

degenerate into frenzy. Every crime, however, is atoned for by some new suffering; but nothing weakens his invincible courage, until, purified from earthly corruption, he ascends Mount Olympus." And again: "Hercules was a jovial guest, and not backward in enjoying himself. . . . It was Hercules, above all other heroes, whom mythology placed in ludicrous situations, and sometimes made the butt of the buffoonery of others. The Cercopes are represented as alternately amusing and annoying the hero. In works of art they are often represented as satyrs who rob the hero of his quiver, bow, and club. Hercules, annoyed at their insults, binds two of them to a pole, and marches off with his prize. . . . It also seems that mirth and buffoonery were often combined with the festivals of Hercules: thus at Athens there was a society of sixty men, who on the festival of the Diomean Hercules attacked and amused themselves and others with sallies of wit." Whatever is thought, however, of such coincidences, it is certain that the history of Samson is an historical, and not an allegorical narrative. It has also a distinctly supernatural element which cannot be explained away. The history, as we now have it, must have been written several centuries after Samson's death (Judg. xv. 19, 20, xviii. 1, 30, xix. 1), though probably taken from the annals of the tribe of Dan. Josephus has given it pretty fully, but with alterations and embellishments of his own, after his manner. For example, he does not make Samson eat any of the honey which he took out of the hive, doubtless as unclean, and unfit for a Nazarite, but makes him give it to his wife. The only mention of Samson in the N. T. is that in Heb. xi. 32, where he is coupled with Gideon, Barak, and Jephthah, and spoken of as one of those who "through faith waded valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens." See, besides the places quoted in the course of this article, a full article in Winer, *Realb.*; Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 516, &c.; Bertheau, *On Judges*; Bayle's *Dict.* [A. C. H.]

SAMUEL (שְׁמוּאֵל), *i. e.* Shemûel: Σαμουήλ: Arabic, *Samuil*, or *Aschmouyl*, see D'Herbelot, under this last name). Different derivations have been given. (1) שְׁמוּאֵל, "name of God:" so apparently Origen (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 25), Θεοκλητός. (2) שְׁמוּאֵל, "placed by God." (3) שְׁמוּאֵל, "counsel of God" (1 Sam. i. 20). Josephus ingeniously makes it correspond to the well-known Greek name *Theaetetus*. (4) שְׁמוּאֵל, "heard of God." This, which may have the same meaning as the previous derivation, is the most obvious. The last Judge, the first of the regular succession of Prophets, and the founder of the monarchy. So important a position did he hold in Jewish history as to have given his name to the sacred book, now divided into two, which covers the whole period of the first establishment of the kingdom, corresponding to the manner in which the name of Moses has been assigned to the sacred book, now divided into five, which covers the period of the foundation of the Jewish Church itself. In fact no character of equal magnitude had arisen since the death of the great Lawgiver.

He was the son of Elkanah, an Ephrathite or Ephraimite, and Hannah or Anna. His father is one of the few private citizens in whose household we find polygamy. It may possibly have arisen from the irregularity of the period.

The descent of Elkanah is involved in great ob-

scurity. In 1 Sam. i. 1 he is described as an Ephraimite. In 1 Chr. vi. 22, 23 he is made a descendant of Korah the Levite. Hengstenberg (on Ps. lxxviii. 1) and Ewald (ii. 433) explain this by supposing that the Levites were occasionally incorporated into the tribes amongst whom they dwelt. The question, however, is of no practical importance, because, even if Samuel were a Levite, he certainly was not a Priest by descent.

His birthplace is one of the vexed questions of sacred geography, as his descent is of sacred genealogy. [See RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.] All that appears with certainty from the accounts is that it was in the hills of Ephraim, and (as may be inferred from its name) a double height, used for the purpose of beacons or outlookers (1 Sam. i. 1). At the foot of the hill was a well (1 Sam. xix. 22). On the brow of its two summits was the city. It never lost its hold on Samuel, who in later life made it his fixed abode.

The combined family must have been large. Peninnah had several children, and Hannah had, besides Samuel, three sons and two daughters. But of these nothing is known, unless the names of the sons are those enumerated in 1 Chr. vi. 26, 27.

It is on the mother of Samuel that our chief attention is fixed in the account of his birth. She is described as a woman of a high religious mission. Almost a Nazarite by practice (1 Sam. i. 15), and a prophetess in her gifts (1 Sam. ii. 1), she sought from God the gift of the child for which she longed with a passionate devotion of silent prayer, of which there is no other example in the O. T., and when the son was granted, the name which he bore, and thus first introduced into the world, expressed her sense of the urgency of her entreaty—*Samuel*, "the Asked or Heard of God."

Living in the great age of vows, she had before his birth dedicated him to the office of a Nazarite. As soon as he was weaned, she herself with her husband brought him to the Tabernacle at Shiloh, where she had received the first intimation of his birth, and there solemnly consecrated him. The form of consecration was similar to that with which the irregular priesthood of Jeroboam was set apart in later times (2 Chr. xiii. 9)—a bullock of three years old (LXX.), loaves (LXX.), an ephah of flour, and a skin of wine (1 Sam. i. 24). First took place the usual sacrifices (LXX.) by Elkanah himself—then, after the introduction of the child, the special sacrifice of the bullock. Then his mother made him over to Eli (i. 25, 28), and (according to the Hebrew text, but not the LXX.) the child himself performed an act of worship.

The hymn which followed on this consecration is the first of the kind in the sacred volume. It is possible that, like many of the Psalms, it may have been enlarged in later times to suit great occasions of victory and the like. But verse 5 specially applies to this event, and verses 7, 8 may well express the sense entertained by the prophetess of the coming revolution in the fortunes of her son and of her country.

From this time the child is shut up in the tabernacle. The priests furnished him with a sacred garment, an ephod, made, like their own, of white linen, though of inferior quality, and his mother every year, apparently at the only time of their meeting, gave him a little mantle reaching down to his feet, such as was worn only by high personages, or women, over the other dress, and such as he retained, as his badge, till the latest times of his

life. [MANTLE, vol. ii. p. 231 b.] He seems to have slept within the Holiest Place (LXX., 1 Sam. iii. 3), and his special duty was to put out, as it would seem, the sacred candlestick, and to open the doors at sunrise.

In this way his childhood was passed. It was whilst thus sleeping in the tabernacle that he received his first prophetic call. The stillness of the night—the sudden voice—the childlike misconception—the venerable Eli—the contrast between the terrible doom and the gentle creature who has to announce it—give to this portion of the narrative a universal interest. It is this side of Samuel's career that has been so well caught in the well-known picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

From this moment the prophetic character of Samuel was established. His words were treasured up, and Shiloh became the resort of those who came to hear him (iii. 19-21).

In the overthrow of the sanctuary, which followed shortly on this vision, we hear not what became of Samuel.^a He next appears, probably twenty years afterwards, suddenly amongst the people, warning them against their idolatrous practices. He convened an assembly at Mizpeh—probably the place of that name in the tribe of Benjamin—and there with a symbolical rite, expressive partly of deep humiliation, partly of the libations of a treaty, they poured water on the ground, they fasted, and they entreated Samuel to raise the piercing cry, for which he was known, in supplication to God for them. It was at the moment that he was offering up a sacrifice, and sustaining this loud cry (compare the situation of Pausanias before the battle of Plataea, Herod. ix. 61), that the Philistine host suddenly burst upon them. A violent thunderstorm, and (according to Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 2, §2) an earthquake, came to the timely assistance of Israel. The Philistines fled, and, exactly at the spot where twenty years before they had obtained their great victory, they were totally routed. A stone was set up, which long remained as a memorial of Samuel's triumph, and gave to the place its name of Eben-ezer, "the Stone of Help," which has thence passed into Christian phraseology, and become a common name of Non-conformist chapels (1 Sam. vii. 12). The old Canaanites, whom the Philistines had dispossessed in the outskirts of the Judæan hills, seem to have helped in the battle, and a large portion of territory was recovered (1 Sam. vi. 14). This was Samuel's first and, as far as we know, his only military achievement. But, as in the case of the earlier chiefs who bore that name, it was apparently this which raised him to the office of "Judge" (comp. 1 Sam. xii. 11, where he is thus reckoned with Jerubbaal, Bedan, and Jephthah; and *Ecclus.* xlvi. 15-18). He visited, in discharge of his duties as ruler, the three chief sanctuaries (ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις τούτοις) on the west of the Jordan—Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 16). His own residence was still his native city, Ramah or Ramathaim, which he further consecrated by an altar (vii. 17). Here he married, and two sons grew up to repeat under his eyes the same perversion of high office that he had himself witnessed in his childhood in the case of the two sons of Eli.

^a According to the Mussulman tradition, Samuel's birth is granted in answer to the prayers of the nation on the overthrow of the sanctuary and loss of the ark (D'Herbelot, *Aschmouy*). This, though false in the letter, is true to the spirit of Samuel's life.

One was Abian, the other Joel, sometimes called simply "the second" (*vashni*, 1 Chr. vi. 28). In his old age, according to the quasi-hereditary principle, already adopted by previous Judges, he shared his power with them, and they exercised their functions at the southern frontier in Beersheba (1 Sam. viii. 1-4).

2. Down to this point in Samuel's life there is but little to distinguish his career from that of his predecessors. Like many characters in later days, had he died in youth his fame would hardly have been greater than that of Gideon or Samson. He was a Judge, a Nazarite, a warrior, and (to a certain point) a prophet.

But his peculiar position in the sacred narrative turns on the events which follow. He is the inaugurator of the transition from what is commonly called the theocracy to the monarchy. The misdemeanour of his own sons, in receiving bribes, and in extorting exorbitant interest on loans (1 Sam. viii. 3, 4), precipitated the catastrophe which had been long preparing. The people demanded a king. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 3, §3) describes the shock to Samuel's mind, "because of his inborn sense of justice, because of his hatred of kings, as so far inferior to the aristocratic form of government, which conferred a godlike character on those who lived under it." For the whole night he lay fasting and sleepless, in the perplexity of doubt and difficulty. In the vision of that night, as recorded by the sacred historian, is given the dark side of the new institution, on which Samuel dwells on the following day (1 Sam. viii. 9-18).

This presents his reluctance to receive the new order of things. The whole narrative of the reception and consecration of Saul gives his acquiescence in it. [SAUL.]

The final conflict of feeling and surrender of his office is given in the last assembly over which he presided, and in his subsequent relations with Saul. The assembly was held at Gilgal, immediately after the victory over the Ammonites. The monarchy was a second time solemnly inaugurated, and (according to the LXX.) "Samuel" (in the Hebrew text "Saul") "and all the men of Israel rejoiced greatly." Then takes place his farewell address. By this time the long flowing locks on which no razor had ever passed were white with age (xii. 2). He appeals to their knowledge of his integrity. Whatever might be the lawless habits of the chiefs of those times—Hophni, Phinehas, or his own sons—he had kept aloof from all. No ox or ass had he taken from their stalls—no bribe to obtain his judgment (LXX., ἐξίλασμα)—not even a sacrifice (ὑπόδημα, LXX., and *Ecclus.* xlvi. 19). It is this appeal, and the response of the people, that has made Grotius call him the Jewish Aristides. He then sums up the new situation in which they have placed themselves; and, although "the wickedness of asking a king" is still strongly insisted on, and the unusual portent^b of a thunderstorm in May or June, in answer to Samuel's prayer, is urged as a sign of Divine displeasure (xii. 16-19), the general tone of the condemnation is much softened from that which was pronounced on the first intimation of the change. The first king is repeatedly acknowledged as "the Messiah" or anointed of the Lord.

^b According to the Mussulman traditions, his anger was occasioned by the people rejecting Saul as not being of the tribe of Judah. The sign that Saul was the king was the liquefaction of the sacred oil in his presence and the discovery of the tabernacle (D'Herbelot, *Aschmouy*).

of 3, 5), the future prosperity of the nation is declared to depend on their use or misuse of the new constitution, and Samuel retires with expressions of goodwill and hope:—"I will teach you the good and the right way . . . only fear the Lord . . ." (1 Sam. xii. 23, 24).

It is the most signal example afforded in the O. T. of a great character reconciling himself to a changed order of things, and of the Divine sanction resting on his acquiescence. For this reason it is that Athanasius is by Basil called the Samuel of the Church (Basil, *Ep.* 82).

3. His subsequent relations with Saul are of the same mixed kind. The two institutions which they respectively represented ran on side by side. Samuel was still Judge. He judged Israel "all the days of his life" (vii. 15), and from time to time came across the king's path. But these interventions are chiefly in another capacity, which this is the place to unfold.

Samuel is called emphatically "the Prophet" (Acts iii. 24, xiii. 20). To a certain extent this was in consequence of the gift which he shared in common with others of his time. He was especially known in his own age as "Samuel the Seer" (1 Chr. ix. 22, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29). "I am the seer," was his answer to those who asked "Where is the seer?" "Where is the seer's house?" (1 Sam. ix. 11, 18, 19). "Seer," the ancient name, was not yet superseded by "Prophet" (1 Sam. ix.). By this name, Samuel *Videns* and Samuel *ὁ βλέπων*, he is called in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Of the three modes by which Divine communications were then made, "by dreams, Urim and Thummim, and prophets," the first was that by which the Divine will was made known to Samuel (1 Sam. iii. 1, 2; Jos. Ant. v. 10, §4). "The Lord uncovered his ear" to whisper into it in the stillness of the night the messages that were to be delivered. It is the first distinct intimation of the idea of "Revelation" to a human being (see Gesenius, *in voc.* רָאָה). He was consulted far and near on the small affairs of life; loaves of "bread," or "the fourth part of a shekel of silver," were paid for the answers (1 Sam. ix. 7, 8).

From this faculty, combined with his office of ruler, an awful reverence grew up round him. No sacrificial feast was thought complete without his blessing (ib. ix. 13). When he appeared suddenly elsewhere for the same purpose, the villagers "trembled" at his approach (1 Sam. xvi. 4, 5). A peculiar virtue was believed to reside in his intercession. He was conspicuous in later times amongst those that "call upon the name of the Lord" (Ps. xcix. 6; 1 Sam. xii. 18), and was placed with Moses as "standing" for prayer, in a special sense, "before the Lord" (Jer. xv. 1). It was the last consolation he left in his parting address that he would "pray to the Lord" for the people (1 Sam. xii. 19, 23). There was something peculiar in the long sustained cry or shout of supplication, which seemed to draw down as by force the Divine answer (1 Sam. vii. 8, 9). All night long, in agitated moments, "he cried unto the Lord" (1 Sam. xv. 11).

But there are two other points which more especially placed him at the head of the prophetic order as it afterwards appeared. The first is brought out in his relation with Saul, the second in his relation with David.

(a). He represents the independence of the moral law, of the Divine Will, as distinct from regal or sacerdotal enactments, which is so remarkable a characteristic of all the later prophets. As we have seen, he was, if a Levite, yet certainly not a Priest; and all the attempts to identify his opposition to Saul with a hierarchical interest are founded on a complete misconception of the facts of the case. From the time of the overthrow of Shiloh, he never appears in the remotest connexion with the priestly order. Amongst all the places included in his personal or administrative visits, neither Shiloh, nor Nob, nor Gibeon, the seats of the sacerdotal caste, are ever mentioned. When he counsels Saul, it is not as the priest but as the prophet; when he sacrifices or blesses the sacrifice, it is not as the priest, but either as an individual Israelite of eminence, or as a ruler, like Saul himself. Saul's sin in both cases where he came into collision with Samuel, was not of intruding into sacerdotal functions, but of disobedience to the prophetic voice. The first was that of not waiting for Samuel's arrival, according to the sign given by Samuel at his original meeting at Ramah (1 Sam. x. 8, xiii. 8); the second was that of not carrying out the stern prophetic injunction for the destruction of the Amalekites. When, on that occasion, the aged Prophet called the captive prince before him, and with his own hands hacked him limb from limb,^d in retribution for the desolation he had brought into the homes of Israel, and thus offered up his mangled remains almost as a human sacrifice ("before the Lord in Gilgal"), we see the representative of the older part of the Jewish history. But it is the true prophetic utterance such as breathes through the psalmists and prophets when he says to Saul in words which, from their poetical form, must have become fixed in the national memory, "To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams."

The parting was not one of rivals, but of dear though divided friends. The King throws himself on the Prophet with all his force; not without a vehement effort (Jos. Ant. vi. 7, §5) the prophet tears himself away. The long mantle by which he was always known is rent in the struggle; and, like Ahijah after him, Samuel was in this the omen of the coming rent in the monarchy. They parted, each to his house, to meet no more. But a long shadow of grief fell over the prophet. "Samuel mourned for Saul." "It grieved Samuel for Saul." "How long wilt thou mourn for Saul?" (1 Sam. xv. 11, 35, xvi. 1.)

(b). He is the first of the regular succession of prophets. "All the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after" (Acts iii. 24). "Ex quo sanctus Samuel propheta coepit, et deinceps donec populus Israel in Babyloniam captivus verheretur, . . . totum est tempus prophetarum" (Aug. *Civ. Dei*, xvii. 1). Moses, Miriam, and Deborah, perhaps Ehud, had been prophets. But it was only from Samuel that the continuous succession was unbroken. This may have been merely from the coincidence of his appearance with the beginning of the new order of things, of which the prophetic office was the *emeri* expression. Some predisposing causes there may have been in his own

^c Agag is described by Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 7, §2) as a chief of magnificent appearance; and hence rescued from destruction. This is perhaps an inference from the word רָאָה, which the Vulgate translates *pinguissimus*.

^d 1 Sam. xv. The LXX. softens this into *ἔσφαξε*; but the Vulg. translation, *in frustra concidit*, "cut up into small pieces," seems to be the true meaning.

family and birthplace. His mother, as we have seen, though not expressly so called, was in fact a prophetess; the word *Zophim*, as the affix of Ramathaim, has been explained, not unreasonably, to mean "seers;" and Elkanah, his father, is by the Chaldee paraphrast on 1 Sam. i. 1, said to be "a disciple of the prophets." But the connexion of the continuity of the office with Samuel appears to be still more direct. It is in his lifetime, long after he had been "established as a prophet" (1 Sam. iii. 20), that we hear of the companies of disciples, called in the O. T. "the sons of the prophets," by modern writers "the schools of the prophets." All the peculiarities of their education are implied or expressed—the sacred dance, the sacred music, the solemn procession (1 Sam. x. 5, 10; 1 Chr. xxv. 1, 6). At the head of this congregation, or "church as it were within a church" (LXX. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, 1 Sam. x. 5, 10), Samuel is expressly described as "standing appointed over them" (1 Sam. xix. 20). Their chief residence at this time (though afterwards, as the institution spread, it struck root in other places) was at Samuel's own abode, Ramah, where they lived in habitations (*Naioth*, 1 Sam. xix. 19, &c.) apparently of a rustic kind, like the leafy huts which Elisha's disciples afterwards occupied by the Jordan (*Naioth* = "habitations," but more specifically used for "pastures").

In those schools, and learning to cultivate the prophetic gifts, were some, whom we know for certain, others whom we may almost certainly conjecture, to have been so trained or influenced. One was Saul. Twice at least he is described as having been in the company of Samuel's disciples, and as having caught from them the prophetic fervour, to such a degree as to have "prophesied among them" (1 Sam. x. 10, 11), and on one occasion to have thrown off his clothes, and to have passed the night in a state of prophetic trance (1 Sam. xix. 24): and even in his palace, the prophesying mingled with his madness on ordinary occasions (1 Sam. xviii. 9). Another was DAVID. The first acquaintance of Samuel with David, was when he privately anointed him at the house of Jesse [see DAVID]. But the connexion thus begun with the shepherd boy must have been continued afterwards. David, at first, fled to "Naioth in Ramah," as to his second home (1 Sam. xix. 19), and the gifts of music, of song, and of prophecy, here developed on so large a scale, were exactly such as we find in the notices of those who looked up to Samuel as their father. It is, further, hardly possible to escape the conclusion that David there first met his fast friends and companions in after life, prophets like himself—GAD and NATHAN.

It is needless to enlarge on the importance with which these incidents invest the appearance of Samuel. He there becomes the spiritual father of the Psalmist king. He is also the Founder of the first regular institutions of religious instruction, and communities for the purposes of education. The schools of Greece were not yet in existence. From these Jewish institutions were developed, by a natural order, the universities of Christendom. And it may be further added, that with this view the whole life of Samuel is in accordance. He is the prophet—the only prophet till the time of Isaiah—of whom we know that he was so from his earliest years. It is this continuity of his own life and character, that makes him so fit an instrument for conducting his nation through so great a change.

The death of Samuel is described as taking place in the year of the close of David's wanderings. It

is said with peculiar emphasis, as if to mark the loss, that "all the Israelites"—all, with a universality never specified before—"were gathered together" from all parts of this hitherto divided country, and "lamented him," and "buried him," not in any consecrated place, nor outside the walls of his city, but within his own house, thus in a manner consecrated by being turned into his tomb (1 Sam. xxv. 1). His relics were translated "from Judaea" (the place is not specified) A.D. 406, to Constantinople, and received there with much pomp by the Emperor Arcadius. They were landed at the pier of Chalcedon, and thence conveyed to a church, near the palace of Hebdomon (see *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. 20).

The situation of Ramathaim, as has been observed, is uncertain. But the place long pointed out as his tomb is the height, most conspicuous of all in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, immediately above the town of Gibeon, known to the Crusaders as "Montjoye," as the spot from whence they first saw Jerusalem, now called *Neby Samwil*, "the Prophet Samuel." The tradition can be traced back as far as the 7th century, when it is spoken of as the monastery of S. Samuel (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 142), and if once we discard the connexion of Ramathaim with the nameless city where Samuel met Saul, (as is set forth at length in the articles RAMAH; RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM) there is no reason why the tradition should be rejected. A cave is still shown underneath the floor of the mosque. "He built the tomb in his lifetime," is the account of the Mussulman guardian of the mosque, "but was not buried here till after the expulsion of the Greeks." It is the only spot in Palestine which claims any direct connexion with the first great prophet who was born within its limits; and its commanding situation well agrees with the importance assigned to him in the sacred history.

His descendants were here till the time of David. Heman, his grandson, was one of the chief singers in the Levitical choir (1 Chr. vi. 33, xv. 17, xxv. 5).

The apparition of Samuel at Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 14; Eccles. xlvi. 20) belongs to the history of SAUL.

It has been supposed that Samuel wrote a *Life of David* (of course of his earlier years), which was still accessible to one of the authors of the Book of Chronicles (1 Chr. xxix. 29); but this appears doubtful. [See p. 1126, b.] Various other books of the O. T. have been ascribed to him by the Jewish tradition—the Judges, Ruth, the two Books of Samuel, the latter, it is alleged, being written in the spirit of prophecy. He is regarded by the Samaritans as a magician and an infidel (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* p. 52).

The Persian traditions fix his life in the time of Kai-i-Kobad, 2nd king of Persia, with whom he is said to have conversed (D'Herbelot, *Ann. Kobad*). [A. P. S.]

SAMUEL, BOOKS OF (שמואל): Βασιλειῶν

Πρώτη, Δευτέρα: *Liber Regum Primus, Secundus*. Two historical books of the Old Testament, which are not separated from each other in the Hebrew MSS., and which, from a critical point of view, must be regarded as one book. The present division was first made in the Septuagint translation, and was adopted in the Vulgate from the Septuagint. But Origen, as quoted by Eusebius (*Histor. Eccles.* vi. 25), expressly states that they formed only one book among the Hebrews. Jerome (*Praefatio in Libros Samuel et Mclachim*) implies the same state

ment; and in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 14, c. 2), wherein the authorship is attributed to Samuel, they are designated by the name of his book, in the singular number (שמואל כתב ספרו). After the invention of printing they were published as one book in the first edition of the whole Bible printed at Soncino in 1488 A.D., and likewise in the Complutensian Polyglot printed at Alcalá, 1502-1517 A.D.; and it was not till the year 1518 that the division of the Septuagint was adopted in Hebrew, in the edition of the Bible printed by the Bombergers at Venice. The book was called by the Hebrews "Samuel," probably because the birth and life of Samuel were the subjects treated of in the beginning of the work—just as a treatise on festivals in the Mishna bears the name of *Beitsah*, an egg, because a question connected with the eating of an egg is the first subject discussed in it. [PHARISÆES, p. 890.] It has been suggested indeed by Abarbanel, as quoted by Carpzov (p. 211), that the book was called by Samuel's name because all things that occur in each book may, in a certain sense, be referred to Samuel, including the acts of Saul and David, inasmuch as each of them was anointed by him, and was, as it were, the work of his hands. This, however, seems to be a refinement of explanation for a fact which is to be accounted for in a less artificial manner. And, generally, it is to be observed that the logical titles of books adopted in modern times must not be looked for in Eastern works, nor indeed in early works of modern Europe. Thus David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan was called "The Bow," for some reason connected with the occurrence of that word in his poem (2 Sam. i. 18-22); and Snorro Storleson's Chronicle of the Kings of Norway obtained the name of "Heimskringla," the World's Circle, because Heimskringla was the first prominent word of the MS. that caught the eye (Laing's *Heimskringla*, i. 1).

Authorship and Date of the Book.—The most interesting points in regard to every important historical work are the name, intelligence, and character of the historian, and his means of obtaining correct information. If these points should not be known, next in order of interest is the precise period of time when the work was composed. On all these points, however, in reference to the Book of Samuel, more questions can be asked than can be answered, and the results of a dispassionate inquiry are mainly negative.

1st, as to the authorship. In common with all the historical books of the Old Testament, except the beginning of Nehemiah, the Book of Samuel contains no mention in the text of the name of its author. The earliest Greek historical work extant, written by one who has frequently been called the Father of History, commences with the words, "This is a publication of the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus;" and the motives which induce Herodotus to write the work are then set forth. Thucydides, the writer of the Greek historical work next in order of time, who likewise specifies his reasons for writing it, commences by stating, "Thucydides the Athenian wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians," and frequently uses the formula that such or such a year ended—the second, or third, or fourth, as the case might be—"of this war of which Thucydides wrote the history" (ii. 70, 103; iii. 25, 88, 116). Again, when he speaks in one passage of events in which it is necessary that he should

mention his own name, he refers to himself as "Thucydides son of Olorus, who composed this work" (iv. 104). Now, with the one exception of this kind already mentioned, no similar information is contained in any historical book of the Old Testament, although there are passages not only in Nehemiah, but likewise in Ezra, written in the first person. Still, without any statement of the authorship embodied in the text, it is possible that historical books might come down to us with a title containing the name of the author. This is the case, for example, with Livy's *Roman History*, and Caesar's *Commentaries of the Gallic War*. In the latter case, indeed, although Caesar mentions a long series of his own actions without intimating that he was the author of the work, and thus there is an antecedent improbability that he wrote it, yet the traditional title of the work outweighs this improbability, confirmed as the title is by an unbroken chain of testimony, commencing with contemporaries (Cicero, *Brut.* 75; Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* viii. 1; Suetonius, *Jul. Caes.* 56; Quinctilian, x. 1; Tacitus, *Germ.* 28). Here, again, there is nothing precisely similar in Hebrew history. The five books of the Pentateuch have in Hebrew no title except the first Hebrew words of each part; and the titles Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which are derived from the Septuagint, convey no information as to their author. In like manner, the Book of Judges, the Books of the Kings and the Chronicles, are not referred to any particular historian; and although six works bear respectively the names of Joshua, Ruth, Samuel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, there is nothing in the works themselves to preclude the idea that in each case the subject only of the work may be indicated, and not its authorship; as is shown conclusively by the titles Ruth and Esther, which no one has yet construed into the assertion that those celebrated women wrote the works concerning themselves. And it is indisputable that the title "Samuel" does not imply that the prophet was the author of the Book of Samuel as a whole; for the death of Samuel is recorded in the beginning of the 25th chapter; so that, under any circumstances, a different author would be required for the remaining chapters, constituting considerably more than one-half of the entire work. Again, in reference to the Book of Samuel, the absence of the historian's name from both the text and the title is not supplied by any statement of any other writer, made within a reasonable period from the time when the book may be supposed to have been written. No mention of the author's name is made in the Book of Kings, nor, as will be hereafter shown, in the Chronicles, nor in any other of the sacred writings. In like manner, it is not mentioned either in the Apocrypha or in Josephus. The silence of Josephus is particularly significant. He published his *Antiquities* about 1100 years after the death of David, and in them he makes constant use of the Book of Samuel for one portion of his history. Indeed it is his exclusive authority for his account of Samuel and Saul, and his main authority, in conjunction with the Chronicles, for the history of David. Yet he nowhere attempts to name the author of the Book of Samuel, or of any part of it. There is a similar silence in the Mishna, where, however, the inference from such silence is far less cogent. And it is not until we come to the Babylonian Gemara, which is supposed to have been completed in its present form somewhere about 500 A.D., that any Jewish state

ment respecting the authorship can be pointed out, and then it is for the first time asserted (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 14, c. 2), in a passage already referred to, that "Samuel wrote his book," *i. e.* as the words imply, the book which bears his name. But this statement cannot be proved to have been made earlier than 1550 years after the death of Samuel—a longer period than has elapsed since the death of the Emperor Constantine; and unsupported as the statement is by reference to any authority of any kind, it would be unworthy of credit, even if it were not opposed to the internal evidence of the book itself. At the revival of learning, an opinion was propounded by Abarbanel, a learned Jew, † A.D. 1508, that the Book of Samuel was written by the prophet Jeremiah^a (Lat. by Aug. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1686), and this opinion was adopted by Hugo Grotius (*Pref. ad Librum priorem Samuelis*), with a general statement that there was no discrepancy in the language, and with only one special reference. Notwithstanding the eminence, however, of these writers, this opinion must be rejected as highly improbable. Under any circumstances it could not be regarded as more than a mere guess; and it is, in reality, a guess uncountenanced by peculiar similarity of language, or of style, between the history of Samuel and the writings of Jeremiah. In our own time the most prevalent idea in the Anglican Church seems to have been that the first twenty-four chapters of the Book of Samuel were written by the prophet himself, and the rest of the chapters by the prophets Nathan and Gad. This is the view favoured by Mr. Horne (*Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, ed. 1846, p. 45), in a work which has had very extensive circulation, and which amongst many readers has been the only work of the kind consulted in England. If, however, the authority adduced by him is examined, it is found to be ultimately the opinion "of the Talmudists, which was adopted by the most learned Fathers of the Christian Church, who unquestionably had better means of ascertaining this point than we have." Now the absence of any evidence for this opinion in the Talmud has been already indicated, and it is difficult to understand how the opinion could have been stamped with real value through its adoption by learned Jews called Talmudists, or by learned Christians called Fathers of the Christian Church, who lived subsequently to the publication of the Talmud. For there is not the slightest reason for supposing that in the year 500 A.D. either Jews or Christians had access to trustworthy documents on this subject which have not been transmitted to modern times, and without such documents it cannot be shown that they had any better means of ascertaining this point than we have. Two circumstances have probably contributed to the adoption of this opinion at the present day:—1st, the growth of stricter ideas as to the importance of knowing who was the author of any historical work which advances claims to be trustworthy; and 2ndly, the mistranslation of an ambiguous passage in the first Book of Chronicles (xxix. 29), respecting the autho-

^a Professor Hitzig, in like manner, attributes some of the Psalms to Jeremiah. In support of this view, he points out, 1st, several special instances of striking similarity of language between those Psalms and the writings of Jeremiah, and, 2ndly, agreement between historical facts in the life of Jeremiah and the situation in which the writer of those Psalms depicts himself as having been placed (*Hitzig, Die Psalmen*, pp. 48-85). Whether the conclusion is correct or incorrect, this is a legitimate mode of

reasoning for the life of David. The first point requires no comment. On the second point it is to be observed that the following appears to be the correct translation of the passage in question:—"Now the history of David first and last, behold it is written in the history of Samuel the seer, and in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the history of Gad the seer"—in which the Hebrew word *dibrei*, here translated "history," has the same meaning given to it each of the four times that it is used. This agrees with the translation in the Septuagint, which is particularly worthy of attention in reference to the Chronicles, as the Chronicles are the very best work in the Hebrew Bible; and whether this arose from their having been the last admitted into the Canon, or the last composed, it is scarcely probable that any translation in the Septuagint, with one great exception, was made so soon after the composition of the original. The rendering of the Septuagint is by the word *λόγοι*, in the sense, so well known in Herodotus, of "history" (i. 184, ii. 161, vi. 137), and in the like sense in the Apocrypha, wherein it is used to describe the history of Tobit, *βιβλος λόγων Τωβίτ*. The word "history" (*Geschichte*) is likewise the word four times used in the translation of this passage of the Chronicles in Luther's Bible, and in the modern version of the German Jews made under the superintendence of the learned Dr. Zunz (Berlin, 1858). In the English Version, however, the word *dibrei* is translated in the first instance "acts" as applied to David, and then "book" as applied to Samuel, Nathan, and Gad; and thus, through the ambiguity of the word "book," the possibility is suggested that each of these three prophets wrote a book respecting his own life and times. This double rendering of the same word in one passage seems wholly inadmissible; as is also, though in a less degree, the translation of *dibrei* as "book," for which there is a distinct Hebrew word—*sepher*. And it may be deemed morally certain that this passage of the Chronicles is no authority for the supposition that, when it was written, any work was in existence of which either Gad, Nathan, or Samuel was the author.^b

2. Although the authorship of the Book of Samuel cannot be ascertained, there are some indications as to the date of the work. And yet even on this point no precision is attainable, and we must be satisfied with a conjecture as to the range, not of years or decades, but of centuries, within which the history was probably composed. Evidence on this head is either external or internal. The earliest undeniable external evidence of the existence of the book would seem to be the Greek translation of it in the Septuagint. The exact date, however, of the translation itself is uncertain, though it must have been made at some time between the translation of the Pentateuch in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who died B.C. 247, and the century before the birth of Christ. The next best external testimony is that of a passage in the Second Book of Maccabees (ii. 13), in which it is said of Nehemiah, that "he

reasoning, and there is a sound basis for a critical superstructure. See Psalms xxxi., xxxv., xl.

^b In the Swedish Bible the word *dibrei* in each of the four instances is translated "acts" (*Gerningar*), being precisely the same word which is used to designate the Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament. This translation is self-consistent and admissible. But the German translations, supported as they are by the Septuagint, seem preferable.

found a library, gathered together the acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the prophecies of the kings concerning the holy gifts." Now, although this passage cannot be relied on for proving that Nehemiah himself did in fact ever found such a library,^c yet it is good evidence to prove that the Acts of the Kings, τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλευσίν, were in existence when the passage was written; and it cannot reasonably be doubted that this phrase was intended to include the Book of Samuel, which is equivalent to the two first Books of Kings in the Septuagint. Hence there is external evidence that the Book of Samuel was written before the Second Book of Maccabees. And lastly, the passage in the Chronicles already quoted (1 Chr. xiii. 29) seems likewise to prove externally that the Book of Samuel was written before the Chronicles. This is not absolutely certain, but it seems to be the most natural inference from the words that the history of David, first and last, is contained in the history of Samuel, the history of Nathan, and the history of Gad. For as a work has come down to us, entitled Samuel, which contains an account of the life of David till within a short period before his death, it appears most reasonable to conclude (although this point is open to dispute) that the writer of the Chronicles referred to this work by the title History of Samuel. In this case, admitting the date assigned, on internal grounds, to the Chronicles by a modern Jewish writer of undoubted learning and critical powers, there would be external evidence for the existence of the Book of Samuel earlier than 247 B.C., though not earlier than 312 B.C., the era of the Seleucidae (Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 32). Supposing that the Chronicles were written earlier, this evidence would go, in precise proportion, farther back, but there would be still a total absence of earlier external evidence on the subject than is contained in the Chronicles. If, however, instead of looking solely to the external evidence, the internal evidence respecting the Book of Samuel is examined, there are indications of its having been written some centuries earlier. On this head the following points are worthy of notice:—

1. The Book of Samuel seems to have been written at a time when the Pentateuch, whether it was or was not in existence in its present form, was at any rate not acted on as the rule of religious observances. According to the Mosaic Law as finally established, sacrifices to Jehovah were not lawful anywhere but before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, whether this was a permanent temple, as at Jerusalem, or otherwise (Deut. xii. 13, 14; Lev. xvii. 3, 4; but see Ex. xx. 24). But in the Book of Samuel, the offering of sacrifices, or the erection of altars, which implies sacrifices, is mentioned at several places, such as Mizpeh, Ramah, Bethel, the threshing-place of Araunah the Jebusite, and elsewhere, not only without any disapprobation, apology, or explanation, but in a way which produces the impression that such sacrifices were pleasing to Jehovah (1 Sam. vii. 9, 10, 17, ix. 13, x. 8, xiv. 35; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18-25). This circum-

stance points to the date of the Book of Samuel as earlier than the reformation of Josiah, when Hilkiah the high-priest told Shaphan the scribe that he had found the Book of the Law in the house of Jehovah, when the Passover was kept as was enjoined in that book, in a way that no Passover had been holden since the days of the Judges, and when the worship upon high-places was abolished by the king's orders (2 K. xxii. 8, xxiii. 8, 13, 15, 19, 21, 22). The probability that a sacred historian, writing after that reformation, would have expressed disapprobation of, or would have accounted for, any seeming departure from the laws of the Pentateuch by David, Saul, or Samuel, is not in itself conclusive, but joined to other considerations it is entitled to peculiar weight. The natural mode of dealing with such a religious scandal, when it shocks the ideas of a later generation, is followed by the author of the Book of Kings, who undoubtedly lived later than the reformation of Josiah, or than the beginning, at least, of the captivity of Judah (2 K. xxv. 21, 27). This writer mentions the toleration of worship on high-places with disapprobation, not only in connexion with bad kings, such as Manasseh and Ahaz, but likewise as a drawback in the excellence of other kings, such as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoash, Amaziah, Azariah, and Jotham, who are praised for having done what was right in the sight of Jehovah (1 K. xv. 14, xxii. 43; 2 K. xii. 3, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35, xvi. 4, xxi. 3); and something of the same kind might have been expected in the writer of the Book of Samuel, if he had lived at a time when the worship on high-places had been abolished.

2. It is in accordance with this early date of the Book of Samuel that allusions in it even to the existence of Moses are so few. After the return from the Captivity, and more especially after the changes introduced by Ezra, Moses became the great central figure in the thoughts and language of devout Jews which he could not fail to be when all the laws of the Pentateuch were observed, and they were all referred to him as the divine prophet who communicated them directly from Jehovah. This transcendent importance of Moses must already have commenced at the finding of the Book of the Law at the reformation of Josiah. Now it is remarkable that the Book of Samuel is the historical work of the Old Testament in which the name of Moses occurs most rarely. In Joshua it occurs 56 times; in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah 31 times; in the Book of Kings ten times; in Judges three times; but in Samuel only twice (Zunz, *Vorträge*, 35). And it is worthy of note that in each case Moses is merely mentioned with Aaron as having brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt, but nothing whatever is said of the Law of Moses (1 Sam. xii. 6, 8). It may be thought that no inference can be drawn from this omission of the name of Moses, because, inasmuch as the Law of Moses, as a whole, was evidently not acted on in the time of Samuel, David, and Solomon, there was no occasion for a writer, however late he lived, to introduce the name of Moses at all in connexion with their life and actions. But it is very rare

(ii. 1-7), but likewise of Nehemiah himself. 3rdly. An erroneous historical statement is likewise made in the same letter, that Nehemiah built the Temple of Jerusalem (i. 18). No witness in a court of justice, whose credit had been shaken to a similar extent, would, unless corroborated by other evidence be relied on as an authority for any important fact.

^c Professors Ewald and Bleek have accepted the statement that Nehemiah founded such a library, and they make inferences from the account of the library as to the time when certain books of the Old Testament were admitted into the Canon. There are, however, the following reasons for rejecting the statement:—1st. It occurs in a letter generally deemed spurious. 2ndly. In the same letter a fabulous story is recorded not only of Jeremiah

indeed for later writers to refrain in this way from importing the ideas of their own time into the account of earlier transactions. Thus, very early in the Book of Kings there is an allusion to what is "written in the Law of Moses" (1 K. ii. 3). Thus the author of the Book of Chronicles makes, for the reign of David, a calculation of money in *darics*, a Persian coin, not likely to have been in common use among the Jews until the Persian domination had been fully established. Thus, more than once, Josephus, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, attributes expressions to personages in the Old Testament which are to be accounted for by what was familiar to his own mind, although they are not justified by his authorities. For example, evidently copying the history of a transaction from the Book of Samuel, he represents the prophet Samuel as exhorting the people to bear in mind "the code of laws which Moses had given them" (*τῆς Μωυσέως νομοθεσίας*, *Ant.* vi. 5, §3), though there is no mention of Moses, or of his legislation, in the corresponding passage of Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 20-25). Again, in giving an account of the punishments with which the Israelites were threatened for disobedience of the Law by Moses in the Book of Deuteronomy, Josephus attributes to Moses the threat that their temple should be burned (*Ant.* iv. 8, §46). But no passage can be pointed out in the whole Pentateuch in which such a threat occurs; and in fact, according to the received chronology (1 K. vi. 1), or according to any chronology, the first temple at Jerusalem was not built till some centuries after the death of Moses. Yet this allusion to the burning of an unbuilt temple ought not to be regarded as an intentional misrepresentation. It is rather an instance of the tendency in an historian who describes past events to give unconsciously indications of his living himself at a later epoch. Similar remarks apply to a passage of Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 4, §4), in which, giving an account of David's project to build a temple at Jerusalem, he says that David wished to prepare a temple for God, "as Moses commanded," though no such command or injunction is to be found in the Pentateuch. To a religious Jew, when the laws of the Pentateuch were observed, Moses could not fail to be the predominant idea in his mind; but Moses would not necessarily be of equal importance to a Hebrew historian who lived before the reformation of Josiah.

3. It tallies with an early date for the composition of the Book of Samuel that it is one of the best specimens of Hebrew prose in the golden age of Hebrew literature. In prose it holds the same place which Joel and the undisputed prophecies of Isaiah hold in poetical or prophetic language. It is free from the peculiarities of the Book of Judges, which it is proposed to account for by supposing that they belonged to the popular dialect of Northern Palestine; and likewise from the slight peculiarities of the Pentateuch, which it is proposed to regard as archaisms^d (*Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar*, §2, 5). It is a striking contrast to the language of the Book of Chronicles, which undoubtedly belongs to the silver age of Hebrew prose, and it does not contain as many alleged Chaldaisms as the few in the Book of Kings. Indeed the number of Chaldaisms in the Book of Samuel which the most rigid scrutiny has suggested do not amount to more than about six instances, some of them doubtful ones, in 90 pages

^d As compared with Samuel, the peculiarities of the Pentateuch are not quite as striking as the differences in language between Lucretius and Virgil: the parallel which

of our modern Hebrew Bible. And, considering the general purity of the language, it is not only possible, but probable, that the trifling residuum of Chaldaisms may be owing to the inadvertence of Chaldee copyists, when Hebrew had ceased to be a living language. At the same time this argument from language must not be pushed so far as to imply that, standing alone, it would be conclusive; for some writings, the date of which is about the time of the Captivity, are in pure Hebrew, such as the prophecies of Habakkuk, the Psalms cxx., cxxvii., cxxxix., pointed out by Gesenius, and by far the largest portion of the latter part of the prophecies attributed to "Isaiah" (xl.-lxvi.). And we have not sufficient knowledge of the condition of the Jews at the time of the Captivity, or for a few centuries after, to entitle any one to assert that there were no individuals among them who wrote the purest Hebrew. Still the balance of probability inclines to the contrary direction, and, as a subsidiary argument, the purity of language of the Book of Samuel is entitled to some weight.

Assuming, then, that the work was composed at a period not later than the reformation of Josiah—say, B.C. 622—the question arises as to the very earliest point of time at which it could have existed in its present form? And the answer seems to be, that the earliest period was subsequent to the secession of the Ten Tribes. This results from the passage in 1 Sam. xxvii. 6, wherein it is said of David, "Then Achish gave him Ziklag that day: whereto Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah to this day:" for neither Saul, David, nor Solomon is in a single instance called king of Judah simply. It is true that David is said, in one narrative respecting him, to have reigned in Hebron seven years and six months over Judah (2 Sam. v. 5) before he reigned in Jerusalem thirty-three years over all Israel and Judah; but he is, notwithstanding, never designated by the title King of Judah. Before the secession, the designation of the kings was that they were kings of Israel (1 Sam. xiii. 1, xv. 1, xvi. 1; 2 Sam. v. 17, viii. 15; 1 K. ii. 11, iv. 1, vi. 1, xi. 42). It may safely, therefore, be assumed that the Book of Samuel could not have existed in its present form at an earlier period than the reign of Rehoboam, who ascended the throne B.C. 975. If we go beyond this, and endeavour to assert the precise time between 975 B.C. and 622 B.C., when it was composed, all certain indications fail us. The expression "unto this day," used several times in the book (1 Sam. v. 5, vi. 18, xxx. 25; 2 Sam. iv. vi. 8), in addition to the use of it in the passage already quoted, is too indefinite to prove anything except that the writer who employed it lived subsequently to the events he described. It is inadequate to prove whether he lived three centuries or only half a century, after those events. The same remark applies to the phrase, "Therefore it became a proverb, 'Is Saul among the Prophets?'" (1 Sam. x. 12), and to the verse, "Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, then he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer: for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer" (1 Sam. ix. 9). In both cases it is not certain that the writer lived more than eighty years after the incidents to which he alludes. In like manner, the various traditions respecting the manner in which Saul first became acquainted with David

has been suggested by Gesenius. Virgil seems to have been about 14 years of age when Lucretius's great poem was published.

(1 Sam. xvi. 14-23, xvii. 55-58)—respecting the manner of Saul's death (1 Sam. xxxi. 2-6, 8-13; 2 Sam. i. 2-12)—do not necessarily show that a very long time (say even a century) elapsed between the actual events and the record of the traditions. In an age anterior to the existence of newspapers or the invention of printing, and when probably few could read, thirty or forty years, or even less, have been sufficient for the growth of different traditions respecting the same historical fact. Lastly, internal evidence of language lends no assistance for discrimination in the period of 353 years within which the book may have been written; for the undisputed Hebrew writings belonging to that period are comparatively few, and not one of them is a history, which would present the best points of comparison. They embrace scarcely more than the writings of Joel, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, and a certain portion of the writings under the title "Isaiah." The whole of these writings together can scarcely be estimated as occupying more than sixty pages of our Hebrew Bibles, and whatever may be their peculiarities of language or style, they do not afford materials for a safe inference as to which of their authors was likely to have been contemporary with the author of the Book of Samuel. All that can be asserted as undeniable is, that the book, as a whole, can scarcely have been composed later than the reformation of Josiah, and that it could not have existed in its present form earlier than the reign of Rehoboam.

