). "Who has caused you to blunder?" said R. Shimon b. Eliezer to them; referring to their

^a לִיבוֹטָאָה כְּתָב עִבְרִית רַעֲיָ לִיבוֹטָאָה, as distinguished from כְּתָב אִשְׁוּרִית עִבְרִית. Comp. *Synh* 21 b, *Jer. Meg.* 6, 2; *Tosifta Synh.* 4; *Synhedr.* 22 a, *Meg. Jer.* 1, 9, *Sota Jer.* 7, 2, sq.

abolition of the Mosaic ordinance of marrying the deceased brother's wife (Deut. xxv. 5 ff.),—through a misinterpretation of the passage in question, which enjoins that the wife of the dead man shall not be "without" to a stranger, but that the brother should marry her: they, however, taking אִשְׁוּרִית (= יְחִוּיָּ) to be an epithet of אִשָּׁה, "wife," translated "the *outer* wife," i. e. the *betrothed* only (*Jer. Jebam.* 3, 2, *Ber. R.*, &c.).

Down to within the last two hundred and fifty years, however, no copy of this divergent Code of Laws had reached Europe, and it began to be pronounced a fiction, and the plain words of the Church Fathers—the better known authorities—who quoted it, were subjected to subtle interpretations. Suddenly, in 1616, Pietro della Valle, one of the first discoverers also of the Cuneiform inscriptions, acquired a complete Codex from the Samaritans in Damascus. In 1623 it was presented by Achille Harley de Sancy to the Library of the Oratory in Paris, and in 1625 there appeared a brief description of it by J. Morinus in his preface to the Roman text of the LXX. Three years later, shortly before it was published in the Paris Polyglott,—whence it was copied, with few emendations from other codices, by Walton.—Morinus, the first editor, wrote his *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticae in utroque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, in which he pronounced the newly found Codex, with all its innumerable Variants from the Masoretic text, to be infinitely superior to the latter: in fact, the unconditional and speedy emendation of the Received Text thereby was urged most authoritatively. And now the impulse was given to one of the fiercest and most barren literary and theological controversies: of which more anon. Between 1620 and 1630 six additional copies, partly complete, partly incomplete, were acquired by Ussher: five of which he deposited in English libraries, while one was sent to De Dieu, and has disappeared mysteriously. Another Codex, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, was brought to Italy in 1621. Peiresc procured two more, one of which was placed in the Royal Library of Paris, and one in the Barberini at Rome. Thus the number of MSS. in Europe gradually grew to sixteen. During the present century another, but very fragmentary copy, was acquired by the Gotha Library. A copy of the entire (?) Pentateuch, with Targum (? Samaritan Version), in parallel columns, 4to., on parchment, was brought from *Nablus* by Mr. Grove in 1861, for the Court of Paris, in whose library it is. Single portions of the Sam. Pent., in a more or less defective state, are now of no rare occurrence in Europe.

Respecting the external condition of these MSS. it may be observed that their sizes vary from 12mo. to folio, and that no scroll, such as the Jews and the Samaritans use in their synagogues, is to be found among them. The letters, which are of a size corresponding to that of the book, exhibit none of those varieties of shape so frequent in the Masor. Text; such as majuscules, minuscules, suspended, inverted letters, &c. Their material is vellum or cotton-paper; the ink used is black in all cases save the scroll used by the Samaritans at *Nablus*, the letters of which are in gold. There are neither vowels

^b The A. V., following the LXX., אִשְׁוּרִית perhaps has inserted the word *all*

^c זִיפְתָּם.

accents, nor diacritical points. The individual words are separated from each other by a dot. Greater or smaller divisions of the text are marked by two dots, placed one above the other, and by an asterisk. A small line above a consonant indicates a peculiar meaning of the word, an unusual form, a passive,

and the like: it is, in fact, a contrivance to bespeak attention.^d The whole Pentateuch is divided into nine hundred and sixty-four paragraphs, or *Kazzin*, the termination of which is indicated by these figures =, .*, or <. At the end of each book the number of its divisions is stated thus:—

(250)	הזה ספר הראשון : קצין מאתים ונ	[Masoret. Cod., 12 Sidras (Parshioth), 50 Chapters].
(200)	מאתים " השני " " L " 11 " 40 "]	
(130)	מאה ושלושים " השלישי " " [" 10 " 27 "]	
(218)	ר . ויה " הרביעי " " [" 10 " 36 "]	
(166)	ק . וסו " החמישי " " [" 11 " 34 "]	

The Sam. Pentateuch is halved in Lev. vii. 15 (viii. 8, in Hebrew Text), where the words "Middle of the Torah" are found. At the end of each MS. the year of the copying, the name of the scribe, and also that of the proprietor, are usually stated. Yet their dates are not always trustworthy when given, and very difficult to be conjectured when entirely omitted, since the Samaritan letters afford no internal evidence of the period in which they were written. To none of the MSS., however, which have as yet reached Europe, can be assigned a higher date than the 10th Christian century. The scroll used in *Nabbus* bears—so the Samaritans pretend—the following inscription:—"I, Abisha, son of Pinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the Priest,—upon them be the Grace of Jehovah! To His honour have I written this Holy Law at the entrance of the Tabernacle of Testimony on the Mount Gerizim, Beth El, in the thirteenth year of the taking possession of the Land of Canaan, and all its boundaries around it, by the Children of Israel. I praise Jehovah." (Letter of Meshalmah b. Ab Sechuah, Cod. 19,701, Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. Comp. *Epist. Sam. Samaritanum ad Jobum Ludolphum*, Cizae, 1688; *Antiq. Eccl. Orient.* p. 123; *Huntingtoni Epist.* pp. 49, 56; *Eichhorn's Repertorium f. bibl. und many Lit.*, tom. ix., &c.) But no European^f has ever succeeded in finding it in this scroll, however great the pains bestowed upon the search (comp. *Eichhorn, Einleit.* ii. 132); and even if it had been found, it would not have deserved the slightest credence.

We have briefly stated above that the *Exercitationes* of Morinus, which placed the Samaritan Pentateuch far above the Received Text in point of genuineness,—partly on account of its agreeing in many places with the Septuagint, and partly on account of its superior "lucidity and harmony,"—excited and kept up for nearly two hundred years one of the most extraordinary controversies on record. Characteristically enough, however, this was set at rest once for all by the very first systematic investigation of the point at issue. It would now appear as if the unquestioning rapture with which every new literary discovery was formerly hailed, the intense animosity against the Masoretic (Jewish) Text, the general preference for the LXX., the defective state of Semitic studies,—as if, we say, all these put

together were not sufficient to account for the phenomenon that men of any critical acumen could for one moment not only place the Sam. Pent. on a par with the Masoretic Text, but even raise it, unconditionally, far above it. There was indeed another cause at work, especially in the first period of the dispute: it was a controversial spirit which prompted Morinus and his followers, Cappellus and others, to prove to the Reformers what kind of value was to be attached to *their* authority: the received form of the Bible, upon which and which alone they professed to take their stand;—it was now evident that nothing short of the Divine Spirit, under the influence and inspiration of which the Scriptures were interpreted and expounded by the Roman Church, could be relied upon. On the other hand, most of the "*Antinorinians*"—De Muys, Hottinger, St. Morinus, Buxtorf, Fuller, Leusden, Pfeiffer, &c.—instead of patiently and critically examining the subject and refuting their adversaries by arguments which were within their reach, as they are within ours, directed their attacks against the persons of the Morinians, and thus their misguided zeal left the question of the superiority of the New Document over the Old where they found it. Of higher value were, it is true, the labours of Simon, Le Clerc, Walton, &c., at a later period, who proceeded eclectically, rejecting many readings, and adopting others which seemed preferable to those of the Old Text. Houbigant, however, with unexampled ignorance and obstinacy, returned to Morinus' first notion—already generally abandoned—of the unquestionable and thorough superiority. He, again, was followed more or less closely by Kennicott, Al. a St. Aquilino, Lobstein, Geddes, and others. The discussion was taken up once more on the other side, chiefly by Ravius, who succeeded in finally disposing of this point of the superiority (*Exercitt. Phil. in Houbig. Prol.* Lugd. Bat. 1755). It was from his day forward allowed, almost on all hands, that the Masoretic Text was the genuine one, but that in doubtful cases, when the Samaritan had an "unquestionably clearer" reading, this was to be adopted, since a certain amount of value, however limited, did attach to it. Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Jahn, and the majority of modern critics, adhered to this opinion. Here the matter rested until 1815, when Gesenius (*De Pent. Sam. Origine, Indole,*

דָּבַר and דָּבַר, עָד and עָד, הֵנָּה and הֵנָּה, יִקְרָא and יִקְרָא, יִאֲכַל and יִאֲכַל, אֵל and אֵל, the suffixes at the end of a word, the ה with-out a dagesh, &c., are thus pointed out to the reader.