It is to be added that no great weight, in opposition to this conclusion, is due to the fact that the death of David, although in one passage evidently implied (2 Sam. v. 5), is not directly recorded in the Book of Samuel. From this fact Hävernicks (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, part ii., p. 145) deems it a certain inference that the author lived not long after the death of David. But this is a very slight foundation for such an inference, since we know nothing of the author's name, or of the circumstances under which he wrote, or of his precise ideas respecting what is required of an historian. We cannot, therefore, assert, from the knowledge of the character of his mind, that his deeming it logically requisite to make a formal statement of David's death would have depended on his living a short time or a long time after that event. Besides, it is very possible that he did formally record it, and that the mention of it was subsequently omitted on account of the more minute details by which the account of David's death is preceded in the First Book of Kings. There would have been nothing wrong in such an omission, nor indeed, in any addition to the Book of Samuel; for, as those who finally inserted it in the Canon did not transmit it to posterity with the name of any particular author, their honesty was involved, not in the mere circumstance of their omitting or adding anything, but solely in the fact of their adding nothing which they believed to be false, and of omitting nothing of importance which they believed to be true.

In this absolute ignorance of the author's name, and vague knowledge of the date of the work, there has been a controversy whether the Book of Samuel is or is not a compilation from pre-existing documents; and if this is decided in the affirmative, to what extent the work is a compilation. It is not intended to enter fully here into this controversy, respecting which the reader is referred to Dr. Davidson's *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, London, Longman, 1856, in which this subject is dispassionately

and fairly treated. One observation, however, of some practical importance, is to be borne in mind. It does not admit of much reasonable doubt that in the Book of Samuel there are two different accounts (already alluded to) respecting Saul's first acquaintance with David, and the circumstances of Saul's death—and that yet the editor or author of the Book did not let his mind work upon these two different accounts so far as to make him interpose his own opinion as to which of the conflicting accounts was correct, or even to point out to the reader that the two accounts were apparently contradictory. Hence, in a certain sense, and to a certain extent, the author must be regarded as a compiler, and not an original historian. And in reference to the two accounts of Saul's death, this is not the less true, even if the second account be deemed reconcileable with the first by the supposition that the Amalekite had fabricated the story of his having killed Saul (2 Sam. i. 6-10). Although possibly true, this is an unlikely supposition, because, as the Amalekite's object in a lie would have been to curry favour with David, it would have been natural for him to have forged some story which would have redounded more to his own credit than the clumsy and improbable statement that he, a mere casual spectator, had killed Saul at Saul's own request. But whether the Amalekite said what was true or what was false, an historian, as distinguished from a compiler, could scarcely have failed to convey his own opinion on the point, affecting, as on one alternative it did materially, the truth of the narrative which he had just before recorded respecting the circumstances under which Saul's death occurred. And if compilation is admitted in regard to the two events just mentioned, or to one of them, there is no antecedent improbability that the same may have been the case in other instances; such, for example, as the two explanations of the proverb, "Is Saul also among the Prophets?" (1 Sam. x. 9-12, xix. 22-24), or the two accounts of David's having forborne to take Saul's life, at the very time when he was a fugitive from Saul, and his own life was in danger from Saul's enmity (1 Sam. xxiv. 3-15, xxvi. 7-12). The same remark applies to what seem to be summaries or endings of narratives by different writers, such as 1 Sam. vii. 15-17, 1 Sam. xiv. 47-52, compared with chapter xv.; 2 Sam. viii. 15-18. In these cases, if each passage were absolutely isolated, and occurred in a work which contained no other instance of compilation, the inference to be drawn might be uncertain. But when even one instance of compilation has been clearly established in a work, all other seeming instances must be viewed in its light, and it would be unreasonable to contest each of them singly, on principles which imply that compilation is as unlikely as it would be in a work of modern history. It is to be added, that as the author and the precise date of the Book of Samuel are unknown, its historical value is not impaired by its being deemed to a certain extent a compilation. Indeed, from one point of view, its value is in this way somewhat enhanced; as the probability is increased of its containing documents of an early date, some of which may have been written by persons contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the events described.

Sources of the Book of Samuel.—Assuming that the book is a compilation, it is a subject of rational inquiry to ascertain the materials from which it was composed. But our information on this head is scanty. The only work actually quoted in the

book is the Book of Jasher; *i. e.* the Book of the Upright. Notwithstanding the great learning which has been brought to bear on this title by numerous commentators [vol. i. p. 932], the meaning of the title must be regarded as absolutely unknown, and the character of the book itself as uncertain. The best conjecture hitherto offered as an induction from facts is, that it was a Book of Poems; but the facts are too few to establish this as a positive general conclusion. It is only quoted twice in the whole Bible, once as a work containing David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 18), and secondly, as an authority for the statement that the sun and moon stood still at the command of Joshua (Josh. x. 13). There can be no doubt that the Lamentation of David is a poem; and it is most probable that the other passage referred to as written in the Book of Jasher includes four lines of Hebrew poetry,* though the poetical diction and rhythm of the original are somewhat impaired in a translation. But the only sound deduction from these facts is, that the Book of Jasher contained some poems. What else it may have contained we cannot say, even negatively. Without reference, however, to the Book of Jasher, the Book of Samuel contains several poetical compositions, on each of which a few observations may be offered; commencing with the poetry of David.

(1.) David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, called "The Bow." This extremely beautiful composition, which seems to have been preserved through David's having caused it to be taught to the children of Judah (2 Sam. i. 18), is universally admitted to be the genuine production of David. In this respect, it has an advantage over the Psalms; as, owing to the unfortunate inaccuracy of some of the inscriptions, no one of the Psalms attributed to David has wholly escaped challenge. One point in the Lamentation especially merits attention, that, contrary to what a later poet would have ventured to represent, David, in the generosity and tenderness of his nature, sounds the praises of Saul.

(2.) David's Lamentation on the death of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34). There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of this short poetical ejaculation.

(3.) 2 Sam. xxii. A Song of David, which is introduced with the inscription that David spoke the words of the song to Jehovah, in the day that Jehovah had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies and out of the hand of Saul. This song, with a few unimportant verbal differences, is merely the xviiiith Psalm, which bears substantially the same inscription. For poetical beauty, the song is well worthy to be the production of David. The following difficulties, however, are connected with it.

(a.) The date of the composition is assigned to the day when David had been delivered not only out of the hand of all his enemies, but likewise "out of the hand of Saul." Now David reigned forty years after Saul's death (2 Sam. v. 4, 5), and it was as king that he achieved the successive conquests to which allusion is made in the Psalm. Moreover, the Psalm is evidently introduced as composed at a late period of his life; and it immediately precedes the twenty-third chapter, which commences with the passage, "Now these be the last words of David." It sounds strange, therefore, that the name of Saul

* Any Hebrew scholar who will write out the original four lines commencing with "Sun, stand thou still upon G'beon!" may satisfy himself that they belong to a poem. The last line, "Until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies," which in the A. V. is somewhat heavy, is almost unmistakably a line of poetry in the original. In a narrative respecting the Israelites in prose

should be introduced, whose hostility, so far distant in time, had been condoned, as it were, by David in his noble Lamentation.

(b.) In the closing verse (2 Sam. xxii. 51), Jehovah is spoken of as showing "mercy to his anointed, unto David and his seed for evermore." These words would be more naturally written of David than *by* David. They may, however, be a later addition; as it may be observed that at the present day, notwithstanding the safeguard of printing, the poetical writings of living authors, are occasionally altered, and it must be added disfigured in printed hymn-books. Still, as far as they go, the words tend to raise a doubt whether the Psalm was written by David, as it cannot be *proved* that they are an addition.

(c.) In some passages of the Psalm, the strongest assertions are made of the poet's uprightness and purity. He says of himself, "According to the cleanness of my hands hath He recompensed me. For I have kept the ways of Jehovah, and have not wickedly departed from my God. For all His judgments were before me: and as for His statutes, I did not depart from them. I was also upright before Him, and have kept myself from mine iniquity" (xxii. 21-24). Now it is a subject of reasonable surprise that, at any period after the painful incidents of his life in the matter of Uriah, David should have used this language concerning himself. Admitting fully that, in consequence of his sincere and bitter contrition, "the princely heart of innocence" may have been freely bestowed upon him, it is difficult to understand how this should have influenced him so far in his assertions respecting his own uprightness in past times, as to make him forget that he had once been betrayed by his passions into adultery and murder. These assertions, if made by David himself, would form a striking contrast to the tender humility and self-mistrust in connexion with the same subject by a great living genius of spotless character. (See "Christian Year," 6th Sunday after Trinity—*ad finem*.)

(4.) A song, called "last words of David," 2 Sam. xxiii. 2-7. According to the Inscription, it was composed by "David the son of Jesse, the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel." It is suggested by Bleek, and is in itself very probable, that both the Psalm and the Inscription were taken from some collection of Songs or Psalms. There is not sufficient reason to deny that this song is correctly ascribed to David.

(5.) One other song remains, which is perhaps the most perplexing in the Book of Samuel. This is the Song of Hannah, a wife of Elkanah (1 Sam. ii. 1-10). One difficulty arises from an allusion in verse 10 to the existence of a king under Jehovah, many years before the kingly power was established among the Israelites. Another equally great difficulty arises from the internal character of the song. It purports to be written by one of two wives as a song of thanksgiving for having borne a child, after a long period of barrenness, which had caused her to be looked down upon by the other wife of her husband. But, deducting a general allusion, in verse 5, to the barren having borne seven, there is

they would not have been described as *גִּבּוֹר* (*gibbor*), without even an article. Moreover, there is no other instance in which the simple accusative of the person on whom vengeance is taken is used after *נָקַם* (*nakam*). In simple prose *מִן* (*min*) intervenes, and, like the article, it may have been here omitted for conciseness.

nothing in the song peculiarly applicable to the supposed circumstances, and by far the greater portion of it seems to be a song of triumph for deliverance from powerful enemies in battle (vers. 1, 4, 10). Indeed, Thenius does not hesitate to conjecture that it was written by David after he had slain Goliath, and the Philistines had been defeated in a great battle (*Exegetisches Handbuch*, p. 8). There is no historical warrant for this supposition; but the song is certainly more appropriate to the victory of David over Goliath, than to Hannah's having given birth to a child under the circumstances detailed in the first chapter of Samuel. It would, however, be equally appropriate to some other great battles of the Israelites.

In advancing a single step beyond the songs of the Book of Samuel, we enter into the region of conjecture as to the materials which were at the command of the author; and in points which arise for consideration, we must be satisfied with a suspension of judgment, or a slight balance of probabilities. For example, it being plain that in some instances there are two accounts of the same transaction, it is desirable to form an opinion whether these were founded on distinct written documents, or on distinct oral traditions. This point is open to dispute; but the theory of written documents seems preferable; as in the alternative of mere oral traditions it would have been supereminently unnatural even for a compiler to record them without stating in his own person that there were different traditions respecting the same event. Again, the truthful simplicity and extraordinary vividness of some portions of the Book of Samuel naturally suggest the idea that they were founded on contemporary documents or a peculiarly trustworthy tradition. This applies specially to the account of the combat between David and Goliath, which has been the delight of successive generations, which charms equally in different ways the old and the young, the learned and the illiterate, and which tempts us to deem it certain that the account must have proceeded from an eye-witness. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that vividness of description often depends more on the discerning faculties of the narrator than on mere bodily presence. "It is the mind that sees," so that 200 years after the meeting of the Long Parliament a powerful imaginative writer shall portray Cromwell more vividly than Ludlow, a contemporary who knew him and conversed with him. Moreover, Livy has described events of early Roman History which educated men regard in their details as imaginary; and Defoe, Swift, and the authors of *The Arabian Nights* have described events which all men admit to be imaginary, with such seemingly authentic details, with such a charm of reality, movement, and spirit, that it is sometimes only by a strong effort of reason that we escape from the illusion that the narratives are true. In the absence, therefore, of any external evidence on this point, it is safer to suspend our judgment as to whether any portion of the Book of Samuel is founded on the writing of a contemporary, or on a tradition entitled to any peculiar credit. Perhaps the two conjectures respecting the composition of the Book of Samuel which are most entitled to consideration are—1st. That the list which it contains of officers or public functionaries under David is the result of contemporary registration; and 2ndly. That the Book

of Samuel was the compilation of some one connected with the schools of the prophets, or penetrated by their spirit. On the first point, the reader is referred to such passages as 2 Sam. viii. 16-18, and xx. 23-26, in regard to which one fact may be mentioned. It has already been stated [KING, p. 42] that under the Kings there existed an officer called Recorder, Remembrancer, or Chronicler; in Hebrew, *mazkir*. Now it can scarcely be a mere accidental coincidence that such an officer is mentioned for the first time in David's reign, and that it is precisely for David's reign that a list of public functionaries is for the first time transmitted to us. On the second point, it cannot but be observed what prominence is given to prophets in the history, as compared with priests and Levites. This prominence is so decided, that it undoubtedly contributed towards the formation of the uncritical opinion that the Book of Samuel was the production of the prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad. This opinion is unsupported by external evidence, and is contrary to internal evidence; but it is by no means improbable that some writers among the sons of the prophets recorded the actions of those prophets. This would be peculiarly probable in reference to Nathan's rebuke of David after the murder of Uriah. Nathan here presents the image of a prophet in its noblest and most attractive form. Boldness, tenderness, inventiveness, and tact, were combined in such admirable proportions, that a prophet's functions, if always discharged in a similar manner with equal discretion, would have been acknowledged by all to be purely beneficent. In his interposition there is a kind of ideal moral beauty. In the schools of the prophets he doubtless held the place which St. Ambrose afterwards held in the minds of priests for the exclusion of the Emperor Theodosius from the church at Milan after the massacre at Thessalonica. It may be added, that the following circumstances are in accordance with the supposition that the compiler of the Book of Samuel was connected with the schools of the prophets. The designation of Jehovah as the "Lord of Hosts," or God of Hosts, does not occur in the Pentateuch, or in Joshua, or in Judges; but it occurs in the Book of Samuel thirteen times. In the Book of Kings it occurs only seven times; and in the Book of Chronicles, as far as this is an original or independent work, it cannot be said to occur at all, for although it is found in three passages, all of these are evidently copied from the Book of Samuel. (See 1 Chr. xi. 9—in the original precisely the same words as in 2 Sam. v. 10; and see 1 Chr. xvii. 7, 24, copied from 2 Sam. vii. 8, 26.) Now this phrase, though occurring so rarely elsewhere in prose, that it occurs nearly twice as often in the Book of Samuel as in all the other historical writings of the Old Testament put together, is a very favourite phrase in some of the great prophetic writings. In Isaiah it occurs sixty-two times (six times only in the chapters xl.-lxvi.), and in Jeremiah sixty-five times at least. Again, the predominance of the idea of the prophetic office in Samuel is shown by the very subordinate place assigned in it to the Levites. The difference between the Chronicles and the Book of Samuel in this respect is even more striking than their difference in the use of the expression "Lord of Hosts;"¹ though in a reverse proportion. In the whole Book of Samuel the Levites are mentioned only twice

¹ It is worthy of note that the prophet Ezekiel never uses the expression "Lord of Hosts." On the other hand,

there is no mention of the Levites in the undisputed writings of Isaiah.

(1 Sam. vi. 15; 2 Sam. xv. 24), while in Chronicles they are mentioned above thirty times in the First Book alone, which contains the history of David's reign.

In conclusion, it may be observed that it is very instructive to direct the attention to the passages in Samuel and the Chronicles which treat of the same events, and, generally, to the manner in which the life of David is treated in the two histories. A comparison of the two works tends to throw light on the state of the Hebrew mind at the time when the Book of Samuel was written, compared with the ideas prevalent among the Jews some hundred years later, at the time of the compilation of the Chronicles. Some passages correspond almost precisely word for word; others agree, with slight but significant alterations. In some cases there are striking omissions; in others there are no less remarkable additions. Without attempting to exhaust the subject, some of the differences between the two histories will be now briefly pointed out; though at the same time it is to be borne in mind that, in drawing inferences from them, it would be useful to review likewise all the differences between the Chronicles and the Book of Kings.

1. In 1 Sam. xxxi. 12, it is stated that the men of Jabesh Gilead took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the wall of Beth-shan, and came to Jabesh and burnt them there. The compiler of the Chronicles omits mention of the burning of their bodies, and, as it would seem, designedly; for he says that the valiant men of Jabesh Gilead buried the *bones* of Saul and his sons under the oak in Jabesh; whereas if there had been no burning, the natural expression would have been to have spoken of burying their *bodies*, instead of their bones. Perhaps the chronicler objected so strongly to the burning of bodies that he purposely refrained from recording such a fact respecting the bodies of Saul and his sons, even under the peculiar circumstances connected with that incident.^g

2. In the Chronicles it is assigned as one of the causes of Saul's defeat that he had asked counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, and "had not enquired of Jehovah" (1 Chr. x. 13, 14); whereas in Samuel it is expressly stated (1 Sam. xxviii. 6) that Saul *had* inquired of Jehovah before he consulted the witch of Endor, but that Jehovah had not answered him either by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets.

3. The Chronicles make no mention of the civil war between David and Ishbosheth the son of Saul, nor of Abner's changing sides, nor his assassination by Joab, nor of the assassination of Ishbosheth by Rechab and Baanah (2 Sam. ii. 8-32, iii., iv.).

4. David's adultery with Bathsheba, the exposure of Uriah to certain death by David's orders, the solemn rebuke of Nathan, and the penitence of David, are all passed over in absolute silence in the Chronicles (2 Sam. xi., xii. 1-25).

5. In the account given in Samuel (2 Sam. vi. 2-11) of David's removing the Ark from Kirjath-jearim, no special mention is made of the priests or Levites. David's companions are said, generally, to have been "all the people that were with him,"

^g Tacitus records it as a distinguishing custom of the Jews, "corpora condere quam cremare, ex more Aegyptio" (*Hist.* v. 5). And it is certain that, in later times, they buried dead bodies, and did not burn them; though, notwithstanding the instance in Gen. 1. 2, they did not, strictly speaking, embalm them, like the Egyptians. And though it may be suspected, it cannot be proved, that they ever burned their dead in early times. The

and "all the house of Israel" are said to have played before Jehovah on the occasion with all manner of musical instruments. In the corresponding passage of the Chronicles (1 Chr. xiii. 1-14) David is represented as having publicly proposed to send an invitation to the priests and Levites in their cities and "suburbs," and this is said to have been assented to by all the congregation. Again, in the preparations which are made for the reception of the Ark of the Covenant at Jerusalem, nothing is said of the Levites in Samuel; whereas in the Chronicles David is introduced as saying that none ought to carry the Ark of God but the Levites; the special numbers of the Levites and of the children of Aaron are there given; and names of Levites are specified as having been appointed singers and players on musical instruments in connexion with the Ark (1 Chr. xv., xvi. 1-6).

6. The incident of David's dancing in public with all his might before Jehovah, when the Ark was brought into Jerusalem, the censorious remarks of his wife Michal on David's conduct, David's answer, and Michal's punishment, are fully set forth in Samuel (2 Sam. vi. 14-23); but the whole subject is noticed in one verse only in Chronicles (1 Chr. xv. 29). On the other hand, no mention is made in Samuel of David's having composed a Psalm on this great event; whereas in Chronicles a Psalm is set forth which David is represented as having delivered into the hand of Asaph and his brethren on that day (1 Chr. xvi. 7-36). Of this Psalm the first fifteen verses are almost precisely the same as in Ps. cv. 1-15. The next eleven verses are the same as in Ps. xcvi. 1-11; and the next three concluding verses are in Ps. cvi. 1, 47, 48. The last verse but one of this Psalm (1 Chr. xvi. 35) appears to have been written at the time of the Captivity.

7. It is stated in Samuel that David in his conquest of Moab put to death two-thirds either of the inhabitants or of the Moabitish army (2 Sam. viii. 2). This fact is omitted in Chronicles (1 Chr. xviii. 2), though the words used therein in mentioning the conquest are so nearly identical with the beginning and the end of the passage in Samuel, that in the A. V. there is no difference in the translation of the two texts, "And he smote Moab and the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts."

8. In 2 Sam. xxi. 19, it is stated that "there was a battle in Gath with the Philistines, where Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim, a Bethlehemite (in the original *Beit hal-lachmi*), slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam." In the parallel passage in the Chronicles (1 Chr. xi. 5) it is stated that "Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lachmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite." Thus Lachmi, which in the former case is merely part of an adjective describing Elhanan's place of nativity, seems in the Chronicles to be the substantive name of the man whom Elhanan slew, and is so translated in the LXX. [ELHANAN, i. 520; LAHMI, ii. 55.]

9. In Samuel (2 Sam. xxiv. 1) it is stated that the anger of Jehovah having been kindled against Israel, *He* moved David against them to give orders

passage in Am. vi. 10 is ambiguous. It may merely refer to the burning of bodies, as a sanitary precaution in a plague; but it is not undoubted that burning is alluded to. See Fürst, s. v. הָרַג . The burning for Asa (2 Chr. xvi. 14) is different from the burning of his body. Compare Jer. xxxiv. 5; 2 Chr. xxi. 19, 20; Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 3, *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33, 69

for taking a census of the population. In the Chronicles (1 Chr. xxi. 1) it is mentioned that David was provoked to take a census of the population by Satan. This last is the first and the only instance in which the name of Satan is introduced into any historical book of the Old Testament. In the Pentateuch Jehovah Himself is represented as hardening Pharaoh's heart (Ex. vii. 13), as in this passage of Samuel He is said to have incited David to give orders for a census.

10. In the incidents connected with the three days' pestilence upon Israel on account of the census, some facts of a very remarkable character are narrated in the Chronicles, which are not mentioned in the earlier history. Thus in Chronicles it is stated of the Angel of Jehovah, that he stood between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched over Jerusalem; that afterwards Jehovah commanded the angel, and that the angel put up again his sword into its sheath^a (1 Chr. xxi. 15-27). It is further stated (ver. 20) that Ornan and his four sons hid themselves when they saw the angel; and that when David (ver. 26) had built an altar to Jehovah, and offered burnt-offerings to Him, Jehovah answered him from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt-offering. Regarding all these circumstances there is absolute silence in the corresponding chapter of Samuel.

11. The Chronicles make no mention of the horrible fact mentioned in the Book of Samuel (2 Sam. xxi. 3-9) that David permitted the Gibeonites to sacrifice seven sons of Saul to Jehovah, as an atonement for the injuries which the Gibeonites had formerly received from Saul. This barbarous act of superstition, which is not said to have been commanded by Jehovah (ver. 1) is one of the most painful incidents in the life of David, and can scarcely be explained otherwise than by the supposition either that David seized this opportunity to rid himself of seven possible rival claimants to the throne, or that he was, for a while at least, infected by the baneful example of the Phoenicians, who endeavoured to avert the supposed wrath of their gods by human sacrifices [PHOENICIA]. It was, perhaps, wholly foreign to the ideas of the Jews at the time when the Book of Chronicles was compiled.

It only remains to add, that in the numerous instances wherein there is a close verbal agreement between passages in Samuel and in the Chronicles, the sound conclusion seems to be that the Chronicles were copied from Samuel, and not that both were copied from a common original. In a matter of this kind, we must proceed upon recognised principles of criticism. If a writer of the 3rd or 4th century narrated events of Roman history almost precisely in the words of Livy, no critic would hesitate to say that all such narratives were copied from Livy. It would be regarded as a very improbable hypothesis that they were copied from documents to which Livy and the later historian had equal access, especially when no proof whatever was adduced that any such original documents were in existence at the time of the later historian. The same principle applies to the relation in which the Chronicles stand to the Book of Samuel. There is not a particle of proof that the original documents, or any one of them, on which the Book of Samuel was founded were in existence at the time when the

Chronicles were compiled; and in the absence of such proof, it must be taken for granted that, where there is a close verbal correspondence between the two works, the compiler of the Chronicles copied passages, more or less closely, from the Book of Samuel. At the same time it would be unreasonable to deny, and it would be impossible to disprove, that the compiler, in addition to the Book of Samuel, made use of other historical documents which are no longer in existence.

Literature.—The following list of Commentaries is given by De Wette:—Serrarii, Seb. Schmidii, Jo. Clerici, Maur. *Commentt.*; Jo. Drusii, *Annotatt. in Locos diffic. Jos., Jud., et Sam.*; Victorini, Strigelii, *Comm. in Libr. Sam., Reg., et Paralipp.*, Lips. 1591, fol.; Casp. Sanctii, *Comm. in IV. Lib. Reg. et Paralipp.*, 1624, fol.; Hensler, *Erläuterungen des I. B. Sam. u. d. Salom. Denksprüche*, Hamburg, 1795. The best modern Commentary seems to be that of Thenius, *Exegetisches Handbuch*, Leipzig, 1842. In this work there is an excellent Introduction, and an interesting detailed comparison of the Hebrew text in the Bible with the Translation of the Septuagint. There are no Commentaries on Samuel in Rosenmüller's great work, or in the Compendium of his *Scholia*.

The date of the composition of the Book of Samuel and its authorship is discussed in all the ordinary Introductions to the Old Testament—such as those of Horne, Hävernick, Keil, De Wette, which have been frequently cited in this work. To these may be added the following works, which have appeared since the first volume of this Dictionary was printed: Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1860, pp. 355-368; Stähelin's *Specielle Einleitung in die Kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, Elberfeld, 1862, pp. 83-105; Davidson's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, London and Edinburgh, 1862, pp. 491-536. [E. T.]

SANABAS'SAR (Σαμανάσσαρος; Alex. Σαβαβάσσαρος: *Salmanasarus*). SHESHBAZZAR (1 Esd. ii. 12, 15; comp. Ezr. i. 8, 11).

SANABAS'SARUS (Σαβανάσσαρος; Alex. Σαβαβάσσαρος: *Salmanasurus*). SHESHBAZZAR (1 Esd. vi. 18, 20; comp. Ezr. v. 14, 16).

SAN'ASIB (Σανασίβ; Alex. Ἐλισείβ: *Eli-asib*). The sons of Jeddu, the son of Jesus, are reckoned "among the sons of Sanasib," as priests who returned with Zorobabel (1 Esd. v. 24).

SANBALLAT (סַנְבַּלַּט; Σαβαλλάτ: *Sanballat*). Of uncertain etymology; according to Gesenius after von Bohlen, meaning in Sanscrit "giving strength to the army," but according to Fürst "a chestnut tree." A Moabite of Horonaim, as appears by his designation "Sanballat the Horonite" (Neh. ii. 10, 19, xiii. 28). All that we know of him from Scripture is that he had apparently some civil or military command in Samaria, in the service of Artaxerxes (Neh. iv. 2), and that, from the moment of Nehemiah's arrival in Judaea, he set himself to oppose every measure for the welfare of Jerusalem, and was a constant adversary to the Tirshatha. His companions in this hostility were Tobiah the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian (Neh. ii. 19, iv. 7). For the details of their opposition the reader is referred to the articles NEHEMIAH and

^a The statue of the archangel Michael on the top of the mausoleum of Hadrian at Rome is in accordance with the same idea. In a procession to St. Peter's, during a pestilence, Gregory the Great saw the archangel in a vision.

as he is supposed to be represented in the statue. It is owing to this that the fortress subsequently had the name of the Castle of St. Angelo. See Murray's *Handbook for Rome*, p. 67, 6th edit. 1862

NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF, and to Neh. vi., where the enmity between Sanballat and the Jews is brought out in the strongest colours. The only other incident in his life is his alliance with the high-priest's family by the marriage of his daughter with one of the grandsons of Eliashib, which, from the similar connexion formed by Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh. xiii. 4), appears to have been part of a settled policy concerted between Eliashib and the Samaritan faction. The expulsion from the priesthood of the guilty son of Joiada by Nehemiah must have still further widened the breach between him and Sanballat, and between the two parties in the Jewish state. Here, however, the Scriptural narrative ends—owing, probably, to Nehemiah's return to Persia—and with it likewise our knowledge of Sanballat.

But on turning to the pages of Josephus a wholly new set of actions, in a totally different time, is brought before us in connexion with Sanballat, while his name is entirely omitted in the account there given of the government of Nehemiah, which is placed in the reign of Xerxes. Josephus, after interposing the whole reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus between the death of Nehemiah and the transactions in which Sanballat took part, and utterly ignoring the very existence of Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Ochus, &c., jumps at once to the reign of "Darius the last king," and tells us (*Ant.* xi. 7, §2) that Sanballat was his officer in Samaria, that he was a Cuthean, *i. e.* a Samaritan, by birth, and that he gave his daughter Nicaso in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of the high-priest Jaddua, and consequently the fourth in descent from Eliashib, who was high-priest in the time of Nehemiah. He then relates that on the threat of his brother Jaddua and the other Jews to expel him from the priesthood unless he divorced his wife, Manasseh stated the case to Sanballat, who thereupon promised to use his influence with king Darius, not only to give him Sanballat's government, but to sanction the building of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim of which Manasseh should be the high-priest. Manasseh on this agreed to retain his wife and join Sanballat's faction, which was further strengthened by the accession of all those priests and Levites (and they were many) who had taken strange wives. But just at this time happened the invasion of Alexander the Great; and Sanballat, with 7000 men, joined him, and renounced his allegiance to Darius (*Ant.* xi. 8, §4). Being favourably received by the conqueror, he took the opportunity of speaking to him in behalf of Manasseh. He represented to him how much it was for his interest to divide the strength of the Jewish nation, and how many there were who wished for a temple in Samaria; and so obtained Alexander's permission to build the temple on Mount Gerizim, and make Manasseh the hereditary high-priest. Shortly after this, Sanballat died;

* He says that Alexander appointed Andromachus governor of Judea and the neighbouring districts; that the Samaritans murdered him; and that Alexander on his return took Samaria in revenge, and settled a colony of Macedonians in it, and the inhabitants of Samaria retired to Sichem.

^b Such a time, *e. g.*, as when the Book of Ecclesiasticus was written, in which we read (ch. i. 25, 26), "There be two manner of nations which mine heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation: they that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Phillistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem."

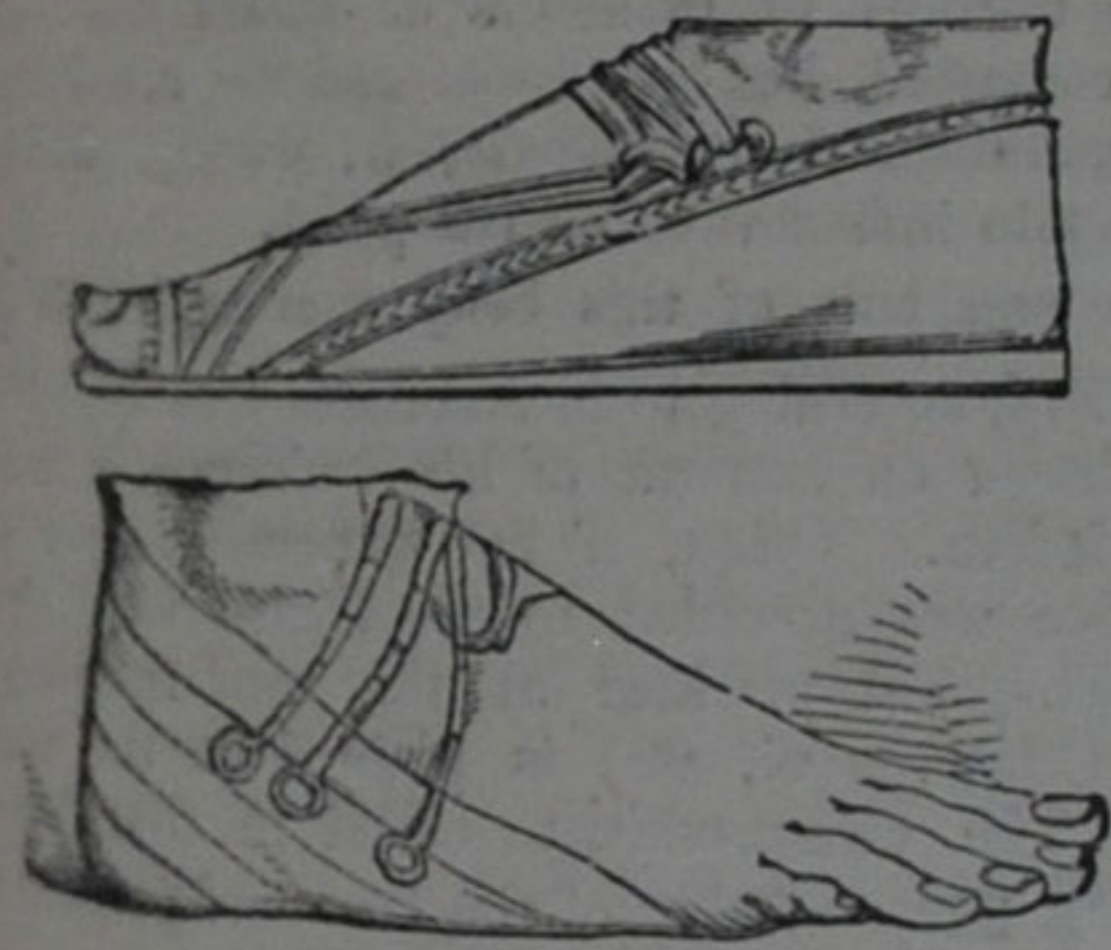
but the temple on Mount Gerizim remained, and the Shechemites, as they were called, continued also as a permanent schism, which was continually fed by all the lawless and disaffected Jews. Such is Josephus's account. If there is any truth in it, of course the Sanballat of whom he speaks is a different person from the Sanballat of Nehemiah, who flourished fully one hundred years earlier; but when we put together Josephus's silence concerning a Sanballat in Nehemiah's time, and the many coincidences in the lives of the Sanballat of Nehemiah and that of Josephus, together with the inconsistencies in Josephus's narrative (pointed out by Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 466, 288, 290), and its disagreement with what Eusebius tells of the relations of Alexander with Samaria^a (*Chron. Can. lib. post. p.* 346), and remember how apt Josephus is to follow any narrative, no matter how anachronistic and inconsistent with Scripture, we shall have no difficulty in concluding that his account of Sanballat is not historical. It is doubtless taken from some apocryphal romance, now lost, in which the writer, living under the empire of the Greeks, and at a time when the enmity of the Jews and Samaritans was at its height,^b chose the downfall of the Persian empire for the epoch, and Sanballat for the ideal instrument, of the consolidation of the Samaritan Church and the erection of the temple on Gerizim. To borrow events from some Scripture narrative and introduce some Scriptural personage, without any regard to chronology or other propriety, was the regular method of such apocryphal books. See 1 Esdras, apocryphal Esther, apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel, and the articles on them, and the story inserted by the LXX. after 2 K. xii. 24, &c., with the observations on it at p. 91 of this volume. To receive as historical Josephus's narrative of the building of the Samaritan temple by Sanballat, circumstantial as it is in its account of Manasseh's relationship to Jaddua, and Sanballat's intercourse with both Darius Codomanus and Alexander the Great, and yet to transplant it, as Prideaux does, to the time of Darius Nothus (B.C. 409), seems scarcely compatible with sound criticism. For a further discussion of this subject, see the article NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF, p. 491; Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 395-6; *Geneal. of our Lord*, p. 323, &c.; Mill's *Vindic. of our Lord's Geneal.* p. 165; Hales's *Analys.* ii. 534. [A. C. H.]

SANDAL (לַעֲלָ: ὑπόδημα, σανδάλιον). The sandal appears to have been the article ordinarily used by the Hebrews for protecting the feet. It consisted simply of a sole attached to the foot by thongs. The Hebrew term *na'al*^c implies such an article, its proper sense being that of *confining* or *shutting in* the foot with thongs: we have also express notice of the thong^d (שֵׁרֶט; ἰμάς; A. V.

^c In the A. V. this term is invariably rendered "shoe." There is, however, little reason to think that the Jews really wore shoes, and the expressions which Carpenter (*Apparat.* pp. 781, 782) quotes to prove that they did—(viz. "put the blood of war in his shoes," 1 K. ii. 5; "make men go over in shoes," Is. xi. 15), are equally adapted to the sandal—the first signifying that the blood was sprinkled *on the thong* of the sandal, the second that men should cross the river *on foot* instead of in boats. The shoes found in Egypt probably belonged to Greeks (*Wilkinson*, ii. 333).

^d The terms applied to the removal of the shoe (שֵׁרֶט; ἰμάς; A. V.

"shoe-latchet") in several passages (Gen. xiv. 23; Is. v. 27; Mark i. 7). The Greek term *ὑπόδημα* properly applies to the sandal exclusively, as it means what is bound *under* the foot; but no stress was laid on the use of the term by the Alexandrine writers, as it was applied to any covering of the foot, even to the military *caliga* of the Romans (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 1, §8). A similar observation applies to *σανδάλιον*, which is used in a general, and not in its strictly classical sense, and was adopted in a Hebraized form by the Talmudists. We have no description of the sandal in the Bible itself, but the deficiency can be supplied from collateral sources. Thus we learn from the Talmudists that the materials employed in the construction of the sole were either leather, felt, cloth, or wood (*Mas. N. Jebam.* 12, §1, 2), and that it was occasionally shod with iron (*Sabb.* 6, §2). In Egypt various fibrous substances, such as palm leaves and papyrus stalks, were used in addition to leather (Herod. ii. 37; Wilkinson, ii. 332, 333), while in Assyria, wood or leather was employed (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 323, 324). In Egypt the sandals were usually turned up at the toe like our skates, though other forms, rounded and pointed, are also exhibited. In Assyria the heel and the side of the foot were enclosed, and sometimes the sandal consisted of little else than this. This does not appear to have been



Assyrian Sandals. (From Layard, ii. 234.)

the case in Palestine, for a heel-strap was essential to a proper sandal (*Jebam.* 12, §1). Great attention was paid by the ladies to their sandals; they were made of the skin of an animal, named *tachash* (Ex. xvi. 10), whether a hyena or a seal (A. V. "badger"), is doubtful: the skins of a fish (a species of *Halicore*) are used for this purpose in the peninsula of Sinai (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 116). The thongs were handsomely embroidered (Cant. vii. 1; Jud. x. 4, xvi. 9), as were those of the Greek ladies (*Dict. of Ant.* s. v. "Sandalium"). Sandals were worn by all classes of society in Palestine, even by the very poor (Am. viii. 6), and both the sandal and the thong or shoe-latchet were so cheap and common, that they passed into a proverb for the most insignificant thing (Gen. xiv. 23; Ecclus. xlvi. 19). They were not, however, worn at all periods; they were dispensed with in-doors, and were only put on by persons about to undertake some business away from their homes; such as a military expedition (Is. v. 27; Eph. vi. 15), or a journey (Ex. xi. 11; Josh. ix. 5, 13; Acts xii. 8): on such occasions persons carried an extra pair, a practice which our Lord objected to as far as the Apostles

were concerned (Matt. x. 10; compare Mark vi. 9, and the expression in Luke x. 4, "do not carry," which harmonizes the passages). An extra pair might in certain cases be needed, as the soles were liable to be soon worn out (Josh. ix. 5), or the thongs to be broken (Is. v. 27). During meal-times the feet were undoubtedly uncovered, as implied in Luke vii. 38; John xiii. 5, 6, and in the exception specially made in reference to the Paschal feast (Ex. xii. 11): the same custom must have prevailed wherever reclining at meals was practised (comp. Plato, *Sympos.* p. 213). It was a mark of reverence to cast off the shoes in approaching a place or person of eminent sanctity: hence the command to Moses at the bush (Ex. iii. 5) and to Joshua in the presence of the angel (Josh. v. 15). In deference to these injunctions the priests are said to have conducted their ministrations in the Temple barefoot (Theodoret, *ad Ex.* iii. *quaest.* 7), and the Talmudists even forbade any person to pass through the Temple with shoes on (*Mishn. Berach.* 9, §5). This reverential act was not peculiar to the Jews: in ancient times we have instances of it in the worship of Cybele at Rome (Prudent. *Peris.* 154), in the worship of Isis as represented in a picture at Herculaneum (*Ant. d'Ercol.* ii. 320), and in the practice of the Egyptian priests, according to Sil. Ital. iii. 28. In modern times we may compare the similar practice of the Mohammedans of Palestine before entering a mosk (Robinson's *Researches*, ii. 36), and particularly before entering the Kaaba at Mecca (Burckhardt's *Arabia*, i. 270), of the Yezidis of Mesopotamia before entering the tomb of their patron saint (Layard's *Nin.* i. 282), and of the Samaritans as they tread the summit of Mount Gerizim (Robinson, ii. 278). The practice of the modern Egyptians, who take off their shoes before stepping on to the carpeted *leewán*, appears to be dictated by a feeling of reverence rather than cleanliness, that spot being devoted to prayer (Lane, i. 35). It was also an indication of violent emotion, or of mourning, if a person appeared barefoot in public (2 Sam. xv. 30; Is. xx. 2; Ez. xxiv. 17, 23). This again was held in common with other nations, as instanced at the funeral of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 100), and on the occasion of the solemn processions which derived their name of *Nudipedalia* from this feature (Tertull. *Apol.* 40). To carry or to unloose a person's sandal was a menial office betokening great inferiority on the part of the person performing it; it was hence selected by John the Baptist to express his relation to the Messiah (Matt. iii. 11; Mark i. 7; John i. 27; Acts xiii. 25). The expression in Ps. lx. 8, cviii. 9, "over Edom will I cast out my shoe," evidently signifies the subjection of that country, but the exact point of the comparison is obscure; for it may refer either to the custom of handing the sandal to a slave, or to that of claiming possession of a property by planting the foot on it, or of acquiring it by the symbolical action of casting the shoe, or again, Edom may be regarded in the still more subordinate position of a shelf on which the sandals were rested while their owner bathed his feet. The use of the shoe in the transfer of property is noticed in Ruth iv. 7, 8, and a similar significancy was attached to the act in connexion with the repudiation of a Levirate marriage (Deut. xxv. 9). Shoe-

Deut. xxv. 10; Is. xx. 2; and *נָשַׁלְתָּ*, Ruth iv. 7) imply that the thongs were either so numerous or so broad as to cover the top of the foot.

* It is worthy of observation that the term used for "putting off" the shoes on these occasions is peculiar (*נָשַׁלְתָּ*), and conveys the notion of violence and haste.

making, or rather strap-making (*i. e.* making the straps for the sandals), was a recognised trade among the Jews (Mishn. *Pesach.* 4, §6). [W. L. B.]

SAN'HEDRIM (accurately Sanhedrin, סַנְהֶדְרִין, formed from *συνέδριον*: the attempts of the Rabbins to find a Hebrew etymology are idle; Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* s. v.), called also in the Talmud *the great Sanhedrin*, the supreme council of the Jewish people in the time of Christ and earlier. In the Mishna it is also styled בֵּית דִּין, *Beth Din*, "house of judgment."

1. The *origin* of this assembly is traced in the Mishna (*Sanhedr.* i. 6) to the seventy elders whom Moses was directed (Num. xi. 16, 17) to associate with him in the government of the Israelites. This body continued to exist, according to the Rabbinical accounts, down to the close of the Jewish commonwealth. Among Christian writers Schickhard, Isaac Casaubon, Salmasius, Selden, and Grotius have held the same view. Since the time of Vorstius, who took the ground (*De Synhedriis*, §25-40) that the alleged identity between the assembly of seventy elders mentioned in Num. xi. 16, 17, and the Sanhedrim which existed in the later period of the Jewish commonwealth, was simply a conjecture of the Rabbins, and that there are no traces of such a tribunal in Deut. xvii. 8, 10, nor in the age of Joshua and the judges, nor during the reign of the kings, it has been generally admitted that the tribunal established by Moses was probably temporary, and did not continue to exist after the Israelites had entered Palestine (Winer, *Realwörterb.* art. "Synedrion").

In the lack of definite historical information as to the establishment of the Sanhedrim, it can only be said in general that the Greek etymology of the name seems to point to a period subsequent to the Macedonian supremacy in Palestine. Livy expressly states (xiv. 32), "pronuntiatum quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores, quos *synedros* vocant, legendos esse, quorum consilio respublica administraretur." The fact that Herod, when procurator of Galilee, was summoned before the Sanhedrim (B.C. 47) on the ground that in putting men to death he had usurped the authority of the body (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 9, §4) shows that it then possessed much power and was not of very recent origin. If the *γερούσια τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, in 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27, designates the Sanhedrim—as it probably does—this is the earliest historical trace of its existence. On these grounds the opinion of Vorstius, Witsius, Winer, Keil, and others, may be regarded as probable, that the Sanhedrim described in the Talmud arose after the return of the Jews from Babylon, and in the time of the Seleucidae or of the Hasmonean princes.

In the silence of Philo, Josephus, and the Mishna respecting the constitution of the Sanhedrim, we are obliged to depend upon the few incidental notices in the New Testament. From these we gather that it consisted of ἀρχιερεῖς, chief priests, or the heads of the twenty-four classes into which the priests were divided (including, probably, those who had been high-priests), πρεσβύτερο., elders, men of age and experience, and γραμματεῖς, scribes, lawyers, or those learned in the Jewish law (Matt. xxvi. 57, 59; Mark xv. 1; Luke xxii. 66; Acts v. 21).

2. The *number of members* is usually given as seventy-one, but this is a point on which there

is not a perfect agreement among the learned. The nearly unanimous opinion of the Jews is given in the Mishna (*Sanhedr.* i. 6): "the great Sanhedrim consisted of seventy-one judges. How is this proved? From Num. xi. 16, where it is said, 'gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel.' To these add Moses, and we have seventy-one. Nevertheless R. Judah says there were seventy." The same difference made by the addition or exclusion of Moses, appears in the works of Christian writers, which accounts for the variation in the books between seventy and seventy-one. Baronius, however (*Ad Ann.* 31, §10) and many other Roman Catholic writers, together with not a few Protestants, as Drusius, Grotius, Prideaux, Jahn, Bretschneider, etc., hold that the true number was seventy-two, on the ground that Eldad and Medad, on whom it is expressly said the Spirit rested (Num. xi. 26), remained in the camp, and should be added to the seventy (see Hartmann, *Verbindung des A. T.* p. 182; Selden, *De Synedr.* lib. ii. cap. 4). Between these three numbers, that given by the prevalent Jewish tradition is certainly to be preferred; but if, as we have seen, there is really no evidence for the identity of the seventy elders summoned by Moses, and the Sanhedrim existing after the Babylonish captivity, the argument from Num. xi. 16 in respect to the number of members of which the latter body consisted, has no force, and we are left, as Keil maintains (*Archäologie*, ii. §259), without any certain information on the point.

The president of this body was styled נָסִי, *Nasi*, and, according to Maimonides and Lightfoot, was chosen on account of his eminence in worth and wisdom. Often, if not generally, this pre-eminence was accorded to the high-priest. That the high-priest presided at the condemnation of Jesus (Matt. xxvi. 62) is plain from the narrative. The vice-president, called in the Talmud אב בית דין, "father of the house of judgment," sat at the right hand of the president. Some writers speak of a second vice-president, styled סֹפֵר, "wise," but this is not sufficiently confirmed (see Selden, *De Synedr.* p. 156, seq.). The Babylonian Gemara states that there were two scribes, one of whom registered the votes for acquittal, the other those for condemnation. In Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark xiv. 54, &c., the lictors or attendants of the Sanhedrim are referred to under the name of ὑπηρέται. While in session the Sanhedrim sat in the form of a half circle (*Gem. Hieros. Const. vi. ad Sanhedr.* i.), with all which agrees the statement of Maimonides (quoted by Vorstius): "him who excels all others in wisdom they appoint head over them and head of the assembly. And he is whom the wise everywhere call NASI, and he is in the place of our master Moses. Likewise him who is the oldest among the seventy, they place on the right hand, and him they call 'father of the house of judgment.' The rest of the seventy sit before these two, according to their dignity, in the form of a semicircle, so that the president and vice-president may have them all in sight."