פִּלְנָה דִּאֲרֵהוּתָא. It would appear, however (see Archdeacon Tattam's notice in the *Parthenon*, No. 4, May 21 1862) that Mr. Levysohn, a person lately attached to the Russian staff in

Jerusalem, has found the inscription in question "going through the middle of the body of the Text of the Decalogue, and extending through three columns." Considering that the Samaritans themselves told Huntington, "that this inscription had been in their scroll once, but must have been erased by some wicked heretic" this startling piece of information must be received with extreme caution:—no less so than the other more or less vague statements with respect to the labours and pretended discoveries of Mr. Levysohn. See note, p. 1113

et Auctoritate) abolished the remnant of the authority of the Sam. Pent. So masterly, lucid, and clear are his arguments and his proofs, that there has been and will be no further question as to the absence of all value in this Recension, and in its pretended emendations. In fact, a glance at the systematic arrangement of the variants, of which he first of all bethought himself, is quite sufficient to convince the reader at once that they are for the most part mere blunders, arising from an imperfect knowledge of the first elements of grammar and exegesis. That others owe their existence to a studied design of conforming certain passages to the Samaritan mode of thought, speech, and faith—more especially to show that the Mount Gerizim, upon which their temple stood, was the spot chosen and indicated by God to Moses as the one upon which He desired to be worshipped.^g Finally, that others are due to a tendency towards removing, as well as linguistic shortcomings would allow, all that seemed obscure or in any way doubtful, and towards filling up all apparent imperfections:—either by repetitions or by means of newly-invented and badly-fitting words and phrases. It must, however, be premised that, except two alterations (Ex. xiii. 7, where the Sam. reads “Six days shalt thou eat unleavened bread,” instead of the received “Seven days,” and the change of the word תהיה, “There shall not be,” into תחיה, “live,” Deut. xxii. 18), the Mosaic laws and ordinances themselves are nowhere tampered with.

We will now proceed to lay specimens of these once so highly prized variants before the reader, in order that he may judge for himself. We shall follow in this the commonly received arrangement

^g For יבחר, “He will elect” (the spot), the Sam. always puts בחר, “He has elected” (viz. Gerizim). See below.

^h שעים יב must be a misprint.

ⁱ Thus ם is found in the Samar. for ם of the Masoretic T.; ות for ת-; יו for י-; אליהם for אלהם; מארת for מארות &c.: sometimes a ן is put even where the Heb. T. has, in accordance with the grammatical rules, only a short vowel or a sheva:—חופניו is found for חפניו; אנויות for חפניו.

^k האלה, המה, אנחנו, האל, הם, נחנו.

^m ותניד becomes ותינר; וימת is emendated into ירא (verb ל"ה) into יראה; the final ן—of the 3rd pers. fem. plur. fut. into נה.

ⁿ חית חיתו, שוכן, שוכני is shortened into חית.

^o Masculine are made the words לחם (Gen. xlix. 20) שער (Deut. xv. 7, &c.), מהנה (Gen. xxxli. 9); feminine the words ארץ (Gen. xlii. 6), דרך (Deut. xxviii. 25), נפש (Gen. xvi. 25, &c.); wherever the word נער occurs in the sense of “girl,” a ה is added at the end (Gen. xxiv. 14, &c.).

^p וישבו הלך ושוב, “the waters returned continually,” is transformed into וישבו הלכו ושוב, “they returned, they went and they returned” (Gen. viii. 3). Where the infin. is used as an adverb, e. g. הרחק (Gen. xxi. 16), “far off,” it is altered into הרחיקה, “she went far away,” which renders the passage almost unintelligible.

^q עירם for עירם (Gen. iii. 10, 11); ילד for ולד (xi. 30); צפורים for the collective צפור (xv. 10); אמות, “female servants,” for אמהות (xx. 18); וירא מנוחה for אמהות (xx. 18); טוב טובה for the adverbial טוב (xlix. 15); בריחי for עצי (Ex. xxvi. 26, making it depend from בריחים);

^r מ, in the unusual sense of “from it” (comp. 1 K. xvii.

of Gesenius, who divides all these readings into eight classes; to which, as we shall afterwards show, Frankel has suggested the addition of two or three others, while Kirchheim (in his Hebrew work כרמי שומרון) enumerates thirteen,^h which we will name hereafter.

1. The first class, then, consists of readings by which emendations of a grammatical nature have been attempted.

(a.) The quiescent letters, or so-called *maiores lectionis*, are supplied.ⁱ

(b.) The more poetical forms of the pronouns, probably less known to the Sam., are altered into the more common ones.^k

(c.) The same propensity for completing apparently incomplete forms is noticeable in the flexions of the verbs. The apocopated or short future is altered into the regular future.^m

(d.) On the other hand the paragogical letters ך and ם at the end of nouns, are almost universally struck out by the Sam. corrector;ⁿ and, in the ignorance of the existence of nouns of a common gender, he has given them genders according to his fancy.^o

(e.) The infin. absol. is, in the quaintest manner possible, reduced to the form of the finite verb.^p

For obsolete or rare forms, the modern and more common ones have been substituted in a great number of places.^q

2. The second class of variants consists of glosses and interpretations received into the text: glosses, moreover, in which the Sam. not unfrequently coincides with the LXX., and which are in many cases evidently derived by both from some ancient Targum.^r

3. The third class exhibits conjectural emen-

13), is altered into מַמְנָה (Lev. ii. 2); חיה is wrought

put for חי (3rd p. s. m. of חי = حي); ער, the obsolete

form, is replaced by the more recent עיר (Num. xxi. 13)

the unusual fem. termination י (comp. אביטל

אביגיל, is elongated into ית; שהו is the emendation

for שיו (Deut. xxii. 1); הררי for הררי (Deut. xxxii.

15), etc.

^r איש ואשה, “man and woman,” used by Gen. vii. 2

of animals, is changed into זכר ונקבה, “male and

female;” שנאו (Gen. xxiv. 60), “his haters,” becomes

אויביו, “his enemies;” for מה (indef.) is substituted

ירא, “he will see, choose,” is amplified by ירא

לו, “for himself;” הגר הגר is transformed into הגר

אלה אל בלעם (Lev. xvii. 10); אשר יגור

(Num. xxiii. 4), “And God met Bileam,” becomes

וימצא מלאך אל את ב, “and an angel

of the Lord found Bileam;” על האשה (Gen. xx. 16)

“for the woman,” is amplified into אודת האשה

“for the sake of the woman:” for ולנכדי, from נכד

(obsol., comp. נכד), is put לננדי, “those that are before me,” in contradistinction to “those who will come after me;” ותער, “and she emptied” (her picher into the trough, Gen. xxiv. 20), has made room for ותירד “and she took down;” נועדתי שמה, “I will meet there” (A. V., Ex. xxix. 43), is made נועדתי שם “I shall be [searched] found there;” Num. xxxi. 12 before the words החייתם כל נקבה, “Have you spared the life of every female?” א למה, “Why,” is inserted (LXX.); for כי שם יהוה אקרא (Deut. xxxii. 12) “If I call the name of Jehovah,” the Sam. has וקרא “In the name,” etc.

and our—sometimes far from happy—of real or imaginary difficulties in the Masoretic text.*

4. The fourth class exhibits readings in which apparent deficiencies have been corrected or supplied from parallel passages in the common text. Gen. xviii. 29, 30, for "I shall not do it," "I shall not destroy" is substituted from Gen. xviii. 28, 31, 32. Gen. xxxvii. 4, אָחָיו, "his brethren," is replaced by בָּנָיו, "his sons," from the former verse. One of the most curious specimens of the endeavours of the Samaritan Codex to render the readings as smooth and consistent as possible, is its uniform spelling of proper nouns like יִתְרוֹ, Jethro, occasionally spelt יִתְרִי in the Hebrew text, Moses' father-in-law—a man who, according to the Midrash (*Sifri*), had no less than seven names; יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (Jehoshua), into which form it corrects the shorter הוֹשֵׁעַ (Hoshea) when it occurs in the Masoretic Codex. More frequent still are the additions of single words and short phrases inserted from parallel passages, where the Hebrew text appeared too concise:—unnecessary, often excessively absurd interpolations.

5. The fifth class is an extension of the one immediately preceding, and comprises larger phrases, additions, and repetitions from parallel passages. Whenever anything is mentioned as having been done or said previously by Moses, or where a command of God is related as being executed, the whole speech bearing upon it is repeated again at full length. These tedious and always superfluous repetitions are most frequent in Exodus, both in the record of the plagues and in the many interpolations from Deuteronomy.

6. To the sixth class belong those "emendations"

* The elliptic use of יָלַד, frequent both in Hebrew and Arabic, being evidently unknown to the emendator, he alters the הֲלֹבֵן מֵאָה שָׁנָה יִלְדֶּךָ (Gen. xvii. 17), "shall a child be born unto him that is a hundred years old?" into אֹלֵידֶךָ, "shall I beget?" Gen. xxiv. 62, בָּא מִבּוֹא, "he came from going" (A. V. "from the way") to the well of Lahai-roi, the Sam. alters into בָּא בְּמִדְבָּר, "in or through the desert" (LXX., διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου). In Gen. xxx. 34, הֵן לֹא יֵהִי כְדַבְרֶיךָ, "Behold, may it be according to thy word," the לוֹ (Arab. لَوْ) is transformed into לֹא, "and if not—let it be like thy word." Gen. xl. 32, וְעַל הַשָּׁנוֹת הַחֲלוּם, "And for that the dream was doubled," becomes וְעַל שְׁנֵי הַחֲלוּם, "The dream was a second time," which is both un-Hebrew, and diametrically opposed to the sense and construction of the passage. Better is the emendation Gen. xlix. 10, מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו, "from between his feet," into "from among his banners," מִבֵּין דְּגָלָיו. Ex. xv. 18, all but five of the Sam. Codd. read לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד, "for ever and longer," instead of וְעַד, the common form, "evermore." Ex. xxxiv. 7, וְנִקְהָ לֹא יִנְקָה, "that will by no means clear the sin," becomes וְנִקְהָ לֹא יִנְקָה, "and the innocent to him shall be innocent," against both the parallel passages and the obvious sense. The somewhat difficult וְלֹא יִסְמוּ, "and they did not cease" (A. V., Num. xl. 28), reappears as a still more obscure conjectural יִאֲסָפוּ, which we would venture to translate, "they were not gathered in," in the sense of "killed:" instead of אֲכַנְסוּ, "congregated," of the Sam. Vers., or Casell's "continuerunt," or B. ubiqant's and Dathe's "accruerunt." Num. xxi. 28, הָעָרַר, "Ar" (Moab), is translated into עָרַר, "as far as," a perfectly meaningless

of passages and words of the Hebrew text which contain something objectionable in the eyes of the Samaritans, on account either of historical improbability or apparent want of dignity in the terms applied to the Creator. Thus in the Sam. Pent. no one in the antediluvian times, begets his first son after he has lived 150 years: but one hundred years are, where necessary, subtracted before, and added after the birth of the first son. Thus Jared, according to the Hebrew Text, begot at 162 years, lived afterwards 800 years, and "all his years were 962 years;" according to the Sam. he begot when only 62 years old, lived afterwards 785 years, "and all his years were 847." After the Deluge the opposite method is followed. A hundred or fifty years are added before and subtracted after the begetting: *E. g.* Arphaxad, who in the Common Text is 35 years old when he begets Shelah, and lived afterwards 403 years: in all 438—is by the Sam. made 135 years old when he begets Shelah, and lives only 303 years afterwards = 438. (The LXX. has, according to its own peculiar psychological and chronological notions, altered the Text in the opposite manner. [See SEPTUAGINT.]) An exceedingly important and often discussed emendation of this class is the passage in Ex. xii. 40, which in our text reads, "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years." The Samaritan (supported by LXX. Cod. Al.) has "The sojourning of the children of Israel, [and their fathers who dwelt in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt—ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐν γῆ Καναάν] was four hundred and thirty years:" an interpolation of very late date indeed

reading; only that the עָרַר, "city," as we saw above, was a word unknown to the Sam. The somewhat uncommon words (Num. xi. 32), וַיִּשְׁטְחוּ לָהֶם שְׂטוּחַ, "and they (the people) spread them all abroad," are transposed into וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ לָהֶם שְׂחוּטָה, "and they slaughtered for themselves a slaughter." Deut. xxviii. 37, the word לְשִׂמְיָהוּ, "an astonishment" (A. V.), very rarely used in this sense (Jer. xix. 8, xxv. 9), becomes לְשִׂמָּה, "to a name," *i. e.*, a bad name. Deut. xxxiii. 6, וַיְהִי מִתְיֹוֹ, "May his men be a multitude," the Sam., with its characteristic aversion to, or rather ignorance of, the use of poetical diction, reads וַיְהִי מֵאֵתוֹ מוֹסְפָר, "May there be from him a multitude," thereby trying perhaps to encounter also the apparent difficulty of the word מוֹסְפָר, standing for "a great number." Anything more absurd than the מֵאֵתוֹ in this place could hardly be imagined. A few verses further on, the uncommon use of מִן in the phrase מִן יְקוּמוֹן (Deut. xxxiii. 11), as "lest," "not," caused the no less unfortunate alteration מִי יְקִימוּנוּ, so that the latter part of the passage, "smite through the loins of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again," becomes "who will raise them?"—barren alike of meaning and of poetry. For the unusual and poetical דְּבִאָדָר (Deut. xxxiii. 25; A. V. "thy strength"), בִּיךָ is suggested; a word about the significance of which the commentators are at a greater loss even than about that of the original.

לֹא אֵשְׁחִית לֹא אֵעֲשֶׂה. * Thus in Gen. i. 14, the words לְהַאֲרִיץ עַל הָאָרֶץ, "to give light upon the earth," are inserted from ver. 17; Gen. xi. 8, the word וּמִגְדָּל, "and a tower," is added from ver. 4; Gen. xxiv. 22, עַל אַפָּה, "on her face" (nose), is added from ver. 47, so that the former verse reads "And the man took (וַיִּשֶׂם for וַיִּקַּח) a golden ring upon her face."

Again, in Gen. ii. 2, "And God [? had] finished of all the **יבחר**, "God will choose a spot," into **בחר**, "He has chosen," viz. Gerizim, and the well-known substitution of Gerizim for Ebal in Deut. xxvii. 4 (A. V. 5):—"It shall be when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones which I command you this day on Mount Ebal (Samaritan *Gerizim*), and there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God," &c. This passage gains a certain interest from Whiston and Kennicott having charged the *Jews* with corrupting it from Gerizim into Ebal. This supposition, however, was met by Rutherford, Parry, Tychsen, Lobstein, Verschoor, and others, and we need only add that it is completely given up by modern Biblical scholars, although it cannot be denied that there is some *prima facie* ground for a doubt upon the subject. To this class also belong more especially interpolations of really existing passages, dragged out of their text for a special purpose. In Exodus as well as in Deuteronomy the Sam. has, immediately after the Ten Commandments, the following insertion from Deut. xxvii. 2-7 and xi. 30: "And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan . . . ye shall set up these stones . . . on Mount *Gerizim* . . . and there shalt thou build an altar . . . 'That mountain' on the other side Jordan by the way where the sun goeth down . . . in the champaine over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh, 'over against Shechem:'"—this last superfluous addition, which is also found in Deut. xi. 30 of the Sam. Pent., being ridiculed in the Talmud, as we have seen above.

7. The *seventh* class comprises what we might briefly call Samaritanisms, i. e. certain Hebrew forms, translated into the idiomatic Samaritan; and here the Sam. Codices vary considerably among themselves,—as far as the very imperfect collation of them has hitherto shown—some having retained the Hebrew in many places where the others have adopted the new equivalents.^a

8. The *eighth* and last class contains alterations made in favour or on behalf of Samaritan theology, hermeneutics, and domestic worship. Thus the word *Elohim*, four times construed with the plural verb in the Hebrew Pentateuch, is in the Samaritan Pent. joined to the singular verb (Gen. xx. 13, xxxi. 53, xxxv. 7; Ex. xxii. 9); and further, both anthropomorphisms as well as anthropopathisms are carefully expunged—a practice very common in later times.^b The last and perhaps most momentous

of all intentional alterations is the constant change of all the **יבחר**, "God will choose a spot," into **בחר**, "He has chosen," viz. Gerizim, and the well-known substitution of Gerizim for Ebal in Deut. xxvii. 4 (A. V. 5):—"It shall be when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones which I command you this day on Mount Ebal (Samaritan *Gerizim*), and there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God," &c. This passage gains a certain interest from Whiston and Kennicott having charged the *Jews* with corrupting it from Gerizim into Ebal. This supposition, however, was met by Rutherford, Parry, Tychsen, Lobstein, Verschoor, and others, and we need only add that it is completely given up by modern Biblical scholars, although it cannot be denied that there is some *prima facie* ground for a doubt upon the subject. To this class also belong more especially interpolations of really existing passages, dragged out of their text for a special purpose. In Exodus as well as in Deuteronomy the Sam. has, immediately after the Ten Commandments, the following insertion from Deut. xxvii. 2-7 and xi. 30: "And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan . . . ye shall set up these stones . . . on Mount *Gerizim* . . . and there shalt thou build an altar . . . 'That mountain' on the other side Jordan by the way where the sun goeth down . . . in the champaine over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh, 'over against Shechem:'"—this last superfluous addition, which is also found in Deut. xi. 30 of the Sam. Pent., being ridiculed in the Talmud, as we have seen above.

From the immense number of these worse than worthless variants Gesenius has singled out four, which he thinks preferable on the whole to those of the Masoretic Text. We will confine ourselves to mentioning them, and refer the reader to the recent commentaries upon them: he will find that

ויאחזו * **ויחזו את אלהים** *
 * The gutturals and *Ahevi*-letters are frequently changed:—**הררט** becomes **אררט** (Gen. viii. 4); **באי** is altered into **בעי** (xxiii. 18); **שבה** into **שבע** (xxvii. 19); **זהלי** stands for **זחלי** (Deut. xxxii. 24); the **ה** is changed into **ה** in words like **נהג**, **גבהים**, which become **נחג**, **עמר**. The **חמר** becomes **ע**—**עמר**. The **ה** is altered into **ע**. The **הייטיב** is frequently doubled (? as a mater lectionis): **הייטיב** is substituted for **היטיב**; **אירא** for **אירא**; **פיי** for **פיי**. Many words are joined together:—**מרדרור** stands for **מר דרור** (Ex. xxx. 23); **כהנאן** for **כהן אן** (Gen. xli. 45); **הרנריזים** is always **הרנריזים**. The pronouns **אתן** and **אתן**, 2nd p. fem. sing. and plur., are changed into **אתין** (the obsolete Heb. forms) respectively; the suff. **ך** into **ך**; **ך** into **ך**; the termination of the 2nd p. s. fem. praet., **ת**, becomes **תי**, like the first p.; the verbal form Aphel is used for the Hiphil; **אזכרתי** for **הזכרתי**; the medial letter of the verb **ע"ן** is sometimes retained as **א** or **י**, instead of being dropped as in the Heb. Again, verbs of the form **ה"ל** have the **י** frequently at the end of the infin. fut. and part., instead of the **ה**. Nouns of the schema **קטל** (**אבל**, &c.) are often spelt **קטיל**, into which the form **קטול** is likewise occasionally transformed. Of distinctly Samaritan words may be mentioned: **ה"ך** (Gen. xxxiv. 31)=**ה"ך** (Chald.), "like;" **חתי**, for Heb. **חותם**, "seal;" **כפרחת**, "as though budded," becomes **כפרחת**=Targ. **כפרחת**.