3. The *place* in which the sessions of the Sanhedrim were ordinarily held was, according to the Talmud, a hall called גַּזְזִית, *Gazzith* (*Sanhedr.* i. 1) supposed by Lightfoot (*Works*, i. 2005) to have been situated in the south-east corner of one of the courts near the Temple building. In special cases

species, however, it seems to have met in the residence of the high-priest (Matt. xxvi. 3). Forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, and consequently while the Saviour was teaching in Palestine, the sessions of the Sanhedrim were removed from the hall Gazzith to a somewhat greater distance from the temple building, although still on Mt. Moriah (*Abod. Zara* i. Gem. Babyl. *ad Sanhedr.* v.). After several other changes, its seat was finally established at Tiberias (Lightfoot, *Wars.* ii. 365).

As a judicial body the Sanhedrim constituted a supreme court, to which belonged in the first instance the trial of a tribe fallen into idolatry, false prophets, and the high-priest (*Mishna, Sanhedr.* i.); also the other priests (*Middoth*, v.). As an administrative council it determined other important matters. Jesus was arraigned before this body as a false prophet (John xi. 47), and Peter, John, Stephen, and Paul as teachers of error and deceivers of the people. From Acts ix. 3 it appears that the Sanhedrim exercised a degree of authority beyond the limits of Palestine. According to the Jerusalem Gemara (quoted by Selden, lib. ii. c. 15, 11), the power of inflicting capital punishment was taken away from this tribunal forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem. With this agrees the answer of the Jews to Pilate (John xix. 31), "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Beyond the arrest, trial, and condemnation of one convicted of violating the ecclesiastical law, the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim at the time could not be extended; the confirmation and execution of the sentence in capital cases belonged to the Roman procurator. The stoning of Stephen (Acts vii. 56, &c.) is only an apparent exception, for it was either a simultaneous procedure, or, if done by order of the Sanhedrim, was an illegal assumption of power, as Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9, §1) expressly declares the execution of the Apostle James during the absence of the procurator to have been (Winer, *Realwb.* art. "Synedrium").

The Talmud also mentions a *lesser Sanhedrim* of twenty-three members in every city in Palestine in which were not less than 120 householders; but respecting these judicial bodies Josephus is entirely silent.

The leading work on the subject is Selden, *De Synedriis et Praefecturis Juridicis veterum Ebraeorum*, Lond. 1650, Amst. 1679, 4to. It exhibits immense learning, but introduces much irrelevant matter, and is written in a heavy and unattractive style. The monographs of Vorstius and Witsius, contained in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, vol. xxv. are able and judicious. The same volume of Ugolini contains also the Jerusalem and Babylonian Gemaras, along with the Mishna on the Sanhedrim, with which may be compared *Duo Tituli Talmudici Sanhedrin et Maccoth*, ed. Jo. Coch, Amst. 1629, etc., and Maimonides, *De Sanhedriis et Poenis*, et. Hostiug. Amst. 1695, 4to. Hartmann, *Die Verbindung des Alten Testaments mit dem Neuen*, Hamb. 1831, 8vo., is worthy of consultation, and for a compressed exhibition of the subject, Winer, *Realwb.* and Keil, *Archaeologie*. [G. D. E.]

SANSANNAH (שַׁנְסַנָּה: Σεθεννάκ; Alex. *Sansanna*: *Sensenna*). One of the towns in the south district of Judah, named in Josh. xv. 31 only. The towns of this district are not distributed into small groups, like those of the highlands or the

Shefelah; and as only very few of them have been yet identified, we have nothing to guide us to the position of Sansannah. It can hardly have had any connexion with KIRJATH-SANNAH (Kirjath-Sepher, or Debir), which was probably near Hebron, many miles to the north of the most northern position possible for Sansannah. It does not appear to be mentioned by any explorer, ancient or modern. Gesenius (*Thes.* 962) explains the name to mean "palm branch;" but this is contradicted by Fürst (*Hwb.* ii. 88), who derives it from a root which signifies "writing." The two propositions are probably equally wide of the mark. The conjecture of Schwarz that it was at *Simsim*, on the valley of the same name, is less feasible than usual.

The termination of the name is singular (comp. MADMANNAH).

By comparing the list of Josh. xv. 26-32 with those in xix. 2-7 and 1 Chr. iv. 28-33, it will be seen that Beth-marcaboth and Hazar-susim, or -susah, occupy in the two last the place of Madmannah and Sansannah respectively in the first. In like manner Shilhim is exchanged for Sharuhem and Shaaraim. It is difficult to believe that these changes can have arisen from the mistakes of copyists solely, but equally difficult to assign any other satisfactory reason. Prof. Stanley has suggested that Beth-marcaboth and Hazar-susim are tokens of the trade in chariots and horses which arose in Solomon's time; but, if so, how comes it that the new names bear so close a resemblance in form to the old ones? [G.]

SAPH (שָׁפ: Σέφ; Alex. Σεφέ: *Saph*). One of the sons of the giant ('*Paφά*, *Arapha*) slain by Sibbechai the Hushathite in the battle against the Philistines at Gob or Gaza (2 Sam. xxi. 18). In 1 Chr. xx. 4 he is called SIPPAL. The title of Ps. cxliii. in the Peshito Syriac is, "Of David: when he slew Asaph (Saph) the brother of Gúlyad (Goliath), and thanksgiving for that he had conquered."

SA'PHAT (Σαφάτ: om. in Vulg.). SHEPHATIAH 2 (1 Esd. v. 9; comp. Ezr. ii. 4).

SAPHATI'AS (Σαφατίας: *Saphatias*). SHEPHATIAH 2 (1 Esd. viii. 34; comp. Ezr. viii. 8).

SA'PHETH (Σαφυθ; Alex. Σαφυθί: *Saphuzi*). SHEPHATIAH (1 Esd. v. 33; comp. Ezr. ii. 57).

SA'PHIR (שָׁפִיר, i. e. Shaphir: καλῶς: *pulchra*, but in Jerome's *Comment. Saphir*). One of the villages addressed by the Prophet Micah (i. 11), but not elsewhere mentioned. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Saphir") it is described as "in the mountain district between Eleutheropolis and Ascalon." In this direction a village called *es-Sawáfir* still exists (or rather three of that name, two with affixes), possibly the representative of the ancient Saphir (Rob. B. R. ii. 34 note; Van de Velde, *Syr. & Pal.* 159). *Es-Sawáfir* lies seven or eight miles to the N.E. of Ascalon, and about 12 W. of *Beit-Jibrin*, to the right of the coast-road from Gaza. Tobler prefers a village called *Saber*, close to *Sawáfir*, containing a copious and apparently very ancient well (3tte *Wanderung*, 47). In one important respect, however, the position of neither of these agrees with the notice of the *Onomasticon*, since it is not near the mountains, but on the open plain of the Shefelah. But as *Beit-Jibrin*, the ancient Eleutheropolis, stands on the western slopes of the mountains of Judah, it is difficult to under

stand how any place could be westward of it (*i. e.* between it and Ascalon), and yet be itself in the mountain district, unless that expression may refer to places which, though situated in the plain, were for some reason considered as belonging to the towns of the mountains. We have already seen reason to suspect that the reverse was the case with some others. [KEILAH; NEZIB, &c.]

Schwarz, though aware of the existence of *Sawfir* (p. 116), suggests as a more feasible identification the village of *Safiriyeh*, a couple of miles N.W. of Lydda (136). The drawback to this is, that the places mentioned by Micah appear, as far as we can trace them, to be mostly near *Beit-Jibrin*, and in addition, that *Safiriyeh* is in clear contradiction to the notice of Eusebius and Jerome. [G.]

SAPPHIRA (Σαφείρη = either "sapphire," from σάφειρος, or "beautiful," from the Syriac נִפְיָה). The wife of Ananias, and the participator both in his guilt and in his punishment (Acts v. 1-10). The interval of three hours that elapsed between the two deaths, Sapphira's ignorance of what had happened to her husband, and the predictive language of St. Peter towards her, are decisive evidences as to the supernatural character of the whole transaction. The history of Sapphira's death thus supplements that of Ananias's, which might otherwise have been attributed to natural causes. [W. L. B.]

SAPPHIRE (רִפְיָה, *sappir*: σάφειρος: *sapphirus*). A precious stone, apparently of a bright blue colour, see Ex. xxiv. 10, where the God of Israel is represented as being seen in vision by Moses and the Elders with "a paved work of a *sappir* stone, and as it were the body of heaven in its clearness" (comp. Ez. i. 26). The *sappir* was the second stone in the second row of the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 18); it was extremely precious (Job xxviii. 16); it was one of the precious stones that ornamented the king of Tyre (Ez. xxviii. 13). Notwithstanding the identity of name between our sapphire and the σάφειρος, and *sapphirus* of the Greeks and Romans, it is generally agreed that the *sapphirus* of the ancients was not our gem of that name, *viz.*, the azure or indigo-blue, crystalline variety of Corundum, but our *Lapis-lazuli* (*Ultra-marine*); this point may be regarded as established, for Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 9) thus speaks of the *Sapphirus*, "It is refulgent with spots of gold, of an azure colour sometimes, but not often purple; the best kind comes from Media; it is never transparent, and is not well suited for engraving upon when intersected with hard crystalline particles." This description answers exactly to the character of the *Lapis-lazuli*; the "crystalline particles" of Pliny are crystals of iron pyrites, which often occur with this mineral. It is, however, not so certain that the *Sappir* of the Hebrew Bible is identical with the *Lapis-lazuli*; for the Scriptural requirements demand transparency, great value and good material for the engraver's art, all of which combined characters the *Lapis-lazuli* does not possess in any great degree. Mr. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 44) says that intagli and camei of Roman times are frequent in the material, but rarely any works of much merit. Again, the *Sappir* was certainly pellucid, "sane apud Judaeos," says Braun (*De Vest. Sac.* p. 680, ed. 1680), "saphiros pellucidus notas fuisse manifestissimum est, adeo etiam ut pellucidum illorum phi-

losophis dicatur ספיר, *Saphir*." Beckmann (*Hist. of Invent.* i. 472) is of opinion that the *Sappir* of the Hebrews is the same as the *Lapis-lazuli*; however, Müller and Braun argue in favour of its being a sapphire or precious Corundum. We are inclined to adopt this latter opinion, but are unable to come to any satisfactory conclusion. [W. L. B.]

SARA (Σάρρα: *Sara*). 1. SARAH, the wife of Abraham (Heb. xi. 11; 1 Pet. iii. 6).

2. The daughter of Raguel, in the apocryphal history of Tobit. As the story goes, she had been married to seven husbands, who were all slain on the wedding night by Asmodeus the evil spirit, who loved her (Tob. iii. 7). The breaking of the spell and the chasing away of the evil spirit by the "fishy fume," when Sara was married to Tobit, are told in chap. viii.

SARABIAS (Σαραβίας: *Sarebias*). SARABIAH (1 Esd. ix. 48; comp. Neh. viii. 7).

SA'RAH (שָׂרָה, "princess:" Σάρρα: *Sara* originally שָׂרָי: Σάρα: *Sarai*). 1. The wife of Abraham, and mother of Isaac.

Of her birth and parentage we have no certain account in Scripture. Her name is first introduced in Gen. xi. 29, as follows: "Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife was Michah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Mehab, and the father of Ischah." In Gen. xx. 12, Abraham speaks of her as "his sister, the daughter of the same father, but not the daughter of the same mother." The common Jewish tradition, taken from Josephus (*Ant.* i. c. 6, §6) and by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. ad Genesin*, vol. iii. p. 325, ed. Ben. 1735), is that Sarai is the same as Michah, the daughter of Haran, and the sister of Lot, who is called Abraham's "brother" in Gen. xiv. 14. Judging from the fact that Rebekah, the granddaughter of Nahor, was the wife of Isaac the son of Abraham, there is reason to conjecture that Abraham was the youngest brother, so that his wife might not improbably be younger than the wife of Nahor. It is certainly strange, if the tradition be true, that no direct mention of it is found in Gen. xi. 29. But it is not improbable in itself; it supplies the account of the descent of the mother of the chosen race, the omission of which in such a passage is most unlikely; and there is no other set against it.

The change of her name from "Sarai" to "Sarah" was made at the same time that Abram's name was changed to Abraham, on the establishment of the covenant of circumcision between him and God. That the name "Sarah" signifies "princess" is universally acknowledged. But the meaning of "Sarai" is still a subject of controversy. The older interpreters (as, for example, St. Jerome in *Quaest. Hebr.*, and those who follow him) suppose it to mean "my princess;" and explain the change from Sarai to Sarah, as signifying that she was no longer the queen of one family, but the royal ancestress of "all families of the earth." They also suppose that the addition of the letter *h* taken from the sacred Tetragrammaton *Jehovah* to the names of Abram and Sarai, mystically signified their being received into covenant with the Lord. Among modern Hebraists there is great diversity of interpretation. One opinion, keeping to the general derivation as that referred to above, explains

"Sara" as "noble," "nobility," i.e., an explanation which, even more than the other, labours under the objection of giving little force to the change. Another opinion supposes Sarai to be a contracted form of שָׂרָיָה (*Sērâyáh*), and to signify "Jehovah a ruler." But this gives no force whatever to the change, and besides introduces the same name *Jah* into a proper name too early in the history. A third (following Ewald) derives it from שָׂרָה, a root which is found in Gen. xxxii. 28, Hos. xii. 4, in the sense of "to fight," and explains it as "contentious" (*streitsüchtig*). This last seems to be etymologically the most probable, and differs from the others in giving great force and dignity to the change of name. (See *Ges. Thes.* vol. iii. p. 1338b.)

Her history is, of course, that of Abraham. She came with him from Ur to Haran, from Haran to Canaan, and accompanied him in all the wanderings of his life. Her only independent action is the demand that Hagar and Ishmael should be cast out, far from all rivalry with her and Isaac; a demand, symbolically applied in Gal. iv. 22-31, to the displacement of the Old Covenant by the New. The times, in which she plays the most important part in the history, are the times when Abraham was sojourning, first in Egypt, then in Gerar, and where Sarah shared his deceit, towards Pharaoh and towards Abimelech. On the first occasion, about the middle of her life, her personal beauty is dwelt upon as its cause (Gen. xii. 11-15); on the second, just before the birth of Isaac, at a time when she was old (thirty-seven years before her death), but when her vigour had been miraculously restored, the same cause is alluded to, as supposed by Abraham, but not actually stated (Gen. xxi. 9-11). In both cases, especially the last, the truthfulness of the history is seen in the unfavourable contrast, in which the conduct both of Abraham and Sarah stands to that of Pharaoh and Abimelech. She died at Hebron at the age of 127 years, 28 years before her husband, and was buried by him in the cave of Machpelah. Her burial place, purchased of Ephron the Hittite, was the only possession of Abraham in the land of promise; it has remained, hallowed in the eyes of Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans alike, to the present day; and in it the "shrine of Sarah" is pointed out opposite to that of Abraham, with those of Isaac and Rebekah on the one side, and those of Jacob and Leah on the other (See *Stanley's Lect. on Jewish Church*, app. ii. pp. 484-509).

Her character, like that of Abraham, is no ideal type of excellence, but one thoroughly natural, inferior to that of her husband, and truly feminine, both in its excellences and its defects. She is the mother, even more than the wife. Her natural motherly affection is seen in her touching desire for children, even from her bondmaid, and in her forgiving jealousy of that bondmaid, when she became a mother; in her rejoicing over her son Isaac, and in the jealousy which resented the slightest snub to him, and forbade Ishmael to share his sonship. It makes her cruel to others as well as tender to her own, and is remarkably contrasted with the sacrifice of natural feeling on the part of Abraham in God's command in the last case (Gen. xxi. 12).

To the same character belong her ironical laughter at the promise of a child, long desired, but now beyond all hope; her trembling denial of that laughter, and her change of it to the laughter of thankful joy, which she commemorated in the name of Isaac. It is a character deeply and truly affectionate, but impulsive, jealous, and imperious in its affection. It is referred to in the N. T. as a type of conjugal obedience in 1 Pet. iii. 6, and as one of the types of faith in Heb. xi. 11. [A. B.]

2. (שָׂרָה: Σάρα: *Sara*). SERAH the daughter of Asher (Num. xxvi. 46).

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SARAI'AS (Σαραίας: om. in Vulg.). 1. SERAIAH the high-priest (1 Esd. v. 5).

2. (Ἀζαράας; Alex. Σαραίας: *Azarias, Azareus*.) SERAIAH the father of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 1; 2 Esd. i. 1).

SAR'AMEL (Σαραμέλ; Alex. Σαραμελ; other MSS. Ἀσαραμέλ: *Asaramel*). The name of the place in which the assembly of the Jews was held at which the high-priesthood was conferred upon Simon Maccabaeus (1 Mac. xiv. 28). The fact that the name is found only in this passage has led to the conjecture that it is an imperfect version of a word in the original Hebrew or Syriac, from which the present Greek text of the Maccabees is a translation. Some (as Castello) have treated it as a corruption of Jerusalem: but this is inadmissible, since it is inconceivable that so well-known a name should be corrupted. The other conjectures are enumerated by Grimm in the *Kurzgef. exegetisches Handb.* on the passage. A few only need be named here, but none seem perfectly satisfactory. All appear to adopt the reading *Asaramel*. 1. *Hahatsar Millo*, "the court of Millo," Millo being not improbably the citadel of Jerusalem [vol. ii. 367 a]. This is the conjecture of Grotius, and has at least the merit of ingenuity.^b 2. *Hahatsar Am El*, "the court of the people of God, that is, the great court of the Temple." This is due to Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 387), who compares with it the well-known *Sarbeth Sabanai El*, given by Eusebius as the title of the Maccabean history. [See *MACCABEES*, vol. ii. 173 a.] 3. *Hasshaar Am El*, "the gate of the people of God" adopted by Winer (*Realwb.*). 4. *Hassar Am El*, "prince of the people of God," as if not the name of a place, but the title of Simon, the "in" having been inserted by puzzled copyists. This is adopted by Grimm himself. It has in its favour the fact that without it Simon is here styled high-priest only, and his second title, "captain and governor of the Jews and priests" (ver. 47), is then omitted in the solemn official record—the very place where it ought to be found. It also seems to be countenanced by the Peshito-Syriac version, which certainly omits the title of "high-priest," but inserts *Kabba de Israel*,

sacrifice of Isaac, that the shock of it killed her, and that Abraham found her dead on his return from Moriah.

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stand how any place could be westward of it (i. e. between it and Ascalon), and yet be itself in the mountain district, unless that expression may refer to places which, though situated in the plain, were for some reason considered as belonging to the towns of the mountains. We have already seen reason to suspect that the reverse was the case with some others. [KEILAH; NEZIB, &c.]

Schwarz, though aware of the existence of *Sawfir* (p. 116), suggests as a more feasible identification the village of *Safiriyeh*, a couple of miles N.W. of Lydda (136). The drawback to this is, that the places mentioned by Micah appear, as far as we can trace them, to be mostly near *Beit-Jibrin*, and in addition, that *Safiriyeh* is in clear contradiction to the notice of Eusebius and Jerome. [G.]

SAPPHIRA (Σαπφείρη = either "sapphire," from *σάπφειρος*, or "beautiful," from the Syriac שפיר). The wife of Ananias, and the participator both in his guilt and in his punishment (Acts v. 1-10). The interval of three hours that elapsed between the two deaths, Sapphira's ignorance of what had happened to her husband, and the predictive language of St. Peter towards her, are decisive evidences as to the supernatural character of the whole transaction. The history of Sapphira's death thus supplements that of Ananias's, which might otherwise have been attributed to natural causes. [W. L. B.]

SAPPHIRE (רפיר, *sappir*: *σάπφειρος*: *sapphirus*). A precious stone, apparently of a bright blue colour, see Ex. xxiv. 10, where the God of Israel is represented as being seen in vision by Moses and the Elders with "a paved work of a *sappir* stone, and as it were the body of heaven in its clearness" (comp. Ez. i. 26). The *sappir* was the second stone in the second row of the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 18); it was extremely precious (Job xxviii. 16); it was one of the precious stones that ornamented the king of Tyre (Ez. xxviii. 13). Notwithstanding the identity of name between our sapphire and the *σάπφειρος*, and *sapphirus* of the Greeks and Romans, it is generally agreed that the *sapphirus* of the ancients was not our gem of that name, viz., the azure or indigo-blue, crystalline variety of Corundum, but our *Lapis-lazuli* (*Ultra-marine*); this point may be regarded as established, for Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 9) thus speaks of the *Sapphirus*, "It is refulgent with spots of gold, of an azure colour sometimes, but not often purple; the best kind comes from Media; it is never transparent, and is not well suited for engraving upon when intersected with hard crystalline particles." This description answers exactly to the character of the *Lapis-lazuli*; the "crystalline particles" of Pliny are crystals of iron pyrites, which often occur with this mineral. It is, however, not so certain that the *Sappir* of the Hebrew Bible is identical with the *Lapis-lazuli*; for the Scriptural requirements demand transparency, great value and good material for the engraver's art, all of which combined characters the *Lapis-lazuli* does not possess in any great degree. Mr. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 44) says that intagli and camei of Roman times are frequent in the material, but rarely any works of much merit. Again, the *Sappir* was certainly pellucid, "sane apud Judæos," says Braun (*De Vest. Sac.* p. 680, ed. 1680), "saphiros pelluciditas notas fuisse manifestissimum est, adeo etiam ut pellucidum illorum phi-

losophis dicatur רפיר, *Sappir*." Beckmann (*Hist. of Invent.* i. 472) is of opinion that the *Sappir* of the Hebrews is the same as the *Lapis-lazuli*; Rosenmüller and Braun argue in favour of its being our sapphire or precious Corundum. We are inclined to adopt this latter opinion, but are unable to come to any satisfactory conclusion. [W. H.]

SA'RA (Σάρρα: *Sara*). 1. SARAH, the wife of Abraham (Heb. xi. 11; 1 Pet. iii. 6).

2. The daughter of Raguel, in the apocryphal history of Tobit. As the story goes, she had been married to seven husbands, who were all slain on the wedding night by Asmodeus the evil spirit, who loved her (Tob. iii. 7). The breaking of the spell and the chasing away of the evil spirit by the "fishy fume," when Sara was married to Tobias, are told in chap. viii.

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"leader of Israel." None of these explanations, however, can be regarded as entirely satisfactory. [G.]

SARAPH (שָׂרָפָה: *Saraph*: *Incendens*). Mentioned in 1 Chr. iv. 22 among the descendants of Shelah the son of Judah. Burrington (*Geneal.* i. 179) makes Saraph a descendant of Jokim, whom he regards as the third son of Shelah. In the Targum of R. Joseph, Joash and Saraph are identified with Mahlon and Chilion, "who married (אֵלְעָבָ) in Moab."

SARCHE'DONUS (Σαχερδονός, Σαχερδάν: *Archidonassar*, *Achenossar*, *Sarcedonassar*), a collateral form of the name Esar-haddon [ESAR-HADDON], occurring Tob. i. 21. The form in A. V. for *Sacherdonus* appears to be an oversight. [B. F. W.]

SARDEUS (Ζεραλίαι; Alex. Ζαρδαίος: *Thecedias*). AZIZA (1 Esd. ix. 28; comp. Ezr. x. 27).

SARDINE, SARDIUS (σάρδιον, *ódem*: *sardius*) is, according to the LXX. and Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* v. 5, §7) the correct rendering of the Heb. term, which occurs in Ex. xxviii. 17; xxxix. 10, as the name of the stone which occupied the first place in the first row of the high-priest's breastplate; it should, however, be noticed that Josephus is not strictly consistent with himself, for in the *Antiq.* iii. 7, §5, he says that the *sardonix* was the first stone in the breastplate; still as this latter named mineral is merely another variety of agate, to which also the sard or sardius belongs, there is no very great discrepancy in the statements of the Jewish historian. The *ódem* is mentioned by Ezek. (xxviii. 13) as one of the ornaments of the king of Tyre. In Rev. iv. 3, St. John declares that he whom he saw sitting on the heavenly throne "was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone." The sixth foundation of the wall of the heavenly Jerusalem was a *sardius* (Rev. xxi. 20). There can scarcely be a doubt that either the sard or the sardonix is the stone denoted by *ódem*. The authority of Josephus in all that relates to the high-priest's breastplate is of the greatest value, for as Braun (*De Vest. Sac. Heb.* p. 635) has remarked, Josephus was not only a Jew but a priest, who might have seen the breastplate with the whole sacerdotal vestments a hundred times, since in his time the Temple was standing; the Vulgate agrees with his nomenclature; in Jerome's time the breastplate was still to be inspected in the Temple of Concord; hence it will readily be acknowledged that this agreement of the two is of great weight.

The sard, which is a superior variety of agate, has long been a favourite stone for the engraver's art; "on this stone," says Mr. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 5), "all the finest works of the most celebrated artists are to be found; and this not without good cause, such is its toughness, facility of working, beauty of colour, and the high polish of which it is susceptible, and which Pliny states that it retains longer than any other gem." Sardis differ in colour; there is a bright red variety which, in Pliny's time, was the most esteemed, and, perhaps, the Heb. *ódem*, from a root which means "to be red," points to this kind; there is also a paler or noney-coloured variety; but in all sards there is always a shade of yellow mingling with the red (see King's *Ant. Gems*, p. 6). The sardius, according to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 7), derived its name from Sardis in Lydia, where it was first found; Babylonian specimens, however, were the

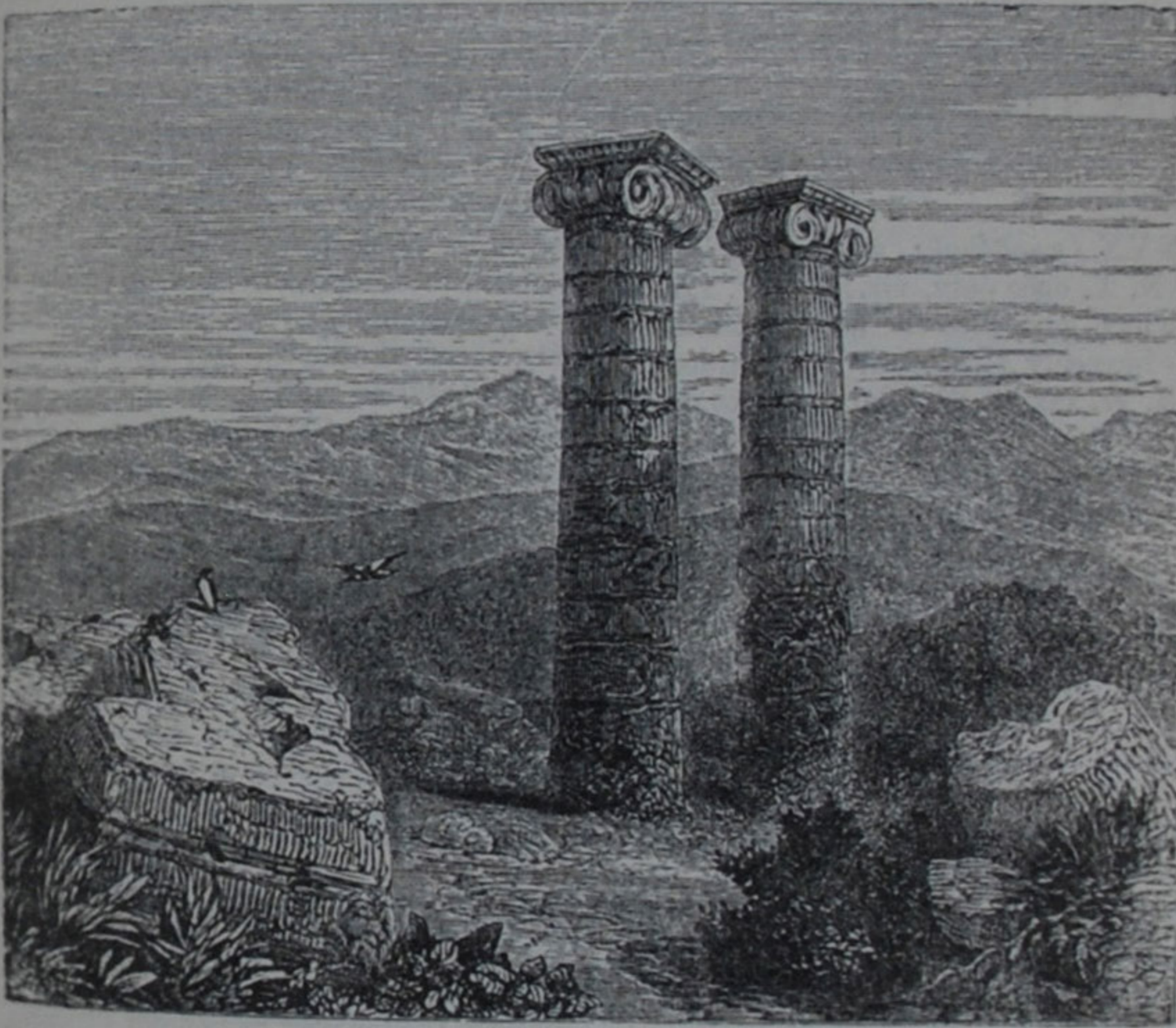
most esteemed. The Hebrews, in the time of Moses, could easily have obtained their sard stones from Arabia, in which country they were at the time the breastplate was made; other precious stones not acquirable during their wanderings, may have been brought with them from the land of their bondage when "they spoiled the Egyptians." [W. H.]

SAR'DIS (Σάρδεις). A city situated about two miles to the south of the river Hermus, just below the range of Tmolus (*Bos Dagli*), on a spur of which its acropolis was built. It was the ancient residence of the kings of Lydia. After its conquest by Cyrus, the Persians always kept a garrison in the citadel, on account of its natural strength, which induced Alexander the Great, when it was surrendered to him in the sequel of the battle of the Granicus, similarly to occupy it. Sardis was in very early times, both from the extremely fertile character of the neighbouring region, and from its convenient position, a commercial mart of importance. Chestnuts were first produced in the neighbourhood, which procured them the name of βάλανος Σαρδιανός. The art of dyeing wool is said by Pliny to have been invented there; and at any rate, Sardis was the entrepôt of the dyed woollen manufactures, of which Phrygia with its vast flocks (*πολυπρωβωτωτάτη*, Herod. v. 49) furnished the raw material. Hence we hear of the φοινικίδες Σαρδιαναί, and Sappho speaks of the ποικίλος μάσθλης Λύδων καλὸν ἔργον, which was perhaps something like the modern Turkish carpets. Some of the woollen manufactures, of a peculiarly fine texture, were called ψιλοτάπιδες. The hall, through which the king of Persia passed from his state apartments to the gate where he mounted on his horse, was laid with these, and no foot but that of the monarch was allowed to tread on them. In the description given of the habits of a young Cyprian exquisite of great wealth, he is represented as reposing upon a bed of which the feet were silver, and upon which these ψιλοτάπιδες Σαρδιαναί were laid as a mattress. Sardis too was the place where the metal *electron* was procured (*Soph. Antig.* 1037); and it was thither that the Spartans sent in the 6th century B.C. to purchase gold for the purpose of gilding the face of the Apollo at Amyclae. This was probably furnished by the auriferous sand of the Pactolus, a brook which came from Tmolus, and ran through the *agora* of Sardis by the side of the great temple of Cybele. But though its gold-washings may have been celebrated in early times, the greatness of Sardis in its best days was much more due to its general commercial importance and its convenience as an entrepôt. This seems to follow from the statement, that not only silver and gold coins were there first minted, but there also the class of *πηλοὶ* (stationary traders as contradistinguished from the *ἔμποροι*, or travelling merchants) first arose. It was also, at any rate between the fall of the Lydian and that of the Persian dynasty, a slave-mart.

Sardis recovered the privilege of municipal government (and, as was alleged several centuries afterwards, the right of a sanctuary) upon its surrender to Alexander the Great, but its fortunes in the next three hundred years are very obscure. It changed hands more than once in the contest between the dynasties which arose after the death of Alexander. In the year 214 B.C., it was taken and sacked by the army of Antiochus the Great, who besieged his cousin Achæus in it for two years before succeeding, as he at last did through treachery.

obtaining possession of the person of the latter. After the ruin of Antiochus's fortunes, it passed, with the rest of Asia on that side of Taurus, under the dominion of the kings of Pergamus, whose interests led them to divert the course of traffic between Asia and Europe away from Sardis. Its productive soil must always have continued a source of wealth; but its importance as a central mart appears to have diminished from the time of the division of Asia by Alexander. Of the few inscriptions which have been discovered, all, or nearly all, belong to the time of the Roman empire. Yet there still exist considerable remains of the earlier days. The massive temple of Cybele still bears witness in its fragmentary remains to the wealth and architectural skill of the people that raised it. Mr. Cockerell, who visited it in 1812, found two columns standing with their architrave, the stone of which stretched in a single block from the centre of one to that of the other. This stone, although it was not the largest of the architrave, he calculates must

have weighed 25 tons. The diameters of the columns supporting it are 6 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at about 35 feet below the capital. The present soil (apparently formed by the crumbling away of the hill which backs the temple on its eastern side) is more than 25 feet above the pavement. Such proportions are not inferior to those of the columns in the Heraeum at Samos, which divides, in the estimation of Herodotus, with the Artemisium at Ephesus, the palm of pre-eminence among all the works of Greek art. And as regards the details, "the capitals appeared," to Mr. Cockerell, "to surpass any specimen of the Ionic he had seen in perfection of design and execution." On the north side of the acropolis, overlooking the valley of the Hermus, is a theatre near 400 feet in diameter, attached to a stadium of about 1000. This probably was erected after the restoration of Sardis by Alexander. In the attack of Sardis by Antiochus, described by Polybius (vii. 15-18), it constituted one of the chief points on which, after entering the city, the assaulting force



Ruins of Sardis.

was directed. The temple belongs to the era of the Lydian dynasty, and is nearly contemporaneous with the temple of Zeus Panhellenius in Aegina, and that of Herè in Samos. To the same date may be assigned the "Valley of Sweets" (*γλυκὺς ἀγρός*), a pleasure ground, the fame of which Polybius endeavoured to rival by the so-called *Laura* at Samos.

The modern name of the ruins at Sardis is *Sert-Salusi*. Travellers describe the appearance of the country on approaching it from the N.W. as that of complete solitude. The Pactolus is a mere thread of water, all but evanescent in summer time. The *Wadi-tohri* (Hermus), in the neighbourhood of the town, is between 50 and 60 yards wide, and nearly 3 feet deep, but its waters are turbid and disagreeable, and are not only avoided as unfit for drinking, but have the local reputation of generating the fever which is the scourge of the neighbouring plains.

In the time of the emperor Tiberius, Sardis was

desolated by an earthquake, together with eleven, or as Eusebius says twelve, other important cities of Asia. The whole face of the country is said to have been changed by this convulsion. In the case of Sardis the calamity was increased by a pestilential fever which followed; and so much compassion was in consequence excited for the city at Rome, that its tribute was remitted for five years, and it received a benefaction from the privy purse of the emperor. This was in the year 17 A.D. Nine years afterwards the Sardians are found among the competitors for the honour of erecting, as representatives of the Asiatic cities, a temple to their benefactor. [SMYRNA.] On this occasion they plead, not only their ancient services to Rome in the time of the Macedonian war, but their well-watered country, their climate, and the richness of the neighbouring soil: there is no allusion, however, to the important manufactures and the commerce of the early times. In the time of Pliny it was included in the same

conventus juridicus with Philadelphia, with the Cadueni, a Macedonian colony in the neighbourhood, with some settlements of the old Maeonian population, and a few other towns of less note. These Maeonians still continued to call Sardis by its ancient name Hydè, which it bore in the time of Omphale.

The only passage in which Sardis is mentioned in the Bible, is Rev. iii. 1-6. There is nothing in it which appears to have any special reference to the peculiar circumstances of the city, or to anything else than the moral and spiritual condition of the Christian community existing there. This latter was probably, in its secular relations, pretty nearly identical with that at Philadelphia.

(Athenaeus ii. p. 48, vi. p. 231, xii. p. 514, 540; Arrian, i. 17; Pliny, *N. H.* v. 29, xv. 23; Stephanus Byz. v. "Ἰδῆ; Pausanias, iii. 9, 5; Diodorus Sic. xx. 107; Scholiast, Aristoph. *Pac.* 1174; Boeckh, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Nos. 3451-3472; Herodotus, i. 69, 94, iii. 48, viii. 105; Strabo, xiii. §5; Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 47, iii. 63, iv. 55; Cockerell, in Leake's *Asia Minor*, p. 343; Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, i. pp. 26-28; Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, pp. 232-242.) [J. W. B.]

SARDITES, THE (הַסַּרְדִּי: δ Σαρδί: *Sarreditae*). The descendants of Sered the son of Zebulon (Num. xxvi. 26).

SARDONYX (σαρδόνυξ: *sardonyx*) is mentioned in the N. T. once only, viz., in Rev. xxi. 20, as the stone which garnished the fifth foundation of the wall of the heavenly Jerusalem. "By sardonyx," says Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 6), who describes several varieties, "was formerly understood, as its name implies, a sard with a white ground beneath it, like the flesh under the finger-nail." The sardonyx consists of "a white opaque layer, superimposed upon a red transparent stratum of the true red sard" (*Antique Gems*, p. 9); it is, like the sard, merely a variety of agate, and is frequently employed by engravers for the purposes of a signet-ring. [W. H.]

SARE'A (*Sarea*). One of the five scribes "ready to write swiftly" whom Esdras was commanded to take (2 Esd. xiv. 24).

SAREP'TA (Σάρεπτα: *Sarepta*: Syriac, *Tsarpath*). The Greek form of the name which in the Hebrew text of the O. T. appears as ZAREPHATH. The place is designated by the same formula on its single occurrence in the N. T. (Luke iv. 26) that it is when first mentioned in the LXX. version of 1 K. xvii. 9, "Sarepta of Sidonia." [G.]

SAR'GON (סַרְגֹּן: 'Aρνᾶ: *Sargon*) was one of the greatest of the Assyrian kings. His name is read in the native inscriptions as Sargina, while a town which he built and called after himself (now Khorsabad) was known as *Sarghin* to the Arabian geographers. He is mentioned by name only once in Scripture (Is. xx. 1), and then not in an historical book, which formerly led historians and critics to suspect that he was not really a king distinct from those mentioned in Kings and Chronicles, but rather one of those kings under another name. Vitringa, Offerhaus, Eichhorn, and Hupfeld identified him with Shalmaneser; Grotius, Lowth, and Keil with Sennacherib; Perizonius, Kalinsky, and Michaëlis

^a There is a peculiarity of phraseology in 2 K. xviii. 3, 10, which perhaps indicates a knowledge on the part of the writer that Shalmaneser was not the actual captor.

with Esarhaddon. All these conjectures are now shown to be wrong by the Assyrian inscriptions, which prove Sargon to have been distinct and different from the several monarchs named, and in his place in the list—where it had been already assigned by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, and Winckler—between Shalmaneser and Sennacherib. He was certainly Sennacherib's father, and there is no reason to doubt that he was his immediate predecessor. He ascended the throne of Assyria, as we gather from his annals, in the same year that Merodach-Baladan ascended the throne of Babylon, which, according to Ptolemy's Canon, was B.C. 721. He seems to have been an usurper, and not of royal birth, for in his inscriptions he carefully avoids all mention of his father. It has been conjectured that he took advantage of Shalmaneser's absence at the protracted siege of Samaria (2 K. xvii. 5) to effect a revolution at the seat of government, by which that king was deposed, and he himself substituted in his room. [SHALMANESER.] It is remarkable that Sargon claims the conquest of Samaria, which the narrative in Kings appears to assign to his predecessor. He places the event in his first year, before any of his other expeditions. Perhaps, therefore, he is the "king of Assyria" intended in 2 K. xvii. 6 and xviii. 11, who is not said to be Shalmaneser, though we might naturally suppose so from no other name being mentioned.^a Or perhaps he claimed the conquest as his own, though Shalmaneser really accomplished it, because the capture of the city occurred after he had been acknowledged king in the Assyrian capital. At any rate, to him belongs the settlement of the Samaritans (27,280 families, according to his own statement) in Halah, and on the Habor (*Khabour*), the river of Gozan, and (at a later period probably) in the cities of the Medes.

Sargon was undoubtedly a great and successful warrior. In his annals, which cover a space of fifteen years (from B.C. 721 to B.C. 706), he gives an account of his warlike expeditions against Babylonia and Susiana on the south, Media on the east, Armenia and Cappadocia towards the north, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt towards the west and the south-west. In Babylonia he deposed Merodach-Baladan, and established a viceroy; in Media he built a number of cities, which he peopled with captives from other quarters; in Armenia and the neighbouring countries he gained many victories; while in the far west he reduced Philistia, penetrated deep into the Arabian peninsula, and forced Egypt to submit to his arms and consent to the payment of a tribute. In this last direction he seems to have waged three wars—one in his second year (B.C. 720), for the possession of Gaza; another in his sixth year (B.C. 715), when Egypt itself was the object of attack; and a third in his ninth (B.C. 712), when the special subject of contention was Ashdod, which Sargon took by one of his generals. This is the event which causes the mention of Sargon's name in Scripture. Isaiah was instructed at the time of this expedition to "put off his shoe, and go naked and barefoot," for a sign that "the king of Assyria should lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, to the shame of Egypt" (Is. xx. 2-4). We may gather from this, either that Ethiopians and Egyptians formed part of the garrisons

^a "In the fourth year of Hezekian," he says, "Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it, and at the end of three years, THEY took it."

sons of Ashdod and were captured with the city, so that the attack on the Philistine town was accompanied by an invasion of Egypt itself, which was disastrous to the Egyptians. The year of the attack, being B.C. 712, would fall into the reign of the first Ethiopian king, Sabaco I., who probably conquered Egypt in B.C. 714 (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 386, note 7, 2nd ed.), and it is in agreement with this Sargon speaks of Egypt as being at that time subject to Meroë. Besides these expeditions of Sargon, his monuments mention that he took Tyre, and received tribute from the Greeks of Cyprus, against whom there is some reason to think that he conducted an attack in person.^b

It is not as a warrior only that Sargon deserves special mention among the Assyrian kings. He was also the builder of useful works and of one of the most magnificent of the Assyrian palaces. He relates that he thoroughly repaired the walls of Nineveh, which he seems to have elevated from a provincial city of some importance to the first position in the empire; and adds further, that in its neighbourhood he constructed the palace and town which he made his principal residence. This was the city now known as "the French Nineveh," or "Khorsabad," from which the valuable series of Assyrian monuments at present in the Louvre is derived almost entirely. Traces of Sargon's buildings have been found also at Nimrūd and Koyunjik; and his time is marked by a considerable advance in the useful and ornamental arts, which seem to have profited by the connexion which he established between Assyria and Egypt. He probably reigned nineteen years, from B.C. 721 to B.C. 702, when he left the throne to his son, the celebrated Sennacherib. [G. R.]

SARID (סָרִיד: 'Εσεδεκγωλαῖς, Σεδδούκ; Alex. Σαρῖδ, Σαριδ: *Sarid*). A chief landmark of the territory of Zebulun, apparently the pivot of the western and southern boundaries (Josh. xix. 10, 12). All that can be gathered of its position is that it lay to the west of Chisloth-Tabor. It was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome, and no trace of it seems to have been found by any traveller since their day (*Itin.* "Sarith").

The ancient Syriac version, in each case, reads Ashdod. This may be only from the interchange, so frequent in this version, of R and D. At any rate, the Ashdod of the Philistines cannot be intended. [G.]

SARON (τὸν Σαρῶνα; in some MSS. *ασσαρῶνα*, i. e. סָרְוֹנָה: *Sarona*). The district in which Lydda stood (Acts ix. 35 only); the SHARON of the O. T. The absence of the article from Lydda, and its presence before Saron, is noticeable, and shows that the name denotes a district—as in "The Shefelah," and in our own "The Weald," "The Downs." [G.]

SAROTHIE (Σαρωθί; Alex. Σαρωθιέ: *Caroth*). "The sons of Sarothie" are among the names of the servants of Solomon who returned with Zerubbabel, according to the list in 1 Esd. v. 34. There is nothing corresponding to it in the Hebrew.

SARSECHIM (שָׂרְסַחִים: *Sarsachim*). One of the generals of Nebuchadnezzar's army at the

taking of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3). He appears to have held the office of chief eunuch, for Ratsaris is probably a title and not a proper name. In Jer. xxxix. 13 Nebushasban is called Rab-saris, "chief eunuch," and the question arises whether Nebushasban and Sarsechim may not be names of the same person. In the LXX., verses 3 and 13 are mixed up together, and so hopelessly corrupt that it is impossible to infer anything from their reading of Ναβουσάχαρ for Sarsechim. In Gesenius' *Thesaurus* it is conjectured that Sarsechim and Rab-saris may be identical, and both titles of the same office.

SARUCH (Σαρούχ: *Sarug*). SERUG the son of Reu (Luke iii. 35).

SA'TAN. The word itself, the Hebrew שָׂטָן, is simply an "adversary," and is so used in 1 Sam. xxix. 4; 2 Sam. xix. 22; 1 K. v. 4 (LXX. ἐπίβουλος); in 1 K. xi. 25 (LXX. ἀντικείμενος); in Num. xxii. 22, 32, and Ps. cix. 6 (LXX. διάβολος and cognate words); in 1 K. xi. 14, 23 (LXX. σατάν). This original sense is still found in our Lord's application of the name to St. Peter in Matt. xvi. 23. It is used as a proper name or title only four times in the O. T., viz. (with the article) in Job i. 6, 12, ii. 1, Zech. iii. 1, and (without the article) in 1 Chr. xxi. 1. In each case the LXX. has διάβολος, and the Vulgate *Satan*. In the N. T. the word is σατανᾶς, followed by the Vulgate *Satanas*, except in 2 Cor. xii. 7, where σατᾶν is used. It is found in twenty-five places (exclusive of parallel passages), and the corresponding word ὁ διάβολος in about the same number. The title ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου is used three times; ὁ πονηρός is used certainly six times, probably more frequently, and ὁ πειράζων twice.

It is with the scriptural revelation on the subject that we are here concerned, and it is clear, from this simple enumeration of passages, that it is to be sought in the New, rather than in the Old Testament.

It divides itself naturally into the consideration of his existence, his nature, and his power and action.

(A.) HIS EXISTENCE.—It would be a waste of time to prove, that, in various degrees of clearness, the personal existence of a Spirit of Evil is revealed again and again in Scripture. Every quality, every action, which can indicate personality, is attributed to him in language which cannot be explained away. It is not difficult to see why it should be thus revealed. It is obvious, that the fact of his existence is of spiritual importance, and it is also clear, from the nature of the case, that it could not be discovered, although it might be suspected, by human reason. It is in the power of that reason to test any supposed manifestations of supernatural power, and any asserted principles of Divine action, which fall within its sphere of experience ("the earthly things" of John iii. 12); it may by such examination satisfy itself of the truth and divinity of a Person or a book; but, having done this, it must then accept and understand, without being able to test or to explain, the disclosures of this Divine authority upon subjects beyond this world (the "heavenly things," of which it is said that none can see or disclose them, save the "Son of Man who is in Heaven").

the expedition in person.