ימות; **עדי**, "spoil," reads **חכום**, "wise," **חכם**, "days," **יומת**.
 * **איש מלחמה**, "man of war," an expression used of God (Ex. xv. 3), becomes **גבור מ'ן**, "hero of war," the former apparently of irreverent import to the Samaritan ear; for **יעשן אף ה'** (Deut. xxix. 19, A. V. 20) lit. "And the wrath (nose) of the Lord shall smoke," substituted; **יחר אף ה'**, "the wrath of the Lord will be kindled," substituted; **צור מחוללך** (Deut. xxxii. 18), "the rock (God) which begat thee," is changed into **צור מהללך**, "the rock which glorifies thee;" Gen. xix. 12, **האנשים**, "the men," used of the angels, has been replaced by **המלאכים**, "the angels." Extreme reverence for the patriarchs changed **ארור**, "Cursed be their (Simeon and Levi's) anger," into **אדיר**, "brilliant is their anger" (Gen. xlix. 7). A flagrant falsification is the alteration in an opposite sense, which they ventured in the passage **ידי ה' ישכן לבטח**, "The beloved of God [Benjamin, the founder of the Judaeo-Davidian empire, hateful to the Samaritans] shall dwell securely," transformed by them into the almost senseless **יד ה' ישכן לבטח**, "The hand, the hand of God will rest [securely]." Hiph.: **ישכן**, "will cause to rest" (Deut. xxxii. 12). Reverence for the Law and the Sacred Records give rise to more emendations:—**במבשיו** (Deut. xxv. 12, A. V. 11), "by his secrets," becomes **בבשרו**, "by his flesh;" **ישנלנה**, "coibit cum ea" (Deut. xxviii. 16), becomes **ישכב עמה**, "concumbet cum ea;" **תשל**, "to the dog shall ye throw it" (Ex. xxii. 30), becomes **תשל**, "ye shall indeed throw it [away]."

2 K. xvii. 24-33), and the immense number of readings common to the LXX. and this Code, against the Masoretic Text.

(3.) Other, but very isolated notions, are those of Morin, Le Clerc, Poncet, &c., that the Israelitish priest sent by the king of Assyria to instruct the new inhabitants in the religion of the country brought the Pentateuch with him. Further, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was the production of an impostor, Dositheus (דוסיטיוס in Talmud, who lived during the time of the Apostles, and who falsified the sacred records in order to prove that he was the Messiah (Ussher). Against which there is only this to be observed, that there is not the slightest alteration of such a nature to be found. Finally, that it is a very late and faulty recension, with additions and corruptions of the Masoretic Text (6th Century after Christ), into which glosses from the LXX. had been received (Frankel). Many other suggestions have been made, but we cannot here dwell upon them: suffice it to have mentioned those to which a certain popularity and authority attaches.

Another question has been raised:—Have all the variants which we find in our copies been introduced at once, or are they the work of many generations? From the number of vague opinions on that point, we have only room here to adduce that of Azariah de Rossi, who traces many of the glosses (Class 2) both in the Sam. and in the LXX. to an ancient Targum in the hands of the people at the time of Ezra, and refers to the Talmudical passage of *Nedar.* 37: "And he read in the Book of the Law of God—this is *Mitra*, the Pentateuch; *מפורש*, explanatory, this is *Targum*." [VERSIONS (TARGUM).] Considering that no Masorah fixed the letters and signs of the Samar. Codex, and that, as we have noticed, the principal object was to make it read as smoothly as possible, it is not easily seen why each succeeding century should not have added its own emendations. But, here too, investigation still wanders about in the mazes of speculation.

The chief opinions with respect to the agreement of the numerous and as yet uninvestigated—even unaccounted—readings of the LXX. (of which likewise no critical edition exists as yet), and the Sam. Pent. are:—

1. That the LXX. have translated from the Sam. (De Dieu, Selden, Hottinger, Hassencamp, Eichhorn, &c.).
2. That mutual interpolations have taken place (Grotius, Ussher, Ravius, &c.).
3. That both Versions were formed from Hebrew Colices, which differed among themselves as well as from the one which afterwards obtained public authority in Palestine; that however very many wilful corruptions and interpolations have crept in in later times (Gesenius).
4. That the Samar. has, in the main, been altered from the LXX. (Frankel).

It must, on the other hand, be stated also, that the Sam. and LXX. quite as often disagree with each other, and follow each the Masor. Text. Also, that the quotations in the N. T. from the LXX., where they coincide with the Sam. against the Hebr. Text, are so small in number and of so

unimportant a nature that they cannot be adduced as any argument whatsoever.

The following is a list of the MSS. of the Sam. Pent. now in European Libraries [Kennicott¹]:—

No. 1. Oxford (Ussher) Bodl., fol., No. 3127. Perfect, except the 20 first and 9 last verses.

No. 2. Oxford (Ussher) Bodl., 4to., No. 3128, with an Arabic version in Sam. characters. Imperfect. Wanting the whole of Leviticus and many portions of the other books.

No. 3. Oxford (Ussher) Bodl., 4to., No. 3129. Wanting many portions in each book.

No. 4. Oxford (Ussher, Laud) Bodl., 4to., No. 624. Defective in parts of Deut.

No. 5. Oxford (Marsh) Bodl., 12mo., No. 15. Wanting some verses in the beginning; 21 chapters obliterated.

No. 6. Oxford (Pocock) Bodl., 24mo., No. 5328. Parts of leaves lost; otherwise perfect.

No. 7. London (Ussher) Br. Mus. Claud. B 8. Vellum. Complete. 254 leaves.

No. 8. Paris (Peiresc) Imp. Libr., Sam. No. 1. Recent MS. containing the Hebr. and Sam. Texts, with an Arab. Vers. in the Sam. character. Wanting the first 34 ch., and very defective in many places.

No. 9. Paris (Peiresc) Imp. Libr., Sam. No. 2. Ancient MS., wanting first 17 chapters of Gen.; and all Deut. from the 7th ch. Houbigant, however, quotes from Gen. x. 11 of this Codex, a rather puzzling circumstance.

No. 10. Paris (Harl. de Sancy) Oratory, No. 1. The famous MS. of P. della Valle.

No. 11. Paris (Dom. Nolin) Oratory, No. 2. Made-up copy.

No. 12. Paris (Libr. St. Genèv.). Of little value.

No. 13. Rome (Peir. and Barber.) Vatican No. 106. Hebr. and Sam. texts, with Arab. Vers. in Sam. character. Very defective and recent. Dated the 7th century (?).

No. 14. Rome (Card. Cobellutius), Vatican. Also supposed to be of the 7th century, but very doubtful.

No. 15. Milan (Ambrosian Libr.). Said to be very ancient; not collated.

No. 16. Leyden (Golius MS.), fol., No. 1. Said to be complete.

No. 17. Gotha (Ducal Libr.). A fragment only.

No. 18. London, Count of Paris' Library. With Version.

Printed editions are contained in the Paris and Walton Polyglots; and a separate reprint from the latter was made by Blayney, Oxford, 1790. A Facsimile of the 20th ch. of Exodus, from one of the *Nablus* MSS., has been edited, with portions of the corresponding Masoretic text, and a Russian Translation and Introduction, by Levysohn, Jerusalem, 1860.^m

II. VERSIONS.

1. *Samaritan*.—The origin, author, and age of the Samaritan Version of the Five Books of Moses, has hitherto—so Eichhorn quaintly observes—"always been a golden apple to the investigators, and will very probably remain so, until people leave off venturing decisive judgments upon historical subjects which

brief as it is, shows him to be utterly wanting both in scholarship and in critical acumen, and to be, moreover, entirely unacquainted with the fact that his new discoveries have been disposed of some hundred and fifty years since.

^m The original intention of the Russian Government to publish the whole Codex in the same manner seems to have been given up for the present. We can only hope that, if the work is ever taken up again, it will fall into more competent hands. Mr Levysohn's Introduction,

no one has recorded in antiquity." And, indeed, modern investigators, keen as they have been, have done little towards the elucidation of the subject. According to the Samaritans themselves (*De Sacy Mem.* 3; Paulus; Winer), their high-priest Nathaniel, who died about 20 B.C., is its author. Gesenius puts its date a few years after Christ. Juynboll thinks that it had long been in use in the second post-Christian century. Frankel places it in the post-Mohammedan time. Other investigators date it from the time of Esarhaddon's priest (Schwarz), or either shortly before or after the foundation of the temple on Mount Gerizim. It seems certain, however, that it was composed before the destruction of the second temple; and being intended, like the Targums, for the use of the people exclusively, it was written in the popular Samaritan idiom, a mixture of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac.