^c This barbarous word is obtained by joining to Sarid the first word of the following verse, וְעָלָה.

^b The statue of Sargon, now in the Berlin Museum, was found at Idallum in Cyprus. It is not very likely that the king's statue would have been set up unless he had made

It is true, that human thought can assert an *à priori* probability or improbability in such statements made, based on the perception of a greater or less degree of accordance in principle between the things seen and the things unseen, between the effects, which are visible, and the causes, which are revealed from the regions of mystery. But even this power of weighing probability is applicable rather to the fact and tendency, than to the method, of supernatural action. This is true even of natural action beyond the sphere of human observation. In the discussion of the Plurality of Worlds, for example, it may be asserted without doubt, that in all the orbs of the universe the Divine power, wisdom, and goodness must be exercised; but the inference that the method of their exercise is found there, as here, in the creation of sentient and rational beings, is one at best of but moderate probability. Still more is this the case in the spiritual world. Whatever supernatural orders of beings may exist, we can conclude that in their case, as in ours, the Divine government must be carried on by the union of individual freedom of action with the overruling power of God, and must tend finally to that good which is His central attribute. But beyond this we can assert nothing to be certain, and can scarcely even say of any part of the method of this government, whether it is antecedently probable or improbable.

Thus, on our present subject, man can ascertain by observation the existence of evil, that is, of facts and thoughts contrary to the standard which conscience asserts to be the true one, bringing with them suffering and misery as their inevitable results. If he attempts to trace them to their causes, he finds them to arise, for each individual, partly from the power of certain internal impulses which act upon the will, partly from the influence of external circumstances. These circumstances themselves arise, either from the laws of nature and society, or by the deliberate action of other men. He can conclude with certainty, that both series of causes must exist by the permission of God, and must finally be overruled to His will. But whether there exists any superhuman but subordinate cause of the circumstances, and whether there be any similar influence acting in the origination of the impulses which move the will, this is a question which he cannot answer with certainty. Analogy from the observation of the only ultimate cause which he can discover in the visible world, viz. the free action of a personal will, may lead him, and generally has led him, to conjecture in the affirmative, but still the inquiry remains unanswered by authority.

The tendency of the mind in its inquiry is generally towards one or other of two extremes. The first is to consider evil as a negative imperfection, arising, in some unknown and inexplicable way, from the nature of matter, or from some disturbing influences which limit the action of goodness on earth; in fact, to ignore as much of evil as possible, and to decline to refer the residuum to any positive cause at all. The other is the old Persian or Manichæan hypothesis, which traces the existence of evil to a rival Creator, not subordinate to the Creator of Good, though perhaps inferior to Him in power, and destined to be overcome by Him at last. Be-

* See Wisd. ii. 24, φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

^b For this reason, if for no other, it seems impossible to accept the interpretation of "Azazel," given by Spencer,

tween these two extremes the mind varied, through many gradations of thought and countless forms of superstition. Each hypothesis had its arguments of probability against the other. The first laboured under the difficulty of being insufficient as an account of the anomalous facts, and indeterminate in its account of the disturbing causes; the second sinned against that belief in the Unity of God and the natural supremacy of goodness, which is supported by the deepest instincts of the heart. But both were laid in a sphere beyond human cognizance; neither could be proved or disproved with certainty.

The Revelation of Scripture, speaking with authority, meets the truth, and removes the error, inherent in both these hypotheses. It asserts in the strongest terms the perfect supremacy of God, so that under His permission alone, and for His inscrutable purposes, evil is allowed to exist (see for example Prov. xvi. 4; Is. xlv. 7; Am. iii. comp. Rom. ix. 22, 23). It regards this evil as an anomaly and corruption, to be taken away by a new manifestation of Divine Love in the Incarnation and Atonement. The conquest of it began virtually in God's ordinance after the Fall itself, was effected actually on the Cross, and shall be perfected in its results at the Judgment Day. Still Scripture recognises the existence of evil in the world, not only as felt in outward circumstances ("the world"), and as inborn in the soul of man ("the flesh"), but also as proceeding from the influence of an Evil Spirit, exercising that mysterious power of free will, which God's rational creatures possess, to rebel against Him, and to draw others into the same rebellion ("the devil").

In accordance with the "economy" and progressiveness of God's revelation, the existence of Satan is but gradually revealed. In the first entrance of evil into the world, the temptation is referred only to the serpent. It is true that the whole narrative, and especially the spiritual nature of the temptation ("to be as gods"), which was united to the sensual motive, would force on any thoughtful reader^a the conclusion that something more than a mere animal agency was at work; but the time was not then come to reveal, what afterwards was revealed, that "he who sinneth is of the devil" (1 John iii. 8), that "the old serpent" of Genesis was "called the devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world" (Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2).

Throughout the whole period of the patriarchal and Jewish dispensation, this vague and imperfect revelation of the Source of Evil alone was given. The Source of all Good is set forth in all His supreme and unapproachable Majesty, evil is known negatively as the falling away from Him; and the "vanity" of idols, rather than any positive evil influence, is represented as the opposite to His reality and goodness. The Law gives the "knowledge of sin" in the soul, without referring to any external influence of evil to foster it; it denounces idolatry, without even hinting, what the N. T. declares plainly, that such evil implied a "power of Satan."^b

The Book of Job stands, in any case, alone (whether we refer it to an early or a later period) on the basis of "natural religion," apart from the

Hengstenberg, and others, in Lev. xvi. 8, as a reference to the Spirit of Evil. Such a reference would not only stand alone, but would be entirely inconsistent with the whole tenor of the Mosaic revelation. See DAY OF ATONEMENT

gradual and orderly evolutions of the Mosaic revelation. In it, for the first time, we find a distinct mention of "Satan," "the adversary" of Job. But it is important to remark the emphatic stress laid on his subordinate position, on the absence of all but delegated power, of all terror, and all grandeur in his character. He comes among the "sons of God" to present himself before the Lord; his malice and envy are permitted to have scope, to accusation or in action, only for God's own purposes; and it is especially remarkable that no power of spiritual influence, but only a power over outward circumstances, is attributed to him. All this is widely different from the clear and terrible revelations of the N. T.

The Captivity brought the Israelites face to face with the great dualism of the Persian mythology, the conflict of Ormuzd with Ahriman, the coordinate Spirit of Evil. In the books written after the Captivity we have again the name of "Satan" twice mentioned; but it is confessed by all that the Satan of Scripture bears no resemblance to the Persian Ahriman. His subordination and inferiority are as strongly marked as ever. In 1 Chr. xxi. 1, where the name occurs without the article ("an adversary," not "the adversary"), the comparison with 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 shows distinctly that, in the temptation of David, Satan's malice was overruled to work out the "anger of the Lord" against Israel. In Zech. iii. 1, 2, "Satan" is *ὁ ἀντίδικος* (as in 1 Pet. v. 8), the accuser of Joshua before the throne of God, rebuked and put to silence by Him (comp. Ps. cix. 6). In the case, as of the good angels, so also of the Evil One, the presence of fable and idolatry gave rise to the manifestation of the truth. [ANGELS, p. 70 a.] It would have been impossible to guard the Israelites more distinctly from the fascination of the great dualistic theory of their conquerors.

It is perhaps not difficult to conjecture, that the reason of this reserve as to the disclosure of the existence and nature of Satan is to be found in the insinuate tendency of the Israelites to idolatry, an idolatry based as usual, in great degree, on the supposed power of their false gods to inflict evil. The existence of evil spirits is suggested to them in the stern prohibition and punishment of witchcraft (Ex. xxii. 18; Deut. xviii. 10), and in the narrative of the possession of men by an "evil" or "living spirit from the Lord" (1 Sam. xvi. 14; 1 K. xii. 22); the tendency to seek their aid is shown by the rebukes of the prophets (Is. viii. 19, &c.). But this tendency would have been increased tenfold by the revelation of the existence of the great enemy, concentrating round himself all the powers of evil and enmity against God. Therefore, it would seem, the revelation of the "strong man armed" was withheld until "the stronger than he" should be made manifest.

For in the New Test. this reserve suddenly vanishes. In the interval between the Old and New Test. the Jewish mind had pondered on the many revelations already given of evil spiritual influence. But the Apocryphal Books (as, for example, Tobit and Judith), while dwelling on "demons" (*δαιμόνια*), have no notice of Satan. The same may be observed of Josephus. The only instance to the contrary is the reference already made to Wisd. ii. 24. It is to be noticed also that the Targums often introduce the name of Satan into the descriptions of sin and temptation found in the O. T.; as for example in Ex. xxxii. 19, in

connexion with the worship of the golden calf (comp. the tradition as to the body of Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6; Jude 9, MICHAEL). But, while a mass of fable and superstition grew up on the general subject of evil spiritual influence, still the existence and nature of Satan remained in the background, felt, but not understood.

The N. T. first brings it plainly forward. From the beginning of the Gospel, when he appears as the personal tempter of our Lord, through all the Gospels, Epistles, and Apocalypse, it is asserted or implied, again and again, as a familiar and important truth. To refer this to mere "accommodation" of the language of the Lord and His Apostles to the ordinary Jewish belief, is to contradict facts, and evade the meaning of words. The subject is not one on which error could be tolerated as unimportant; but one important, practical, and even awful. The language used respecting it is either truth or falsehood; and unless we impute error or deceit to the writers of the N. T., we must receive the doctrine of the existence of Satan as a certain doctrine of Revelation. Without dwelling on other passages, the plain, solemn, and unmetaphorical words of John viii. 44, must be sufficient: "Ye are of your father the devil. . . . He was a murderer from the beginning, and abides (*ἔσθηκεν*) not in the truth. . . . When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar and the father of it." On this subject, see DEMONIACS, vol. i. p. 425 b.

(B.) HIS NATURE.—Of the nature and original state of Satan, little is revealed in Scripture. Most of the common notions on the subject are drawn from mere tradition, popularized in England by Milton, but without even a vestige of Scriptural authority. He is spoken of as a "spirit" in Eph. ii. 2, as the prince or ruler of the "demons" (*δαιμόνια*) in Matt. xii. 24-26, and as having "angels" subject to him in Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 7, 9. The whole description of his power implies spiritual nature and spiritual influence. We conclude therefore that he was of angelic nature [ANGELS], a rational and spiritual creature, superhuman in power, wisdom, and energy; and not only so, but an archangel, one of the "princes" of heaven. We cannot, of course, conceive that anything essentially and originally evil was created by God. We find by experience, that the will of a free and rational creature can, by His permission, oppose His will; that the very conception of freedom implies capacity of temptation; and that every sin, unless arrested by God's fresh gift of grace, strengthens the hold of evil on the spirit, till it may fall into the hopeless state of reprobation. We can only conjecture, therefore, that Satan is a fallen angel, who once had a time of probation, but whose condemnation is now irrevocably fixed.

But of the time, cause, and manner of his fall, Scripture tells us scarcely anything. It limits its disclosures, as always, to that which we need to know. The passage on which all the fabric of tradition and poetry has been raised is Rev. xii. 7, 9, which speaks of "Michael and his angels" as "fighting against the dragon and his angels," till the "great dragon, called the devil and Satan" was "cast out into the earth, and his angels cast out with him." Whatever be the meaning of this passage, it is certain that it cannot refer to the original fall of Satan. The only other passage which refers to the fall of the angels is 2 Pet. ii. 4, "God spared not the angels, when they had sinned, but having

cast them into hell, delivered them to chains of darkness (*σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν*), reserved unto judgment," with the parallel passage in Jude 6, "Angels, who kept not their first estate (*τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν*), but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the Great Day." Here again the passage is mysterious;^c but it seems hardly possible to consider Satan as one of these; for they are in chains and guarded (*τετηρημένους*) till the Great Day; he is permitted still to go about as the Tempter and the Adversary, until his appointed time be come.

Setting these passages aside, we have still to consider the declaration of our Lord in Luke x. 18, "I beheld (*ἑθεώρουν*) Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven." This may refer to the fact of his original fall (although the use of the imperfect tense, and the force of the context, rather refer it figuratively to the triumph of the disciples over the evil spirits); but, in any case, it tells nothing of its cause or method. There is also the passage already quoted (John viii. 44), in which our Lord declares of him, that "he was a murderer from the beginning," that "he stands not (*ἔστηκε*) in the truth, because there is no truth in him," "that he is a liar and the father of it." But here it seems likely the words *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* refer to the beginning of his action upon man; perhaps the allusion is to his temptation of Cain to be the first murderer, an allusion explicitly made in a similar passage in 1 John iii. 9-12. The word *ἔστηκε* (wrongly rendered "abode" in A. V.), and the rest of the verse, refer to present time. The passage therefore throws little or no light on the cause and method of his fall.

Perhaps the only one, which has any value, is 1 Tim. iii. 6, "lest being lifted up by pride he fall into the condemnation" (*κρίμα*) "of the devil." It is concluded from this, that pride was the cause of the devil's condemnation. The inference is a probable one; it is strengthened by the only analogy within our reach, that of the fall of man, in which the spiritual temptation of pride, the desire "to be as gods," was the subtlest and most deadly temptation. Still it is but an inference; it cannot be regarded as a matter of certain Revelation.

But, while these points are passed by almost in silence (a silence which rebukes the irreverent exercise of imagination on the subject), Scripture describes to us distinctly the moral nature of the Evil One. This is no matter of barren speculation to those, who by yielding to evil may become the "children of Satan," instead of "children of God." The ideal of goodness is made up of the three great moral attributes of God, Love, Truth, and Purity or Holiness; combined with that spirit, which is the natural temper of a finite and dependent creature, the spirit of Faith. We find, accordingly, that the opposites to these qualities are dwelt upon as the characteristics of the devil. In John viii. 44, compared with 1 John iii. 10-15, we have hatred and falsehood; in the constant mention of the "unclean" spirits, of which he is the chief, we find impurity; from 1 Tim. iii. 6, and the narrative of the Temptation, we trace the spirit of pride. These are especially the "sins of the devil;" in them we trace the essence of moral evil, and the features of the reprobate mind. Add to this a spirit of restless activity, a power of craft, and an intense desire

^c It is referred by some to Gen. vi. 2, where many MSS. of the LXX. have *ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ* for "sons of God;"

to spread corruption, and with it eternal death, and we have the portraiture of the Spirit of Evil as Scripture has drawn it plainly before our eyes.

(C.) HIS POWER AND ACTION.—Both these points, being intimately connected with our own life and salvation, are treated with a distinctness and fulness remarkably contrasted with the obscurity of the previous subject.

The power of Satan over the soul is represented as exercised, either directly, or by his instruments. His direct influence over the soul is simply that of a powerful and evil nature on those, in whom lurks the germ of the same evil, differing from the influence exercised by a wicked man, in degree rather than in kind; but it has the power of acting by suggestion of thoughts, without the medium of actions or words—a power which is only in very slight degree exercised by men upon each other. This influence is spoken of in Scripture in the strongest terms, as a real external influence, correlative to, but not to be confounded with, the existence of evil within. In the parable of the sower (Matt. xiii. 19), it is represented as a negative influence, taking away the action of the Word of God for good; in that of the wheat and the tares (Matt. xiii. 39), as a positive influence for evil, introducing wickedness into the world. St. Paul does not hesitate to represent it as a power, permitted to dispute the world with the power of God; for he declares to Agrippa that his mission was "to turn men from darkness to light, and from the power (*ἐξουσίας*) of Satan unto God," and represents the excommunication, which cuts men off from the grace of Christ in His Church, as a "deliverance of them unto Satan" (1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. i. 20). The same truth is conveyed, though in a bolder and more startling form, in the Epistles to the Churches of the Apocalypse, where the body of the unbelieving Jews is called a "synagogue of Satan" (Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9), where the secrets of false doctrine are called "the depths of Satan" (ii. 24), and the "throne" and "habitation" of Satan are said to be set up in opposition to the Church of Christ. Another and even more remarkable expression of the same idea is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the death of Christ is spoken of as intended to baffle (*καταργεῖν*) "him, that hath the power (*τὸ κράτος*) of death, that is, the devil;" for death is evidently regarded as the "wages of sin," and the power of death as inseparable from the power of corruption. Nor is this truth only expressed directly and formally; it meets us again and again in passages simply practical, taken for granted, as already familiar (see Rom. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. ii. 11; 1 Thess. ii. 18; 2 Thess. ii. 9; 1 Tim. v. 15). The Bible does not shrink from putting the fact of Satanic influence over the soul before us, in plain and terrible certainty.

Yet at the same time, it is to be observed, that its language is very far from countenancing, even for a moment, the horrors of the Manichaean theory. The influence of Satan is always spoken of as temporary and limited, subordinated to the Divine counsel, and broken by the Incarnate Son of God. It is brought out visibly, in the form of possession, in the earthly life of our Lord, only in order that it may give the opportunity of His triumph. As for Himself, so for His redeemed ones, it is true, that "God shall bruise Satan under their feet

especially because 2 Pet. iii. 5, relating to the Flood seems closely connected with that passage.

shortly" (Rom. xvi. 20; comp. Gen. iii. 15). It is this all, for the history of the Book of Job shows plainly, what is elsewhere constantly implied, that Satanic influence is permitted, in order to be overruled to good, to teach humility, and therefore unexplained; but its present subordination and future extinction are familiar truths. So accordingly, on the other hand, his power is spoken of, as capable of being resisted by the will of man, when aided by the grace of God. "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you," is the constant language of Scripture (Jam. iv. 7). It is indeed a power, to which "place" or opportunity "is given," only by the consent of man's will (Eph. iv. 27). It is probably to be traced most distinctly in the power of evil habit, a power real, but not irresistible, created by previous sin, and by every successive act of sin riveted more closely upon the soul. It is a power which cannot act directly and openly, but needs craft and dissimulation, in order to get advantage over man by entangling the will. The "wiles" (Eph. vi. 11), the "devices" (2 Cor. ii. 11), the "snare" (1 Tim. iii. 7, vi. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 26) "of the devil," are expressions which indicate the indirect and unnatural character of the power of evil. It is therefore urged as a reason for "soberness and vigilance" (1 Pet. v. 8), for the careful use of the "whole armour of God" (Eph. vi. 10-17); but it is never allowed to obscure the supremacy of God's grace, or to disturb the inner peace of the Christian. "He that is born of God, keepeth himself, and the wicked one toucheth him not" (1 John v. 18).

Besides his own direct influence, the Scripture discloses to us the fact that Satan is the leader of a host of evil spirits or angels who share his evil work, and for whom the "everlasting fire is prepared" (Matt. xxv. 41). Of their origin and fall we know no more than of his, for they cannot be the same as the fallen and imprisoned angels of 2 Pet. ii. 4, and Jude 6; but one passage (Matt. xi. 24-26) identifies them distinctly with the *δαμόνια* (A. V. "devils" ^d) who had power to possess the souls of men. The Jews there speak of a Beelzebub (*Βεελζεβούλ*), "a prince of the demons," whom they identify with, or symbolise by, the idol of Ekron, the "god of flies" [see BEELZEBUB], and by whose power they accuse our Lord of casting out demons. His answer is, "How can Satan cast out Satan?" The inference is clear that Satan is Beelzebub, and therefore the demons are "the angels of the devil;" and this inference is strengthened by Acts x. 38, in which St. Peter describes the possessed as *καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαβόλου*, and by Luke x. 18, in which the mastery over the demons is connected by our Lord with the "fall of Satan from heaven," and their power included by Him in the "power of the enemy" (*τοῦ ἐχθροῦ*; comp. Matt. xiii. 39). For their nature, see DEMONS. They are mostly spoken of in Scripture in reference to possession; but in Eph. vi. 12 they are described in various lights, as "principalities" (*ἀρχαί*), "powers" (*ἐξουσίαι*), "rulers of the darkness of this world," and "spiritual powers of wickedness in heavenly places"

(or "things") (*τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*); and in all as "wrestling" against the soul of man. The same reference is made less explicitly in Rom. viii. 38, and Col. ii. 15. In Rev. xii. 7-9 they are spoken of as fighting with "the dragon, the old serpent called the devil and Satan," against "Michael and his angels," and as cast out of heaven with their chief. Taking all these passages together, we find them sharing the enmity to God and man implied in the name and nature of Satan; but their power and action are but little dwelt upon in comparison with his. That there is against us a power of spiritual wickedness is a truth which we need to know, and a mystery which only Revelation can disclose; but whether it is exercised by few or by many is a matter of comparative indifference.

But the Evil One is not only the "prince of the demons," but also he is called the "prince of this world" (*ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*) in John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11, and even the "god of this world" (*ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*) in 2 Cor. iv. 4; the two expressions being united in the words *τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*, used in Eph. vi. 12.^e This power he claimed for himself, as a delegated authority, in the temptation of our Lord (Luke iv. 6); and the temptation would have been unreal, had he spoken altogether falsely. It implies another kind of indirect influence exercised through earthly instruments. There are some indications in Scripture of the exercise of this power through inanimate instruments, of an influence over the powers of nature, and what men call the "chances" of life. Such a power is distinctly asserted in the case of Job, and probably implied in the case of the woman with a spirit of infirmity (in Luke xiii. 16), and of St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. xii. 7). It is only consistent with the attribution of such action to the angels of God (as in Ex. xii. 23; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 K. xix. 35; Acts xii. 23); and, in our ignorance of the method of connexion of the second causes of nature with the Supreme Will of God, we cannot even say whether it has in it any antecedent improbability; but it is little dwelt upon in Scripture, in comparison with the other exercise of this power through the hands of wicked men, who become "children of the devil," and accordingly "do the lusts of their father." (See John viii. 44; Acts xiii. 10; 1 John iii. 8-10; and comp. John vi. 70.) In this sense the Scripture regards all sins as the "works of the devil," and traces to him, through his ministers, all spiritual evil and error (2 Cor. xi. 14, 15), and all the persecution and hindrances which oppose the Gospel (Rev. ii. 10; 1 Thess. ii. 18). Most of all is this indirect action of Satan manifested in those who deliberately mislead and tempt men, and who at last, independent of any interest of their own, come to take an unnatural pleasure in the sight of evil-doing in others (Rom. i. 32).

The method of his action is best discerned by an examination of the title, by which he is designated in Scripture. He is called emphatically *ὁ διάβολος*, "the devil." The derivation of the word in itself implies only the endeavour to break the bonds be-

a reference to the "pomp and vanity" which makes it an idol (see, e. g., 1 John ii. 15); *αἰών* refers to its transitory character, and is evidently used above to qualify the startling application of the word *θεός*, a "god of an age" being of course no true God at all. It is used with *κόσμοι* in Eph. ii. 2.

^d It is unfortunate that the A. V. should use the word "devil," not only for its proper equivalent *διάβολος*, but also for *δαμόνιον*.

^e The word *κόσμος*, properly referring to the system of the universe, and so used in John i. 10, is generally applied in Scripture to human society as alienated from God, with

tween others, and "set them at variance" (see, e. g., Plat. *Symp.* p. 222 c: διαβάλλειν ἐμὲ καὶ Ἀγάθωνα); but common usage adds to this general sense the special idea of "setting at variance by slander." In the N. T. the word διάβολοι is used three times as an epithet (1 Tim. iii. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 3; Tit. ii. 3); and in each case with something like the special meaning. In the application of the title to Satan, both the general and special senses should be kept in view. His general object is to break the bonds of communion between God and man, and the bonds of truth and love which bind men to each other, to "set" each soul "at variance" both with men and God, and so reduce it to that state of self-will and selfishness which is the seed-plot of sin. One special means, by which he seeks to do this, is slander of God to man, and of man to God.

The slander of God to man is seen best in the words of Gen. iii. 4, 5: "Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know, that in the day that ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." These words contain the germ of the false notions, which keep men from God, or reduce their service to Him to a hard and compulsory slavery, and which the heathen so often adopted in all their hideousness, when they represented their gods as either careless of human weal and woe, or "envious" of human excellence and happiness. They attribute selfishness and jealousy to the Giver of all good. This is enough (even without the imputation of falsehood which is added) to pervert man's natural love of freedom, till it rebels against that, which is made to appear as a hard and arbitrary tyranny, and seeks to set up, as it thinks, a freer and nobler standard of its own. Such is the slander of God to man, by which Satan and his agents still strive against His reuniting grace.

The slander of man to God is illustrated by the Book of Job (Job i. 9-11, ii. 4, 5). In reference to it, Satan is called the "adversary" (ἀντίδικος) of man in 1 Pet. v. 8, and represented in that character in Zech. iii. 1, 2; and more plainly still designated in Rev. xii. 10, as "the accuser of our brethren, who accused them before our God day and night." It is difficult for us to understand what can be the need of accusation, or the power of slander, under the all-searching eye of God. The mention of it is clearly an "accommodation" of God's judgment to the analogy of our human experience: but we understand by it a practical and awful truth, that every sin of life, and even the admixture of lower and evil motives which taints the best actions of man, will rise up against us at the judgment, to claim the soul as their own, and fix for ever that separation from God, to which, through them, we have yielded ourselves. In that accusation Satan shall in some way bear a leading part, pleading against man, with that worst of slander which is based on perverted or isolated facts; and shall be overcome, not by any counter-claim of human merit, but "by the blood of the Lamb" received in true and steadfast faith.

But these points, important as they are, are of less moment than the disclosure of the method of Satanic action upon the heart itself. It may be summed up in two words—Temptation and Possession.

† See the connexion between faith and love by which it is made perfect (ἐνεργουμένη) in Gal. v. 6, and between

The subject of temptation is illustrated, not only by abstract statements, but also by the record of the temptations of Adam and of our Lord. It is expressly laid down (as in Jam. i. 2-4) that "temptation," properly so called, i. e. "trial" (πειρασμός), is essential to man, and is accordingly ordained for him and sent to him by God (as in Gen. xxii. 1). Man's nature is progressive; his faculties, which exist at first only in capacity (δυνάμει), must be brought out to exist in actual efficiency (ἐνεργείᾳ) by free exercise.† His appetites and passions tend to their objects, simply and unreservedly, without respect to the rightness or wrongness of their obtaining them; they need to be checked by the reason and conscience, and this need constitutes a trial, in which, if the conscience prevail, the spirit receives strength and growth; if it be overcome, the lower nature tends to predominate, and the man has fallen away. Besides this, the will itself delights in independence of action. Such independence of physical compulsion is its high privilege; but there is over it the Moral Power of God's Law, which, by the very fact of its truth and goodness, acknowledged as they are by the reason and the conscience, should regulate the human will. The need of giving up the individual will, freely and by conviction, so as to be in harmony with the will of God, is a still severer trial, with the reward of still greater spiritual progress, if we sustain it, with the punishment of a subtler and more dangerous fall, if we succumb. In its struggle the spirit of man can only gain and sustain its authority by that constant grace of God, given through communion of the Holy Spirit, which is the breath of spiritual life.

It is this tentability of man, even in his original nature, which is represented in Scripture as giving scope to the evil action of Satan. He is called the "tempter" (as in Matt. iv. 3; 1 Thess. iii. 5). He has power (as the record of Gen. iii. shows clearly), first, to present to the appetites or passions their objects in vivid and captivating forms, so as to induce man to seek these objects against the Law of God "written in the heart;" and next, to act upon the false desire of the will for independence, the desire "to be as gods, knowing" (that is, practically, judging and determining) "good and evil." It is a power which can be resisted, because it is under the control and overruling power of God, as is emphatically laid down in 1 Cor. x. 13; Jam. iv. 7, &c.; but it can be so resisted only by yielding to the grace of God, and by a struggle (sometimes an "agony") in reliance on its strength.

It is exercised both negatively and positively. Its negative exercise is referred to in the parable of the sower, as taking away the word, the "engrafted word" (James i. 21) of grace, i. e. as interposing itself, by consent of man, between him and the channels of God's grace. Its positive exercise is set forth in the parable of the wheat and the tares, represented as sowing actual seed of evil in the individual heart or the world generally; and it is to be noticed, that the consideration of the true nature of the tares (ζιζάνια) leads to the conclusion, which is declared plainly in 2 Cor. xi. 14, viz. that evil is introduced into the heart mostly as the counterfeit of good.

This exercise of the Tempter's power is possible, even against a sinless nature. We see this in the faith and the works by which it is perfected (τελειοῦται) in Jam. ii. 22

temptation of our Lord. The temptations presented to Him appeal, first to the natural desire and need of food, next to the desire of power, to be used for good, which is inherent in the noblest minds; and lastly, to the desire of testing and realizing God's special protection, which is the inevitable tendency of human weakness, under a real but imperfect faith. The objects contemplated involved in no case positive sinfulness; the temptation was to seek them by presumptuous or by unholy means; the answer to them (given by the Lord as the Son of Man, and therefore as one like ourselves in all the weakness and finiteness of our nature) lay in simple Faith, resting upon God, and on His Word, keeping to His way, and refusing to contemplate the issues of action, which belong to Him alone. Such faith is a renunciation of all self-confidence, and a simple dependence on the will and on the grace of God.

But in the temptation of a fallen nature Satan has a greater power. Every sin committed makes a man the "servant of sin" for the future (John viii. 34; Rom. vi. 16); it therefore creates in the spirit of man a positive tendency to evil, which sympathizes with, and aids, the temptation of the Evil One. This is a fact recognized by experience; the doctrine of Scripture, inscrutably mysterious, but unmistakably declared, is that, since the Fall, this evil tendency is born in man in capacity, prior to all actual sins, and capable of being brought out into active existence by such actual sins committed. It is this which St. Paul calls "a law," *i. e.* (according to his universal use of the word) an external power "of sin" over man, bringing the inner man (the *vous*) into captivity (Rom. vii. 14-24). Its power is broken by the Atonement and the gift of the Spirit, but yet not completely cast out; it still "lusts against the spirit" so that men "cannot do the things, which they would" (Gal. v. 17). It is to this spiritual power of evil, the tendency to falsehood, cruelty, pride, and unbelief, independently of any benefits to be derived from them, that Satan is said to appeal in tempting us. If his temptations be yielded to without repentance, it becomes the reprobate (*ἀδόκιμος*) mind, which delights in evil for its own sake (Rom. i. 28, 32) and makes men emphatically "children of the devil" (John viii. 44; Acts xiii. 10; 1 John iii. 8, 10), and "accursed" (Matt. xxv. 41), fit for "the fire prepared for the devil and his angels." If they be resisted, as by God's grace they may be resisted, then the evil power (the "flesh" or the "old man") is gradually "crucified" or "mortified," until the soul is prepared for that heaven, where no evil can enter.

This twofold power of temptation is frequently referred to in Scripture, as exercised, chiefly by the suggestion of evil thoughts, but occasionally by the delegated power of Satan over outward circumstances. To this latter power is to be traced (as has been said) the trial of Job by temporal loss and bodily suffering (Job i., ii.), the remarkable expression, used by our Lord, as to the woman with a "spirit of infirmity" (Luke xiii. 16), the "thorn in the flesh," which St. Paul calls the "messenger of Satan" to buffet him (2 Cor. xii. 7). Its language is plain, incapable of being explained as metaphor, or poetical personification of an abstract principle. Its general statements are illustrated by examples of temptation. (See, besides those already mentioned, Luke xxii. 5; John xxiii. 27 (Judas); Luke xxii. 31 (Peter); Acts v. 3 (Ananias and

Sapphira); 1 Cor. vii. 5; 2 Cor. ii. 11; 1 Thess. iii. 5.) The subject itself is the most startling form of the mystery of evil; it is one, on which, from our ignorance of the connexion of the First Cause with Second Causes in Nature, and of the process of origination of human thought, experience can hardly be held to be competent, either to confirm, or to oppose, the testimony of Scripture.

On the subject of Possession see DEMONIACS. It is sufficient here to remark, that although widely different in form, yet it is of the same intrinsic character as the other power of Satan, including both that external and internal influence to which reference has been made above. It is disclosed to us only in connexion with the revelation of that redemption from sin, which destroys it,—a revelation begun in the first promise in Eden, and manifested, in itself at the Atonement, in its effects at the Great Day. Its end is seen in the Apocalypse, where Satan is first "bound for a thousand years," then set free for a time for the last conflict, and finally "cast into the lake of fire and brimstone . . . for ever and ever" (xx. 2, 7-10). [A. B.]

SATHRABU'ZANES (*Σαθραβουζάνης*: *Sathrabuzanes*). **SHETHARBOZNAI** (1 Esd. vi. 3, 7, 27; comp. Ezr. v. 3, 6, vi. 6, 13).

SATYRS (*שְׂעִירִים*, *sēirīm*: *δαίμνια*: *pilosi*), the rendering in the A. V. of the above-named plural noun, which, having the meaning of "hairy" or "rough," is frequently applied to "he-goats" (comp. the Latin *hircus*, from *hirtus*, *hirsutus*); the *Sēirīm*, however, of Is. xiii. 21, and xxxiv. 14, where the prophet predicts the desolation of Babylon, have, probably, no allusion to any species of goat whether wild or tame. According to the old versions, and nearly all the commentators, our own translation is correct, and Satyrs, that is, demons of woods and desert places, half men and half goats, are intended. Comp. Jerome (*Comment. ad Is. xiii.*), "Seirim vel incubones vel satyros vel sylvestres quosdam homines quos nonnulli fatuos ficarios vocant, aut daemonum genera intelligunt." This explanation receives confirmation from a passage in Lev. xvii. 7; "they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto *Sēirīm*," and from a similar one in 2 Chr. xi. 15. The Israelites, it is probable, had become acquainted with a form of goat-worship from the Egyptians (see Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 825; Jablonski *Pant. Aegypt.* i. 273, et sqq.). The opinion held by Michaelis (*Supp.* p. 2342) and Lichtenstein (*Commentat. de Simiarum, &c.*, §4,



Cynocephalus (Egyptian Monuments).

p. 50, sqq.), that the *Sērim* probably denote some species of ape, has been sanctioned by Hamilton Smith in Kitto's *Cyc. art. Ape*. From a few passages in Pliny (*N. H.* v. 8; vii. 2; viii. 54) it is clear that by Satyrs are sometimes to be understood some kind of ape or monkey; Col. H. Smith has figured the *Macacus Arabicus* as being the probable satyr of Babylon. That some species of *Cynocephalus* (dog-faced baboon) was an animal that entered into the theology of the ancient Egyptians, is evident from the monuments and from what Horapollo (i. 14-16) has told us. The other explanation, however, has the sanction of Gesenius, Bochart, Rosenmüller, Parkhurst, Maurer, Fürst, and others. As to the "dancing" satyrs, comp. Virg. *Ecl.* v. 73,

"Saltantes satyros imitabitur Alpheisboeus."

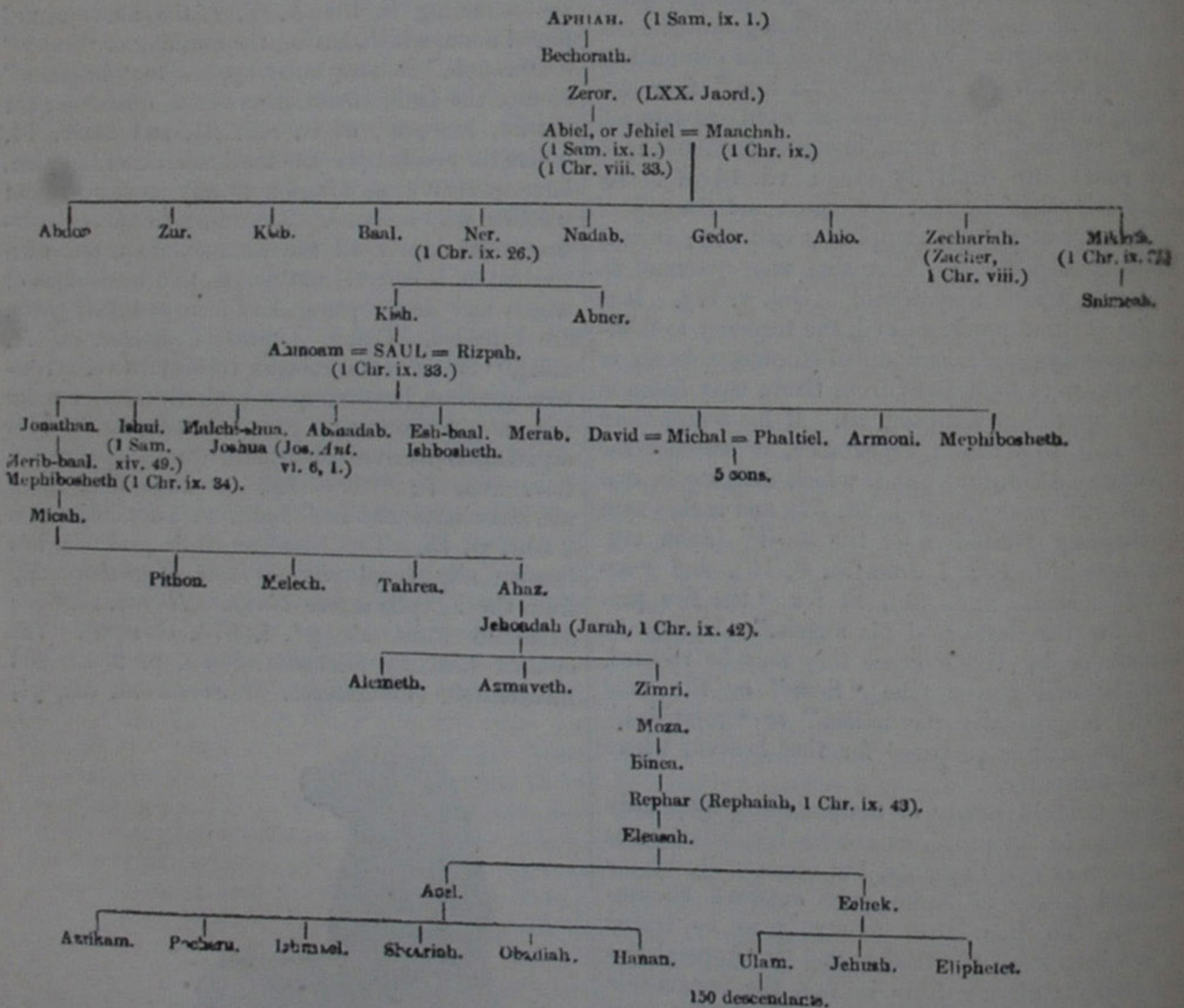
[W. H.]

SAUL (שָׁאֻל, *i. e.* Shaül: Σαούλ; Joseph. Σάουλος: Saül), more accurately SHAUL, in which form it is given on several occasions in the Authorized Version. The name of various persons in the Sacred History.

1. Saul of Rehoboth by the River was one of the early kings of Edom, and successor of Samlah (Gen. xxxvi. 37, 38). In 1 Chr. i. 48 he is called SHAUL. [G.]

2. The first king of Israel. The name here first appears in the history of Israel, though found before in the Edomite prince already mentioned; and in a son of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; A. V. Shaul). It also occurs among the Kohathites in the genealogy of Samuel (1 Chr. vi. 24), and in Saul, like the king, of the tribe of Benjamin, better known as the Apostle Paul (see below p. 1154). Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 18, §4) mentions a Saul, father of one Simon who distinguished himself at Scythopolis in the early part of the Jewish war.

In the following genealogy may be observed—
1. The repetition in two generations of the names of Kish and Ner, of Nadab and Abi-nadab, and of Mephibosheth. 2. The occurrence of the name of Baal in three successive generations: possibly in four, as there were two Mephibosheths. 3. The constant shiftings of the names of God, as incorporated in the proper names: (a) Ab-iel = Je-hiel. (b) Malchi-shua = Je-shua. (c) Esh-baal = Ish-bosheth. (d) Mephi- (or Meri-) baal = Mephibosheth. 4. The long continuance of the family down to the times of Ezra. 5. Is it possible that Zimri (1 Chr. ix. 42) can be the usurper of 1 K. xvi.—if so, the last attempt of the house of Saul to regain its ascendancy? The time would agree.



There is a contradiction between the pedigree in 1 Sam. ix. 1, xiv. 51, which represents Saul and Abner as the grandsons of Abiel, and 1 Chr. viii. 33, ix. 39, which represents them as his great-grandsons. If we adopt the more elaborate pedigree in the Chronicles, we must suppose either that a link has been dropped between Abiel and Kish, in 1 Sam. ix. 1, or that the elder Kish, the son of Abiel (1 Chr. ix. 36), has been confounded with

the younger Kish, the son of Ner (1 Chr. ix. 26). The pedigree in 1 Chr. viii. is not free from confusion, as it omits amongst the sons of Abiel, Ner, who in 1 Chr. ix. 36 is the fifth son, and who in both is made the father of Kish. His character is in part illustrated by the fierce, wayward, fitful nature of the tribe [BENJAMIN], and in part accounted for by the struggle between the old and new systems in which he found him-

self involved. To this we must add a taint of madness, which broke out in violent frenzy at times, leaving him with long lucid intervals. His affections were strong, as appears in his love both for David and his son Jonathan, but they were unequal to the wild accesses of religious zeal or fanaticism which ultimately led to his ruin. He was, like the earlier Judges, of whom in one sense he may be counted as the successor, remarkable for his strength and activity (2 Sam. i. 23), and he was, like the Homeric heroes, of gigantic stature, taller by head and shoulders than the rest of the people, and of that kind of beauty denoted by the Hebrew word "good" (1 Sam. ix. 2), and which caused him to be compared to the gazelle, "the gazelle of Israel." It was probably these external qualities which led to the epithet which is frequently attached to his name, "chosen"—"whom the Lord did choose"—"See ye (*i. e.* Look at) him whom the Lord hath chosen!" (1 Sam. ix. 17, x. 24; 2 Sam. xxi. 6).

The birthplace of Saul is not expressly mentioned; but as Zelah was the place of Kish's sepulchre (2 Sam. xxi.), it was probably his native village. There is no warrant for saying that it was Gibeah,^b though, from its subsequent connexion with him, it is called often "Gibeah of Saul" [GIBEAH]. His father, Kish, was a powerful and wealthy chief, though the family to which he belonged was of little importance (ix. 1, 21). A portion of his property consisted of a drove of asses. In search of these asses, gone astray on the mountains, he sent his son Saul, accompanied by a servant,^c who acted also as a guide and guardian of the young man (ix. 3-10). After a three days' journey (ix. 20), which it has hitherto proved impossible to track, through Ephraim and Benjamin [SHALISHA; SHALISH; ZUPH], they arrived at the foot of a hill surrounded by a town, when Saul proposed to return home, but was deterred by the advice of the servant, who suggested that before doing so they should consult "a man of God," "a seer," as to the fate of the asses—securing his oracle by a present (*hooshish*) of a quarter of a silver shekel. They were instructed by the maidens at the well outside the city to catch the seer as he came out of the city to ascend to a sacred eminence, where a sacrificial feast was waiting for his benediction (1 Sam. ix. 11-13). At the gate they met the seer for the first time—it was Samuel. A divine intimation had indicated to him the approach and the future destiny of the youthful Benjamite. Surprised at his language, but still obeying his call, they ascended to the high place, and in the inn or caravanserai at the top (*τὸ κατάλυμα*, LXX., ix. 27) found thirty or (LXX., and Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 4, §1) seventy guests assembled, amongst whom they took the chief place. In anticipation of some distinguished stranger, Samuel had bade the cook reserve a boiled shoulder,

from which Saul, as the chief guest, was bidden to tear off the first morsel (LXX., ix. 22-24). They then descended to the city, and a bed was prepared for Saul on the housetop. At daybreak Samuel roused him. They descended again to the skirts of the town, and there (the servant having left them) Samuel poured over Saul's head the consecrated oil, and with a kiss of salutation announced to him that he was to be the ruler and (LXX.) deliverer of the nation (ix. 25-x. 1). From that moment, as he turned on Samuel the huge shoulder which towered above all the rest (x. 9, LXX.), a new life dawned upon him. He returned by a route which, like that of his search, it is impossible to make out distinctly; and at every step homeward it was confirmed by the incidents which, according to Samuel's prediction, awaited him (x. 9, 10). At Rachel's sepulchre he met two men,^d who announced to him the recovery of the asses—his lower cares were to cease. At the oak^e of Tabor [PLAIN; TABOR, PLAIN OF] he met three men carrying gifts of kids and bread, and a skin of wine, as an offering to Bethel. Two of the loaves were offered to him as if to indicate his new dignity. At "the hill of God" (whatever may be meant thereby, possibly his own city, GIBEAH), he met a band of prophets descending with musical instruments, and he caught the inspiration from them, as a sign of his new life.^f

This is what may be called the private, inner view of his call. The outer call, which is related independently of the other, was as follows. An assembly was convened by Samuel at Mizpeh, and lots (so often practised at that time) were cast to find the tribe and the family which was to produce the king. Saul was named—and, by a Divine intimation, found hid in the circle of baggage which surrounded the encampment (x. 17-24). His stature at once conciliated the public feeling, and for the first time the shout was raised, afterwards so often repeated in modern times, "Long live the king" (x. 23-24), and he returned to his native Gibeah, accompanied by the fighting part^h of the people, of whom he was now to be the especial head. The murmurs of the worthless part of the community who refused to salute him with the accustomed presents were soon dispelledⁱ by an occasion arising to justify the selection of Saul. He was (having apparently returned to his private life) on his way home, driving his herd of oxen, when he heard one of those wild lamentations in the city of Gibeah, such as mark in Eastern towns the arrival of a great calamity. It was the tidings of the threat issued by Nahash king of Ammon against Jabesh Gilead (see AMMON). The inhabitants of Jabesh were connected with Benjamin, by the old adventure recorded in Judg. xxi. It was as if this one spark was needed to awaken the dormant spirit of the king. "The Spirit of the Lord came upon him," as on the ancient Judges. The shy, re-

* 2 Sam. i. 19, the word translated "beauty," but the same term (יָפֵי) in 2 Sam. ii. 18 and elsewhere is translated "roe." The LXX. have confounded it with a very similar word, and render it Στήλωσον, "set up a pillar."

^b When Abiel, or Jehiel (1 Chr. viii. 29, ix. 35), is called the father of "Gibeon," it probably means founder of Gibeon.

^c The word is שָׂרָפָה, "servant," not עֶבֶד, "slave."

^d At Zelah, or (LXX.) "leaping for joy."

^e Mistranslated in A. V. "plain."

^f In x. 5, *Gibeath ha-Elolim*; in x. 10, *has gibeath* only.

Joseph. (*Ant.* vi. 4, §2) gives the name Gabatha, by which he elsewhere designates Gibeah, Saul's city.

^g See for this Ewald (*iii.* 28-30).

^h הַחַיִל, "the strength," the host, x. 26; comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 2. The word "band" is usually employed in the A. V. for בָּנֵי יָדָי, a very different term, with a strict meaning of its own. [TROOP.]