In this version the original has been followed, with a very few exceptions, in a slavish and sometimes perfectly childish manner, the sense evidently being of minor consideration. As a very striking instance of this may be adduced the translation of Deut. iii. 9: "The Zidonians call Hermon שרין (Shirion), and the Amorites call it שניר (Shenir)." The translator deriving שרין from שר "prince, master," renders it רבן "masters;" and finding the letters reversed in the appellation of the Amorites as שניר, reverses also the sense in his version, and translates it by "slaves" משעבדון! In other cases, where no Samaritan equivalent could be found for a Hebrew word, the translator, instead of paraphrasing it, simply transposes its letters, so as

Onkelos in Polyglott.

Num. vi. 1, 2.

Sam. Vers. in Barberini Triglott.

ומלל יהוה עם מושה למימר: מלל עם בני ישראל ותימר להון גבר או אתתא ארי יפריש למדר נדר נזירא למזר קדם יהוה: מחמר חדת ועתיק יזר ח דחמר חדת וחל דחמר עתיק לא ישתי וכל מתרוח ענבין לא ישתי וענבין רטיבין ויבישין לא ייכול.

ומלל יהוה עם מושה למימר: מלל עם בני ישראל ותימר להון גבר או אתתא כד יפרש למדר נדר למתנזרה ליהוה: מן חמר ורחט יזר חמי דחמר דרחט לא ישתא וכל מור שורת ענבין ישתא וענבין רטיבין ויבישין לא ייכול.

But no safe conclusion as to the respective relation of the two versions can be drawn from this.

This Version has likewise, in passing through the hands of copyists and commentators, suffered many interpolations and corruptions. The first copy of it was brought to Europe by De la Valle, together with the Sam. Text, in 1616. Joh. Nedrinus first published it together with a faulty Latin transla-

tion in the Paris Polyglott, whence it was, with a few emendations, reprinted in Walton, with some notes by Castellus. Single portions of it appeared in Halle, ed. by Cellarius, 1705, and by Uhlemann, Leipz., 1837. Compare Gesenius, *De Pent. Sam. Origine*, &c., and Winer's monograph, *De Versione Pent. Sam. Indole*, &c., Leipzig, 1817.

2. Τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν. The hatred between the

^a A list of the more remarkable of these, in the case of geographical names, is subjoined:—

- Gen. viii. 4, for Ararat, Sarendib, סרנדיב.
- x. 10, " Shinar, Tsofah, צופה (? Zobah).
- 11, " Asshur, Astun, עסטון.
- " Rehoboth, Satcan, סטכן (? Sittacene).
- " Calah, Laksah, לקסה.
- 12, " Resen, Asfah, עספה.
- 30, " Mesha, Mesbal, מסבל.
- xi. 9, " Babel, Lilak, לילק.
- xiii. 3, " Ai, Cefrah, כפרה (? Cephirah, Josh. ix. 17).
- xiv. 5, " Ashteroth Karnaim, Afnith Karniab, עפינית קרניה.
- " Ham, Lishah, לישא.
- " El Parap, Pe'ishab, &c., פרום פלשא.

- Gen. xiv. 14, for Dan, Baniās, בניאס.
- 15, " Hobah, Fogah, פוגה.
- 17, " Shaveh, Mifneh, מפנה.
- xv. 8, " Euphrates, Shalmah, שלמאה.
- 20, " Rephaim, Chasah, חסאה.
- xx. 1, " Gerar, Askelun, עסקלון.
- xxvi. 2, " Mitsraim, Nefik, נפיק (? Exodus).
- xxxvi. 8, 9, &c. " Seir, Gablah, גבלה (Jebal).
- 37, " Rehoboth, Fathi, פתי.
- Num. xxi. 33, " Bashan, Bathnin, בתנין (Batanaea).
- xxxiv. 10, " Shepham, 'Abamiab, עבמיה (Apar-maea).
- 11, " Shepham, 'Afamiab, עפמיה.
- Deut. ii. 9, " Ar (ער), Arsbah, ארשה.
- iii. 4, " Argob, Rigobaab, ריגובאב (Pargab).
- 17, " Chinnereth, Genesar, גנסר.
- iv. 48, " Sion, Tār Telga, טיד חלגא (Teljet Telj).

Samaritans and the Jews is supposed to have caused the former to prepare a Greek translation of their Pent. in opposition to the LXX. of the Jews. In this way at least the existence of certain fragments of a Greek Version of the Sam. Pent., preserved in some MSS. of the LXX., together with portions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, &c., is accounted for. These fragments are supposed to be alluded to by the Greek Fathers under the name *Σαμαρειτικόν*. It is doubtful however whether it ever existed (as Gesenius, Winer, Juynboll, suppose) in the shape of a complete translation, or only designated (as Castellus, Voss, Herbst hold) a certain number of scholia translated from the Sam. Version. Other critics again (Hävernick, Hengstenberg, &c.) see in it only a corrected edition of certain passages of the LXX.

3. In 1070 an Arabic Version of the Sam. Pent. was made by Abu Said in Egypt, on the basis of the Arabic translation of Saadjah haggan. Like the original Samaritan it avoids Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms, replacing the latter by Euphemisms, besides occasionally making some slight alterations, more especially in proper nouns. It is extant in several MS. copies in European libraries, and is now in course of being edited by Kuenen, Leyden, 1850-54, &c. It appears to have been drawn up from the Sam. Text, not from the Sam. Version; the Hebrew words occasionally remaining unaltered in the translation. Often also it renders the original differently from the Samar. Version. Principally noticeable is its excessive dread of assigning to God anything like human attributes, physical or mental. For יהוה אלהים, "God," we find (as in Saadiah sometimes) ملاك الله, "the Angel of God;" for "the eyes of God" we have (Deut. ix. 12) ملاحظه الله, "the Beholding of God." For "Bread of God:" لازم, "the necessary," &c. Again, it occasionally adds honourable epithets where the Scripture seems to have omitted them, &c. Its language is far from elegant or even correct; and its use must likewise be confined to the critical study of the Sam. Text.

4. To this Arabic version Abu Barachat, a Syrian, wrote in 1208 a somewhat paraphrastic commentary, which has by degrees come to be looked upon as a new Version—the *Syriac*, in contradistinction to the *Arabic*, and which is often confounded with it in the MSS. On both Recensions see Eichhorn, Gesenius, Juynboll, &c.

III. SAMARITAN LITERATURE.

It may perhaps not be superfluous to add here a concise account of the Samaritan literature in general, since to a certain degree it bears upon our subject.

1. *Chronicon Samaritanum*.—Of the Pentateuch and its Versions we have spoken. We have also mentioned that the Samaritans have no other book of our Received Canon. "There is no Prophet but Moses" is one of their chief dogmas, and fierce are the invectives in which they indulge against men like Samuel, "a Magician and an Infidel," *כפר* (Chron.

Sam.); Eli; Solomon, "Shiloh" (Gen. xlix. 10), "i. e. the man who shall spoil the Law and whom many nations will follow because of their own licentiousness" (De Sacy, *Mem.* 4); Ezra "cursed for ever" (*Lett. to Huntington, &c.*). Joshua alone, partly on account of his being an Ephraimite, partly because Shechem was selected by him as the scene of his solemn valedictory address, seems to have found favour in their eyes; but the *Book of Joshua*, which they perhaps possessed in its original form, gradually came to form only the groundwork of a fictitious national Samaritan history, overgrown with the most fantastic and anachronistic legends. This is the so-called "Samaritan Joshua," or *Chronicon Samaritanum* (سفر يهشع

سفر يهشع), sent to Scaliger by the Samaritans of Cairo in 1584. It was edited by Juynboll (Leyden, 1848), and his acute investigations have shown that it was redacted into its present form about A.D. 1300, out of four special documents, three of which were Arabic, and one Hebrew (i. e. Samaritan). The Leyden MS. in 2 pts., which Gesenius, *De Sam. Theol.* p. 8. n. 18, thinks unique, is dated A.H. 764-919 (A.D. 1362-1513);—the Cod. in the Brit. Museum, lately acquired, dates A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502). The chronicle embraces the time from Joshua to about A.D. 350, and was originally written in, or subsequently translated into, Arabic. After eight chapters of introductory matter begins the early history of "Israel" under "King Joshua," who, among other deeds of arms, wages war, with 300,000 mounted men—"half Israel"—against two kings of Persia. The last of his five "royal" successors is Shimshon (Samson), the handsomest and most powerful of them all. These reigned for the space of 250 years, and were followed by five high-priests, the last of whom was Usi (? = Uzzi, Ezr. vii. 4). With the history of Eli, "the seducer," which then follows, and Samuel "a sorcerer," the account by a sudden transition runs off to Nebuchadnezzar (ch. 45), Alexander (ch. 46), and Hadrian (47), and closes suddenly at the time of Julian the Apostate.