ⁱ The words which close 1 Sam. x. 27 are in the Hebrew text "he was as though he were deaf" in Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 5, §1, and the LXX. (followed by Ewald), "and it came to pass after a month's time."

tiring nature which we have observed, vanished never to return. He had recourse to the expedient of the earlier days, and summoned the people by the bones of two of the oxen from the herd which he was driving: three (or six, LXX.) hundred thousand followed from Israel, and (perhaps not in due proportion) thirty (or seventy, LXX.) thousand from Judah: and Jabesh was rescued. The effect was instantaneous on the people—the punishment of the murmurers was demanded—but refused by Saul, and the monarchy was inaugurated anew at Gilgal (xi. 1-15). It should be, however, observed that, according to 1 Sam. xii. 12, the affair of Nahash preceded and occasioned the election of Saul. He becomes king of Israel. But he still so far resembles the earlier Judges, as to be virtually king only of his own tribe, Benjamin, or of the immediate neighbourhood. Almost all his exploits are confined to this circle of territory or associations.

Samuel, who had up to this time been still named as ruler with Saul (xi. 7, 12, 14), now withdrew, and Saul became the acknowledged chief.^k In the 2nd year^l of his reign, he began to organise an attempt to shake off the Philistine yoke which pressed on his country; not least on his own tribe, where a Philistine officer had long been stationed even in his own field (x. 5, xiii. 3). An army of 3000 was formed, which he soon afterwards gathered together round him; and Jonathan, apparently with his sanction, rose against the officer^m and slew him (xiii. 2-4). This roused the whole force of the Philistine nation against him. The spirit of Israel was completely broken. Many concealed themselves in the caverns; many crossed the Jordan; all were disarmed, except Saul and his son, with their immediate retainers. In this crisis, Saul, now on the very confines of his kingdom at Gilgal, found himself in the position long before described by Samuel; longing to exercise his royal right of sacrifice, yet deterred by his sense of obedience to the Prophet.ⁿ At last on the 7th day, he could wait no longer, but just after the sacrifice was completed Samuel arrived, and pronounced the first curse, on his impetuous zeal (xiii. 5-14). Meanwhile the adventurous exploit of Jonathan at Michmash brought on the crisis which ultimately drove the Philistines back to their own territory [JONATHAN]. It was signalised by two remarkable incidents in the life of Saul. One was the first appearance of his madness in the rash vow which all but cost the life of his son (1 Sam. xiv. 24, 44). The other was the erection of his first altar, built either to celebrate the victory, or to expiate the savage feast of the famished people (xiv. 35).

The expulsion of the Philistines (although not entirely completed, xiv. 52) at once placed Saul in a position higher than that of any previous ruler of Israel. Probably from this time was formed the organisation of royal state, which contained in germ some of the future institutions of the monarchy. The host of 3000 has been already mentioned (1 Sam. xiii., xxiv. 2, xxvi. 2; comp.

^k Also 2 Sam. x. 15, LXX., for "Lord."

^l The expression, xiii. 1, "Saul was one year old" (the son of a year) in his reigning, may be either, (1) he reigned one year; or (2) the word 30 may have dropped out thence to xiii. 5, and it may have been "he was 31 when he began to reign."

^m The word may be rendered either "garrison" or "officer;" its meaning is uncertain.

ⁿ The command of Samuel (x. 8) had apparently a

perpetual obligation (xiii. 13). It had been given two years before, and in the interval they had both been at Gilgal (xi. 15). N.B.—The words "had appointed" (xiii. 2) are inserted in A. V.
 1 Chr. xii. 29). Of this Aoner became captain (1 Sam. xiv. 50). A body guard was also formed of runners and messengers (see 1 Sam. xvi. 15, 17, xxii. 14, 17, xxvi. 22).^o Of this David was afterwards made the chief. These two were the principal officers of the court, and sate with Jonathan at the king's table (1 Sam. xx. 25). Another officer is incidentally mentioned—the keeper of the royal mules—the *comes stabuli*, the "constable" of the king—such as appears in the later monarchy (1 Chr. xxvii. 30). He is the first instance of a foreigner employed about the court—being an Edomite or (LXX.) Syrian, of the name of Doeg (1 Sam. xxi. 7, xxii. 9). According to Jewish tradition (Jer. Qu. Heb. ad loc.) he was the servant who accompanied Saul in his pursuit of his father's asses—who counselled him to send for David (1 Sam. xvi.), and whose son ultimately killed him (2 Sam. i. 10). The high-priest of the house of Ithamar (Ahimelech or Ahijah) was in attendance upon him with the ephod, when he desired it (xiv. 3), and felt himself bound to assist his secret commissioners (xxi. 1-9, xxii. 14).

The king himself was distinguished by a state, not before marked in the rulers. He had a tall spear, of the same kind as that described in the hand of Goliath. [ARMS.] This never left him—in repose (1 Sam. xviii. 10, xix. 9); at his meals (xx. 33); at rest (xxvi. 11), in battle (2 Sam. i. 6). In battle he wore a diadem on his head and a bracelet on his arm (2 Sam. i. 10). He sate at meals on a seat of his own facing his son (1 Sam. xx. 25; LXX.). He was received on his return from battle by the songs of the Israelite women (1 Sam. xviii. 6), amongst whom he was on such occasions specially known as bringing back from the enemy scarlet robes, and golden ornaments for their apparel (2 Sam. i. 24).

The warlike character of his reign naturally still predominated, and he was now able (not merely, like his temporary predecessors, to act on the defensive, but) to attack the neighbouring tribes of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Zobah, and finally Amalek (xiv. 47). The war with Amalek is twice related, first briefly (xiv. 48), and then at length (xv. 1-9). Its chief connexion with Saul's history lies in the disobedience to the prophetic command of Samuel; shown in the sparing of the king, and the retention of the spoil.

The extermination of Amalek and the subsequent execution of Agag belong to the general question of the moral code of the O. T. There is no reason to suppose that Saul spared the king for any other reason than that for which he retained the spoil—namely, to make a more splendid show at the sacrificial thanksgiving (xv. 21). Such was the Jewish tradition preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 7, §2), who expressly says that Agag was spared for his stature and beauty, and such is the general impression left by the description of the celebration of the victory. Saul rides to the southern Carmel in a chariot (LXX.), never mentioned elsewhere, and sets up a monument there (Heb. "a hand"

perpetual obligation (xiii. 13). It had been given two years before, and in the interval they had both been at Gilgal (xi. 15). N.B.—The words "had appointed" (xiii. 2) are inserted in A. V.

^o They were Benjamites (1 Sam. xxii. 7; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 14), young, tall, and handsome (*Ibid.* vi. 6, §6).

^p Jos. (*Ant.* vi. 10, §1) makes the women sing the praises of Saul, the maidens, of David.

2 Sam. xviii. 18), which in the Jewish traditions (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* ad loc.) was a triumphal arch of olives, myrtles, and palms. And in allusion to his crowning triumph, Samuel applies to God the phrase, "The Victory (Vulg. *triumphator*) of Israel will neither lie nor repent" (xv. 29; and comp. 1 Chr. xxix. 11). This second act of disobedience called down the second curse, and the first distinct intimation of the transference of the kingdom to a rival. The struggle between Samuel and Saul in their final parting is indicated by the rent of Samuel's robe of state, as he tears himself away from Saul's grasp (for the gesture, see Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 7, §5), and by the long mourning of Samuel for the separation—"Samuel mourned for Saul." "How long wilt thou mourn for Saul?" (xiv. 35, vi. 1).

The rest of Saul's life is one long tragedy. The frenzy, which had given indications of itself before, now at times took almost entire possession of him. It is described in mixed phrases as "an evil spirit of God" (much as we might speak of "religious madness"), which, when it came upon him, almost choked or strangled him from its violence (xvi. 14, LXX.; Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 8, §2).

In this crisis David was recommended to him by one of the young men of his guard (in the Jewish tradition groundlessly supposed to be DOEG. Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* ad loc.). From this time forward their lives are blended together. [DAVID.] In Saul's better moments he never lost the strong affection which he had contracted for David. "He loved him greatly" (xvi. 21). "Saul would let him go no more home to his father's house" (xviii. 2). "Wherefore cometh not the son of Jesse to meat?" (ix. 27). "Is this thy voice, my son David. . . . Return, my son David; blessed be thou, my son David" (xxiv. 16, xxvi. 17, 25). Occasionally too his prophetic gift returned, blended with his madness. He "prophesied" or "raved" in the midst of his house—"he prophesied and lay down naked all day and all night" at Ramah (xix. 24). But his acts of fierce, wild zeal increased. The massacre of the priests, with all their families (xxi.)—the massacre, perhaps at the same time, of the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 1), and the violent extirpation of the necromancers (1 Sam. xxviii. 1, 9), are all of the same kind. At last the monarchy itself, which he had raised up, broke down under the weakness of its head. The Philistines re-entered the country, and with their chariots and horses occupied the plain of Esdraelon. Their camp was pitched on the southern slope of the range now called Little Hermon, by Shunem. On the opposite side, on Mount Gilboa, was the Israelite army, clinging as usual to the heights which were their safety. It was near the spring of Gideon's encampment, hence called the spring of Harod or "trembling"—and now the name assumed an evil sense, and the heart of the king as he pitched his camp there "trembled exceedingly" (1 Sam. xxviii. 3). In the loss of all the usual means of consulting the Divine Will, he determined, with that wayward mixture of superstition and religion which marked his whole career, to apply^r to one of the necromancers who had escaped his persecution.

She was a woman living at Endor, on the other side of Little Hermon; she is called a woman of "Ob," *i. e.* of the skin or bladder, and this the LXX. has rendered by *ἐγγαστριμυθος* or ventriloquist, and the Vulgate by Pythoness. According to the Hebrew tradition mentioned by Jerome, she was the mother of Abner, and hence her escape from the general massacre of the necromancers (See Leo Allatius *De Engastrimutho*, cap. 6 in *Critici Sacri* ii.). Volumes have been written on the question, whether in the scene that follows we are to understand an imposture or a real apparition of Samuel. Eustathius and most of the Fathers take the former view (representing it, however, as a figment of the Devil); Origen, the latter view. Augustine wavers. (See Leo Allatius, *ut supra*, p. 1062-1114). The LXX. of 1 Sam. xxvii. 7 (by the above translation) and the A. V. (by its omission of "himself" in xxviii. 14, and insertion of "when" in xxviii. 12) lean to the former. Josephus (who pronounces a glowing eulogy on the woman, *Ant.* vi. 14, §2, 3), and the LXX. of 1 Chr. x. 13, to the latter. At this distance of time it is impossible to determine the relative amount of fraud or of reality, though the obvious meaning of the narrative itself tends to the hypothesis of some kind of apparition. She recognises the disguised king first by the appearance of Samuel, seemingly from his threatening aspect or tone as towards his enemy.^s Saul apparently saw nothing, but listened to her description of a god-like figure of an aged man, wrapped round with the royal or sacred robe.^t

On hearing the denunciation, which the apparition conveyed, Saul fell the whole length of his gigantic stature (see xxviii. 20, margin) on the ground, and remained motionless till the woman and his servants forced him to eat.

The next day the battle came on, and according to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 14, §7), perhaps according to the spirit of the sacred narrative, his courage and self-devotion returned. The Israelites were driven up the side of Gilboa. The three sons of Saul were slain (1 Sam. xxxi. 2). Saul himself with his armour-bearer was pursued by the archers and the charioteers of the enemy (1 Sam. xxxi. 3; 2 Sam. i. 6). He was wounded in the stomach (LXX., 1 Sam. xxxi. 3). His shield was cast away (2 Sam. i. 21). According to one account, he fell upon his own sword (1 Sam. xxxi. 4). According to another account (which may be reconciled with the former by supposing that it describes a later incident), an Amalekite^u came up at the moment of his death-wound (whether from himself or the enemy), and found him "fallen," but leaning on his spear (2 Sam. i. 6, 10). The dizziness of death was gathered over him (LXX., 2 Sam. i. 9), but he was still alive; and he was at his own request, put out of his pain by the Amalekite, who took off his royal diadem and bracelet, and carried the news to David (2 Sam. i. 7-10). Not till then, according to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 14, §7), did the faithful armour-bearer fall on his sword and die with him (1 Sam. xxxi. 5). The body on being found by the Philistines was stripped, and decapitated. The armour was sent into the Philis-

^r This is placed by Josephus as the climax of his guilt, brought on by the intoxication of power (*Ant.* vi. 12, §7).

^s His companions were Abner and Amasa (*Seder Olam*, Meyer, 492).

^t When we last heard of Samuel he was mourning for,

not hating, Saul. Had the massacre of the priests and the persecution of David (xix. 18) alienated him?

^u *ἰερατικὴν διπλοῖδα* (*Jos. Ant.* vi. 14, §2).

^v According to the Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* ad loc.), he was the son of Doeg.

fine cities, as if in retribution for the spoliation of Goliath, and finally deposited in the temple of Astarte, apparently in the neighbouring Canaanitish city of Bethshan; and over the walls of the same city was hung the naked headless corpse, with those of his three sons (ver. 9, 10). The head was deposited (probably at Ashdod) in the temple of Dagon (1 Chr. x. 10). The corpse was removed from Bethshan by the gratitude of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead, who came over the Jordan by night, carried off the bodies, burnt them, and buried them under the tamarisk at Jabesh (1 Sam. xxxi. 13). Thence, after the lapse of several years, his ashes and those of Jonathan were removed by David to their ancestral sepulchre at Zelah in Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 14). [MEPHIBOSHETH, p. 325a.] [A. P. S.]

3. The Jewish name of ST. PAUL. This was the most distinguished name in the genealogies of the tribe of Benjamin, to which the Apostle felt some pride in belonging (Rom. xi. 1; Phil. iii. 5). He himself leads us to associate his name with that of the Jewish king, by the marked way in which he mentions Saul in his address at the Pisidian Antioch: "God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin" (Acts xiii. 21). These indications are in harmony with the intensely Jewish spirit of which the life of the Apostle exhibits so many signs. [PAUL.] The early ecclesiastical writers did not fail to notice the prominence thus given by St. Paul to his tribe. Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 1) applies to him the dying words of Jacob on Benjamin. And Jerome, in his *Epitaphium Paulae* (§8), alluding to the preservation of the six hundred men of Benjamin after the affair of Gibeah (Judg. xx. 49), speaks of them as "trecentos (sic) viros propter Apostolum reservatos." Compare the article on BENJAMIN [vol. i. 190 b].

Nothing certain is known about the change of the Apostle's name from Saul to Paul (Acts xiii. 9), to which reference has been already made. [PAUL, p. 736 b.] Two chief conjectures* prevail concerning the change. (1.) That of Jerome and Augustine, that the name was derived from SERGIUS PAULUS, the first of his Gentile converts. (2.) That which appears due to Lightfoot, that Paulus was the Apostle's Roman name as a citizen of Tarsus, naturally adopted into common use by his biographer when his labours among the heathen commenced. The former of these is adopted by Olshausen and Meyer. It is also the view of Ewald (*Gesch.* vi. 419, 20), who seems to consider it self-evident, and looks on the absence of any explanation of the change as a proof that it was so understood by all the readers of the Acts. However this may be, after Saul has taken his place definitively as the Apostle to the Gentile world, his Jewish name is entirely dropped. Two divisions of his life are well marked by the use of the two names. [J. Ll. D.]

SAVARAN (*ὁ Σαυαράν*: *filius Saura, Avarum?*), an erroneous form of the title *Avaran*, borne by Eleazar the son of Mattathias, which is found in the common texts in 1 Macc. vi. 43, [ELEAZER 8, vol. i. p. 518.] [B. F. W.]

SAVI'AS (om. in Vat.; Alex. *Σαούια*: om. in Vulg.). UZZI the ancestor of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 2; comp. Ezr. vii. 4).

SAVIOUR. The following article, together with the one on the SON OF GOD, forms the complement to the life of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. [See vol. i. p. 1039.] An explanation is first given of the word "Saviour," and then of His *work* of salvation, as unfolded and taught in the New Testament. [See also MESSIAH.]

I. THE WORD SAVIOUR.—The term "Saviour," as applied to our Lord Jesus Christ, represents the Greek *sōter* (*σωτήρ*), which in turn represents certain derivatives from the Hebrew root *yāsh'a* (*יָשָׁא*), particularly the participle of the Hiphil form *mōshū'a* (*יְשׁוּעָא*), which is usually rendered "Saviour" in the A. V. (e. g. Is. xlvi. 15, xlii. 26). In considering the true import of "Saviour," it is essential for us to examine the original terms answering to it, including in our view the use of *sōter* in the LXX., whence it was more immediately derived by the writers of the New Testament, and further noticing the cognate terms "to save" and "salvation," which express respectively the action and the results of the Saviour's office. 1. The first point to be observed is that the term *sōter* is of more frequent occurrence in the LXX. than the term "Saviour" in the A. V. of the Old Testament. It represents not only the word *mōshū'a* above-mentioned, but also very frequently the nouns *yesh'a* (*יְשׁוּעָא*) and *yēshū'āh* (*יְשׁוּעָה*), which, though properly expressive of the abstract notion "salvation," are yet sometimes used in a concrete sense for "Saviour." We may cite as an example Is. lxii. 11, "Behold, thy salvation cometh, his reward is with him," where evidently "salvation" = *Saviour*. So again in passages where these terms are connected immediately with the person of the Godhead, as in Ps. lxviii. 20, "the God our Saviour" (A. V. "God of our salvation"). Not only in such cases as these, but in many others where the sense does not require it, the LXX. has *sōter* where the A. V. has "salvation;" and thus the word "Saviour" was more familiar to the ear of the reader of the Old Testament in our Lord's age than it is to us. 2. The same observation holds good with regard to the verb *σώζειν*, and the substantive *σωτηρία*, as used in the LXX. An examination of the passages in which they occur shows that they stand as equivalents for words conveying the notions of well-being, succour, peace, and the like. We have further to notice *σωτηρία* in the sense of recovery of the *bodily* health (2 Macc. iii. 32), together with the etymological connexion supposed to exist between the terms *σωτήρ* and *σῶμα*, to which St. Paul evidently alludes in Eph. v. 23; Phil. iii. 20, 21. 3. If we turn to the Hebrew terms, we cannot fail to be struck with their comprehensiveness. Our verb "to save" implies, in its ordinary sense, the rescue of a person from actual or impending danger. This is undoubtedly included in the Hebrew root *yāsh'a*, and may be said to be its ordinary sense, as testified by the frequent accompaniment of the preposition *מִן* (*מִן*); compare the *שָׁשָׁא מִן* which the angel gives in explanation of the name Jesus, Matt. i. 21. But *yāsh'a*, beyond this, expresses *assistance* and *protection* of every kind—assistance in aggressive measures, protection against attack; and, in a secondary sense, the results of such assistance—

* There are many other theories, one of which may be mentioned; that of Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 37), who treats Paulus as a contraction of Pusillus, and supposes it

to have been a nickname given to the Apostle on account of his insignificant stature!

safety, prosperity, and happiness. We may cite as an instance of the *aggressive* sense Gen. xx. 4, "to fight for you against your enemies, to save you;" of *protection* against attack Is. xxvi. 1, "salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks;" of *victory* 2 Sam. viii. 6, "The Lord preserved David," i. e. gave him victory; of *prosperity and happiness*, Is. lx. 18, "Thou shalt call thy walls Salvation;" Is. lxi. 10, "He hath clothed us with the garments of salvation." No better instance of this last sense can be adduced than the exclamation "Hosanna," meaning, "Save, I beseech thee," which was uttered as a prayer for God's blessing on any joyous occasion (Ps. cxviii. 25), as at our Lord's entry into Jerusalem, when the etymological connexion of the terms Hosanna and *salvator* could not have been lost on the ear of the Hebrew (Matt. xxi. 9, 15). It thus appears that the Hebrew and Greek terms had their positive as well as their negative side, in other words that they expressed the presence of blessing as well as the absence of danger, actual security as well as the removal of insecurity.* 4. The historical personages to whom the terms are applied further illustrate this view. The judges are styled "saviours," as having rescued their country from a state of bondage (Judg. iii. 9, 15, A. V. "deliverer;" Neh. ix. 27); a "saviour" was subsequently raised up in the person of Jeroboam II. to deliver Israel from the Syrians (2 K. xiii. 5); and in the same sense Josephus styles the deliverance from Egypt a "salvation" (Ant. iii. 1, §1). Joshua on the other hand verified the promise contained in his name by his conquests over the Canaanites: the Lord was his helper in an aggressive sense. Similarly the office of the "saviours" promised in Obad. 21 was to execute vengeance on Edom. The names Isaiah, Jehu, Ishi, Hosea, Hoshea, and lastly, Jesus, are all expressive of the general idea of *assistance* from the Lord. The Greek *sôter* was in a similar manner applied in the double sense of a deliverer from foreign enemies as in the case of Ptolemy Soter, and a general protector, as in the numerous instances where it was appended as the title of heathen deities. 5. There are numerous indications in the O. T. that the idea of a spiritual salvation, to be effected by God alone, was by no means foreign to the mind of the pious Hebrew. In the Psalms there are numerous petitions to God to save from the effects of sin (e. g. xxxix. 9, lxxix. 9). Isaiah in particular appropriates the term "saviour" to Jehovah (xliiii. 11), and connects it with the notions of justice and righteousness (Is. 21, lx. 16, 17): he adduces it as the special manner in which Jehovah reveals Himself to man (Is. 45. 15): he hints at the means to be adopted for effecting salvation in passages where he connects the term "saviour" with "redeemer" (*goël*), as in Is. 44. 26, lx. 16, and again with "ransom," as in Is. xliiii. 3. Similar notices are scattered over the prophetic books (e. g. Zech. ix. 9; Hos. i. 7), and though in many instances these notices admitted of reference to proximate events of a temporal nature, they evidently looked to higher things, and thus fostered in the mind of the Hebrew the idea of a "saviour" who should far surpass in his achieve-

ments the "saviours" that had as yet appeared. The mere sound of the word would conjure up before his imagination visions of deliverance, security, peace, and prosperity.

II. THE WORK OF THE SAVIOUR. — 1. The three first Evangelists, as we know, agree in showing that Jesus unfolded His message to the disciples by degrees. He wrought the miracles that were to be the credentials of the Messiah; He laid down the great principles of the Gospel morality, until He had established in the minds of the Twelve the conviction that He was the Christ of God. Then as the clouds of doom grew darker, and the malice of the Jews became more intense, He turned a new page in His teaching. Drawing from His disciples the confession of their faith in Him as Christ, He then passed abruptly, so to speak, to the truth that remained to be learned in the last few months of His ministry, that His work included suffering as well as teaching (Matt. xvi. 20, 21). He was instant in pressing this unpalatable doctrine home to His disciples, from this time to the end. Four occasions when He prophesied His bitter death are on record, and they are probably only examples out of many more (Matt. xvi. 21). We grant that in none of these places does the word "sacrifice" occur; and that the mode of speaking is somewhat obscure, as addressed to minds unprepared, even then, to bear the full weight of a doctrine so repugnant to their hopes. But that He must ($\delta\epsilon\iota$) go and meet death; that the powers of sin and of this world are let loose against Him for a time, so that He shall be betrayed to the Jews, rejected, delivered by them to the Gentiles, and by them be mocked and scourged, crucified, and slain; and that all this shall be done to achieve a foreseen work, and accomplish all things written of Him by the prophets—these we do certainly find. They invest the death of Jesus with a peculiar significance; they set the mind inquiring what the meaning can be of this hard necessity that is laid on Him. For the answer we look to other places; but at least there is here no contradiction to the doctrine of sacrifice, though the Lord does not yet say, "I bear the wrath of God against your sins in your stead; I become a curse for you." Of the two sides of this mysterious doctrine,—that Jesus dies for us willingly, and that he dies to bear a doom laid on Him as of necessity, because some one must bear it,—it is the latter side that is made prominent. In all the passages it pleases Jesus to speak, not of His desire to die, but of the burden laid on Him, and the power given to others against Him.

2. Had the doctrine been explained no further, there would have been much to wait for. But the series of announcements in these passages leads up to one more definite and complete. It cannot be denied that the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper speak most distinctly of a sacrifice. "Drink ye all of this, for this is My blood of the new covenant," or, to follow St. Luke, "the new covenant in My blood." We are carried back by these words to the first covenant, to the altar with twelve pillars, and the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings of oxen, and the blood of the victims

victor appears appended as a title of Jupiter in an inscription of the age of Trajan (Gruter, p. 19, No. 5). This was adopted by Christian writers as the most adequate equivalent for $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$, though objections were evidently raised against it (Augustin, *Serm.* 299, §6). Another term, *salutificator*, was occasionally used by Tertullian (*De Resurr. carn.* 47 · *De carn. Chr.* 14).

* The Latin language possessed in the classical period no proper equivalent for the Greek $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$. This appears from the introduction of the Greek word itself in a Latinised form, and from Cicero's remark (*in Terr. Act.* 2, il. 18) that there was no one word which expressed the sense *salutem dedit*. Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 71) uses *salvator*, and Pliny (xxii. 5) *servator*. The term *sal-*

sprinkled on the altar and on the people, and the words of Moses as he sprinkled it: "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words" (Ex. xxiv.). No interpreter has ever failed to draw from these passages the true meaning: "When My sacrifice is accomplished, My blood shall be the sanction of the new covenant." The word "sacrifice" is wanting; but sacrifice and nothing else is described. And the words are no mere figure used for illustration, and laid aside when they have served that turn, "Do this in remembrance of Me." They are the words in which the Church is to interpret the act of Jesus to the end of time. They are reproduced exactly by St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 25). Then, as now, Christians met together, and by a solemn act declared that they counted the blood of Jesus as a sacrifice wherein a new covenant was sealed; and of the blood of that sacrifice they partook by faith, professing themselves thereby willing to enter the covenant and be sprinkled with the blood.

3. So far we have examined the three "synoptic" Gospels. They follow a historical order. In the early chapters of all three the doctrine of our Lord's sacrifice is not found, because He will first answer the question about Himself, "Who is this?" before he shows them "What is His work?" But at length the announcement is made, enforced, repeated; until, when the feet of the betrayer are ready for their wicked errand, a command is given which secures that the death of Jesus shall be described for ever as a sacrifice and nothing else, sealing a new covenant, and carrying good to many. Lest the doctrine of Atonement should seem to be an afterthought, as indeed De Wette has tried to represent it, St. John preserves the conversation with Nicodemus, which took place early in the ministry; and there, under the figure of the brazen serpent lifted up, the atoning virtue of the Lord's death is fully set forth. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life" (John iii. 14, 15). As in this intercessory act, the image of the deadly, hateful, and accursed (Gen. iii. 14, 15) reptile became by God's decree the means of health to all who looked on it earnestly, so does Jesus in the form of sinful man, of a deceiver of the people (Matt. xxvii. 63), of Antichrist (Matt. xii. 24; John xviii. 33), of one accursed (Gal. iii. 13), become the means of our salvation; so that whoever fastens the earnest gaze of faith on him shall not perish, but have eternal life. There is even a significance in the word "lifted up;" the Lord used probably the word *קָרַע*, which in older Hebrew meant to lift up in the widest sense, but began in the Aramaic to have the restricted meaning of lifting up for punishment.^b With Christ the lifting up was a seeming disgrace, a true triumph and elevation. But the context in which these verses occur is as important as the verses themselves. Nicodemus comes as an inquirer; he is told that a man must be born again, and then he is directed to the death of Jesus as the means of that regeneration. The earnest gaze of the wounded soul is to be the condition of its cure; and that gaze is to be turned, not to Jesus on the mountain, or in the Temple,

^b So Tholuck, and Knapp (*Opuscula*, p. 217). The treatise of Knapp on this discourse is valuable throughout.

^c Some, omitting *ἢν ἐγὼ δώσω*, would read, "And my flesh is the bread that I will give for the life of the world."

but on the Cross. This, then, is no passing allusion, but it is the substance of the Christian teaching addressed to an earnest seeker after truth.

Another passage claims a reverent attention—"If any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever and the bread that I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world" (John vi. 51). He is the bread; and He will give the bread. His presence on earth were the expected food, if it was given already; but would He speak of "drinking His blood" (ver. 53), which can only refer to the dead? It is on the Cross that He will afford this food to His disciples. We grant that this whole passage has occasioned as much disputing among Christian commentators as it did among the Jews who heard it; and for the same reason,—for the harshness of the saying. But there stands the saying, and no candid person can refuse to see a reference in it to the death of Him that speaks.

In that discourse, which has well been called the Prayer of Consecration offered by our High Priest, there is another passage which cannot be alleged as evidence to one who thinks that any word applied by Jesus to His disciples and Himself must bear in both cases precisely the same sense, but which is really pertinent to this inquiry:—"Sanctify them through Thy truth: Thy word is truth. As Thou hast sent Me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth" (John xvii. 17-19). The word *ἀγιάζειν*, "sanctify," "consecrate," is used in the Septuagint for the offering of sacrifice (Levit. xii. 2), and for the dedication of a man to the Divine service (Num. iii. 15). Here the present tense, "I consecrate," used in a discourse in which our Lord says He is "no more in the world," is conclusive against the interpretation "I dedicate My life to thee;" for life is over. No self-dedication, except that by death, can now be spoken of as present. "I dedicate Myself to Thee, in My death," that these may be a people consecrated to Thee; such is the great thought in this sublime passage, which suits well with His other declaration, that the blood of His sacrifice sprinkles them for a new covenant with God. To the great majority of expositors from Chrysostom and Cyril, the doctrine of reconciliation through the death of Jesus is asserted in these verses.

The Redeemer has already described Himself as the Good Shepherd who lays down His life for the sheep (John x. 11, 17, 18), taking care to distinguish His death from that of one who dies against his will in striving to compass some other end. "Therefore doth my Father love Me, because I lay down My life that I might take it again. No man taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again."

Other passages that relate to His death will come to the memory of any Bible reader. The corn of wheat that dies in the ground to bear much fruit (John x. 24), is explained by His own words elsewhere, where He says that He came "to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many" (Matt. xx. 28).

4. Thus, then, speaks Jesus of Himself. What

So Tertullian seems to have read "Panis quem ego dedit pro salute mundi caro mea est." The sense is the same with the omission; but the received reading may be successfully defended.

His witnesses of Him? "Behold the Lamb of God," says the Baptist, "which taketh away the sin of the world" (John i. 29). Commentators differ about the allusion implied in that name. But take any one of their opinions, and a sacrifice is implied. Is it the Paschal lamb that is referred to?—Is it the lamb of the daily sacrifice? Either way the death of the victim is brought before us. Is the allusion in all probability is to the well-known prophecy of Isaiah (liii.), to the Lamb brought to the slaughter, who bore our griefs and carried our sorrows.⁴

5. The Apostles after the Resurrection preach no moral system, but a belief in and love of Christ, the crucified and risen Lord, through whom, if they repent, men shall obtain salvation. This was Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii.); and he appealed boldly to the Prophets on the ground of an expectation of a suffering Messiah (Acts iii. 18). Philip traced out for the Eunuch, in that picture of suffering holiness in the well-known chapter of Isaiah, the lineaments of Jesus of Nazareth (Acts viii.; Isai. liii.). The first sermon to a Gentile household proclaimed Christ slain and risen, and added "that through His name whosoever believeth in Him shall receive remission of sins" (Acts x.). Paul at Antioch preaches "a Saviour Jesus" (Acts xiii. 23); "through this Man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins, and by Him all that believe are justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses" (Acts xiii. 38, 39). At Thessalonica all that we learn of this Apostle's preaching is "that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ" (Acts xvii. 3). Before Agrippa he declared that he had preached always "that Christ should suffer, and that He should be the first that should rise from the dead" (Acts xxvi. 23); and it was this declaration that convinces his royal hearer that he was a crazed fanatic. The account of the first founding of the Church in the Acts of the Apostles is concise and fragmentary; and sometimes we have hardly any means of judging what place the sufferings of Jesus hold in the teaching of the Apostles; but when we read that they "preached Jesus," or the like, it is only fair to infer from other passages that the Cross of Christ was never concealed, whether Jews, or Greeks, or barbarians were the listeners. And this very pertinacity shows how much weight they attached to the facts of the life of our Lord. They did not merely repeat in each new place the pure morality of Jesus as He uttered it in the Sermon on the Mount: of such lessons we have no record. They took in their hands, as the strongest weapon, the fact that a certain Jew crucified afar off in Jerusalem was the Son of God, who had died to save men from their sins; and they offered to all alike an interest, through faith, in the resurrection from the dead of this outcast of His own people. No wonder that Jews and Greeks, judging in their worldly way, thought this strain of preaching came of folly or madness, and turned from what they thought unmeaning jargon.

6 We are able to complete from the Epistles our account of the teaching of the Apostles on the doc-

trine of Atonement. "The Man Christ Jesus" is the Mediator between God and man, for in Him the human nature, in its sinless purity, is lifted up to the Divine, so that He, exempt from guilt, can plead for the guilty (1 Tim. ii. 5; 1 John ii. 1, 2; Heb. vii. 25). Thus He is the second Adam that shall redeem the sin of the first; the interests of men are bound up in Him, since He has power to take them all into Himself (Eph. v. 29, 30; Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 22; Rom. v. 12, 17). This salvation was provided by the Father, to "reconcile us to Himself" (2 Cor. v. 18), to whom the name of "Saviour" thus belongs (Luke i. 47); and our redemption is a signal proof of the love of God to us (1 John iv. 10). Not less is it a proof of the love of Jesus, since He freely lays down His life for us—offers it as a precious gift, capable of purchasing all the lost (1 Tim. ii. 6; Tit. ii. 14; Eph. i. 7. Comp. Matt. xx. 28). But there is another side of the truth more painful to our natural reason. How came this exhibition of Divine love to be needed? Because wrath had already gone out against man. The clouds of God's anger gathered thick over the whole human race; they discharged themselves on Jesus only. God has made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin (2 Cor. v. 21); He is made "a curse" (a thing accursed) for us, that the curse that hangs over us may be removed (Gal. iii. 13): He bore our sins in His own body on the tree (1 Pet. ii. 24). There are those who would see on the page of the Bible only the sunshine of the Divine love; but the muttering thunders of Divine wrath against sin are heard there also; and He who alone was no child of wrath, meets the shock of the thunderstorm, becomes a curse for us, and a vessel of wrath; and the rays of love break out of that thunder-gloom, and shine on the bowed head of Him who hangs on the Cross, dead for our sins.

We have spoken, and advisedly, as if the New Testament were, as to this doctrine, one book in harmony with itself. That there are in the New Testament different types of the one true doctrine, may be admitted without peril to the doctrine. The principal types are four in number.

7. In the Epistle of James there is a remarkable absence of all explanations of the doctrine of the Atonement; but this admission does not amount to so much as may at first appear. True, the keynote of the Epistle is that the Gospel is the Law made perfect, and that it is a practical moral system, in which man finds himself free to keep the Divine law. But with him Christ is no mere Lawgiver appointed to impart the Jewish system. He knows that Elias is a man like himself, but of the Person of Christ he speaks in a different spirit. He calls himself "a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ," who is "the Lord of Glory." He speaks of the Word of Truth, of which Jesus has been the utterer. He knows that faith in the Lord of Glory is inconsistent with time-serving and "respect of persons" (James i. 1, ii. 1, i. 18). "There is one Lawgiver," he says, "who is able to save and to destroy" (James iv. 12); and this refers no doubt to Jesus, whose second coming he holds up as a motive to obedience (James v. 7-9). These and

and the bearing it (*φέρω*, Sept.) of Isaiah, have one meaning, and answer to the Hebrew word *נָשָׂא*. To take the sins on Himself is to remove them from the sinners; and how can this be through His death except in the way of expiation by that death itself?

⁴ See this passage discussed fully in the notes of Meyer, Lange (*Bibelwerke*), and Alford. The reference to the Paschal lamb finds favour with Grotius and others: the reference to Isaiah is approved by Chrysostom and many others. The taking away of sin (*αἵρεω*) of the Baptist,

like expressions remove this Epistle far out of the sphere of Ebionitish teaching. The inspired writer sees the Saviour, in the Father's glory, preparing to return to judge the quick and dead. He puts forth Christ as Prophet and King, for he makes Him Teacher and Judge of the world; but the office of the Priest he does not dwell on. Far be it from us to say that he knows it not. Something must have taken place before he could treat his hearers with confidence, as free creatures, able to resist temptations, and even to meet temptations with joy. He treats "your faith" as something founded already, not to be prepared by this Epistle (James i. 2, 3, 21). His purpose is a purely practical one. There is no intention to unfold a Christology, such as that which makes the Epistle to the Romans so valuable. Assuming that Jesus has manifested Himself, and begotten anew the human race, he seeks to make them pray with undivided hearts, and be considerate to the poor, and strive with lusts, for which they and not God are responsible; and bridle their tongues, and show their fruits by their works.^e

8. In the teaching of St. Peter the doctrine of the Person of our Lord is connected strictly with that of His work as Saviour and Messiah. The frequent mention of His sufferings shows the prominent place he would give them; and he puts forward as the ground of his own right to teach, that he was "a witness of the sufferings of Christ" (1 Pet. v. 1). The atoning virtue of those sufferings he dwells on with peculiar emphasis; and not less so on the purifying influence of the Atonement on the hearts of believers. He repeats again and again that Christ died for us (1 Pet. ii. 21, iii. 18, iv. 1); that He bare our sins in His own body on the tree^f (1 Pet. ii. 24). He bare them; and what does this phrase suggest, but the goat that "shall bear" the iniquities of the people off into the land that was not inhabited? (Lev. xvi. 22) or else the *feeling the consequences* of sin, as the word is used elsewhere (Lev. xx. 17, 19)? We have to choose between the cognate ideas of sacrifice and substitution. Closely allied with these statements are those which connect moral reformation with the death of Jesus. He bare our sins that we might live unto righteousness. His death is our life. We are not to be content with a self-satisfied contemplation of our redeemed state, but to live a life worthy of it (1 Pet. ii. 21-25, iii. 15-18). In these passages the whole Gospel is contained; we are justified by the death of Jesus, who bore our sins that we might be sanctified and renewed to a life of godliness. And from this Apostle we hear again the name of "the Lamb," as well as from John the Baptist; and the passage of Isaiah comes back upon us with unmistakable clearness. We are redeemed "with the precious blood of Christ," as of a lamb without blemish and without spot" (1 Pet. i. 18, 19, with Is. liii. 7). Every word carries us back to the Old Testament and its sacrificial system: the spotless victim, the release from sin by its blood (elsewhere, i. 2, by the *sprinkling* of its blood), are here; not the type and shadow, but the truth of them; not a ceremonial purgation, but an effectual reconciliation of man and God.

^e See Neander, *Pflanzung*, b. vi. c. 3; Schmid, *Theologie der N. T.*, part ii.; and Dorner, *Christologie*, 1. 95.

^f If there were any doubt that "for us" (*ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*) means "in our stead" (see ver 21), this 24th verse, which explains the former, would set it at rest.

9. In the inspired writings of John we are struck at once with the emphatic statements as to the Divine and human natures of Christ. A right belief in the incarnation is the test of a Christian man (1 John iv. 2; John i. 14; 2 John 7); we must believe that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, and that He is manifested to destroy the works of the devil (1 John iii. 8). And, on the other hand, He who has come in the flesh is the One who always has been in the bosom of the Father, seen the things that human eyes have never seen, and has come to declare them unto us (1 John i. 2, iv. 14; John i. 14-18). This Person, at once Divine and human, is "the propitiation for our sins," our "Advocate with the Father," sent into the world "that we might live through Him;" and the means was His laying down His life for us, which should make us ready to lay down our lives for the brethren (1 John ii. 1, 2, iv. 9, 10, v. 11-13, iii. 16, v. 6, i. 7; John xi. 51). And the moral effect of His redemption is, that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John i. 7). The intimate connexion between His work and our holiness is the main subject of his First Epistle: "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin" (1 John iii. 9). As with St. Peter, so with St. John; every point of the doctrine of the Atonement comes out with abundant clearness. The substitution of another who can bear our sins, for us who cannot; the sufferings and death as the means of our redemption, our justification thereby, and our progress in holiness as the result of our justification.

10. To follow out as fully, in the more voluminous writings of St. Paul, the passages that speak of our salvation, would far transgress the limits of our paper. Man, according to this Apostle, is a transgressor of the Law. His conscience tells him that he cannot act up to that Law which, the same conscience admits, is Divine, and binding upon him. Through the old dispensations man remained in this condition. Even the Law of Moses could not justify him: it only by its strict behests held up a mirror to conscience that its frailness might be seen. Christ came, sent by the mercy of our Father who had never forgotten us; given to, not deserved by us. He came to reconcile men and God by dying on the Cross for them, and bearing their punishment in their stead^g (2 Cor. v. 14-21; Rom. v. 6-8). He is "a propitiation through faith in His blood" (Rom. iii. 25, 26. Compare Lev. xvi. 15. *Ἰλαστήριον* means "victim for expiation"): words which most people will find unintelligible, except in reference to the Old Testament and its sacrifices. He is the ransom, or price paid, for the redemption of man from all iniquity (Titus ii. 14). The wrath of God was against man, but it did not fall on man. God made His Son "to be sin for us" though He knew no sin, and Jesus suffered though men had sinned. By this act God and man were reconciled (Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 18-20; Eph. ii. 16; Col. i. 21). On the side of man, trust and love and hope take the place of fear and of an evil conscience; on the side of God, that terrible wrath of His, which is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, is turned away (Rom. i.

^g These two passages are decisive as to the fact of substitution: they might be fortified with many others.

^h Still stronger in 1 Tim. ii. 6, "ransom instead of" (*ἀντίλυτρον*). Also Eph. i. 7 (*ἀπολύτρωσις*); 1 Cor. vi. 20 vii. 23.

18 v. 9; 1 Thess. i. 10). The question whether we are reconciled to God only, or God is also reconciled to us, might be discussed on deep metaphysical grounds; but we purposely leave that on one side, content to show that at all events the intention of God to punish man is averted by this "propitiation" and "reconcilement."

11. Different views are held about the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, by modern critics; but its numerous points of contact with the other Epistles of St. Paul must be recognized. In both the incompleteness of Judaism is dwelt on; redemption from sin and guilt is what religion has to do for men, and this the Law failed to secure. In both, reconciliation and forgiveness and a new moral power in the believers are the fruits of the work of Jesus. In the Epistle to the Romans, Paul shows that the Law failed to justify, and that faith in the blood of Jesus must be the ground of justification. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the same result follows from an argument rather different: all that the Jewish system aimed to do is accomplished in Christ in a far more perfect manner. The Gospel has a better Priest, more effectual sacrifice, a more profound peace. In the one Epistle the Law seems set aside wholly for the system of faith; in the other the Law is exalted and glorified in its Gospel shape; but the aim is precisely the same—to show the weakness of the Law and the effectual fruit of the Gospel.

12. We are now in a position to see how far the teaching of the New Testament on the effects of the death of Jesus is continuous and consistent. Are the declarations of our Lord about Himself the same as those of James and Peter, John and Paul? and are those of the Apostles consistent with each other? The several points of this mysterious transaction may be thus roughly described:—

1. God sent His Son into the world to redeem lost and ruined man from sin and death, and the Son willingly took upon Him the form of a servant for this purpose; and thus the Father and the Son manifested their love for us.

2. God the Father laid upon His Son the weight of the sins of the whole world, so that He bore in His own body the wrath which men must else have borne, because there was no other way of escape for them; and thus the Atonement was a manifestation of Divine justice.

3. The effect of the Atonement thus wrought is, that man is placed in a new position, freed from the dominion of sin, and able to follow holiness; and thus the doctrine of the Atonement ought to work in all the hearers a sense of love, of obedience, and of self-sacrifice.

In shorter words, the sacrifice of the death of Christ is a proof of Divine love, and of Divine justice, and is for us a document of obedience.

Of the four great writers of the New Testament, Peter, Paul, and John set forth every one of these points. Peter, the "witness of the sufferings of Christ," tells us that we are redeemed with the blood of Jesus, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot; says that Christ bore our sins in His own body on the tree. If we "have tasted that the Lord is gracious" (1 Pet. ii. 3), we must not be content with a contemplation of our redeemed state, but must live a life worthy of it. No one can well doubt, who reads the two Epistles, that the love of God and Christ, and the justice of God, and the duties thereby laid on us, all have their value in them; but the love is less dwelt on than

the justice, whilst the most prominent idea of all is the moral and practical working of the Cross of Christ upon the lives of men.

With St. John, again, all three points find place. That Jesus willingly laid down His life for us, and is an advocate with the Father; that He is also the propitiation, the suffering sacrifice, for our sins; and that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin, for that whoever is born of God doth not commit sin; all are put forward. The death of Christ is both justice and love, both a propitiation and an act of loving self-surrender; but the moral effect upon us is more prominent even than these.

In the Epistles of Paul the three elements are all present. In such expressions as a ransom, a propitiation, who was "made sin for us," the wrath of God against sin, and the mode in which it was turned away, are presented to us. Yet not wrath alone. "The love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them, and rose again" (2 Cor. v. 14, 15). Love in Him begets love in us, and in our reconciled state the holiness which we could not practise before becomes easy.

The reasons for not finding from St. James similar evidence, we have spoken of already.

Now in which of these points is there the semblance of contradiction between the Apostles and their Master? In none of them. In the Gospels, as in the Epistles, Jesus is held up as the sacrifice and victim, draining a cup from which His human nature shrank, feeling in Himself a sense of desolation such as we fail utterly to comprehend on a theory of human motives. Yet no one takes from Him His precious redeeming life; He lays it down of Himself, out of His great love for men. But men are to deny themselves, and take up their cross and tread in His steps. They are His friends only if they keep His commands and follow His footsteps.

We must consider it proved that these three points or moments are the doctrine of the whole New Testament. What is there about this teaching that has provoked in times past and present so much disputation? Not the hardness of the doctrine,—for none of the theories put in its place are any easier,—but its want of logical completeness. Sketched out for us in a few broad lines, it tempts the fancy to fill it in and lend it colour; and we do not always remember that the hands that attempt this are trying to make a mystery into a theory, an infinite truth into a finite one, and to reduce the great things of God into the narrow limits of our little field of view. To whom was the ransom paid? What was Satan's share of the transaction? How can one suffer for another? How could the Redeemer be miserable when He was conscious that His work was one which could bring happiness to the whole human race? Yet this condition of indefiniteness is one which is imposed on us in the reception of every mystery: prayer, the incarnation, the immortality of the soul, are all subjects that pass far beyond our range of thought. And here we see the wisdom of God in connecting so closely our redemption with our reformation. If the object were to give us a complete theory of salvation, no doubt there would be in the Bible much to seek. The theory is gathered by fragments out of many an exhortation and warn-

ing; nowhere does it stand out entire, and without logical flaw. But if we assume that the New Testament is written for the guidance of sinful hearts, we find a wonderful aptness for that particular end. Jesus is proclaimed as the solace of our fears, as the founder of our moral life, as the restorer of our lost relation with our Father. If He had a cross, there is a cross for us; if He pleased not Himself, let us deny ourselves; if He suffered for sin, let us hate sin. And the question ought not to be, What do all these mysteries mean? but, Are these thoughts really such as will serve to guide our life and to assuage our terrors in the hour of death? The answer is twofold—one from history and one from experience. The preaching of the Cross of the Lord even in this simple fashion converted the world. The same doctrine is now the ground of any definite hope that we find in ourselves, of forgiveness of sins and of everlasting life.

It would be out of place in a Dictionary of the Bible to examine the History of the Doctrine or to answer the modern objections urged against it. For these subjects the reader is referred to the author's Essay on the "Death of Christ," in *Aids to Faith*, which also contains the substance of the present article. [W. T.]

SAW.* Egyptian saws, so far as has yet been discovered, were single-handed, though St. Jerome has been thought to allude to circular saws. As is the case in modern Oriental saws, the teeth usually incline towards the handle, instead of away from it like ours. They have, in most cases, bronze blades, apparently attached to the handles by leather thongs, but some of those in the British Museum have their blades let into them like our knives. A double-handed iron saw has been found at Nimrud; and double saws strained with a cord, such as modern carpenters use, were in use among the Romans. In sawing wood the Egyptians placed the wood perpendicularly in a sort of frame, and cut it downwards. No evidence exists of the use of the saw applied to stone in Egypt, nor without the double-handed saw does it seem likely that this should be the case; but we read of sawn stones used in the Temple. (1 K. vii. 9; *Ges. Thes.* 305; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 114, 119; *Brit. Mus. Egypt. Room*, No. 6046; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 195; Jerome, *Comm. in Is.* xxviii. 27.) The saws "under" or "in" which David is said to have placed his captives were of iron. The expression in 2 Sam. xii. 3, does not necessarily imply torture, but the word "cut" in 1 Chr. xx. 3, can hardly be understood otherwise. (*Ges. Thes.* p. 1326; Thenius on 2 Sam. xii. and 1 Chr. xx.) A case of sawing asunder, by placing the criminal between boards, and then beginning at the head, is mentioned by Shaw, *Trav.* p. 254. (*See *Dict. of Antiq.* "Serra.") [HANDICRAFT; PUNISHMENT]. [H. W. P.]

SCAPE-GOAT. [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

SCARLET. [COLOURS.]

SCEPTRE (שֵׁבֶט). The Hebrew term *shebet*, like its Greek equivalent *σκῆπτρον*, and our derivative *sceptre*, originally meant a rod or staff. It was thence specifically applied to the shepherd's crook (Lev. xxvii. 32; Mic. vii. 14), and to the

* ל. סֵבֶטָה; πρίων; from גָּרַר: only used in part. *Psal.* 1 K. vii. 9.

wand or sceptre of a ruler. It has been inferred that the latter of these secondary senses is derived from the former (Winer, *Realwb.* "Sceptre"); but this appears doubtful from the circumstance that the sceptre of the Egyptian kings, whence the idea of a sceptre was probably borrowed by the early Jews, resembled, not a shepherd's crook, but a plough (Diod. Sic. iii. 3). The use of the staff as a symbol of authority was not confined to kings; it might be used by any leader, as instanced in Judg. v. 14, where for "pen of the writer," as in the A. V., we should read "sceptre of the leader." Indeed, an instance of the sceptre being actually handled by a Jewish king occurs in the Bible; the allusions to it are all of a metaphorical character, and describe it simply as one of the insignia of supreme power (Gen. xlix. 10; Num. xxiv. 17; Ps. xlv. 6; Is. xlv. 5; Am. i. 5; Zech. x. 11; Wisd. x. 14; Bar. vi. 14). We are consequently unable to describe the article from any Biblical notices; we may infer from the term *shebet*, that it was probably made of wood; but we are not warranted in quoting Ex. xix. 11 in support of this, as done by Winer, for the term rendered "rods" may better be rendered "shoots," or "sprouts" as = *offspring*. The sceptre of the Persian monarchs is described as "golden," i. e. probably of massive gold (Esth. iv. 11; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7, §13); the inclination of it towards a subject by the monarch was a sign of favour, and kissing it an act of homage (Esth. iv. 11, v. 2). A carved ivory staff discovered at Nimrud is supposed to have been a sceptre (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 195). The sceptre of the Egyptian queens is represented in Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 276. The term *shebet* is rendered in the A. V. "rod" in two passages where *sceptre* should be substituted, viz. in Ps. ii. 9, where "sceptre of iron" is an expression for strong authority, and in Ps. cxxv. 3. [W. L. B.]

SCEVA (Σκευᾶς; *Sceva*). A Jew residing at Ephesus at the time of St. Paul's second visit to that town (Acts xix. 14-16). He is described as a "high-priest" (ἀρχιερεύς), either as having exercised the office at Jerusalem, or as being chief of one of the twenty-four classes. His seven sons attempted to exorcise spirits by using the name of Jesus, and on one occasion severe injury was inflicted by the demoniac on two of them (as implied in the term ἀμφοτέρων, the true reading in ver. 16 instead of αὐτῶν). [W. L. B.]

SCIENCE (עֵדֶי: γνῶσις: *scientia*). In the A. V. this word occurs only in Dan. i. 4, and 1 Tim. vi. 20. Elsewhere the rendering for the Hebrew or Greek words and their cognates is "knowledge," while the Vulg. has as uniformly *scientia*. Its use in Dan. i. 4 is probably to be explained by the number of synonymous words in the verse, forcing the translators to look out for diversified equivalents in English. Why it should have been chosen for 1 Tim. vi. 20 is not so obvious. Its effect is injurious, as leading the reader to suppose that St. Paul is speaking of something else than the "knowledge" of which both the Judaizing and the mystic sects of the Apostolic age continually boasted, against which he so urgently warns men (1 Cor. viii. 1, 7), the counterfeit of the true knowledge which he prizes so highly (1 Cor. xii. 8, xiii. 2; Phil. i. 9; Col.

2. מִשׁוֹר; πρίων; *serra*.

3. סֵבֶטָה; εν τῷ πρίονι (ἔθηκε); *serravit*

A natural perversion of the meaning of the text has followed from this translation. Men have seen in it a warning, not against a spurious theology—of which Swedenborgianism is, perhaps, the nearest modern analogue—but against that which did not come within St. Paul's horizon, and which, if it had, we may believe he would have welcomed—the study of the works of God, the recognition of His Will working by laws in nature. It has been hurled successively at the heads of astronomers and geologists, whenever men have been alarmed at what they have deemed the antagonism of physical "science" to religion. It would be interesting to ascertain whether this were at all the *animus* of the translators of the A. V.—whether they were beginning to look with alarm at the union of scepticism and science, of which the common proverb, "*ubi duo medici duo athei*," was a witness. As it is, we must content ourselves with noting a few facts in the Biblical history of the English word.

(1.) In Wiclif's translation, it appears less frequently than might have been expected in a version based upon the Vulgate. For the "knowledge of salvation" of the A. V. in Luke i. 77, we have the "science of health." In Christ are hid "the treasures of wisdom and of science" (Col. ii. 3). In 1 Gen. vi. 20, however, Wiclif has "kunnyng."

(2.) Tindal, rejecting "science" as a rendering elsewhere, introduces it here; and is followed by Coverdale's and the Geneva Bibles, and by the A. V.^a

(3.) The Rhemish translators, in this instance adhering less closely to the Vulg. than the Protestant versions, give "knowledge."

It would obviously be out of place to enter here into the wide question what were the *ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως* of which St. Paul speaks. A dissertation on the Gnosticism of the Apostolic age would require a volume. What is necessary for a Dictionary will be found under TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO. [E. H. P.]

SCORPION (עֲקָרָב, *'akrāb*: σκορπίος: *scorpio*). The well-known animal of that name, belonging to the class *Arachnida* and order *Pulmonaria*, which is twice mentioned in the O. T. and four times in the N. T. The wilderness of Sinai is especially alluded to as being inhabited by scorpions at the time of the exodus (Deut. viii. 15), and to this day these animals are common in the same district, as well as in some parts of Palestine. Ehrenberg (*Symb. Phys.*) enumerates five species as occurring near Mt. Sinai, some of which are found also in the Lebanon. Ezekiel (ii. 6) is told to be in no fear of the rebellious Israelites, here compared to scorpions. The Apostles were endued with power to resist the stings of serpents and scorpions (Luke x. 19). In the vision of St. John (Rev. ix. 3, 10) the locusts that come out of the smoke of the bottomless pit are said to have had "tails like unto scorpions," while the pain resulting from this creature's sting is alluded to in verse 5. A scorpion for an egg (Luke ii. 12) was probably a proverbial expression. Ac-

ording to Erasmus the Greeks had a similar proverb (*ἀντὶ περκῆς σκορπίου*). Scorpions are generally found in dry and in dark places, under stones and in ruins, chiefly in warm climates. They are carnivorous in their habits, and move along in a threatening attitude with the tail elevated. The sting, which is situated at the extremity of the tail, has at its base a gland that secretes a poisonous fluid, which is discharged into the wound by two minute orifices at its extremity. In hot climates the sting often occasions much suffering, and sometimes alarming symptoms. The following are the species of scorpions mentioned by Ehrenberg:—*Scorpio macrocentrus*, *S. palmatus*, *S. bicolor*, *S. leptochelis*, *S. funestus*, all found at Mt. Sinai; *S. nigrocinctus*, *S. melanophysa*, *S. palmatus*, Mt. Lebanon.^b Besides these Palestine and Sinai kinds, five others are recorded as occurring in Egypt.



Scorpion

The "scorpions" of 1 K. xii. 11, 14, 2 Chr. x. 11, 14, have clearly no allusion whatever to the animal, but to some instrument of scourging—unless indeed the expression is a mere figure. Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 45) thinks the "scorpion" scourge was the spiny stem of what the Arabs call *Hedek* (حَدَق), the *Solanum melongena*, var. *esculentum*, egg-plant, because, according to Abul Fadli, this plant, from the resemblance of its spines to the sting of a scorpion, was sometimes called the "scorpion thorn;" but in all probability this instrument of punishment was in the form of a whip armed with iron points "*Virga—si nodosa vel aculeata, scorpio rectissimo nomine vocatur, qui arcuato vulnere in corpus infigitur.*" (Isidorus *Orig. Lat.* 5, 27; and see Jahn, *Bib. Ant.* p. 287.) In the Greek of 1 Macc. vi. 51, some kind of war missile is mentioned under the name *σκορπίδιον*; but we want information both as to its form and the reason of its name. (See *Dict. of Antiquities*, art. "Tormentum.") [W. H.]

^a The following quotation from Tindal is decisive as to the sense in which he used the word. It shows that he contemplated no form of science (in the modern sense of the term), mathematical or physical, but the very opposite of this,—the attempt to bring all spiritual or divine truths under the formulae of the logical understanding. He speaks of the disputes of Romish theologians as the "contradictions of which Paul warned Timothy, calling them the oppositions of a false-named science, for that their *scholastical divinity* must make objections against any

truth, be it never so plain, with *pro* and *contra*" (*Supper of the Lord*, iii. 284, Parker Soc. Edition). Tindal's use and application of the word accounts, it may be remarked, for the choice of a different word by the Rhemish translators. Those of the A. V. may have used it with a different meaning.

^b Modern naturalists restrict the genus *Scorpio* to those kinds which have six eyes, Boethus to those which have eight, and *Androctonus* to those which have twelve.

SCOURGING.^a The punishment of scourging was prescribed by the Law in the case of a betrothed bondswoman guilty of unchastity, and perhaps in the case of both the guilty persons (Lev. xix. 20). Women were subject to scourging in Egypt, as they still are by the law of the Korân, for incontinence (Sale, *Koran*, chap. xxiv. and chap. iv. note; Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 147; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* abridgm. ii. 211). The instrument of punishment in ancient Egypt, as it is also in modern times generally in the East, was usually the stick, applied to the soles of the feet—bastinado (Wilkinson, *l. c.*; Chardin, vi. 114; Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 146). A more severe scourge is possibly implied in the term "scorpions," whips armed with pointed balls of lead, the "horribile flagellum" of Horace, though it is more probably merely a vivid figure. Under the Roman method the culprit was stripped, stretched with cords or thongs on a frame (*divaricatio*), and beaten with rods. After the Porcian Law (B.C. 300), Roman citizens were exempted from scourging, but slaves and foreigners were liable to be beaten, even to death (Ges. *Thes.* p. 1062; Isid. *Orig.* v. 27, ap. Scheller; *Lex. Lat.* Scorpio; Hor. 1 *Sat.* ii. 41, iii. 119; Prov. xxvi. 3; Acts xvi. 22, and Grotius, ad l., xxii. 24, 25; 1 K. xii. 11; Cic. *Ver.* iii. 28, 29; *pro Rab.* 4; Liv. x. 9; Sall. *Cat.* 51). [H. W. P.]

SCREECH-OWL. [OWL.]

SCRIBES (סופרים: γραμματεῖς: *scribae*). The prominent position occupied by the Scribes in the Gospel history would of itself make a knowledge of their life and teaching essential to any clear conception of our Lord's work. It was by their influence that the later form of Judaism had been determined. Such as it was when the "new doctrine" was first proclaimed, it had become through them. Far more than priests or Levites they represented the religious life of the people. On the one hand we must know what they were in order to understand the innumerable points of contrast presented by our Lord's acts and words. On the other, we must not forget that there were also, inevitably, points of resemblance. Opposed as His teaching was, in its deepest principles, to theirs, He was yet, in the eyes of men, as one of their order, a Scribe among Scribes, a Rabbi among Rabbis (John i. 49, iii. 2, vi. 25, &c.; Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.* ii. *Christus Rabbinarum Summus*).

1. *Name.*—(1.) Three meanings are connected with the verb *sáphar* (סָפַר), the root of *Sopherim*—(1) to write, (2) to set in order, (3) to count. The explanation of the word has been referred to each of these. The *Sopherim* were so called because they wrote out the Law, or because they classified and arranged its precepts, or because they counted with scrupulous minuteness every clause and letter it contained. The traditions of the Scribes, glorying in their own achievements,^b were in favour of the

^a 1. To scourge, שָׁטַף, the scourge, שֹׁט; μάστιξ; *flagellum*; also in A. V. "whip."

2. שָׁפַט; ἄλος; *offendiculum*; only in Josh. xxiii. 13. Either a subst. or the inf. in Piel. (Ges. 1379).

^b They had ascertained that the central letter of the whole Law was the *vau* of נָחַן in Lev. xi. 42, and wrote it accordingly in a larger character. (*Kiddush*, in Lightfoot, *On Luke* x.) They counted up in like manner the precepts of the Law that answered to the number of Abraham's servants or Jacob's descendants.

^c Lightfoot's arrangement, though conjectural, is worth

last of these etymologies (*Sekalim*, 5; *Carystus App. Crit.* ii. 135). The second fits in best with the military functions connected with the word in the earlier stages of its history (*infra*). The authority of most Hebrew scholars is with the first (Gesenius, s. v.). The Greek equivalent answers to the derived rather than the original meaning of the word. The γραμματεῖς of a Greek state were not the mere writer, but the keeper and registrar of public documents (Thuc. iv. 118, vii. 10; so in Acts xix. 35). The Scribes of Jerusalem were, in like manner, the custodians and interpreters of the γράμματα upon which the polity of the nation rested. Other words applied to the same class are found in the N. T. Νομικοὶ appears in Matt. xxiii. 35, Luke vii. 30, x. 25, xiv. 3; νομοδιδάσκαλος in Luke v. 17; Acts v. 34. Attempts have been made, but not very successfully, to reduce the several terms to a classification.^c All that can be said is that γραμματεῖς appears the most general term; that in Luke xi. 45 it is contrasted with νομικὸς; that νομοδιδάσκαλος, as in Acts v. 34, seems the highest of the three. Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 6, §2) paraphrases the technical word by ἐξηγηταὶ νόμων.

(2.) The name of KIRJATH-SEPHER (πύλας γραμμάτων, LXX., Josh. xv. 15; Judg. i. 12) may possibly connect itself with some early use of the title. In the Song of Deborah (Judg. v. 14) the word appears to point to military functions of some kind. The "pen of the writer" of the A. V. (LXX. ἐν ῥάβδῳ διηγῆσεως γραμματέως) is probably the rod or sceptre of the commander numbering or marshalling his troops.^d The title appears with more distinctness in the early history of the monarchy. Three men are mentioned as successively filling the office of Scribe under David and Solomon (2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25; 1 K. iv. 3, in this instance two simultaneously). Their functions are not specified, but the high place assigned to them, side by side with the high-priest and the captain of the host, implies power and honour. We may think of them as the king's secretaries, writing his letters, drawing up his decrees, managing his finances (comp. the work of the scribe under Josiah, 2 K. xii. 10). At a later period the word again connects itself with the act of numbering the military forces of the country (Jer. lii. 25, and probably Is. xxxiii. 18). Other associations, however, began to gather round it about the same period. The zeal of Hezekiah led him to foster the growth of a body of men whose work it was to transcribe old records, or to put in writing what had been handed down orally (Prov. xxv. 1). To this period accordingly belongs the new significance of the title. It no longer designates only an officer of the king's court, but a class, students and interpreters of the Law, boasting of their wisdom (Jer. viii. 8).

(3.) The seventy years of the Captivity gave a fresh glory to the name. The exiles would be

giving (*Harm.* § 77). The "Scribes," as such, were those who occupied themselves with the *Mikra*. Next above them were the "Lawyers," students of the *Mishna*, acting as assessors, though not voting in the Sanhedrim. The "Doctors of the Law" were expounders of the *Genara*, and actual members of the Sanhedrim. (Comp. *Carystus App. Crit.* i. 7; Leusden, *Phil. Hebr.* c. 23; *Leyrer*, in Herzog's *Encyclop.* "Schriftgelehrte.")

^d Ewald, however (*Poet. Büch.* i. 126), takes שָׁפַט as equivalent to שָׁפַט, "a judge"

above all things to preserve the sacred laws, the hymns, the prophecies of the past. To know what was worth preserving, to transcribe the older Hebrew documents accurately, when the spoken language of the people was passing into Aramaic, to explain what was hard and obscure—this was what the necessities of the time demanded. The man who met them became emphatically Ezra the Scribe, the priestly functions falling into the background, as the priestly order had done before the Scribes as a class. The words of Lev. vii. 10 describe the high ideal of the new office. The Scribe is "to seek (שָׁרָה) the law of the Lord and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." This, far more than his priestly office, was the true glory of Ezra. In the eyes of the Persian king he was "a Scribe of the Law of the God of Heaven" (vii. 12). He was assisted in his work by others, chiefly Levites. Publicly they read and expounded the Law, and perhaps also translated it from the already obsolete Hebrew into the Aramaic of the people (Neh. viii. 8-13).

(4.) Of the time that followed we have but scanty records. The Scribes' office apparently became more and more prominent. Traces are found in the later canonical books of their work and influence. Already they are recognised as "masters of assemblies," acting under "one shepherd," having that is, something of a corporate life (Eccl. xii. 11; Jost, *Judenth.* i. 42). As such they set their faces steadily to maintain the authority of the Law and the Prophets, to exclude from all equality with them the "many books" of which "there is no end" (Eccl. xii. 12). They appear as a distinct class, "the families of the Scribes," with a local habitation (1 Chr. ii. 55). They compile, as in the two Books of Chronicles, *excerpta* and epitomes of larger histories (1 Chr. xxix. 29; 2 Chr. ix. 29). The occurrence of the word *midrash* ("the story margin," 'the commentary'—of the Prophet "the"), afterwards so memorable, in 2 Chr. xiii. 22, shows that the work of commenting and expounding had begun already.

II. Development of Doctrine.—(1.) It is characteristic of the Scribes of this period that, with the exception of Ezra and Zadok (Neh. xiii. 13), we have no record of their names. A later age numbered them collectively as the men of the Great Synagogue, the true successors of the Prophets (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1), but the men themselves by whose agency the Scriptures of the O. T. were written in their present characters,^f compiled in their present form, limited to their present number, remain unknown to us. Never, perhaps, was so important a work done so silently. It has been well argued (Jost, *Judenthum*, i. 42) that it was so for a purpose. The one aim of those early Scribes was to promote reverence for the Law, to make it the groundwork of the people's life. They would write nothing of their own, lest less worthy words

should be raised to a level with those of the oracles of God. If interpretation were needed, their teaching should be oral only. No precepts should be perpetuated as resting on their authority.^g In the words of later Judaism, they devoted themselves to the *Mikra* (i.e. recitation, reading, as in Neh. viii. 8), the careful study of the text, and laid down rules for transcribing it with the most scrupulous precision (comp. the tract *Sopherim* in the Jerusalem Gemara).

(2.) A saying is ascribed to Simon the Just (B.C. 300-290), the last of the succession of the men of the Great Synagogue, which embodies the principle on which they had acted, and enables us to trace the next stage of the growth of their system. "Our fathers have taught us," he said, "three things, to be cautious in judging, to train many scholars, and to set a fence about the Law" (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1; Jost, i. 95). They wished to make the Law of Moses the rule of life for the whole nation and for individual men. But it lies in the nature of every such law, of every informal, half-systematic code, that it raises questions which it does not solve. Circumstances change, while the Law remains the same. The infinite variety of life presents cases which it has not contemplated. A Roman or Greek jurist would have dealt with these on general principles of equity or polity. The Jewish teacher could recognise no principles beyond the precepts of the Law. To him they all stood on the same footing, were all equally divine. All possible cases must be brought within their range, decided by their authority.

(3.) The result showed that, in this as in other instances, the idolatry of the letter was destructive of the very reverence in which it had originated. Step by step the Scribes were led to conclusions at which we may believe the earlier representatives of the order would have started back with horror. Decisions on fresh questions were accumulated into a complex system of casuistry. The new precepts, still transmitted orally, more precisely fitting in to the circumstances of men's lives than the old, came practically to take their place. The "Words of the Scribes" (דְּבָרֵי סוֹפְרִים, now used as a technical phrase for these decisions) were honoured above the Law (Lightfoot, *Harm.* i. §77; Jost, *Judenth.* i. 93). It was a greater crime to offend against them than against the Law. They were as wine, while the precepts of the Law were as water. The first step was taken towards annulling the commandments of God for the sake of their own traditions. The casuistry became at once subtle and prurient,^h evading the plainest duties, tampering with conscience (Matt. xv. 1-6, xxiii. 16-23). The right relation of moral and ceremonial laws was not only forgotten, but absolutely inverted. This was the result of the profound reverence for the letter which gave no heed to the "word abiding in them" (John v. 38).

(4.) The history of the full development of these tendencies will be found elsewhere. [TARGUMS.]

^f If this were so (and most commentators adopt this view), we should have in this history the starting-point of the Targum. It has, however, been questioned. (Comp. Lightfoot, l.c.)

^g Jost (*Judenth.* i. 52) draws attention to the singular, almost unique combinations of this period. The Jewish teachers kept to the old Hebrew, but used Aramaic characters. The Samaritans spoke Aramaic, but retained the old Hebrew writing.

^h The principle of an unwritten teaching was main-

tained among the Rabbis of Palestine up to the destruction of the Temple (Jost, i. 97, 367).

^h It would be profitless to accumulate proofs of this. Those who care for them may find them in Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*; M'Caul, *Old Paths*. Revolting as it is, we must remember that it rose out of the principle that there can be no indifferent action, that there must be a right or a wrong even for the commonest necessities of the merest animal functions of man's life, that it was the work of the teacher to formulate that principle into rules

Here it will be enough to notice in what way the teaching of the Scribes in our Lord's time was making to that result. Their first work was to report the decisions of previous Rabbis. These were the *Halachoth* (that which goes, the current precepts of the schools)—precepts binding on the conscience. As they accumulated they had to be compiled and classified. A new code, a second *Corpus Juris*, the Mishna (*δευτερώσεις*), grew out of them, to become in its turn the subject of fresh questions and commentaries. Here ultimately the spirit of the commentators took a wider range. The anecdotes of the schools or courts of law, the *obiter dicta* of Rabbis, the wildest fables of Jewish superstition (Tit. i. 14), were brought in, with or without any relation to the context, and the *Gemara* (completeness) filled up the measure of the Institutes of Rabbinic Law. The Mishna and the *Gemara* together were known as the Talmud (instruction), the "necessary doctrine and erudition" of every learned Jew (Jost, *Judenth.* ii. 202-222).

(5.) Side by side with this was a development in another direction. The sacred books were not studied as a code of laws only. To search into their meaning had from the first belonged to the ideal office of the Scribe. He who so searched was secure, in the language of the Scribes themselves, of everlasting life (John v. 39; *Pirke Aboth*, ii. 8). But here also the book suggested thoughts which could not logically be deduced from it. Men came to it with new beliefs, new in form if not in essence, and, not finding any ground for them in a literal interpretation, were compelled to have recourse to an interpretation which was the reverse of literal.¹ The fruit of this effort to find what was not there appears in the *Midrashim* (searchings, investigations) on the several books of the O. T. The process by which the meaning, moral or mystical, was elicited, was known as *Hagada* (saying, opinion). There was obviously no assignable limit to such a process. It became a proverb that no one ought to spend a day in the Beth-ham-Midrash ("the house of the interpreter") without lighting on something new. But there lay a stage higher even than the *Hagada*. The mystical school of interpretation culminated in the *Kabbala* (reception, the received doctrine). Every letter, every number, became pregnant with mysteries. With the strangest possible distortion of its original meaning, the Greek word which had been the representative of the most exact of all sciences was chosen for the wildest of all interpretations. The *Gematria* (= *γεωμετρία*) showed to what depths the wrong path could lead men. The mind of the interpreter, obstinately shutting out the light of day, moved in its self-chosen darkness amid a world of fantastic *Eidola* (comp. Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 7; Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb. de Mess.* i. 4; Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, pp. 42-61; Jost, *Judenth.* iii. 65-81).

III. *History*.—(1.) The names of the earlier scribes passed away, as has been said, unrecorded. Simon the Just (circ. B.C. 300-290) appears as the last of the men of the Great Synagogue, the beginner of a new period. The memorable names of the times that followed—Antigonus of Socho,

¹ Comp. e.g. the exposition which found in Laban and Balaam "going to their own place" (Gen. xxxi. 55; Num. xxiv. 25) an intimation of their being sentenced to Gehenna (Gill, *Comm. on Acts*, i. 25).

² A striking instance of this is seen in the history of John Hyrcanus. A Sadducee came to him with proofs of

Zadok, Boothos—connect themselves with the of the first opposition to the traditional system which was growing up. [SADDUCEES.] The tone of the Sadducees, however, never commanded the adherence of more than a small minority. It tended by maintaining the sufficiency of the letter of the Law, to destroy the very occupation of a Scribe, and the class, as such, belonged to the party of its opponents. The words "Scribes" and "Pharisees" were bound together by the closest possible alliance (Matt. xxiii. *passim*; Luke v. 30). [PHARISEES.] Within that party there were shades and subdivisions, and to understand their relation to each other in Our Lord's time, or their connexion with His life and teaching, we must look back to what is known of the five pairs (*סניגות*) of teachers who represented the scribal succession. Why two, and two only, are named in each case we can only conjecture, but the Rabbinic tradition that one was always the Nasi or President of the Sanhedrin, a council, the other the Ab-beth-din (Father of the House of Judgment), presiding in the supreme court, or in the Sanhedrim when it sat as such, is not improbable (Jost, *Judenth.* i. 160).

(2.) The two names that stand first in order are Josus ben-Joezer, a priest, and Josus ben-Jochanan (circ. B.C. 140-130). The precepts ascribed to them indicate a tendency to a greater elaboration of all rules connected with ceremonial defilement. Their desire to separate themselves and their disciples from all occasions of defilement may have furnished the starting-point for the name of Pharisee. The brave struggle with the Syrian kings had turned chiefly on questions of this nature, and it was the wish of the two teachers to prepare the people for any future conflict by founding a fraternity (the *Chaberim*, or associates) bound to the strictest observance of the Law. Every member of the order on his admission pledged himself to this in the presence of three *Chaberim*. They looked on each other as brothers. The rest of the nation they looked on as "the people of the earth." The spirit of Scribedom was growing. The precept associated with the name of Josus ben-Joezer, "Let thy house be the assembly-place for the wise; dust thy feet with the dust of their feet; drink eagerly of their words," pointed to a further growth (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1; Jost, i. 233). It was hardly checked by the taunt of the Sadducees that "these Pharisees would purify the sun itself" (Jost, i. 217).

(3.) Joshua ben-Perachiah and Nithai of Beth-bela were contemporary with John Hyrcanus (circ. B.C. 135-108), and enjoyed his favour till towards the close of his reign, when caprice or interest led him to pass over to the camp of the Sadducees. The saying ascribed to Joshua, "Take to thyself a teacher (*Rab*), get to thyself an associate (*Chaber*), judge every man on his better side" (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1), while its last clause attracts us by its candour, shows how easily even a fair-minded man might come to recognise no bonds of fellowship outside the limits of his sect or order (Jost, i. 227-233).

(4.) The secession of Hyrcanus involved the

disaffection of the Pharisees. The king asked, "What then am I to do?" "Crush them," was the answer. "What then will become of the teaching of the Law?" "The Law is now in the hands of every man. The Pharisees and they only, would keep it in a corner" (Jost, *Judenth.* i. 235).

Pharisees, and therefore the Scribes as a class, inabilities, and a period of confusion followed. The meetings of the Sanhedrim were suspended or were predominantly Sadducean. Under his successor, Alexander Jannai, the influence of Simon ben-Shetach over the queen-mother Salome re-established for a time the ascendancy of the Scribes. The Sanhedrim once again assembled, with none to oppose the dominant Pharisaic party. The day was observed afterwards as a festival not less solemn than those of Purim and the dedication. The return of Alexander from his campaign against Gaza again turned the tables. Eight hundred Pharisees took refuge in a fortress, besieged, taken, and put to death. Joshua ben-Perachiah, the venerable head of the order, was driven into exile. Simon ben-Shetach, his successor, had to earn his livelihood by spinning flax. The Sadducees failed, however, to win the confidence of the people. Having no body of oral traditions to fall back on, they began to compile a code. They were accused by their opponents of wishing to set up new laws on a level with those of Moses, and had to abandon the attempt. On the death of Jannai the influence of his widow Alexandra was altogether on the side of the Scribes, and Simon ben-Shetach and Judah ben-Tabbai entered on their work as joint teachers. Under them the juristic side of the Scribe's functions became prominent. Their rules turn chiefly on the laws of evidence (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1). In two memorable instances they showed what sacrifices they were prepared to make in support of those laws. Judah had, on one occasion, condemned false witnesses to death. His zeal against the guilt led him to neglect the rule which only permitted that penalty when it would have been the consequence of the original sensation. His colleague did not shrink from rebuking him, "Thou hast shed innocent blood." From that day Judah resolved never to give judgment without consulting Simon, and every day drew himself on the grave of the man he had condemned, imploring pardon. Simon, in his turn, showed a like sense of the supreme authority of the Law. His own son was brought before him as an offender, and he sentenced him to death. On the way to execution the witnesses confessed that they had spoken falsely; but the son, more anxious that they should suffer than that he himself should escape, turned round and entreated his father not to stop the completion of the sentence. The character of such a man could not fail to impress itself upon his followers. To its influence may probably be traced the indomitable courage in defence of the Temple, which won the admiration even of the Roman generals (*Jost*, i. 246-247).

(5.) The two that followed, Shemaiah and Abtalion (the names also appear under the form of *Samma*, *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 9, §4, and *Pollio*, *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 1, §1), were conspicuous for another reason. Now, for the first time, the teachers who sat in Moses' seat were not even of the children of Abraham. Proselytes themselves, or

* The amount is uncertain. The story of Hillel (*infra*) represents it as half a *stater*, but it is doubtful whether the *stater* here is equal to twice the *didrachma* or to half (*comp. Geiger, De Hillele et Shammai*, in *Ugolini, Thes.* vii.). It was, at any rate, half the day's wages of a skilled labourer.

* The exhaustive treatise by Geiger in *Ugolini, Thes.* vii. must be mentioned as an exception.

the sons of proselytes, their pre-eminence in the knowledge of the Law raised them to this office. The jealousy of the high-priest was excited. As the people flocked round their favourite Rabbis when it was his function to pronounce the blessing, he looked round and, turning his benediction into a sarcasm, said, with a marked emphasis, "May the sons of the *alien* walk in peace!" The answer of the two teachers expressed the feeling of scorn with which the one order was beginning to look upon the other: "Yes, the sons of the alien shall indeed walk in peace, for they do the work of peace. Not so the son of Aaron who follows not in the footsteps of his father." Here also we have some significant sayings. The growing love of titles of honour was checked by Shemaiah by the counsel that "men should love the work, but hate the Rabbiship." The tendency to new opinions (the fruits, probably, of the freer exposition of the *Hagada*) was rebuked by Abtalion in a precept which enwraps a parable, "Take good heed to thy words, lest, if thou wander, thou light upon a place where the wells are poisoned, and thy scholars who come after thee drink deep thereof and die" (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1). The lot of these two also was cast upon evil days. They had courage to attempt to check the rising power of Herod in his bold defiance of the Sanhedrim (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 9, §3). When he showed himself to be irresistible they had the wisdom to submit, and were suffered to continue their work in peace. Its glory was, however, in great measure, gone. The doors of their school were no longer thrown open to all comers so that crowds might listen to the teacher. A fixed fee^m had to be paid on entrance. The regulation was probably intended to discourage the attendance of the young men of Jerusalem at the Scribes' classes; and apparently it had that effect (*Jost*, i. 248-253). On the death of Shemaiah and Abtalion there were no qualified successors to take their place. Two sons of Betheria, otherwise unknown, for a time occupied it, but they were themselves conscious of their incompetence. A question was brought before them which neither they nor any of the other Scribes could answer. At last they asked, in their perplexity, "Was there none present who had been a disciple of the two who had been so honoured?" The question was answered by Hillel the Babylonian, known also, then or afterwards, as the son of David. He solved the difficulty, appealed to principles, and, when they demanded authority as well as argument, ended by saying, "So have I heard from my masters Shemaiah and Abtalion." This was decisive. The sons of Betheria withdrew. Hillel was invited by acclamation to enter on his high office. His alleged descent from the house of David may have added to his popularity.

(6.) The name of Hillel (born circ. B.C. 112) has hardly received the notice due to it from students of the Gospel history.ⁿ The noblest and most genial representative of his order, we may see in him the best fruit which the system of the Scribes was capable of producing.^o It is instructive to

^o The reverence of later Jews for Hillel is shown in some curious forms. To him it was given to understand the speech of animals as well as of men. He who hearkened not to the words of Hillel was worthy of death. (*Geiger, ut supra.*) Of him too it was said that the Divine Shechinah rested on him: if the heavens were parchment and all the trees of the earth pens, and all the sea ink, it would not be enough to write down his wisdom (*Comp.*

mark at once how far he prepared the way for the higher teaching which was to follow, how far he inevitably fell short of it. The starting-point of his career is told in a tale which, though deformed by Rabbinic exaggerations, is yet fresh and genial enough. The young student had come from Galah in Babylonia to study under Shemaiah and Abtalion. He was poor and had no money. The new rule requiring payment was in force. For the most part he worked for his livelihood, kept himself with half his earnings, and paid the rest as the fee to the college-porter. On one day, however, he had failed to find employment. The door-keeper refused him entrance; but his zeal for knowledge was not to be baffled. He stationed himself outside, under a window, to catch what he could of the words of the Scribes within. It was winter, and the snow began to fall, but he remained there still. It fell till it lay upon him six cubits high (!) and the window was darkened and blocked up. At last the two teachers noticed it, sent out to see what caused it, and when they found out, received the eager scholar without payment. "For such a man," said Shemaiah, "one might even break the Sabbath" (Geiger, *ut supra*; *Jost*, i. 254). In the earlier days of his activity Hillel had as his colleague Menahem, probably the same as the Essene Manaen of Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 10, §5). He, however, was tempted by the growing power of Herod, and, with a large number (eighty in the Rabbinic tradition) of his followers, entered the king's service and abandoned at once their calling as Scribes and their habits of devotion. They appeared publicly in the gorgeous apparel, glittering with gold, which was inconsistent with both (Jost, i. 259). The place thus vacant was soon filled by Shammai. The two were held in nearly equal honour. One, in Jewish language, was the Nasi, the other the Ab-beth-din of the Sanhedrim. They did not teach, however, as their predecessors had done, in entire harmony with each other. Within the party of the Pharisees, within the order of the Scribes, there came for the first time to be two schools with distinctly opposed tendencies, one vehemently, rigidly orthodox, the other orthodox also, but with an orthodoxy which, in the language of modern politics, might be classed as Liberal Conservative. The points on which they differed were almost innumerable (comp. Geiger, *ut supra*). In most of them, questions as to the causes and degrees of uncleanness, as to the law of contracts or of wills, we can find little or no interest. On the former class of subjects the school of Shammai represented the extremest development of the Pharisaic spirit. Everything that could possibly have been touched by a heathen or

John xxi. 25). (See Heubner, *De Academiis Hebraeorum*, in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxi.)

† We may perhaps find in this fact an explanation which gives a special force to words that have hitherto been interpreted somewhat vaguely. When our Lord contrasted the steadfastness and austerity of the Baptist with the lives of those who wore soft clothing, were gorgeously apparelled, and lived delicately in kings' houses (Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 24), those who heard Him may at once have recognised the picture. In the multitude of uncertain guesses as to the Herodians of the Gospels (Matt. xxii. 16) we may be permitted to hazard the conjecture that they may be identified with the party, perhaps rather with the clique, of Menahem and his followers (Geiger, *ut supra*; *Ugolini, Hist. Doctorum Mianicorum*, in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxi.). The fact that the stern, sharp words of a divine scorn which have been quoted above, meet us just after the

an unclean Israelite, became itself unclean. "The filement" was as a contagious disease which it was hardly possible to avoid even with the scrupulosity described in Mark vii. 1-4. They were, in like manner, rigidly sabbatarian. It was unlawful to do anything before the Sabbath which would, in any sense, be in operation during it, as to put cloth into a dye-vat, or nets into the sea. It was unlawful on the Sabbath itself to give money to the poor, or to teach children, or to visit the sick. They maintained the marriage law in its strictness, and held that nothing but the adultery of the wife could justify repudiation (*Jost*, i. 257-269). We must not think of them, however, as rigid and austere in their lives. The religious world of Judaism presented the inconsistencies which it has often presented since. The "strict sect" was also the most secular. Shammai himself was said to be rich, luxurious, self-indulgent. Hillel remained to the day of his death as poor as in his youth (Geiger, *l. c.*).

(7.) The teaching of Hillel showed some capacity for wider thoughts. His personal character was more loveable and attractive. While on the one side he taught as from a mind well stored with the traditions of the elders, he was, on the other, anything but a slavish follower of those traditions. He was the first to lay down principles for an equitable construction of the Law with a dialectic precision which seems almost to imply a Greek culture (*Jost*, i. 257). When the letter of a law, as e.g. that of the year of release, was no longer suited to the times, and was working, so far as it was kept at all, only for evil, he suggested an interpretation which met the difficulty or practically set it aside. His teaching as to divorce was in like manner an adaptation to the temper of the age. It was lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause of disfavour, even for so slight an offence as that of spoiling his dinner by her bad cooking (Geiger, *l. c.*). The genial character of the man comes out in some of his sayings, which remind us of the tone of Jesus the son of Sirach, and present some faint approximations to a higher teaching: "Trust not thyself to the day of thy death." "Judge not thy neighbour till thou art in his place." "Leave nothing dark and obscure, saying to thyself, I will explain it when I have time; for how knowest thou whether the time will come?" (comp. James iv. 13-15). "He who gains a good name gains it for himself, but he who gains a knowledge of the Law gains everlasting life" (comp. John v. 39; *Pirke Aboth*, ii. 5-8). In one memorable rule we find the nearest approach that had as yet been made to the great commandment of the Gospel: "Do nothing to thy neighbour that thou wouldest not that he should do to thee."†

† The first combination of Herodians and Pharisees, gives us a strong confirmation (comp. Mark iii. 6; Luke vi. 11, vii. 19).

‡ It is fair to add that a great Rabbinic scholar maintains that this "spoiling the dinner" was a well-known figurative phrase for conduct which brought shame or discredit on the husband (*Jost*, i. 264).

§ The history connected with this saying is too characteristically to be passed over. A proselyte came to Shammai and begged for some instruction in the Law if it were only for as long as he, the learner, could stand on one foot. The Scribe was angry, and drove him away harshly. He went to Hillel with the same request. He received the inquirer benignantly and gave him the precept above quoted, adding—"Do this, and thou hast fulfilled the Law and the Prophets" (*Geiger, ut supra*).

(8.) The contrast showed itself in the conduct of the followers not less than in the teachers. The disciples of Shammai were conspicuous for their earnestness, appealed to popular passions, used the sword to decide their controversies. Out of that school grew the party of the Zealots, fierce, fanatical, vindictive, the Orangemen of Pharisaism (Jost, i. pp. 267-269). Those of Hillel were, like their master (comp. e. g. the advice of Gamaliel, Acts v. 34-42), cautious, gentle, tolerant, unwilling to make a mistake, content to let things take their course. The school resisted, the other was disposed to foster the study of Greek literature. One sought to impress upon the proselyte from heathenism the full burden of the Law, the other that he should be treated with some sympathy and indulgence. [PROSELYTE.] One subject of debate between the schools exhibits the contrast as going deeper than these questions, touching upon the great problems of the universe. "Was the state of man so full of misery that it would have been better for him never to have been? Or was this life, with all its suffering, still the gift of God, to be valued and used as a training for something higher than itself?" The school of Shammai took, as might be expected, the darker, that of Hillel the brighter and the wiser view (Jost, i. p. 264).

(9.) Outwardly the teaching of our Lord must have appeared to men different in many ways from both. While they repeated the traditions of the scribes, He "spoke as one having authority," "not as the Scribes" (Matt. vii. 29; comp. the constantly recurring "I say unto you"). While they confined their teaching to the class of scholars, He "had compassion on the multitudes" (Matt. ix. 36). While they were to be found only in the council or in their schools, He journeyed through the cities and villages (Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, &c., &c.). While they spoke of the kingdom of God vaguely, as a thing far off, He proclaimed that it had already come nigh to men (Matt. iv. 17). But in most of the points at issue between the two parties, He must have appeared in direct antagonism to the school of Shammai, in sympathy with that of Hillel. In the questions that gathered round the law of the Sabbath (Matt. xii. 1-14, and 2 John v. 1-16, &c.), and the idea of purity (Matt. xv. 1-11, and its parallels), this was obviously the case. Even in the controversy about divorce, while His chief work was to assert the truth which the disputants on both sides were losing sight of, He recognised, it must be remembered, the rule of Hillel as being a true interpretation of the Law (Matt. xix. 8). When He summed up the great commandment in which the Law and the Prophets were fulfilled, He reproduced and ennobled the precept which had been given by that teacher to his disciples (Matt. vii. 12, xxii. 34-40). So far, on the other hand, as the temper of the Hillel school was one of mere adaptation to the feeling of the people, cleaving to tradition, wanting in the intuition of a higher life, the teaching of Christ must have been felt as unsparingly condemning it.

(10.) It adds to the interest of this inquiry to remember that Hillel himself lived, according to the

tradition of the Rabbis, to the great age of 120, and may therefore have been present among the doctors of Luke ii. 46, and that Gamaliel, his grandson and successor,* was at the head of this school during the whole of the ministry of Christ, as well as in the early portion of the history of the Acts. We are thus able to explain the fact, which so many passages in the Gospels lead us to infer, the existence all along of a party among the Scribes themselves, more or less disposed to recognise Jesus of Nazareth as a teacher (John iii. 1; Mark x. 17), not far from the kingdom of God (Mark xii. 34), advocates of a policy of toleration (John vii. 51), but, on the other hand, timid and time-serving, unable to confess even their half-belief (John xii. 42), afraid to take their stand against the strange alliance of extremes which brought together the Sadducean section of the priesthood and the ultra-Pharisaic followers of Shammai. When the last great crisis came, they apparently contented themselves with a policy of absence (Luke xxiii. 50, 51), possibly were not even summoned, and thus the Council which condemned our Lord was a packed meeting of the confederate parties, not a formally constituted Sanhedrim. All its proceedings, the hasty investigation, the immediate sentence, were vitiated by irregularity (Jost, i. pp. 407-409). Afterwards, when the fear of violence was once over, and popular feeling had turned, we find Gamaliel summoning courage to maintain openly the policy of a tolerant expectation (Acts v. 34).

IV. *Education and Life.* — (1.) The special training for a Scribe's office began, probably, about the age of thirteen. According to the *Pirke Aboth* (v. 24) the child began to read the Mikra at five and the Mishna at ten. Three years later every Israelite became a child of the Law (*Bar-Mitsvah*), and was bound to study and obey it. The great mass of men rested in the scanty teaching of their synagogues, in knowing and repeating their Tephillim, the texts inscribed on their phylacteries. For the boy who was destined by his parents, or who devoted himself, to the calling of a Scribe, something more was required. He made his way to Jerusalem, and applied for admission to the school of some famous Rabbi. If he were poor, it was the duty of the synagogue of his town or village to provide for the payment of his fees, and in part also for his maintenance. His power to learn was tested by an examination on entrance. If he passed it he became a "chosen one" (*בחור*, comp. John xv. 16), and entered on his work as a disciple (Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 7). The master and his scholars met, the former sitting on a high chair, the elder pupils (*תלמידים*) on a lower bench, the younger (*קטנים*) on the ground, both literally "at his feet." The class-room might be the chamber of the Temple set apart for this purpose, or the private school of the Rabbi. In addition to the Rabbi, or head master, there were assistant teachers, and one interpreter, or crier, whose function it was to proclaim aloud to the whole school what the Rabbi had spoken in a whisper

* Rabbi Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, came between them, but apparently for a short time only. The question whether he is to be identified with the Simeon of Luke ii. 25, is one which we have not sufficient data to determine. Most commentators answer it in the negative. There seem, however, some probabilities on the other side. One trained in the school of Hillel might not

unnaturally be looking for the "consolation of Israel." Himself of the house and lineage of David, he would readily accept the inward witness which pointed to a child of that house as "the Lord's Christ." There is something significant, too, in the silence of Rabbinic literature. In the *Pirke Aboth* he is not even named. Comp. Otho, *Hist. Doct. Misn.* in Ugolini xl.

(comp. Matt. x. 27). The education was chiefly catechetical, the pupil submitting cases and asking questions, the teacher examining the pupil (Luke ii.). The questions might be ethical, "What was the great commandment of all? What must a man do to inherit eternal life?" or casuistic, "What might a man do or leave undone on the Sabbath?" or ceremonial, "What did or did not render him unclean?"¹ In due time the pupil passed on to the laws of property, of contracts, and of evidence. So far he was within the circle of the Halachah, the simple exposition of the traditional "Words of the Scribes." He might remain content with this, or might pass on to the higher knowledge of the Beth-han-Midrash, with its inexhaustible stores of mystical interpretation. In both cases, pre-eminently in the latter, parables entered largely into the method of instruction. The teacher uttered the similitude, and left it to his hearers to interpret for themselves. [PARABLES.] That the relation between the two was often one of genial and kindly feeling, we may infer from the saying of one famous Scribe, "I have learnt much from the Rabbis my teachers, I have learnt more from the Rabbis my colleagues, I have learnt most of all from my disciples" (Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 7).