We shall only adduce here a single specimen out of the 45th ch. of the Book, which treats of the subject of the Pentateuch:—

Nebuchadnezzar was king of Persia (Mossul), and conquered the whole world, also the kings of Syria. In the thirteenth year of their subjugation they rebelled, together with the kings of Jerusalem (Kodsh). Whereupon the Samaritans, to escape from the vengeance of their pursuer, fled, and Persian colonists took their place. A curse, however, rested upon the land, and the new immigrants died from eating of its fruits (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14, §3). The chiefs of Israel (i. e. Samaritans), being asked the reason of this by the king, explained it by the abolition of the worship of God. The king upon this permitted them to return and to erect a temple, in which work he promised to aid them, and he gave them a letter to all their dispersed brethren. The whole Dispersion now assembled, and the Jews said, "We will now go up into the Holy City (Jeru-

city"), the Arab. renders *عيرة*; Gen. xli. 43, אברך (Sam. Ver. כרוז = κήρυξ), the Arab translates الاب *أب* = الشفوق.

* A word, it may be observed by the way, taken by the Mohammodans from the Rabbinical (כופר בעיניהם).

* E. g. Ex. liii. 12, כל פטר רחם (Sam. Ver. כל בעל אשה, xxi. 3, כל פاطر) remains (פתוחי רחם) Sam. Ver. בעל אמרא (מסחן אתה) is given *קרתה* "שירה" Gen. xlix. 11 (Sam. Ver. *קרתה*).

saalem) and live there in unity." But the sons of Harûn (Aaron) and of Joseph (*i. e.* the priests and the Samaritans) insisted upon going to the "Mount of Blessing," Gerizim. The dispute was referred to the king, and while the Samaritans proved their case from the books of Moses, the Jews grounded their preference for Jerusalem on the post-Mosaic books. The superior force of the Samaritan argument was fully recognised by the king. But as each side—by the mouth of their spokesmen, Sanballat and Zerubabel respectively,—charged the other with basing its claims on a forged document, the sacred books of each party were subjected to the ordeal of fire. The Jewish Record was immediately consumed, while the Samaritan leaped three times from the flames into the king's lap: the third time, however, a portion of the scroll, upon which the king had spat, was found to have been consumed. Thirty-six Jews were immediately beheaded, and the Samaritans, to the number of 300,000, wept, and all Israel worshipped henceforth upon Mount Gerizim—"and so we will ask our help from the grace of God, who has in His mercy granted all these things, and in Him we will confide."

2. From this work chiefly has been compiled another Chronicle written in the 14th century (1355), by Abu'l Fatah.^r This comprises the history of the Jews and Samaritans from Adam to A.H. 756 and 798 (A.D. 1355 and 1397) respectively (the forty-two years must have been added by a later historiographer). It is of equally low historical value; its only remarkable feature being its adoption of certain Talmudical legends, which it took at second hand from Josippon ben Gorion. According to this chronicle, the deluge did not cover Gerizim, in the same manner as the Midrash (*Ber. Rab.*) exempts the whole of Palestine from it. A specimen, likewise on the subject of the Pentateuch, may not be out of place:—

In the year of the world 4150, and in the 10th year of Philadelphus, this king wished to learn the difference between the Law of the Samaritans, and that of the Jews. He therefore bade both send him some of their elders. The Samaritans delegated Ahron, Sumla, and Hudmaqa, the Jews Eleazar only. The king assigned houses to them, and gave them each an adept of the Greek language, in order that he might assist them in their translation. The Samaritans rendered only their Pentateuch into the language of the land, while Eleazar produced a translation of the whole Canon. The king, perceiving variations in the respective Pentateuchs, asked the Samaritans the reason of it. Whereupon they replied that these differences chiefly turned upon two points. (1.) God had chosen the Mount of Gerizim: and if the Jews were right, why was there no mention of it in their Thora? (2.) The Samaritans read, Deut. xxxii. 35, לַיּוֹם נָקָם, "to the day of vengeance and reward," the Jews לַיּוֹם נָקָם, "Mine is vengeance and reward"—which left it uncertain whether that reward was to be given here or in the world to come. The king then asked what was their opinion about the Jewish prophets and their writings, and they replied, "Either they

ابو القتيح ابن ابو الحسن السامري

(Bodl.; Imp. Library, Paris)

Two copies in Berlin Library (Petermann, Rosen) recently acquired.

must have said and contained what stood in the Pentateuch, and then their saying it again was superfluous; or more; or less: * either of which was again distinctly prohibited in the Thora; or finally they must have *changed* the Laws, and these were unchangeable." A Greek who stood near, observed that Laws must be adapted to different times, and altered accordingly; whereupon the Samaritans proved that this was only the case with human, not with Divine Laws: moreover, the seventy Elders had left them the explicit command not to accept a word beside the Thora. The king now fully approved of their translation, and gave them rich presents. But to the Jews he strictly enjoined, not even to approach Mount Gerizim. There can be no doubt that there is a certain historical fact, however contorted, at the bottom of this (comp. the Talmudical and other accounts of the LXX.), but we cannot now further pursue the subject. A lengthened extract from this chronicle—the original text with a German translation—is given by Schnurrer in Paulus' *Neues Repertorium*, 1790, 117-159.

3. Another "historical" work is the **كتاب**

الاسطير on the history and genealogy of the patriarchs, from Adam to Moses, attributed to Moses himself; perhaps the same which Petermann saw at *Nablus*, and which consisted of sixteen vellum leaves (supposed, however, to contain the history of the world down to the end). An anonymous recent commentary on it, A.H. 1200, A.D. 1784, is in the Brit. Mus. (No. 1140, Add.).

4. Of other Samaritan works, chiefly in Arabic—their Samaritan and Hebrew literature having mostly been destroyed by the Emperor Commodus—may be briefly mentioned Commentaries upon the whole or parts of their Pentateuch, by Zadaka b. Manga b. Zadaka;† further, by Maddib Eddin Jussuf b. Abi Said b. Khalef; by Ghazal Ibn Abu-l-Surur Al-Safawi Al-Ghazzi" (A.H. 1167-8, A.D. 1753-4, Brit. Mus.), &c. Theological works chiefly in Arabic, mixed with Samaritanisms, by Abul Hassan of Tyre, *On the religious Manners and Customs of the Samaritans and the World to come*; by Mowaffek Eddin Zadaka el Israili, *A Compendium of Religion, on the Nature of the Divine Being, on Man, on the Worship of God*; by Amin Eddin Abu'l Baracat, *On the Ten Commandments*; by Abu'l Hassan Jbn El Markum Gouajem ben Abulfaraj' ibn Chatâr, *On Penance*; by Muhaddib Eddin Jussuf Ibn Salamah Ibn Jussuf Al Askari, *An Exposition of the Mosaic Laws, &c., &c.* Some grammatical works may be further mentioned, by Abu Ishak Ibrahim, *On the Hebrew Language*; by Abu Said, *On reading the Hebrew Text* (**قوانين**

المقرا). This grammar begins in the following characteristic manner:—

"Thus said the Sheikh, rich in good works and knowledge, the model, the abstemious, the well-guided Abu Said, to whom God be merciful and compassionate.

"Praise be unto God for His help, and I ask for His guidance towards a clear exposition. I have

* Compare the well known dictum of Omar on the Alexandrian Library (Gibbon, ch. 51).

† شرح السفر الاول (13th century, Bodl.).

" Under the title, **كشف الغيايب عن اسرار المواهب**.

uncertain and inconsistent treatment, which must have lasted for nearly two centuries, is best characterized by the small rabbinical treatise quoted above—*Massecheth Cuthim* (2nd cent. A.D.)—first edited by Kirchheim ('שבע מס' קטנות ירושלמי') Francf. 1851,—the beginning of which reads:—"The ways (treatment) of the Cuthim (Samaritans), sometimes like Goyim (heathens) sometimes like Israel." No less striking is its conclusion:

"And why are the Cuthim not permitted to come into the midst of the Jews? Because they have mixed with the priests of the heights" (idolaters). R. Ismael says: "They were at first pious converts (נִירֵי צִדְקָה = real Israelites), and why is the intercourse with them prohibited? Because of their illegally begotten children," and because they do not fulfil the duties of יבם (marrying the deceased brother's wife)"; a law which they understand, as we saw above, to apply to the betrothed only.

"At what period are they to be received (into the Community)?" "When they abjure the Mount Gerizim, recognise Jerusalem (viz., its superior claims), and believe in the Resurrection."*

We hear of their exclusion by R. Meir (*Chul.* 6), in the third generation of the Tannaim, and later again under R. Abbuha, the Amora, at the time of Diocletian; this time the exclusion was unconditional and final (*Jer. Abodah Zarah*, 5, &c.). Partaking of their bread † was considered a transgression, to be punished like eating the flesh of swine (*Zeb.* 8, 6). The intensity of their mutual hatred, at a later period, is best shown by dicta like that in *Meg.* 28, 6. "May it never happen to me that I behold a Cuthi." "Whoever receives a Samaritan hospitably in his house, deserves that his children go into exile" (*Synh.* 104, 1). In *Matt.* x. 5 Samaritans and Gentiles are already mentioned together; and in *Luke* xvii. 18 the Samaritan is called "a stranger" (ἀλλογενής). The reason for this exclusion is variously given. They are said by some to have used and sold the wine of heathens for sacrificial purposes (*Jer.* *ib.*); by others they were charged with worshipping the dove sacred to Venus; an imputation over the correctness of which hangs, up to this moment, a certain mysterious doubt. It has, at all events, never been brought home to them, that they really worshipped this image, although it was certainly seen with them, even by recent travellers.