(2.) After a sufficient period of training, probably at the age of thirty,² the probationer was solemnly admitted to his office. The presiding Rabbi pronounced the formula, "I admit thee, and thou art admitted to the Chair of the Scribe," solemnly ordained him by the imposition of hands (the $\text{כַּוְנָה} = \text{χειροθεσία}$),³ and gave to him, as the symbol of his work, tablets on which he was to note down the sayings of the wise, and the "key of knowledge" (comp. Luke xi. 52), with which he was to open or to shut the treasures of Divine wisdom. So admitted, he took his place as a *Chaber*, or member of the fraternity, was no longer $\text{ἀργάμανος καὶ ἰδιώτης}$ (Acts iv. 13), was separated entirely from the multitude, the brute herd that knew not the Law, the "cursed" "people of the earth" (John vii. 15, 49).⁴

(3.) There still remained for the disciple after his admission the choice of a variety of functions, the chances of failure and success. He might give himself to any one of the branches of study, or combine two or more of them. He might rise to high places, become a doctor of the law, an arbitrator in family litigations (Luke xii. 14), the head of a school, a member of the Sanhedrim. He might have to content himself with the humbler work of a transcriber, copying the Law and the Prophets for the use of synagogues, or Tephillim for that of the devout (Otho, *Lexic. Rabbin.* s. v. *Phylacteria*), or a notary writing out contracts of sale, covenants of espousals, bills of repudiation. The position of the more fortunate was of course attractive enough.

¹ We are left to wonder what were the questions and answers of the school-room of Luke ii. 46, but those proposed to our Lord by his own disciples, or by the Scribes, as tests of his proficiency, may fairly be taken as types of what was commonly discussed. The Apocryphal Gospels, as usual, mock our curiosity with the most irritating puerilities. (Comp. *Evangel. Infant.* c. 45, in Tischendorf, *Codex Apoc. N. T.*)

² This is inferred by Schoettgen (*Hor. Heb.* l. c.) from the analogy of the Levite's office, and from the fact that the Baptist and our Lord both entered on their ministry at this age.

³ It was said of Hillel that he placed a limit on this practice. It had been exercised by any Scribe. After

Theoretically, indeed, the office of the Scribe was not to be a source of wealth. It is doubtful how far the fees paid by the pupils were appropriated by the teacher (Buxtorf, *Synag. Judaic.* cap. 40). The great Hillel worked as a day-labourer. Paul's work as a tentmaker, our Lord's work as a carpenter, were quite compatible with the popular conception of the most honoured Rabbi. The direct payments were, however, considerable enough. Scholars brought gifts. Rich and devout widows maintained a Rabbi as an act of piety, often to the injury of their own kindred (Matt. xxiii. 14). Each act of the notary's office, or the arbitration of the jurist, would be attended by an honorarium.

(4.) In regard to social position there was a contradiction between theory and practice. The older Scribes had had no titles [RABBI]; Shemai, as we have seen, warned his disciples against them. In our Lord's time the passion for distinction was insatiable. The ascending scale of Rab, Rabb, Rabban (we are reminded of our own Reverend, Very Reverend, Right Reverend), presented many steps on the ladder of ambition (Serapion, *de tit. Rabbi*, in Ugolini xxii.). Other forms of worldliness were not far off.⁵ The salutations in the market-place (Matt. xxiii. 7), the reverential kiss offered by the scholars to their master, or by Rabbis to each other, the greeting of Abba, father (Matt. xxiii. 9, and Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in loc.), the long $\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\alpha\iota$, as contrasted with the simple $\chi\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ and $\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ of our Lord and His disciples, with the broad blue Zizith or fringe (κράσπεδον of Matt. xxiii. 5), the Tephillim of ostentatious size, all these go to make up the picture of a Scribe's life. Drawing to themselves, as they did, nearly all the energy and thought of Judaism, the close hereditary caste of the priesthood was powerless to compete with them. Unless the priest became a Scribe also, he remained in obscurity. The order, as such, became contemptible and hated. For the Scribes there were the best places at feasts, the chief seats in synagogues (Matt. xxiii. 6; Luke xiv. 7).

(5.) The character of the order was marred under these influences by a deep, incurable hypocrisy, all the more perilous because, in most cases, it was unconscious. We must not infer from this that all were alike tainted, or that the work which they had done, and the worth of their office, were not recognised by Him who rebuked them for their evil. Some there were not far from the kingdom of God, taking their place side by side with prophets and wise men, among the instruments by which the wisdom of God was teaching men (Matt. xxiii. 34). The name was still honourable. The Apostles themselves were to be Scribes in the kingdom of God (Matt. xiii. 52). The Lord himself did not refuse the salutations which hailed Him as a Rabbi.

his time it was reserved for the Nasi or President of the Sanhedrim (Geiger, *ut supra*).

⁵ For all the details in the above section, and many others, comp. the elaborate treatises by Ursinus, *Antiqq. Heb.*, and Heubner, *De Academiis Hebraeorum*, in Ugolini *Thes.* xxi.

⁶ The later Rabbinic saying that "the disciples of the wise have a right to a goodly house, a fair wife, and a soft couch," reflected probably the luxury of an earlier time (Ursini, *Antiqq. Heb.* cap. 5, *ut supra*.)

⁷ The feeling is curiously prominent in the Rabbinic scale of precedence. The Wise Man, i. e. the Rabbi, is higher than the High Priest himself. (Gem. *Sabb. Horaioth*, f. 84.)

the lawyer" (νομικός, Tit. iii. 13) and "mighty in the Scriptures," sent apparently for the special purpose of dealing with the scriba which prevailed at Crete (Tit. iii. 13). The scriba may recognise the work which members of the Church of Christ (comp. Winer, *Realwb.*, and Herodotus, *Encyclop.* "Schriftgelehrte"). [E. H. P.]

SCRIP (סֵרִיפ: συλλογή, πήρα: pera). The Hebrew word* thus translated appears in 1 Sam. xiv. 40, as a synonyme for בֶּלִי הָרֵעִים (το κάδιον ταιμενικόν), the bag in which the shepherds of Palestine carried their food or other necessaries. In the Vulg. *pera*, and in the marginal reading of A. V. "scrip," appear in 2 K. iv. 10, for the ἡλπίς, which in the text of the A. V. is translated *husk* (comp. Gesen. s. v.). The πήρα of the N. T. appears in our Lord's command to his disciples as distinguished from the ζώνη (Matt. x. 10; Mark vi. 8) and the βαλλάντιον (Luke x. 4, xxii. 35, 36), and its nature and use are sufficiently defined by the lexicographers. The scrip of the Galilean peasant was of leather, used especially to carry their food on a journey (ἡ θηκὴ τῶν ἄρτων, Suid.; ἡ ἀρτόφορος, Ammon.), and slung over their shoulders. In the Talmudic writers the word סֵרִיפ is used as denoting the same thing, and is named as part of the equipment both of shepherds in their common life and of proselytes coming on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. x. 10). The ζώνη, on the other hand, was the loose girdle, in the folds of which money was often kept for the sake of safety [GIRDLE]; the βαλλάντιον (*sacculus*, Vulg.), the smaller bag used exclusively for money (Luke xii. 33). The command given to the Twelve first, and afterwards to the Seventy, involved therefore an absolute dependence upon God for each day's wants. They were to appear in every town or village, as men unlike all other travellers, freely doing without that which others looked on as essential. The fresh rule given in Luke xxii. 35, 36, perhaps also the facts that Judas was the bearer of the bag (γλωσσόκομον, John xiii. 6), and that when the disciples were without bread they were ashamed of their forgetfulness (Mark viii. 14-16), show that the command was not intended to be permanent.

The English word has a meaning precisely equivalent to that of the Greek. Connected, as it probably is, with *scrape*, *scrap*, the scrip was used for articles of food. It belonged especially to shepherds (As *You Like It*, act iii. sc. 2). It was made of leather (Milton, *Comus*, 626). A similar article is still used by the Syrian shepherds (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 109). The later sense of *scrip* as a written certificate, is, it need hardly be said, of different origin or meaning; the word, on its first use in English, was written "script" (Chaucer). [E. H. P.]

SCRIPTURE (כְּתוּבִים, Dan. x. 21: γραφή, γράμματα, 2 Tim. iii. 16: *Scriptura*). The chief facts relating to the books to which, individually and collectively, this title has been applied, will be found under BIBLE and CANON. It will fall within the scope of this article to trace the history of the

word, and to determine its exact meaning in the language of the O. and N. T.

(1.) It is not till the return from the Captivity, that the word meets us with any distinctive force. In the earlier books we read of the Law, the Book of the Law. In Ex. xxxii. 16, the Commandments written on the tables of testimony are said to be "the writing of God" (γραφὴ θεοῦ), but there is no special sense in the word taken by itself. In the passage from Dan. x. 21 (ἐν γραφῇ ἀληθείας), where the A. V. has "the Scripture of Truth," the words do not probably mean more than "a true writing." The thought of the Scripture as a whole is hardly to be found in them. This first appears in 2 Chr. xxx. 5, 18 (כְּתוּבִים, κατὰ τὴν γραφήν, LXX., "as it was written," A. V.), and is probably connected with the profound reverence for the Sacred Books which led the earlier Scribes to confine their own teaching to oral tradition, and gave therefore to "the Writing" a distinctive pre-eminence. [SCRIBES.] The same feeling showed itself in the constant formula of quotation, "It is written," often without the addition of any words defining the passage quoted (Matt. iv. 4, 6, xxi. 13, xxvi. 24). The Greek word, as will be seen, kept its ground in this sense. A slight change passed over that of the Hebrew, and led to the substitution of another. The כְּתוּבִים (*cēthūbim* = writings), in the Jewish arrangement of the O. T., was used for a part and not the whole of the O. T. (the Hagiographa; comp. BIBLE), while another form of the same root (*cēthib*) came to have a technical significance as applied to the text, which, though written in the MSS. of the Hebrew Scriptures, might or might not be recognised as *kēri*, the right intelligible reading to be read in the congregation. Another word was therefore wanted, and it was found in the *Mikra'* (מִקְרָא, Neh. viii. 8), or "reading," the thing read or recited, recitation.^b This accordingly we find as the equivalent for the collective γραφαί. The boy at the age of five begins the study of the *Mikra*, at ten passes on to the *Mishna* (*Pirke Aboth*, v. 24). The old word has not however disappeared, and כְּתוּבִים, "the Writing," is used with the same connotation (ibid. iii. 10).

(2.) With this meaning the word γραφή passed into the language of the N. T. Used in the singular it is applied chiefly to this or that passage quoted from the O. T. (Mark xii. 10; John vii. 38, xiii. 18, xix. 37; Luke iv. 21; Rom. ix. 17; Gal. iii. 8, *et al.*). In Acts viii. 32 (ἡ περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς) it takes a somewhat larger extension, as denoting the *writing* of Isaiah; but in ver. 35 the more limited meaning reappears. In two passages of some difficulty, some have seen the wider, some the narrower sense. (1.) Πᾶσα γραφή θεόπνευστος (2 Tim. iii. 16) has been translated in the A. V. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," as though γραφή, though without the article, were taken as equivalent to the O. T. as a whole (comp. πᾶσα οἰκοδομή, Eph. ii. 21; πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα, Matt. ii. 3), and θεόπνευστος, the predicate asserted of it. Retaining the narrower meaning, however, we might still take θεόπνευστος as the

* Talmud, the scrip, is the quaint title of some of the more learned of the Rabbinical treatises: for instance, the Talmud Shimoni, a miscellaneous collection of fragmentary comments on the whole of the O. T., consisting of extracts

from more than fifty older Jewish works (Zunz, *Gottesd. Vorträge*, cap. 18).

^b The same root, it may be noticed, is found in the title of the Sacred Book of Islam (Koran = recitation).

predicate. "Every Scripture—sc. every separate portion—is divinely inspired." It has been urged, however, that this assertion of a truth, which both St. Paul and Timothy held in common, would be less suitable to the context than the assigning that truth as a ground for the further inference drawn from it; and so there is a preponderance of authority in favour of the rendering, "Every *γραφὴ*, being inspired, is also profitable, . . ." (comp. Meyer, Alford, Wordsworth, Ellicott, Wiesinger, *in loc.*). There does not seem any ground for making the meaning of *γραφὴ* dependent on the adjective *θεόπνευστος* ("every inspired writing"), as though we recognised a *γραφὴ* not inspired. The *usus loquendi* of the N. T. is uniform in this respect; and the word *γραφὴ* is never used of any common or secular writing.

(2.) The meaning of the genitive in *πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς* (2 Pet. i. 20) seems at first sight, anarthrous though it be, distinctly collective. "Every prophecy of, i. e. contained in, the O. T. Scripture." A closer examination of the passage will perhaps lead to a different conclusion. The Apostle, after speaking of the vision on the holy mount, goes on, "We have as something yet firmer, the prophetic word" (here, probably, including the utterances of N. T. *προφηταί*, as well as the writings of the O. T.^c). Men did well to give heed to that word. They needed one caution in dealing with it. They were to remember that no *προφητεία γραφῆς*, no such prophetic utterance starting from, resting on a *γραφὴ*,^d came from the *ἰδία ἐπίλυσις*, the individual power of interpretation of the speaker, but was, like the *γραφὴ* itself, inspired. It was the law of *προφητεία*, of the later as well as the earlier, that men of God spake, "borne along by the Holy Spirit."

(3.) In the plural, as might be expected, the collective meaning is prominent. Sometimes we have simply *αἱ γραφαί* (Matt. xxi. 42, xxii. 29; John v. 39; Acts xvii. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 3). Sometimes *πάντα αἱ γραφαί* (Luke xxiv. 27). The epithets *ἁγία* (Rom. i. 2), *προφητικά* (Rom. xvi. 26), are sometimes joined with it. In 2 Pet. iii. 16, we find an extension of the term to the Epistles of St. Paul; but it remains uncertain whether *αἱ λοιπαὶ γραφαί* are the Scriptures of the O. T. exclusively, or include other writings, then extant, dealing with the same topics. There seems little doubt that such writings did exist. A comparison of Rom. xvi. 26 with Eph. iii. 5, might even suggest the conclusion, that in both there is the same assertion, that what had not been revealed before was now manifested by the Spirit to the apostles and prophets of the Church; and so that the "prophetic writings" to which St. Paul refers, are, like the spoken words of N. T. prophets, those that reveal things not made known before, the knowledge of the mystery of Christ.

It is noticeable, that in the 2nd Epistle of Clement of Rome (c. xi.) we have a long citation of this nature, not from the O. T., quoted as *ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος* (comp. 2 Pet. i. 19), and that in the 1st Epistle (c. xxiii.) the same is quoted as *ἡ γραφή*.

^c ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος is used by Philo of the words of Moses (*Leg. Alleg.* iii. 14, vol. 1. p. 95, ed. Mang.). He, of course, could recognize no prophets but those of the O. T. Clement of Rome (ii. 11) uses it of a prophecy not included in the Canons.

^d So in the only other instance in which the genitive is found (Rom. xv. 4), *ἡ παράκλησις τῶν γραφῶν* is the

Looking to the special fulness of the prophetic gifts in the Church of Corinth (1 Cor. i. 5, xiv. 1), it is obviously probable that some of the special prophecies would be committed to writing; and it is a striking coincidence, that both the apostolic and the post-apostolic references are connected, first with that Church, and next with that of Rome, which was so largely influenced by it.

(4.) In one passage, *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα* (2 Tim. iii. 15) answers to "The Holy Scriptures" of the A. V. Taken by itself, the word might, as in John vii. 15, Acts xxvi. 24, have a wider range, including the whole circle of Rabbinic education. As determined, however, by the use of other Hellenistic writers, Philo (*Leg. ad Caium*, vol. ii. p. 574, ed. Mang.), Josephus (*Ant. prooem.* 3, x. 10, §4; c. Apion. i. 26), there can be no doubt that it is accurately translated with this special meaning. [E. H. P.]

SCYTH'IAN (*Σκύθης*: *Scytha*) occurs in Col. iii. 11 as a generalised term for rude, ignorant, degraded. In the Gospel, says Paul, "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all." The same view of Scythian barbarism appears in 2 Macc. iv. 47, and 3 Macc. vii. 5. For the geographical and ethnographical relations of the term, see *Dict. of Geog.* ii. pp. 936-945. The Scythians dwelt mostly on the north of the Black Sea and the Caspian, stretching thence indefinitely into inner Asia, and were regarded by the ancients as standing extremely low in point of intelligence and civilisation. Josephus (c. Apion. ii. 37) says, *Σκύθαι δὲ φόνοις χαίροντες ἀνθρώπων καὶ βραχὺ τῶν θηρίων διαφέροντες*; and Plumenio (*ap. Athen.* v. p. 221), *ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἴσως οἶνον, ὡς ὕδωρ ἵππος Σκυθιστὶ φωνεῖ, οὐδὲ κάππα γιγνώσκων*. For other similar testimonies see Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* vol. ii. p. 292. Perhaps it may be inferred from Col. iii. 11 that there were Scythians also among the early converts to Christianity. Many of this people lived in Greek and Roman lands, and could have heard the Gospel there, even if some of the first preachers had not already penetrated into Scythia itself.

Herodotus states (i. 103-105) that the Scythians made an incursion through Palestine into Egypt under Psammetichus, the contemporary of Josiah. In this way some would account for the Greek name of Bethshean, *Scythopolis*. [H. B. H.]

SCYTHOP'OLIS (*Σκυθῶν πόλις*: *Peshito-Syriac, Beisan*: *civitas Scytharum*), that is, "the city of the Scythians," occurs in the A. V. of Judg. iii. 10 and 2 Macc. xii. 29 only. In the LXX. of Judg. i. 27, however, it is inserted (in both the great MSS.) as the synonym of BETHSHEAN, and this identification is confirmed by the narrative of 1 Macc. v. 52, a parallel account to that of 2 Macc. xii. 29, as well as by the repeated statements of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22, vi. 14, §8, xii. 8, §5). He uniformly gives the name in the contracted shape (*Σκυθόπολις*) in which it is also given by Eusebius (*Onom.* passim), Pliny (*H. N.* v. 18), Strabo (xvi. &c. &c.), and which is inaccurately followed in the A. V. Polybius (v. 70, 4) employs the fuller form of

counsel, admonition, drawn from the Scriptures. *Λόγος παρακλήσεως* appears in Acts xiii. 15 as the received term for such an address, the Sermon of the Synagogue. *Παρακλήσις* itself was so closely allied with *προφητεία* (comp. Barnabas = *υἱὸς προφητείας* = *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*) that the expressions of the two Apostles may be regarded as substantively identical.

the LXX. Bethshean has now, like so many other places in the Holy Land, regained its ancient name, and is known as *Beisân* only. A mound close to it on the west is called *Tell Shûk*, in which it is perhaps just possible that a trace of Scythopolis may linger.

But although there is no doubt whatever of the identity of the place, there is considerable difference of opinion as to the origin of the name. The LXX. is evident from the form in which they present it) and Pliny (*N. H.* v. 16^b) attribute it to the Scythians, who in the words of the Byzantine historian George Syncellus, "overran Palestine, and took possession of Baisan, which from them is called Scythopolis." This has been in modern times generally referred to the invasion recorded by Herodotus (i. 104-6), when the Scythians, after their occupation of Media, passed through Palestine on their road to Egypt (about B.C. 600—a few years before the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar), a statement now regarded as a real fact, though some of the details may be open to question (*Dict. of Geogr.* ii. 940b; Robinson's *Herod.* i. 246). It is not at all improbable that either on their passage through, or on their return after being repulsed by Psammetichus (*Herod.* i. 105), some Scythians may have settled in the country (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 694, *note*); and no place would be more likely to attract them than Baisan—fertile, most abundantly watered, and in an excellent military position. In the then state of the Holy Land they would hardly meet with much resistance.

Baisan, however (apparently incited thereto by his doubts of the truth of Herodotus' account), discarded this explanation, and suggested that Scythopolis was a corruption of Succothopolis—the chief town of the district of Succoth. In this he is supported by Gesenius (*Notes to Burckhardt*, 1058) and by Grimm (*Exec. Handbuch* on 1 Macc. v. 52). Since, however, the objection of Reland to the historical truth of Herodotus is now removed, the necessity for this suggestion (certainly most ingenious) seems not to exist. The distance of Succoth from *Beisan*, if we identify it with *Sakût*, is 10 miles, while if the arguments of Mr. Beke are valid it would be nearly double as far. And it is surely gratuitous to suppose that so large, independent, and important a town as Bethshean was in the earlier history, and as the remains show it to have been in the Greek period, should have taken its name from a comparatively insignificant place at a long distance from it. Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 330) remarks with justice, that had the Greeks derived the name from Succoth they would have employed that name in its translated form as *Σκηναί*, and the compound would have been *Scenopolis*. Reland's derivation is also dismissed without hesitation by Ewald, on the ground that the two names Succoth and Skythes have nothing in common (*Gesch.* iii. 694, *note*). Dr. Robinson suggests

* The "modern Greeks" are said to derive it from *scythos*, a hide (Williams, in *Dict. of Geogr.*). This is, doubtless, another appearance of the legend so well known in connexion with the foundation of Byrsa (Carthage). The same has been mentioned in reference to Hebron under *MACHPELAH* (p. 188).

† The singular name *Nysa*, mentioned in this passage as a former appellation of Scythopolis, is identified by Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 453) with *Neash*, an inversion of (Beth-) Shean, actually found on coins.

‡ *Ch. נַיִם*, Dan. vii. 2, 3, *θάλασσα*, *mare*, from *נַיִם*, not used, i. q. *הַמַּיִם*, or *הַיָּם*, "roar," *הַ* and *יָ*

that, after all, *City of the Scythians* may be right; the word *Scythia* being used as in the N. T. as equivalent to a barbarian or savage. In this sense he thinks it may have been applied to the wild Arabs, who then, as now, inhabited the *Ghôr*, and at times may have had possession of Bethshean.

The Canaanites were never expelled from Bethshean, and the heathen appear to have always maintained a footing there. It is named in the *Mishna* as the seat of idolatry (*Mishna, Aboda Zara*, i. 4), and as containing a double population of Jews and heathens. At the beginning of the Roman war (A.D. 65) the heathen rose against the Jews and massacred a large number, according to Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 18, §3) no less than 13,000, in a wood or grove close to the town. Scythopolis was the largest city of the Decapolis, and the only one of the ten which lay west of Jordan. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* "Bethsan") it is characterised as *πόλις ἐπίδημος* and *urbs nobilis*. It was surrounded by a district of its own of the most abundant fertility. It became the seat of a Christian bishop, and its name is found in the lists of signatures as late as the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 536. The latest mention of it under the title of Scythopolis is probably that of William of Tyre (xxii. 16 and 26). He mentions it as if it was then actually so called, carefully explaining that it was formerly Bethshan. [G.]

SEA. The Sea, *yâm*,^c is used in Scripture to denote—1. The "gathering of the waters" (*yâmim*), encompassing the land, or what we call in a more or less definite sense "the Ocean." 2. Some portion of this, as the Mediterranean Sea. 3. Inland lakes, whether of salt or fresh water. 4. Any great collection of water, as the rivers Nile or Euphrates, especially in a state of overflow.

1. In the first sense it is used in Gen. i. 2, 10, and elsewhere, as Deut. xxx. 13; 1 K. x. 22; Ps. xxiv. 2; Job xxvi. 8, 12, xxxviii. 8; see Hom. *Il.* xiv. 301, 302, and Hes. *Theog.* 107, 109; and 2 Pet. iii. 5.

2. In the second, it is used, with the article, (*a*) of the Mediterranean Sea, called the "hinder,"^d the "western," and the "utmost" sea (Deut. xi. 24, xxxiv. 2; Joel ii. 20); "sea of the Philistines" (Ex. xxiii. 31); "the great sea" (Num. xxxiv. 6, 7; Josh. xv. 47); "the sea" (Gen. xlix. 13; Ps. lxxx. 11, cvii. 23; 1 K. iv. 20, &c.). (*b*) Also frequently of the Red Sea (Ex. xv. 4; Josh. xxiv. 6), or one of its gulfs (Num. xi. 31; Is. xi. 15), and perhaps (1 K. x. 22) the sea traversed by Solomon's fleet. [RED SEA.]

3. The inland lakes termed seas, as the Salt or Dead Sea. (See the special articles.)

4. The term *yâm*, like the Arabic *Bahr*, is also applied to great rivers, as the Nile (Is. xix. 5; Am. viii. 8, A. V. "flood"; Nah. iii. 8; Ez. xxxii. 2), the Euphrates (Jer. li. 36). (See Stanley, *S. & P.* App. p. 533.)

being interchanged. Connected with this is *דְּהַיָּם*, *ἄβυσσος*, *abyssus*, "the deep" (Gen. i. 2; Jon. ii. 5; Ges. p. 371). It also means the west (Ges. pp. 360, 598). When used for the sea, it very often, but not always takes the article.

Other words for the sea (in A. V. "deep") are:—

1. *מַצֹּלָה*, *מַצֹּלָה* (only in plur.), or *הַיָּם*, *ἄβυσσος*, *βάθος*, *abyssus*, *profundum*. 2. *מַבּוּל*, *κατακλυσμός*, *diluvium*, "water-flood" (Ps. xxix. 10).

† *דְּהַיָּם* (*θάλασσα ἡ*) *ἐσχάτη*, (*mare*) *novissimum*.

The qualities or characteristics of the sea and sea-coast mentioned in Scripture are, 1. The sand,^e whose abundance on the coast both of Palestine and Egypt furnishes so many illustrations (Gen. xxii. 17, xli. 49; Judg. vii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; 1 K. iv. 20, 29; Is. x. 22; Matt. vii. 26; Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 758, 759; Räumler, *Pal.* p. 45; Robinson, ii. 34-38, 464; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 280; Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 119; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 255, 260, 264). 2. The shore.^f 3. Creeks^g or inlets. 4. Harbours.^h 5. Wavesⁱ or billows.

It may be remarked that almost all the figures of speech taken from the sea in Scripture, refer either to its power or its danger, and among the woes threatened in punishment of disobedience, one may be remarked as significant of the dread of the sea entertained by a non-seafaring people, the being brought back into Egypt "in ships" (Deut. xxviii. 68). The national feeling on this subject may be contrasted with that of the Greeks in reference to the sea. [COMMERCE.] It may be remarked, that, as is natural, no mention of the tide is found in Scripture.

The place "where two seas met"^k (Acts xxvii. 41) is explained by Conybeare and Howson, as a place where the island Salmonetta off the coast of Malta in St. Paul's Bay, so intercepts the passage from the sea without to the bay within as to give the appearance of two seas, just as Strabo represents the appearance of the entrance from the Bosphorus into the Euxine; but it seems quite as likely that by the "place of the double sea," is meant one where two currents, caused by the intervention of the island, met and produced an eddy, which made it desirable at once to ground the ship (Conybeare and Howson, ii. p. 423; Strabo, ii. p. 124). [H. W. P.]

SEA, MOLTEN.^m The name given to the great brazenⁿ laver of the Mosaic ritual. [LAVER.]

In the place of the laver of the tabernacle, Solomon caused a laver to be cast for a similar purpose, which from its size was called a sea. It was made partly or wholly of the brass, or rather copper, which had been captured by David from "Tibhath and Chun, cities of Hadarezer king of Zobah" 1 K. vii. 23-26; 1 Chr. xviii. 8). Its dimensions were as follows:—Height, 5 cubits; diameter, 10 cubits; circumference, 30 cubits; thickness, 1 handbreadth; and it is said to have been capable of containing 2000, or according to 2 Chr. iv. 5, 3000 baths. Below the brim^o there was a double row of "קִרְפֹּסִים" ^p 10 (*i. e.* 5+5) in each cubit. These were probably a running border or double fillet of tendrils, and fruits, said to be gourds, of an oval shape (Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 397, and Jewish authorities quoted by him). The brim itself, or lip, was wrought "like the brim of a cup, with flowers^q of

lilies," *i. e.* curved outwards like a lily or lily flower. The laver stood on twelve oxen, three outwards each quarter of the heavens, and all looking outwards. It was mutilated by Ahaz, by being removed from its basis of oxen and placed on a stone base, and was finally broken up by the Assyrians (2 K. xvi. 14, 17, xxv. 13).

Josephus says that the form of the sea was hemispherical, and that it held 3000 baths; and he elsewhere tells us that the bath was equal to 72 Attic ξέσται, or 1 μετρητής = 8 gallons 5·12 pints (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, §9, and 3, §5). The question arises, which occurred to the Jewish writers themselves, how the contents of the laver, as they are given in the sacred text, are to be reconciled with its dimensions. At the rate of 1 bath = 8 gallons 5·12 pints, 2000 baths would amount to about 17,250 gallons, and 3000 (the more precisely stated reading of 2 Chr. iv. 5) would amount to 25,350 gallons. Now supposing the vessel to be hemispherical, as Josephus says it was, the cubit to be = 20½ inches (20·6250), and the palm or handbreadth = 3 inches (2·9464, Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 258), we find the following proportions:—From the height (5 cubits = 102½ inches) subtract the thickness (3 inches), the axis of the hemisphere would be 99½ inches, and its contents in gallons, at 277½ cubic inches to the gallon, would be about 7500 gallons; or taking the cubit at 22 inches, the contents would reach 10,045 gallons—an amount still far below the required quantity. On the other hand, a hemispherical vessel, to contain 17,250 gallons, must have a depth of 11 feet nearly, or rather more than 6 cubits, at the highest estimate of 22 inches to the cubit, exclusive of the thickness of the vessel. To meet the difficulty, we may imagine—1. an erroneous reading of the numbers. 2. We may imagine the laver, like its prototype in the tabernacle, to have had a "foot," which may have been a basin which received the water as it was drawn out by taps from the laver, so that the priests might be said to wash "at"^r not "in" it (Ex. xxx. 18, 19; 2 Chr. iv. 6). 3. We may suppose the laver to have had another shape than the hemisphere of Josephus. The Jewish writers supposed that it had a square hollow base for 3 cubits of its height, and 2 cubits of the circular form above (Lightfoot, *Descr. Templ.* vol. i. p. 647). A far more probable suggestion is that of Thenius, in which Keil agrees, that it was of a bulging form below, but contracted at the mouth to the dimensions named in 1 K. vii. 23. 4. A fourth supposition is perhaps tenable, that when it is said the laver contained 2000 or 3000 baths, the meaning is that the supply of water required for its use amounted, at its utmost, to that quantity. The quantity itself of water is not sur-

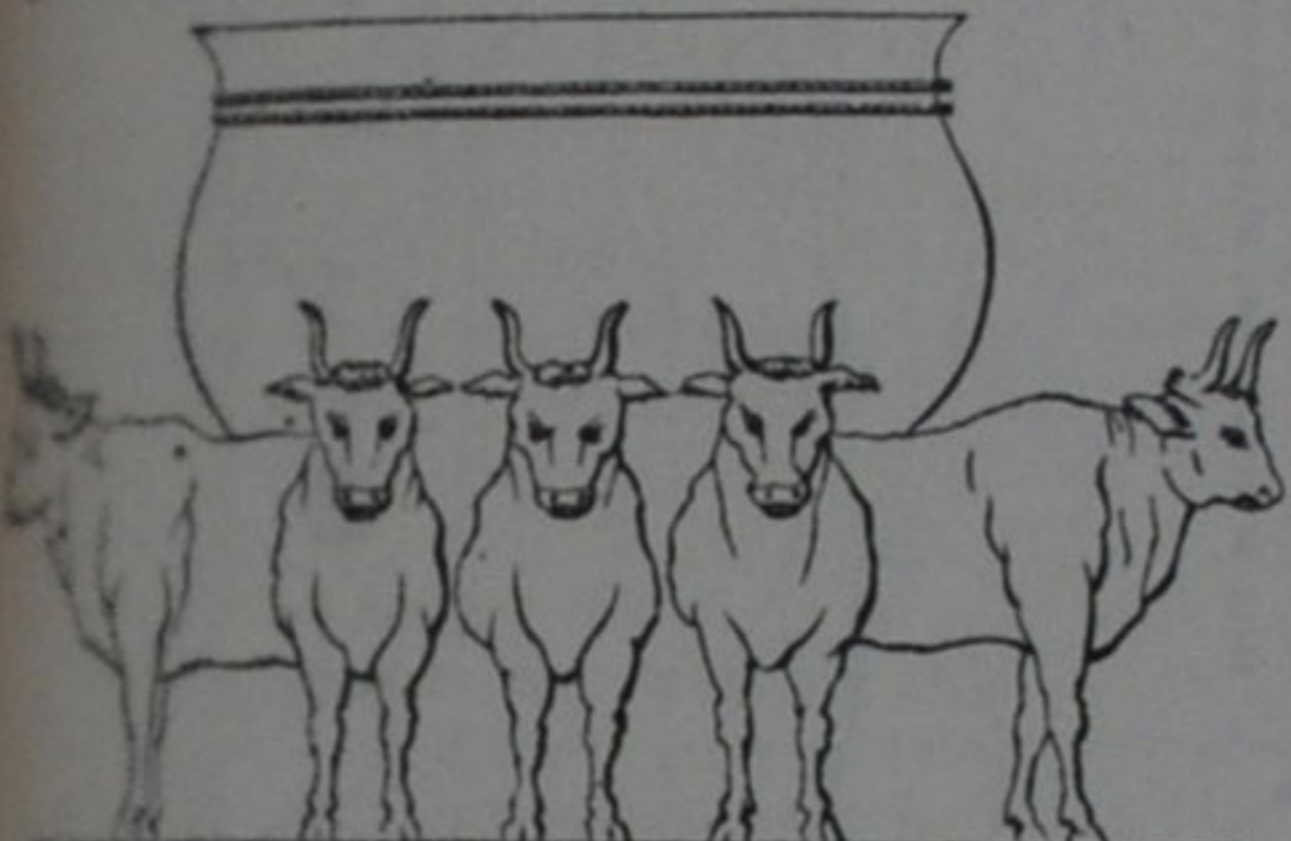
^e חֹל, ἄμμος, arena.
^f חֹף, joined with יָם; παραλία γῆ; littus. In Gen. xlix. 13, "haven;" Acts xxvii. 39, αἰγιαλός.
^g מִפְּרָץ, from פָּרַץ, "break," only in Judg. v. 17 in plur.; διακοπαί; portus; A. V. "breaches."
^h מַחֲוֹת, a place of retreat; λιμήν; portus; A. V. "haven."
ⁱ 1. גַּל, lit. a heap, in plur. waves; κύμα; gurgites, mare fluctuans. 2. דָּבַי, or דָּבָה; ἐπιτρέψεις; fluctus; only in Ps. xciii. 3. 3. מִשְׁבֵּר; μετεωρισμός; gurges, elatio; "a breaker." 4. בְּמָה (Job ix. 8); fluctus; lit. a high place (Ez. xx. 29).

^k τόπος διθάλαστος; locus dithalassus.
^m מוֹצֵץ; χυτός; fusilis.
ⁿ נְחֹשֶׁת; χαλκός; aeneus.
^o שִׁפָּה; χεῖλος; labrum.
^p פְּקָעִים; ὑποστηρίγματα; sculptura; "gourds."
^q פְּרַח שִׁשְׁוֹן; βλαστός κρίνου; folium veronici
 The passage literally is, "and its lip (was) like work (as) a cup's lip, a lily-flower."
^r מִכֹּנֵוֹ; ἐξ αὐτοῦ; A. V. "thereat" (Ex. xxx. 18).
^s בַּי; ἐν αὐτῇ (2 Chr. iv. 6).

when we remember the quantity mentioned in the supply of a private house for purification, viz. of amphorae of 2 or 3 firkins (μετρηται) each, i. e. from 16 to 24 gallons each (John ii. 6).

The laver is said to have been supplied in earlier times by the Gibeonites, but afterwards by a conduit from the pools of Bethlehem. Ben-Katin made twelve cocks (epistomia) for drawing off the water, and invented a contrivance for keeping it pure during the night (Joma, iii. 10; Tamid, iii. 8; Middoth, iii. 4; Lightfoot, l. c.). Mr. Layard mentions some similar vessels found at Nineveh, of 6 feet in diameter and 2 feet in depth, which seemed to answer, in point of use, to the Molten Sea, though far inferior in size; and on the bas-reliefs it is remarkable that cauldrons are represented supported by lions (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 180; see Thenius on 1 K. vii.; and Keil, *Arch. Bibl.* i. 127, and pl. 3, fig. i.).

[H. W. P.]



Hypothetical restoration of the Laver. From Kell.

SEA, THE SALT (הַיָּם הַמֶּלַח: ἡ θάλασσα ἡ ἀλυσ; θ. ἡ ἀλυκή, and τῆς ἀλυκῆς; θ. ἄλος: *mare salis*, elsewhere *m. salsissimum*, except *Job. iii. quod nunc vocatur mortuum*). The usual, perhaps the most ancient, name, for the remarkable lake, which to the Western world is now generally known as the Dead Sea.

1. It is found only, and but rarely, in the Pentateuch (Gen. xiv. 3; Num. xxxiv. 3, 12; Deut. iii. 17*), and in the Book of Joshua (iii. 16, 17; iv. 2, 5, xviii. 19).

2. Another, and possibly a later name, is the SEA OF THE ARABAH (הַיָּם הָעֲרָבָה: θάλασσα Ἀραβία; ἡ θάλ. Ἀραβία; ἡ θάλ. τῆς Ἀραβίας: *mare arabicis*, or *deserti*; A. V. "sea of the Arabah"), which is found in Deut. iv. 49, and 2 K. xiv. 25; and combined with the former—"the sea of the Arabah, the salt sea"—in Deut. iii. 17; Job. iii. 16, xii. 3.

3. In the prophets (Joel ii. 20; Ezek. xlvi. 18; Job. xiv. 8) it is mentioned by the title of THE EAST SEA (הַיָּם הַקְּדֻמִּים: in Ez. τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἀνατολὰς ὁ Φοινικῶνος; in Joel and Zech. τὴν ἀλά. τὴν πρώτην: *mare orientale*).

4. In Ez. xlvi. 8, it is styled, without previous mention, THE SEA (הַיָּם), and distinguished from "the great sea"—the Mediterranean (ver. 10).

5. Its connexion with Sodom is first suggested in the Bible in the book of 2 Esdras (v. 7) by the name "Sodomitic sea" (*mare Sodomiticum*).

* In the Samaritan Pentateuch also in iv. 49.
* In Zechariah and Joel, as an antithesis to "the hinder sea" i. e. the Mediterranean; whence the obscure rendering of the A. V., "former sea."
* The version of the LXX. is remarkable, as introducing the name of Phœnicia in both ver. 18 and 19. This may be either an equivalent of Engedi, originally Hazaren-

6. In the Talmudical books it is called both the "Sea of Salt" (הַיָּם הַמֶּלַח), and "Sea of Sodom" (הַיָּם הַשְּׂדוּמִי). See quotations from Talmud and Midrash Tehillim, by Reland (*Pal.* 237).

7. Josephus, and before him Diodorus Siculus (ii. 48, xix. 98), names it the Asphaltic Lake—ἡ Ἀσφαλτίτις λίμνη (*Ant.* i. 9; iv. 5, §1; ix. 10, §1; *B. J.* i. 33, §5; iii. 10, §7; iv. 8, §2, 4), and once λ. ἡ ἀσφαλτοφόρος (*Ant.* xvii. 6, §5). Also (*Ant.* v. 1, §22) ἡ Σοδομίτις λίμνη.

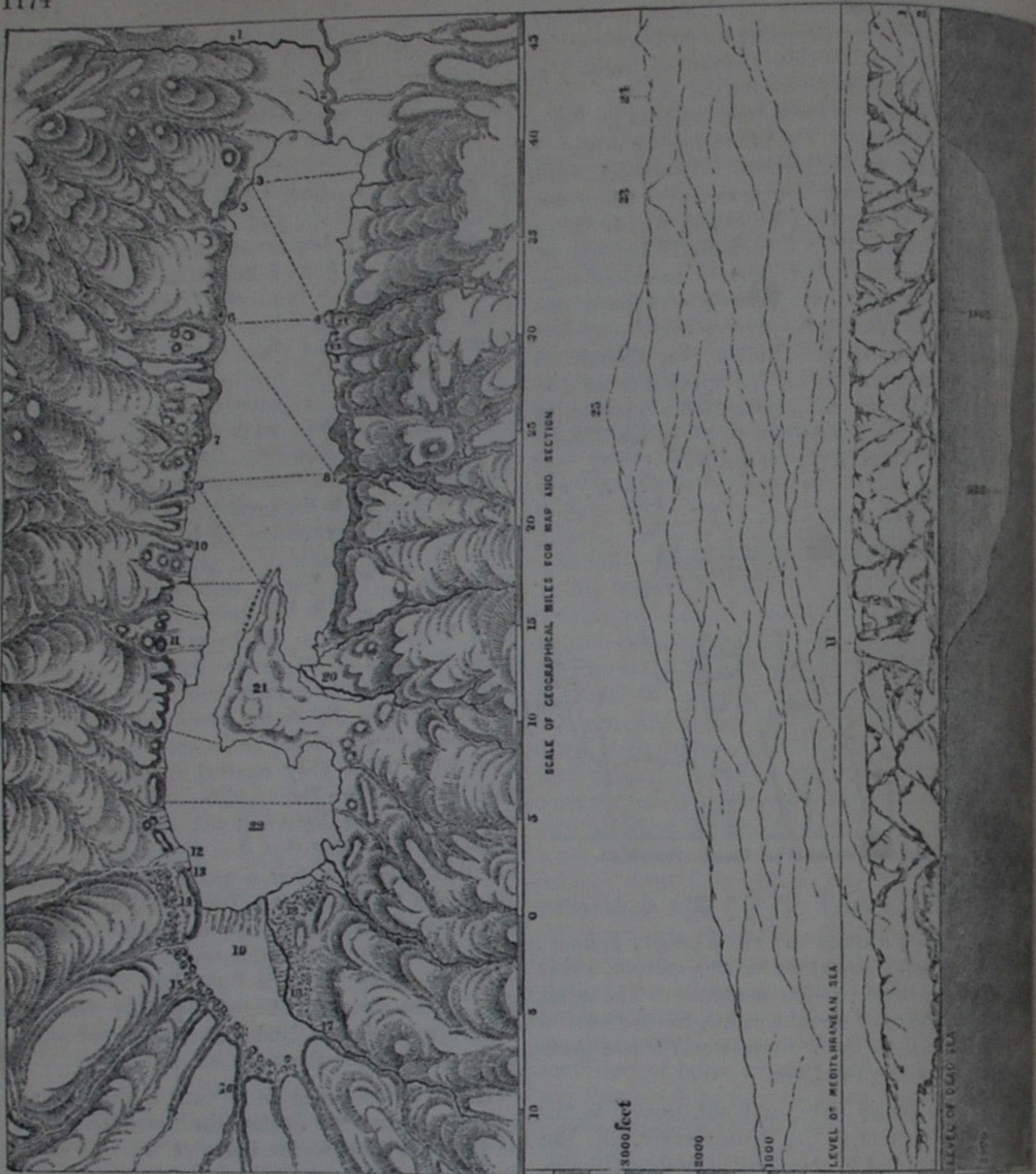
8. The name "Dead Sea" appears to have been first used in Greek (θάλασσα νεκρά) by Pausanias (v. 7) and Galen (iv. 9), and in Latin (*mare mortuum*) by Justin (xxxvi. 3, §6), or rather by the older historian, Trogus Pompeius (cir. B.C. 10), whose work he epitomized. It is employed also by Eusebius (*Onom.* Σόδομα). The expressions of Pausanias and Galen imply that the name was in use in the country. And this is corroborated by the expression of Jerome (*Comm.* on Dan. xi. 45), "mare . . . quod nunc appellatur mortuum." The Jewish writers appear never to have used it, and it has become established in modern literature, from the belief in the very exaggerated stories of its deadly character and gloomy aspect, which themselves probably arose out of the name, and were due to the preconceived notions of the travellers who visited its shores, or to the implicit faith with which they received the statements of their guides. Thus Maundeville (chap. ix.) says it is called the Dead Sea because it moveth not, but is ever still—the fact being that it is frequently agitated, and that when in motion its waves have great force. Hence also the fable that no birds could fly across it alive, a notion which the experience of almost every modern traveller to Palestine would contradict.

9. The Arabic name is *Bahr Lút*, the "Sea of Lot." The name of Lot is also specially connected with a small piece of land, sometimes island sometimes peninsula, at the north end of the lake.

II. 1. The so-called DEAD SEA is the final receptacle of the river Jordan, the lowest and largest of the three lakes which interrupt the rush of its downward course. It is the deepest portion of that very deep natural fissure which runs like a furrow from the Gulf of Akaba to the range of Lebanon, and from the range of Lebanon to the extreme north of Syria. It is in fact a pool left by the Ocean, in its retreat from what there is reason to believe was at a very remote period a channel connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. As the most enduring result of the great geological operation which determined the present form of the country it may be called without exaggeration the key to the physical geography of the Holy Land. It is therefore in every way an object of extreme interest. The probable conditions of the formation of the lake will be alluded to in the course of this article: we shall now attempt to describe its dimensions, appearance, and natural features.

2. Viewed on the map, the lake is of an oblong form, of tolerably regular contour, interrupted only by a large and long peninsula which projects from the eastern shore, near its southern end, and virtually divides the expanse of the water into two

tamar, the "City of Palm-trees" (φοινίκων); or may arise out of a corruption of *Kadmomi* into *Kanaan*, which in this version is occasionally rendered by Phœnicia. The only warrant for it in the existing Heb. text is the name Tamar (= "a palm," and rendered *Θαιμᾶς καὶ Φοινικῶνος*) in ver. 19.



Map and Longitudinal Section (from North to South), of the DEAD SEA, from the Observations, Surveys, and Soundings of Lewis Robinson, De Saulcy, Van de Velde, and others, drawn under the superintendence of Mr. Grove by Trelawney Saunders, and engraved by J. D. Cooper.

References.—1. Jericho. 2. Ford of Jordan. 3. Wady Gouniran. 4. Wady Zūrka Ma'in. 5. Ras el Feshkhah. 6. Ain Terābeh. 7. Mersed. 8. Wady Mojib. 9. Ain Jidy. 10. Birket el Khūllil. 11. Sebbeh. 12. Wady Zuweirah. 13. Um Zoghal. 14. Khāsh. 15. Udam. 16. Wady Fikreh. 17. Wady el Jelb. 18. Ghor es Safieh. 19. Plain es Sabkah. 20. Wady Dra'ah. 21. The Peninsula. 22. The Lagoon. 23. The Frank Mountain. 24. Bethlehem. 25. Hebron.

The dotted lines crossing and recrossing the Lake show the place of the transverse sections given on the opposite page.

portions, connected by a long, narrow, and somewhat devious, passage. Its longest axis is situated nearly North and South. It lies between $31^{\circ} 6' 20''$ and $31^{\circ} 46'$ N. lat., nearly; and thus its water surface is from N. to S. as nearly as possible 40 geographical, or 46 English miles long. On the other hand, it lies between $35^{\circ} 24'$ and $35^{\circ} 37'$ East long.,^d nearly; and its greatest width (some 2 miles S. of *Ain Jidy*) is about 9^e geogr. miles, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ Eng. miles. The ordinary area of the upper portion is about 174 square geogr. miles; of the channel 29; and of the lower portion, hereafter styled "the lagoon," 46; in all about 250 square geographical miles. These dimensions are not very

^d The longitudes and latitudes are given with care by Van de Velde (*Mem.* 65), but they can none of them be implicitly trusted.