Authorities.—1. Original texts. Pentateuch in the Polyglotts of Paris, and Walton; also (in Hebr. letters) by Blayney, 8vo. Ox. 1790. Sam. Version in the Polyglotts of Walton and Paris. Arab. Vers. of Abu Said, *Libri Gen. Ex. et Lev.* by Kuenen, 8vo. Lugd. 1851-4; also Van Vloten, *Specimen*, &c., 4to. Lugd. 1803. *Literae ad Scaliger*, &c. (by De Sacy) and *Epistola ad Ludolph.* (Bruns), in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. Also, with Letters to De Sacy himself, in *Notices et Extraits des MSS.* Par. 1831. *Chronicon Samaritanum*, by Juynboll, 4to. Leyden 1848. Specimen of Samar. Commentary on Gen. xlix. by Schnurrer, in Eichhorn's *Repert.* xvi. *Carm. Samar.* Gesenius, 4to. Lips. 1824.

2. Dissertations, &c. J. Morinus, *Exercitationes*,

* The briefest rendering of מִמּוֹרִים which we can give—a full explanation of the term would exceed our limits.

† On this subject the Pent. contains nothing explicit. They at first rejected that dogma, but adopted it at a later period, perhaps since Dositheus; comp. the sayings of

&c., Par. 1631; *Opuscula Hebr. Samaritana*, Part 1657; *Antiquitates Eccl. Orient.*, Lond. 1682. J. H. Hottinger, *Exercit. Anti-moriniana*, &c., Tigur. 1644. Walton, *De Pent. Sam.* in *Prolegomena ad Polyglott.* Castell, *Animadversiones*, in *Polyglott*, vi. Cellarius, *Horae Samaritanæ*, Ciz. 1682; also *Collectanea*, in Ugolini, xxii. Leusden, *Philologus Hebr.* Utraj. 1686. St. Morinus, *Exercit. de Ling. primaeva*, Utr. 1694. Schwarz, *Exercitationes*, &c. Houbigant, *Prolegomena*, &c., Par. 1746. Kennicott, *State of the Heb. Text*, &c., 1759. J. G. Carpzov, *Crit. Sacri V. T. Pt. 1.* Lips. 1728. Hassencamp, *Entdeckter Ursprung*, &c. O. G. Tychsen, *Disputatio*, &c., Bütz. 1766. Bauer, *Crit. Sacr.* Gesenius, *De Pent. Sam. Origine*, &c., Hal. 1815; *Samar. Theologia*, &c., Hal. 1822; *Anecdota Exon.* Lips. 1824. Heugstenberg, *Auth. des Pent. Mazade Sur l'Origine*, &c., Gen. 1830. M. Stuart, *N. Amer. Rev.* Frankel, *Vorstudien*, Leipz. 1841. Kirchheim, *כרמי שומרון*, Frankfurt 1851. The *Einleitungen* of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Vater, De Wette, Hävernick, Keil, &c. The *Geschichten* of Jost, Herzfeld, &c.

3. Versions. Winer, *De Vers. Pent. Sam.* De Sacy, *Mém. sur la Vers. Arabe des Livres de Moïse*, in *Mém. de Littérature*, xlix. Par. 1808; also *L'Etat actuel des Samaritains*, Par. 1812; *De Versione Samaritana-Arabica*, &c., in Eichhorn's *Allg. Bibliothek*, x. 1-176. [E. D.]

SAM'ATUS (Σαματός: *Semedius*). One of the sons of Ozora in the list of 1 Esd. ix. 34. The whole verse is very corrupt.

SAMEI'US (Σαμαῖος). SHEMAIAH of the sons of Harim (1 Esd. ix. 21; comp. *Ezr.* x. 21).

SAM'GAR-NE'BO (סַמְגַר־נְבוּ: *Samegar-nebu*). One of the princes or generals of the king of Babylon who commanded the victorious army of the Chaldaeans at the capture of Jerusalem (*Jer.* xxxix. 3). The text of the LXX. is corrupt. The two names "Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim," are there written Σαμαγῶθ και Ναβουσσάχαρ. The *Nebo* is the Chaldaean Mercury; about the Samgar, opinions are divided. Von Bohlen suggested that from the Sanscrit *sangara*, "war," might be formed *sângara*, "warrior," and that this was the original of Samgar.

SA'MI (Τωβίς; Alex. Σαβεί: *Tobi*). SHOBAN (1 Esd. v. 28; comp. *Ezr.* ii. 42).

SA'MIS (Σομεῖς: om. in Vulg.). SHIMEI (1 Esd. ix. 34; comp. *Ezr.* x. 38).

SAM'LAH (שַׁמְלָה: Σαμαδά; Alex. Σαλαμῆ-*Semla*), Gen. xxxvi. 36, 37; 1 Chr. i. 47, 48. One of the kings of Edom, successor to HADAD of HADAR. Samlah, whose name signifies "a garment," was of MASREKAH; that being probably the chief city during his reign. This mention of a separate city as belonging to each (almost without exception) of the "kings" of Edom, suggests that the Edomite kingdom consisted of a confederacy of tribes, and that the chief city of the reigning tribe was the metropolis of the whole. [E. S. P.]

SAM'MUS (Σαμμοῦς: *Samus*). SHEMA (1 Esd. ix. 43; comp. *Neh.* viii. 4).

Jehudda-hadassi and Massudi, that one of the two Samaritan sects believes in the Resurrection; Epiphanius Leontius Gregory the Great, testify unanimously of their former unbelief in this article of their present faith

† פת. Lightfoot "bucella" (?)

SAMOS (Σάμος). A very illustrious Greek island of that part of Asia Minor where IONIA touches CARIA. For its history, from the time when it was a powerful member of the Ionic confederacy to its recent struggles against Turkey during the war of independence, and since, we must refer to the *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geog.** Samos is a very lofty and commanding island; the word, in fact, denotes a height, especially by the sea-shore: hence, also, the name of SAMOTHRACIA, or "the Thracian Samos." The Ionian Samos comes before our notice in the detailed account of St. Paul's return from his third missionary journey (Acts xx. 15). He had been at Chios, and was about to proceed to Miletus, having passed by Ephesus without touching there. The topographical notices given incidentally by St. Luke are most exact. The night was spent at the anchorage of TROGYLLIUM, in the narrow strait between Samos and the extremity of the mainland-ridge of Mycale. This spot is famous both for the great battle of the old Greeks against the Persians in B.C. 479, and also for a gallant action of the modern Greeks against the Turks in 1824. Here, however, it is more natural (especially as we know, from 1 Macc. xv. 23, that Jews resided here) to allude to the meeting of Herod the Great with Marcus Agrippa in Samos, whence resulted many privileges to the Jews (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2, §2, 4). At this time and when St. Paul was there it was politically a "free city" in the province of ASIA. Various travellers (Tournefort, Pococke, Dallaway, Ross) have described this island. We may refer particularly to a very recent work on the subject, *Description de l'île de Patmos et de l'île de Samos* (Paris, 1856), by V. Guérin, who spent two months in the island. [J. S. H.]

SAMOTHRACIA (Σαμοθράκη: *Samothracia*). The mention of this island in the account of St. Paul's first voyage to Europe (Acts xvi. 11) is for two reasons worthy of careful notice. In the first place, being a very lofty and conspicuous island, it is an excellent landmark for sailors, and must have been full in view, if the weather was clear, throughout that voyage from Troas to Neapolis. From the shore at Troas Samothrace is seen towering over Imbros (Hom. *Il.* xiii. 12, 13; Kinglake's *Eöthen*, p. 64), and it is similarly a marked object in the view from the hills between Neapolis and Philippi (Clarke's *Travels*, ch. xiii.). These allusions tend to give vividness to one of the most important voyages that ever took place. Secondly, this voyage was made with a fair wind. Not only are we told that it occupied only parts of two days, whereas on a subsequent return-voyage (Acts xx. 6) the time spent at sea was five: but the technical word here used (εὐθύδρομήσαμεν) implies that they ran before the wind. Now the position of Samothrace is exactly such as to correspond with these notices, and thus incidentally to confirm the accuracy of a most artless narrative. St. Paul and his companions anchored for the night off Samothrace. The ancient city, and therefore probably the usual anchorage, was on the N. side, which would be sufficiently sheltered from a S.E. wind. It may be added, as a further practical consideration not to be overlooked, that such a wind would be favourable for overcoming the opposing current, which sets southerly

after leaving the Dardanelles, and easterly between Samothrace and the mainland. Fuller details are given in *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, 2nd ed. i. 335-338. The chief classical associations of this island are mythological and connected with the mysterious divinities called Cabeiri. Perseus took refuge here after his defeat by the Romans at Pydna. In St. Paul's time Samothrace had, according to Pliny, the privileges of a small free state, though it was doubtless considered a dependency of the province of Macedonia. [J. S. H.]

SAMP SAMES (Σαμψάμης, Σαμψάκης: *Lamp-sacus, Samsames*), a name which occurs in the list of those to whom the Romans are said to have sent letters in favour of the Jews (1 Macc. xv. 23). The name is probably not that of a sovereign (as it appears to be taken in A. V.), but of a place, which Grimm identifies with *Samsun* on the coast of the Black Sea, between Sinope and Trebizond. [B. F. W.]

SAM'SON (שִׁמְשׁוֹן, i.e. Shimshon: Σαμψών: "little sun," or "sunlike;" but according to Joseph. *Ant.* v. 8, §4 "strong:" if the root *shemesh* has the signification of "awe" which Gesenius ascribes to it, the name Samson would seem naturally to allude to the "awe" and "astonishment" with which the father and mother looked upon the angel who announced Samson's birth—see Judg. xiii. 6, 18-20, and Joseph. *l. c.*), son of Manoah, a man of the town of Zorah, in the tribe of Dan, on the border of Judah (Josh. xv. 33, xix. 41). The miraculous circumstances of his birth are recorded in Judg. xiii.; and the three following chapters are devoted to the history of his life and exploits. Samson takes his place in Scripture, (1) as a judge—an office which he filled for twenty years (Judg. xv. 20, xvi. 31); (2) as a Nazarite (Judg. xiii. 5, xvi. 17); and, (3) as one endowed with supernatural power by the Spirit of the Lord (Judg. xiii. 25, xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14).

(1.) As a judge his authority seems to have been limited to the district bordering upon the country of the Philistines, and his action as a deliverer does not seem to have extended beyond desultory attacks upon the dominant Philistines, by which their hold upon Israel was weakened, and the way prepared for the future emancipation of the Israelites from their yoke. It is evident from Judg. xiii. 1, 5, xv. 9-11, 20, and the whole history, that the Israelites, or at least Judah and Dan, which are the only tribes mentioned, were subject to the Philistines through the whole of Samson's judgeship; so that, of course, Samson's twenty years of office would be included in the forty years of the Philistine dominion. From the angel's speech to Samson's mother (Judg. xiii. 5), it appears further that the Israelites were already subject to the Philistines at his birth; and as Samson cannot have begun to be judge before he was twenty years of age, it follows that his judgeship must about have coincided with the last twenty years of Philistine dominion. But when we turn to the First Book of Samuel, and especially to vii. 1-14, we find that the Philistine dominion ceased under the judgeship of Samuel. Hence it is obvious to conclude that the early part of Samuel's judgeship coincided with the latter part of Samson's; and that the capture of the ark by the Philistines in the time of Eli occurred during Samson's lifetime. There are besides several points in the respective narratives of the times of Samson and Samuel which indicate great proximity. First, there

* A curious illustration of the renown of the Samian earthenware is furnished by the Vulgate rendering of Is. xli. 9. "Festa de Samiis terrae."

is the general prominence of the Philistines in their relation to Israel. Secondly, there is the remarkable coincidence of both Samson and Samuel being Nazarites (Judg. xiii. 5, xvi. 17, compared with 1 Sam. i. 11). It looks as if the great exploits of the young Danite Nazarite had suggested to Hannah the consecration of her son in like manner, or, at all events, as if for some reason the Nazarite vow was at that time prevalent. No other mention of Nazarites occurs in the Scripture history till Amos ii. 11, 12; and even there the allusion seems to be to Samuel and Samson. Thirdly, there is a similar notice of the house of Dagon in Judg. xvi. 23, and 1 Sam. v. 2. Fourthly, the lords of the Philistines are mentioned in a similar way in Judg. xvi. 8, 18, 27, and in 1 Sam. vii. 7. All of which, taken together, indicates a close proximity between the times of Samson and Samuel. There does not seem, however, to be any means of fixing the time of Samson's judgeship more precisely. The effect of his prowess must have been more of a preparatory kind, by arousing the cowed spirit of his people, and shaking the insolent security of the Philistines, than in the way of decisive victory or deliverance. There is no allusion whatever to other parts of Israel during Samson's judgeship, except the single fact of the men of the border tribe of Judah, 3000 in number, fetching him from the rock Etam to deliver him up to the Philistines (Judg. xv. 9-13). The whole narrative is entirely local, and, like the following story concerning Micah (Judg. xvii. xviii.), seems to be taken from the annals of the tribe of Dan.

(2.) As a Nazarite, Samson exhibits the law in Num. vi. in full practice. [NAZARITE.] The eminence of such Nazarites as Samson and Samuel would tend to give that dignity to the profession which is alluded to in Lam. iv. 7, 8.

(3.) Samson is one of those who are distinctly spoken of in Scripture as endowed with supernatural power by the Spirit of the Lord. "The Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in Mahaneh-Dan." "The Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his arms became as flax burnt with fire." "The Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he went down to Ashkelon, and slew thirty men of them."

* "Hercules once went to Egypt, and there the inhabitants took him, and, putting a chaplet on his head, led him out in solemn procession, intending to offer him in sacrifice to Jupiter. For a while he submitted quietly; but when they led him up to the altar, and began the ceremonies, he put forth his strength and slew them all" (Rawlins. *Herod.* book ii. 45).

The passage from Lycophron, with the scholion, quoted by Bochart (*Hieroz.* pars ii. lib. v. cap. xli.), where Hercules is said to have been three nights in the belly of the sea-monster, and to have come out *with the loss of all his hair*, is also curious, and seems to be a compound of the stories of Samson and Jonah. To this may be added the connexion between *Samson*, considered as derived from *Shemesh*, "the Sun," and the designation of Moui, the Egyptian Hercules, as "Son of the Sun," worshipped also under the name *Sem*, which Sir G. Wilkinson compares with Samson. The Tyrian Hercules (whose temple at Tyre is described by Herodot. ii. 44), he also tells us, "was originally the Sun, and the same as Baal" (Rawl. *Herod.* ii. 44, note 7). The connexion between the Phoenician Baal (called Baal Shemen, Baal Shemesh, and Baal Hamman), and Hercules is well known. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v. **בעל**) tells us that, in certain Phoenician inscriptions, which are accompanied by a Greek translation, *Baal* is rendered *Herakles*, and that "the Tyrian Hercules" is the constant Greek

But, on the other hand, after his locks were cut and his strength was gone from him, it is said "He wist not that the Lord was departed from him" (Judg. xiii. 25, xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14, xvi. 23). The phrase, "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him," is common to him with Othniel and Gideon (Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34); but the connexion of supernatural power with the integrity of the Nazarite vow, and the particular gift of great strength to a body, as seen in tearing in pieces a lion, breaking his bonds asunder, carrying the gates of the city upon his back, and throwing down the pillars which supported the house of Dagon, are quite peculiar to Samson. Indeed, his whole character and history have no exact parallel in Scripture. It is easy, however, to see how forcibly the Israelites would be taught, by such an example, that their national strength lay in their complete separation from idolatry, and consecration to the true God; and that He could give them power to subdue their mightiest enemies, if only they were true to His service (comp. 1 Sam. ii. 10).

It is an interesting question whether any of the legends which have attached themselves to the name of Hercules may have been derived from Phoenician traditions of the strength of Samson. The combination of great strength with submission to the power of women; the slaying of the Nemeæan lion; the coming by his death at the hands of his wife; and especially the story told by Herodotus of the captivity of Hercules in Egypt,* are certainly remarkable coincidences. Phoenician traders might easily have carried stories concerning the Hebrew hero to the different countries where they traded, especially Greece and Italy; and such stories would have been moulded according to the taste or imagination of those who heard them. The following description of Hercules given by C. O. Müller (*Dorians*, b. ii. c. 12) might almost have been written for Samson:—"The highest degree of human suffering and courage is attributed to Hercules: his character is as noble as could be conceived in those rude and early times; but he is by no means represented as free from the blemishes of human nature; on the contrary, he is frequently subject to wild, ungovernable passions, when the noble indignation and anger of the suffering hero

designated of the Baal of Tyre. He also gives many Carthaginian inscriptions to Baal Hamman, which he renders Baal Solaris; and also a sculpture in which Baal Hamman's head is surrounded with rays, and which has an image of the sun on the upper part of the monument (*Mon. Phoen.* i. 171; ii. tab. 21). Another evidence of the identity of the Phoenician Baal and Hercules may be found in *Bauli*, near Baiæ, a place sacred to Hercules ("locus Herculis," Serv.), but evidently so called from Baal. Thirlwall (*Hist. of Greece*) ascribes to the numerous temples built by the Phoenicians in honour of Baal in their different settlements the Greek fables of the labours and journeys of Hercules. Bochart thinks the custom described by Ovid (*Fast.* liv.) of tying a lighted torch between two foxes in the circus, in memory of the damage once done to the harvest by a fox with burning hay and straw tied to it, was derived from the Phoenicians, and is clearly to be traced to the history of Samson (*Hieroz.* pars i. lib. iii. cap. xlii.). From all which arises a considerable probability that the Greek and Latin conception of Hercules in regard to his strength was derived from Phoenician stories and reminiscences of the great Hebrew hero Samson. Some learned men connect the name *Hercules* with *Samson* etymologically. (See Sir G. Wilkinson's note in Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 43; Patrick, *On Judg.* xv. 30; Cornel. a Lapide, &c.) But none of these etymologies are very convincing.