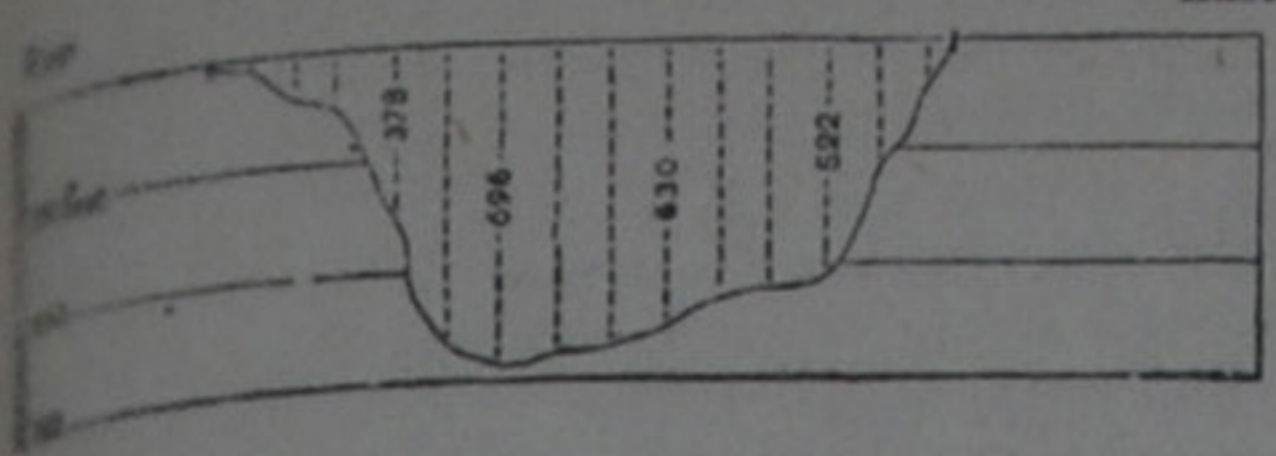
^e Lynch says 9 to $9\frac{1}{4}$; Dr. Robinson says 9 (*i.* 509). The ancient writers, as is but natural, estimated its dimensions very inaccurately. Diodorus states the length as 500 stadia, or about 50 miles, and breadth 60, or 6 miles. Josephus extends the length to 580 stadia, and the

dissimilar to those of the Lake of Geneva. They are, however, as will be seen further on, subject to considerable variation according to the time of the year.

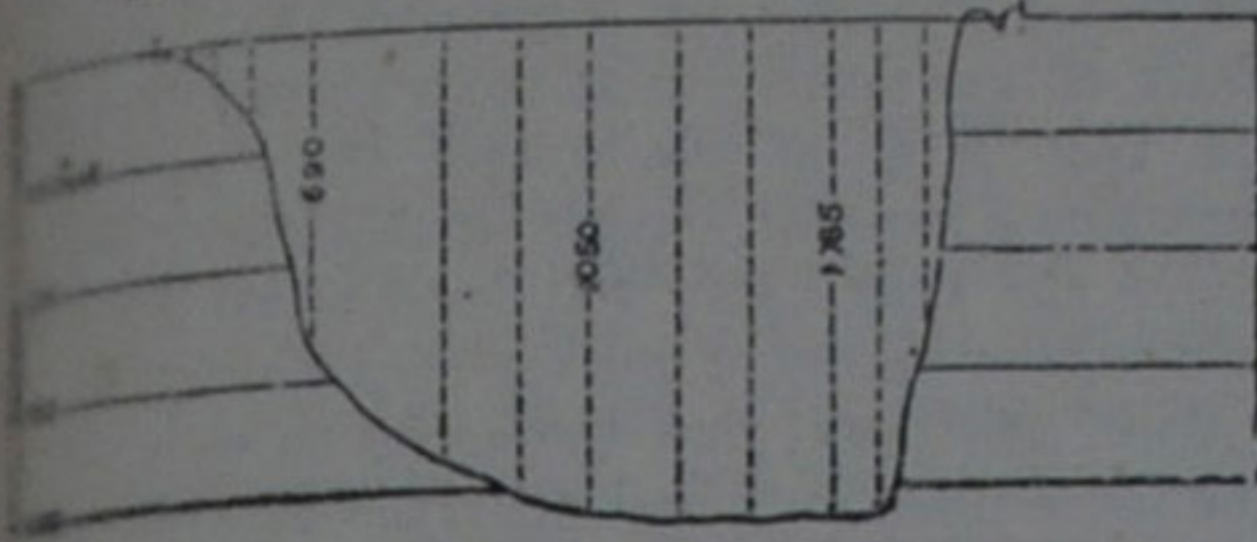
At its northern end the lake receives the stream of the Jordan: on its Eastern side the *Zūrka Ma'in* (the ancient Callirrhoë, and possibly the more ancient *en-Eglaim*), the *Mojib* (the Arnon of the Bible), and the *Beni-Hemād*. On the South the *Kurāhy* or *Ahsy*; and on the West that of *Ain Jidy*. These are probably all perennial, though variable, streams; but, in addition, the beds of the torrents which flow through the mountains East and West, and over the flat shelving plains on both North and South of the lake, show that in the winter a very large

breadth to 150. It is not necessary to accuse him, on the account, of wilful exaggeration. Nothing is more difficult to estimate accurately than the extent of a sheet of water, especially one which varies so much in appearance as the Dead Sea. As regards the length, it is not impossible that at the time of Josephus the water extended over the southern plain, which would make the entire length over 50 geogr. miles.

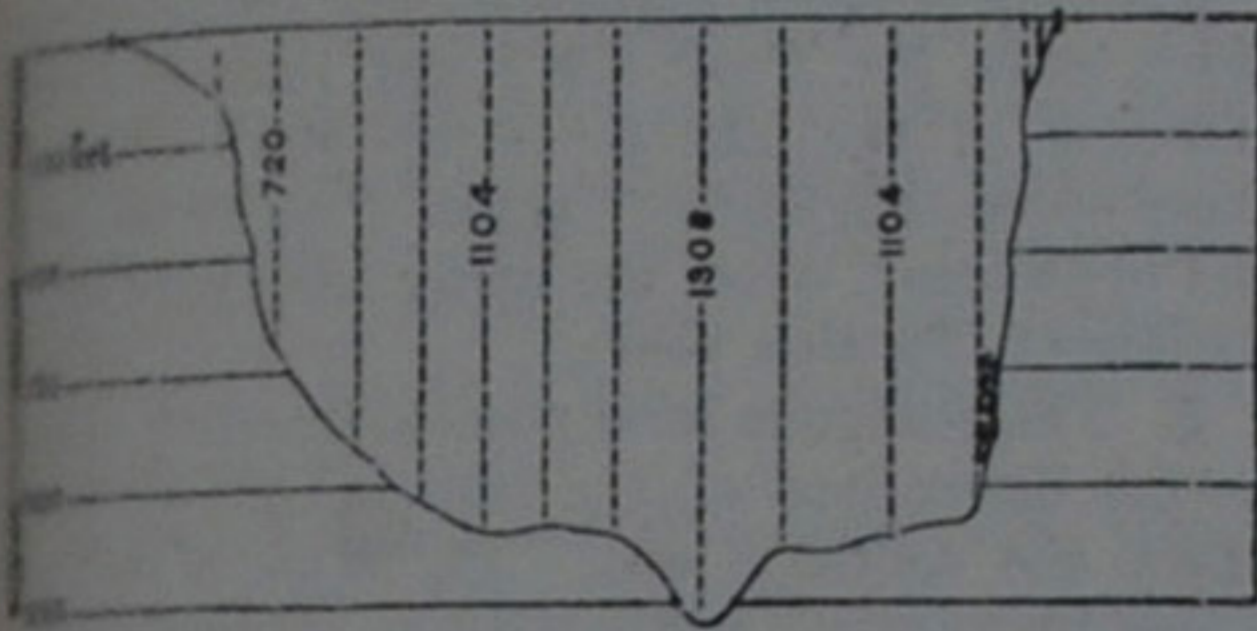
1. From Ain Feshkhal to E. shore.



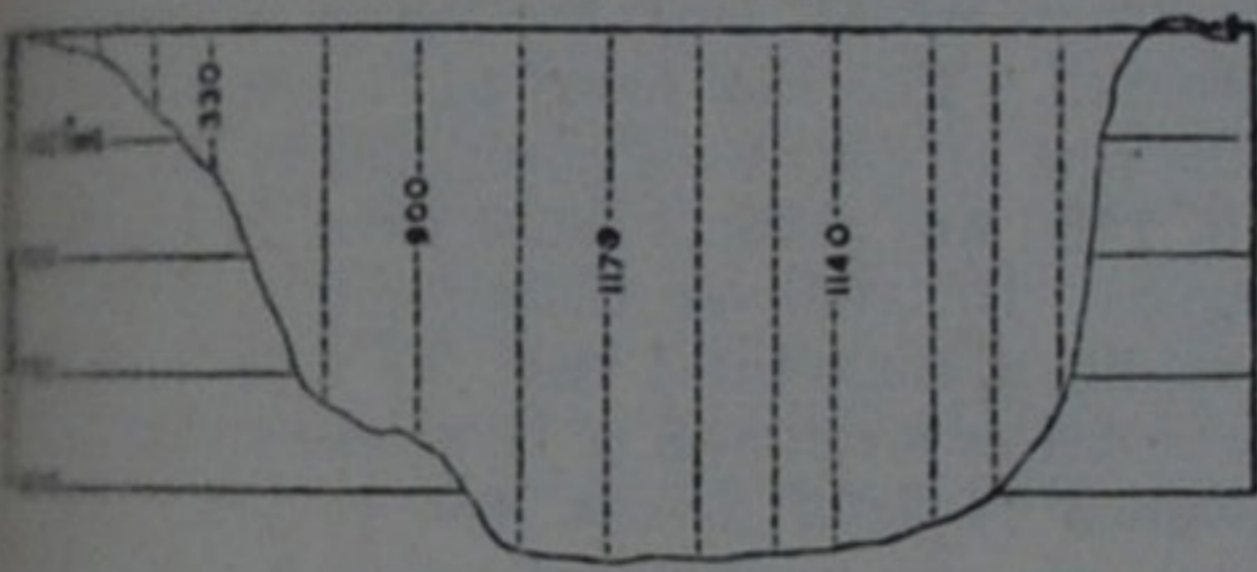
2. From Ain Feshkhal to Wady Zūrka Ma'In.



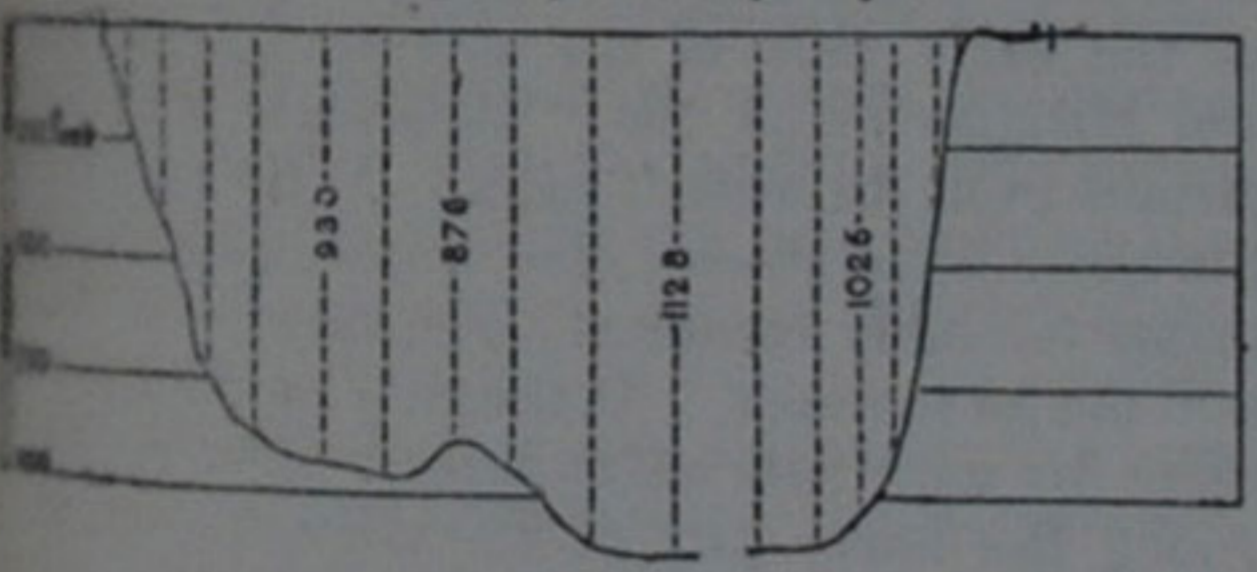
3. From Ain Terābeh to Wady Zūrka.



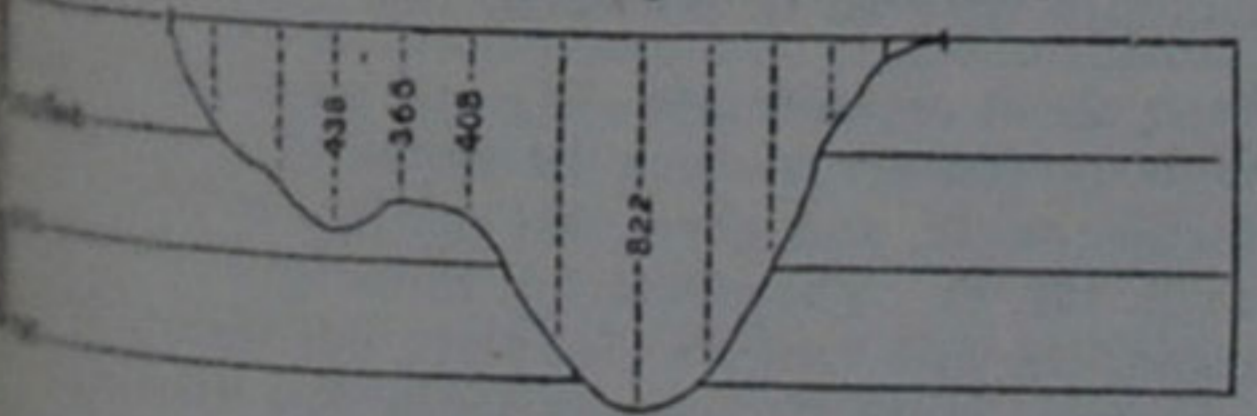
4. From Ain Terābeh to Wady Mojib.



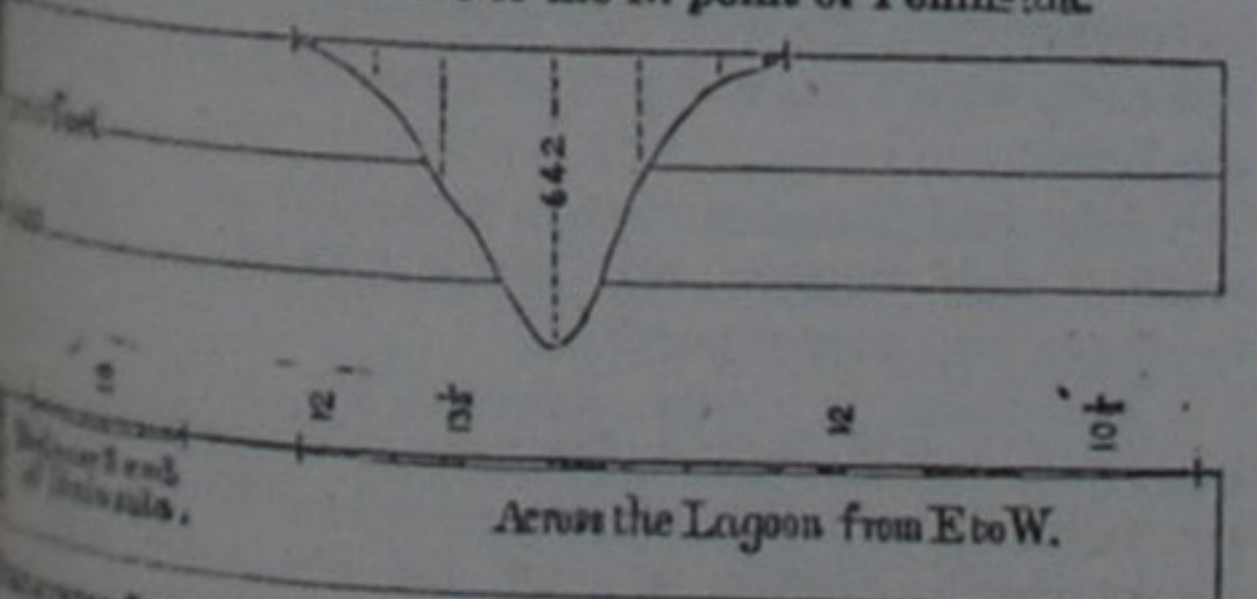
5. From Ain Jidy to Wady Mojib.



6. From Ain Jidy to the N. point of Peninsula.



7. From the W. shore to the N. point of Peninsula.



Across the Lagoon from E to W.

Sections (from West to East) of the DEAD SEA; plotted for the first time, from the Soundings given by Lynch on the Map in his *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition, &c.*, London, 1849. The spots at which the Sections were taken are indicated on the Map (opposite) by the dotted lines. The depths are given in English feet.

For the sake of clearness, the horizontal and vertical scales for these Sections have been enlarged from those adopted in the Map and Longitudinal Section on the opposite page.

quantity of water must be poured into it. There are also all along the western side a considerable number of springs, some fresh, some warm, some salt and fetid—which appear to run continually, and all find their way, more or less absorbed by the sand and shingle of the beach, into its waters. The lake has no visible^f outlet.

3. Excepting the last circumstance, nothing has yet been stated about the Dead Sea that may not be stated of numerous other inland lakes. The depression of its surface, however, and the depth which it attains below that surface, combined with the absence of any outlet, render it one of the most remarkable spots on the globe. According to the observations of Lieut. Lynch, the surface of the lake in May 1848, was 1316·7^g feet below the level of

^f Nor can there be any invisible one: the distance of the surface below that of the ocean alone renders it impossible; and there is no motive for supposing it, because the evaporation (see note to §4) is amply sufficient to carry off the supply from without.

^g This figure was obtained by running levels from *Ain Terābeh* up the *Wady Ras el-Ghuweir* and *Wady en-Nar* to Jerusalem, and thence by Ramleh to Jaffa. It seems to have been usually assumed as accurate, and as settling the question. The elements of error in levelling across such a country are very great, and even practised surveyors would be liable to mistake, unless by the adoption of a series of checks which it is inconceivable that Lynch's party can have adopted. The very fact that no datum on the beach is mentioned, and that they appear to have levelled from the then surface of the water, shews that the party was not directed by a practised leveller, and casts suspicion over all the observations. Lynch's observation with the barometer (p. 12) gave 1234·589 feet—82 feet less depression than that mentioned above. The existence of the depression was for a long time unknown. Even Seetzen (i. 425) believed that it lay higher than the ocean. Marmont (*Voyage*, ili. 61) calculates the Mount of Olives at 747 metres above the Mediterranean, and then estimates the Dead Sea at 500 metres below the mount. The fact was first ascertained by Moore and Beek in March 1837 by boiling water; but they were unable to arrive at a figure. It may be well here to give a list of the various observations on the level of the lake made by different travellers:—

Date	Observer	Method	Eng. ft
Apr. 1837	Von Schubert . . .	Baromf.	637·
1838	De Bertou . . .	Do.	1374·7
1838	Russeger . . .	Do.	1429·2
1841	Symonds . . .	Trignom.	1312·2
1845	Von Wildenbruch	Barom.	1446·3
May, 1848	Lynch	Do.	1234·6
do.	Do.	Level	1316·7
Nov. 1850	Rev. G. W. Bridges	Aneroid	1367·
Oct. 27, 1855	Poole	Do.	1313·5
Apr. (?) 1857	Roth	Barom.	1374·6

—See Petermann, in *Geogr. Journal*, xviii. 90; for Roth, Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1858, p. 3; for Poole, *Geogr. Journ.* xxvi. 58. Mr. Bridges has kindly communicated to the writer the results of his observations. Captain Symonds's operations are briefly described by Mr. Hamilton in his addresses to the Royal Geogr. Society in 1842 and '43. He carried levels across from Jaffa to Jerusalem by two routes, and thence to the Dead Sea by one route: the ultimate difference between the two observations was less than 12 feet (*Geogr. Journal*, xii. p. lx.; xli. p. lxxiv.). One of the sets, ending in 1312·2 ft., is given in Van de Velde's *Memoir*, 75-81.

Widely as the results in the table differ, there is yet enough agreement among them, and with Lynch's level-observation, to warrant the statement in the text. Those of Symonds, Lynch, and Poole, are remarkably close, when the great difficulties of the case are considered; but it must be admitted that those of De Bertou, Roth, and Bridges are equally close. The time of year must not be overlooked. Lynch's level was taken about midway between the winter

the Mediterranean at Jaffa (*Report of Secretary of Navy, &c.*, 8vo. p. 23), and although we cannot absolutely rely on the accuracy of that dimension, still there is reason to believe that it is not very far from the fact. The measurements of the depth of the lake taken by the same party are probably more trustworthy. The expedition consisted of sailors, who were here in their element, and to whom taking soundings was a matter of every day occurrence. In the upper portion of the lake, north of the peninsula, seven cross sections were obtained, six of which are exhibited on the preceding page.^b They shew this portion to be a perfect basin, descending rapidly till it attains, at about one-third of its length from the north end, a depth of 1308ⁱ feet. Immediately west of the upper extremity of the peninsula, however, this depth decreases suddenly to 336 feet, then to 114, and by the time the west point of the peninsula is reached, to 18 feet. Below this the southern portion is a mere lagoon of almost even bottom, varying in depth from 12 feet in the middle to 3 at the edges. It will be convenient to use the term "lagoon"^k in speaking of the southern portion.

The depression of the lake, both of its surface and its bottom, below that of the ocean is at present quite without parallel. The lake Assal, on the Somali coast of Eastern Africa opposite Aden, furnishes the nearest approach to it. Its surface is said to be 570 feet below that of the ocean.

4. The level of the lake is liable to variation according to the season of the year. Since it has no outlet, its level is a balance struck between the amount of water poured into it, and the amount given off by^m evaporation. If more water is supplied than the evaporation can carry off, the lake will rise until the evaporating surface is so much increased as to restore the balance. On the other hand, should the evaporation drive off a larger quantity than the supply, the lake will descend until the surface becomes so small as again to restore the balance. This fluctuation is increased by the fact that the winter is at once the time when the clouds and streams supply most water, and when the evaporation is least; while in summer on the other hand, when the evaporation goes on most furiously, the supply is at its minimum. The extreme differences in level resulting from these causes have not yet been carefully observed.

rains and the autumnal drought, and therefore is consistent with that of Poole, taken 5 months later, at the very end of the dry season.

^b The map in Lynch's private *Narrative* (London, 1849) from which these sections have, for the first time, been plotted, is to a much larger scale, contains more details, and is a more valuable document, than that in his *Official Report*, 4to. (Baltimore, 1852), or his *Report*, 8vo. (Senate Papers, 30th Congr., 2nd Session, No. 34).

ⁱ Three other attempts have been made to obtain soundings, but in neither case with any very practical result. 1. By Messrs. Moore and Beek in March, 1837. They record a maximum depth of 2400 ft. between *Ain Terâbeh* and *W. Zârka*, and a little north of the same 2220 ft. (See *Palmer's Map*, to which these observations were contributed by Mr. Beek himself: also *Geogr. Journ.* vii. 456). Lynch's soundings at nearly the same spots give 1170 and 1308 ft. respectively, at once reversing and greatly diminishing the depths. 2. Captain Symonds, R.E., is said to have been upon the lake and to have obtained soundings, the deepest of which was 2100 ft. But for this the writer can find no authority beyond the statement of Ritter (*Erdkunde*, Jordan, 704), who does not name the source of his information. 3. Lieut. Molyneux, R.N., in Sept. 1847, took three soundings. The first of these seems to have

Dr. Robinson in May 1838, from the lines of drift-wood which he found beyond the then brink of the water in the southern part of the lake, judged that the level must be sometimes from 10 to 15 feet higher than it then was (*B. R.* i. 515, ii. 115); but this was only the commencement of the summer, and by the end of September the water would probably have fallen much lower. The writer, in the beginning of Sept. 1858, after a very hot summer, estimated the line of driftwood along the steep beach of the north end at from 10 to 12 feet above the then level of the water. Robinson (i. 506) mentions a bank of shingle at *Ain Jidy* 6 or 8 feet above the then (May 10) level of the water, but which bore marks of having been covered. Lynch (*Narr.* 289) says that the marks on the shore near the same place indicated that the lake had already (April 22) fallen 7 feet that season.

Possibly a more permanent rise has lately taken place, since Mr. Poole (60) saw many dead trees standing in the lake for some distance from the shore opposite *Khashm Usdum*. This too was at the end of October, when the water must have been at its lowest (for that year).

5. The change in level necessarily causes a change in the dimensions of the lake. This will chiefly affect the southern end. The shore of that part slopes up from the water with an extremely gradual incline. Over so flat a beach a very slight rise in the lake would send the water a considerable distance. This was found to be actually the case. The line of drift-wood mentioned by Dr. Robinson (ii. 115) was about 3 miles from the brink of the lagoon. Dr. Anderson, the geologist of the American expedition, conjectured that the water occasionally extended as much as 8 or 10 miles south of its then position (*Official Report*, 4to. p. 182). On the peninsula, the acclivity of which is much greater than that of the southern shores of the lagoon, and in the early part of the summer (June 2), Irby and Mangles found the "high-water mark a mile distant from the water's edge." At the northern end the shore being steeper, the water-line probably remains tolerably constant. The variation in breadth will not be so much. At the N.W. and N.E. corners there are some flats which must be often overflowed. Along the lower part of the western shore, where the beach widens, as at *Birket el-Khullil*, it is occasionally covered in portions, but they are probably

been about opposite *Ain Jidy*, and gave 1350 ft., though without certainly reaching the bottom. The other two were further north, and gave 1068 and 1098 ft. (*Geogr. Journ.* xviii. 127, 8). The greatest of these appears to be about coincident with Lynch's 1104 feet; but there is so much vagueness about the spots at which they were taken, that no use can be made of the results. Lynch and Beek agree in representing the west side as more gradual in slope than the east, which has a depth of more than 900 ft. close to the brink.

^k Irby and Mangles always term this part "the back-water," and reserve the name "Dead Sea" for the northern and deeper portion.

^l Murchison in *Geogr. Journal*, xiv. p. cxvi. A brief description of this lake is given in an interesting paper by Dr. Buist on the principal depressions of the globe, reprinted in the *Edinb. N. Phil. Journal*, April, 1855.

^m This subject has been ably and carefully investigated by the late Professor Marchand, the eminent chemist of Halle, in his paper on the Dead Sea in the *Journal für prakt. Chemie*, Leipzig, 1849, 371-4. The result of his calculations, founded on the observations of Shaw, A. von Humboldt, and Balard, is that while the average quantity supplied cannot exceed 20,000,000 cub. ft., the evaporation may be taken at 24,000,000 cub. ft. per diem.

not enough to make any great variation in the width of the lake. Of the eastern side hardly anything is known, but the beach there appears to be only partial, and confined to the northern end.

6. The mountains which form the walls of the great fissure in whose depths the lake is contained, continue a nearly parallel course throughout its entire length. Viewed from the beach at the northern end of the lake—the only view within the reach of most travellers—there is little perceptible difference between the two ranges. Each is equally bare and stern to the eye. On the left the western mountains stretch their long, hazy, horizontal line, till they are lost in the dim distance. The western mountains on the other hand do not show the same appearance of continuity, since the headland of *Ras el-Feshkhah* projects so far in front of the general line as to conceal the southern portion of the range when viewed from most points. The horizon is formed by the water-line of the lake itself, often lost in a thick mist which dwells on the surface, the result of the rapid evaporation always going on. In the centre of the horizon, when the haze permits it, may be discovered the mysterious peninsula.

7. Of the eastern side but little is known. One traveller in modern times (Seetzen) has succeeded in forcing his way along its whole length. The American party landed at the *W. Mojib* and other points. A few others have rounded the southern end of the lake, and advanced for 10 or 12 miles along its eastern shores. But the larger portion of those shores—the flanks of the mountains which stretch from the peninsula to the north end of the lake—have been approached by travellers from the West only on very rare occasions nearer than the western shore.

Both Dr. Robinson from *Ain Jidy* (i. 502), and Lieut. Molyneux (127) from the surface of the lake, and their impression that the eastern mountains are much more lofty than the western, and much more broken by clefts and ravines than those on the west. In colour they are brown, or red,—a great contrast to the grey and white tones of the western mountains. Both sides of the lake, however, are alike in the absence of vegetation—almost entirely barren and scorched, except where here and there a spring, bursting up at the foot of the mountains, waters the beach with a bright green jungle of reeds and thorn-bushes, or gives life to a clump of stunted pines; or where, as at *Ain Jidy* or the *Wady Mojib*, a perennial stream betrays its presence, and breaks the long monotony of the precipice by filling the rift with aracias, or nourishing a little oasis of verdure at its embouchure.

8. Seetzen's journey, just mentioned, was accomplished in 1807. He started in January from the head of the Jordan through the upper country, by *El-Haur*, *Attarrus*, and the ravine of the *Wady Mojib* to the peninsula; returning immediately after by the lower level, as near the lake as it was possible to go. He was on foot with but a single guide. It represents the general structure of the mountains as limestone, capped in many places by basalt, and having at its foot a red ferruginous sandstone, which forms the immediate margin of the lake.* The ordinary path lies high up on the flanks of the mountains, and the lower track, which has been pursued, is extremely rough, and often all

but impassable. The rocks lie in a succession of enormous terraces, apparently more vertical in form than those on the west. On the lower one of these, but still far above the water, lies the path, if path it can be called, where the traveller has to scramble through and over a chaos of enormous blocks of limestone, sandstone, and basalt, or basalt conglomerate, the *débris* of the slopes above, or is brought abruptly to a stand by wild clefts in the solid rock of the precipice. The streams of the *Mojib* and *Zürka* issue from portals of dark red sandstone of romantic beauty, the overhanging sides of which no ray of sun ever enters.† The deltas of these streams, and that portion of the shore between them, where several smaller rivulets‡ flow into the lake, abound in vegetation, and form a truly grateful relief to the rugged desolation of the remainder. Palms in particular are numerous (Anderson, 192; Lynch, *Narr.* 369), and in Seetzen's opinion bear marks of being the relics of an ancient cultivation; but except near the streams, there is no vegetation. It was, says he, the greatest possible rarity to see a plant. The north-east corner of the lake is occupied by a plain of some extent left by the retiring mountains, probably often overflowed by the lake, mostly salt and unproductive, and called the *Ghôr el-Belka*.

9. One remarkable feature of the northern portion of the eastern heights is a plateau which divides the mountains halfway up, apparently forming a gigantic landing-place in the slope, and stretching northwards from the *Wady Zürka Ma'in*. It is very plainly to be seen from Jerusalem, especially at sunset, when many of the points of these fascinating mountains come out into unexpected relief. This plateau appears to be on the same general level with a similar plateau on the Western side opposite it (Poole, 68), with the top of the rock of *Sebbeh*, and perhaps with the Mediterranean.

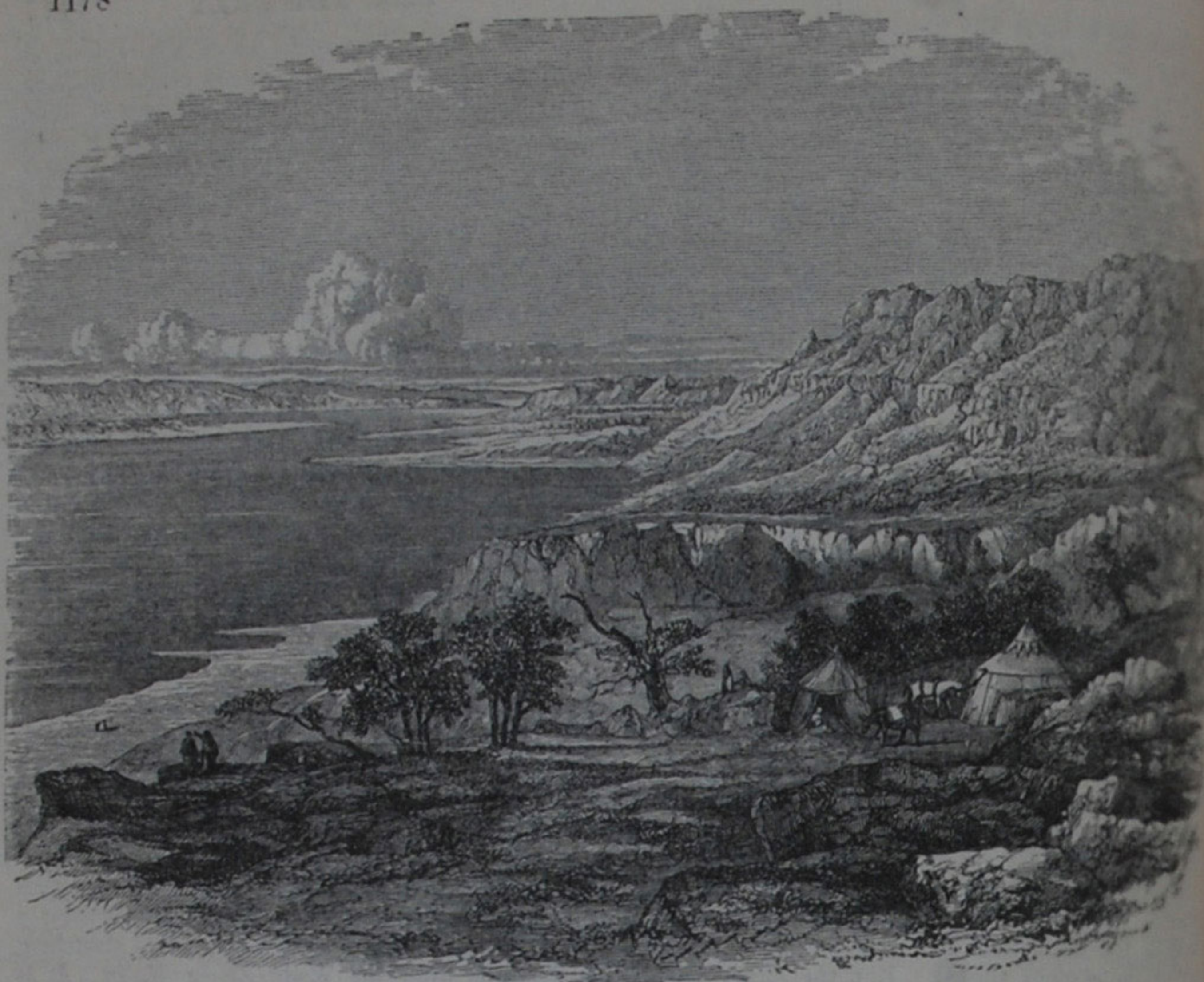
10. The western shores of the lake have been more investigated than the eastern, although they cannot be said to have been yet more than very partially explored. Two travellers have passed over their entire length:—De Saulcy in January 1851, from North to South, *Voyage dans la Syrie, &c.*, 1853, and *Narrative of a Journey, &c.*, London, 1854; and Poole in Nov. 1855, from South to North (*Geogr. Journal*, xxvi. 55). Others have passed over considerable portions of it, and have recorded observations both with pen and pencil. Dr. Robinson on his first journey in 1838 visited *Ain Jidy*, and proceeded from thence to the Jordan and Jericho:—Wolcott and Tipping, in 1842, scaled the rock of Masada (probably the first travellers from the Western world to do so), and from thence journeyed to *Ain Jidy* along the shore. The views which illustrate this article have been, through the kindness of Mr. Tipping, selected from those which he took during this journey. Lieut. Van de Velde in 1852, also visited Masada, and then went south as far as the south end of *Jebel Usdum*, after which he turned up to the right into the western mountains. Lieut. Lynch's party, in 1848, landed and travelled over the greater part of the shore from *Ain Feshkhah* to *Usdum*. Mr. Holman Hunt, in 1854, with the Messrs. Beaumont, resided at *Usdum* for several days, and afterwards went over the entire length from *Usdum* to the Jordan. Of this journey one of the ultimate fruits was Mr. Hunt's picture of the

* Taken by Anderson (189, 190) the Undercliff.

† A rude view of the embouchure of the former of these

is given by Lynch (*Narrative*, 368).

‡ Conjectured by Seetzen to be the "springs of Plegah."



THE DEAD SEA.—View from *Ain Jidy*, looking South. From a Drawing made on the spot in 1842, by W. Tipping, Esq.

Dead Sea at sunset, known as "The Scapegoat." Miss Emily Beaufort and her sister, in December 1860, accomplished the ascent of Masada, and the journey from thence to *Ain Jidy*; and the same thing, including *Usdum*, was done in April 1863 by a party consisting of Mr. G. Clowes, jun., Mr. Straton, and others.

11. The western range preserves for the greater part of its length a course hardly less regular than the eastern. That it does not appear so regular when viewed from the north-western end of the lake is owing to the projection of a mass of the mountain eastward from the line sufficiently far to shut out from view the range to the south of it. It is Dr. Robinson's opinion (*B. R.* i. 510, 11) that the projection consists of the *Ras el Feshkhah* and its "adjacent cliffs" only, and that from that headland the western range runs in a tolerably direct course as far as *Usdum*, at the S.W. corner of the lake. The *Ras el Feshkhah* stands some six miles below the head of the lake, and forms the northern side of the gorge by which the *Wady en Nar* (the Kidron) debouches into the lake. Dr. Robinson is such an accurate observer, that it is difficult to question his opinion, but it seems probable that the projection really commences further south, at the *Ras Mersed*, north of *Ain Jidy*. At any rate no traveller appears to have been able to pass along the beach between *Ain Jidy* and *Ras Feshkhah*, and the great

^a Poole appears to have tried his utmost to keep the shore, and to have accomplished more than others, but with only small success. De Saulcy was obliged to take to the heights at *Ain Terâbeh*, and keep to them till he reached *Ain Jidy*.

^r It is a pity that travellers should so often indulge in the use of such terms as "vertical," "perpendicular," "overhanging," &c., to describe acclivities which prove to be only moderately steep slopes. Even Dr. Robinson—

Arab road, which adheres to the shore from the south as far as *Ain Jidy*, leaves it at that point, and mounts to the summit. It is much to be regretted that Lynch's party, who had encampments of several days duration at *Ain Feshkhah*, *Ain Terâbeh*, and *Ain Jidy*, did not make such observations as would have decided the configuration of the shores.

12. The accompanying woodcut represents the view looking southward from the spring of *Ain Jidy*, a point about 700 feet above the water (Poole, 66). It is taken from a drawing by the accurate pencil of Mr. Tipping, and gives a good idea of the course of that portion of the western heights, and of their ordinary character, except at a few such exceptional spots as the headlands just mentioned, or the isolated rock of *Sebbeh*, the ancient Masada. In their present aspect they can hardly be termed "vertical" or "perpendicular," or even "cliffs" (the favourite term for them), though from a distant point on the surface of the lake they probably look vertical enough (Molyneux, 127). Their structure was originally in huge steps or offsets, but the horizontal portion of each offset is now concealed by the slopes of *débris*, which have in the lapse of ages rolled down from the vertical cliff above.^s

13. The portion actually represented in this view is described by Dr. Anderson (p. 175) as "varying from 1200 to 1500 feet in height, bold and steep, admitting nowhere of the ascent or descent

usually so moderate—on more than one occasion speaks of a mountain-side as "perpendicular," and immediately afterwards describes the ascent or descent of it by the party!

^s Lynch's view of *Ain Jidy* (*Narr.* 290), though rough, is probably not inaccurate in general effect. It agrees with Mr. Tipping's as to the structure of the heights. That in De Saulcy by M. Belly, which purports to be from the same spot as the latter, is very poor

of burden, and practicable only here and there to the most intrepid climber. . . . The principal divisions of the great escarpment, reckoned from above, are:—1. Horizontal layers of limestone from 200 to 300 feet in depth. 2. A series of tent-shaped embankments of *débris*, brought down through the small ravines intersecting the upper division, and lodged on the projecting terrace below. 3. A sharply defined well-marked formation, less perfectly stratified than No. 1, and constituting by its unbroken continuity a zone of solid rock, probably 150 feet in depth, running like a vast frieze along the face of the cliff, and so precipitous that the detritus pushed over the edge of this shelf-like ledge finds no lodgment anywhere on its almost vertical face. Above this zone is an interrupted bed of yellow limestone 40 feet thick. 4. A broad and boldly sloping talus of limestone,—nearly bare, partly covered by *débris* from above—extends nearly to the base of the cliff. 5. A breast-work of fallen fragments, sometimes swept clean away, separates the upper edge of the beach from the ground line of the escarpment. 6. A beach of variable width and structure—sometimes sandy, sometimes gravelly or shingly, sometimes made up of loose and scattered patches of a coarse travertine or marl—falls gradually to the border of the Dead Sea.”

14. Further south the mountain sides assume a more abrupt and savage aspect, and in the *Wady Jereirah*, and still more at *Sebbeh*—the ancient *Maadiah*—reach a pitch of rugged and repulsive, though at the same time impressive, desolation, which perhaps cannot be exceeded anywhere on the face of the earth. Beyond *Usdum* the mountains continue their general line, but the district at their feet is occupied by a mass of lower eminences, which, advancing inwards, gradually encroach on the plain at the south end of the lake, and finally shut it in completely, at about 8 miles below *Jebel Usdum*.

15. The region which lies on the top of the western heights was probably at one time a wide table-land, rising gradually towards the high lands which form the central line of the country—Hebron, *Ben-naim*, &c. It is now cut up by deep and difficult ravines, separated by steep and inaccessible summits; but portions of the table-lands still remain in many places to testify to the original conformation. The material is a soft cretaceous limestone, bright white in colour, and containing a good deal of sulphur. The surface is entirely desert, with no sign of cultivation: here and there a shrub of *Retem*, or some other desert-plant, but only enough to make the monotonous desolation of the scene more frightful. “Il existe au monde,” says one of the most intelligent of modern travellers, “peu de régions plus désolées, plus abandonnées de Dieu, plus fermées à la vie, que la pente rocailleuse qui forme le bord occidental de la Mer Morte” (*Résumé, Vie de Jésus*, ch. vi.).

16. Of the elevation of this region we hitherto

possess but scanty observations. Between *Ain Jidy* and *Ain Terâbeh* the summit is a table-land 740 feet above the lake (Poole, 67).^a Further north, above *Ain Terâbeh*, the summit of the pass is 1305·75 feet above the lake (Lynch, *Off. Rep.* 43), within a few feet the height of the plain between the *Wady en-Nar* and *Goumran*, which is given by Mr. Poole (p. 68.) at 1340 feet. This appears also to be about the height of the rock of *Sebbeh*, and of the table-land, already mentioned, on the eastern mountains north of the *Wady Zûrka*. It is also nearly coincident with that of the ocean. In ascending from the lake to *Nebi Mûsa* Mr. Poole (58) passed over what he “thought might be the original level of the old plain, 532½ feet above the Dead Sea.” That these are the remains of ancient sea margins, chronicling steps in the history of the lake (Allen, in *Geogr. Journ.* xxiii. 163), may reasonably be conjectured, but can only be determined by the observation of a competent geologist on the spot.

17. A beach of varying width skirts the foot of the mountains on the western side. Above *Ain Jidy* it consists mainly of the deltas of the torrents—fan-shaped banks of *débris* of all sizes, at a steep slope, spreading from the outlet of the torrent like those which become so familiar to travellers, in Northern Italy for example. In one or two places—as at the mouth of the *Kidron* and at *Ain Terâbeh*—the beach may be 1000 to 1400 yards wide, but usually it is much narrower, and often is reduced to almost nothing by the advance of the headlands. For its major part, as already remarked, it is impassable. Below *Ain Jidy*, however, a marked change occurs in the character of the beach. Alternating with the shingle, solid deposits of a new material, soft friable chalk, marl, and gypsum, with salt, begin to make their appearance. These are gradually developed towards the south, till at *Sebbeh* and below it they form a terrace 80 feet or more in height at the back, though sloping off gradually to the lake. This new material is a greenish white in colour, and is ploughed up by the cataracts from the heights behind into very strange forms:—here, hundreds of small mamelons, covering the plain like an eruption; there, long rows of huge cones, looking like an encampment of enormous tents; or, again, rectangular blocks and pillars, exactly resembling the streets of a town, with rows of houses and other edifices, all as if constructed of white marble.^b These appear to be the remains of strata of late- or post-tertiary date, deposited at a time when the water of the lake stood much higher, and covered a much larger area, than it does at present. The fact that they are strongly impregnated with the salts of the lake, is itself presumptive evidence of this. In many places they have completely disappeared, doubtless washed into the lake by the action of torrents from the hills behind, similar to, though more violent than those which have played the strange freaks just described: but

^a This was the fortress in which the last remnant of the Sadducees, or fanatical party of the Jews, defended themselves against Silva, the Roman general, in A.D. 71, and at last put themselves to death to escape capture. The incident is described in a very graphic and impressive manner by Dean Milman (*Hist. of the Jews*, 2d edit. ii. 385-9).

^b De Saulcy mentions this as a small rocky table-land, 50 metres above the Dead Sea. But this was evidently not the actual summit, as he speaks of the sheikh occupying a post a few hundred yards above the level of that plateau, and further west (*Narr.* i. 169).

^v Lynch remarks that at *Ain el-Feshkha* there was a “total absence of round pebbles; the shore was covered with small angular fragments of flint” (*Narr.* 274). The same at *Ain Jidy* (290).

^w De Saulcy, *Narr.* *ibid.*; Anderson, 176. See also a striking description of the “resemblance of a great city” at the foot of *Sebbeh*, in *Beaumont's Diary*, &c., ii. 52.

^x A specimen brought by Mr. Clowes from the foot of *Sebbeh* has been examined for the writer by Dr. Price, and proves to contain no less than 6·88 per cent of salts soluble in water, viz. chlor. sodium, 4·559, chlor. calcium, 2·08 chlor. magnesium, 0·241. Bromine was distinctly found.

they still linger on this part of the shore, on the peninsula⁷ opposite, at the southern and western outskirts of the plain south of the lake, and probably in a few spots at the northern and north-western end, to testify to the condition which once existed all round the edge of the deep basin of the lake. The width of the beach thus formed is considerably greater than that above *Ain Jidy*. From the *Birket el-Khūlil* to the wady south of *Sebbeh*, a distance of six miles, it is from one to two miles wide, and is passable for the whole distance. The *Birket el-Khūlil* just alluded to is a shallow depression on the shore, which is filled by the water of the lake when at its greatest height, and forms a natural salt-pan. After the lake retires the water evaporates from the hollow, and the salt remains for the use of the Arabs. They also collect it from similar though smaller spots further⁸ south, and on the peninsula (Irby, June 2). One feature of the beach is too characteristic to escape mention—the line of driftwood which encircles the lake, and marks the highest, or the ordinary high, level of the water. It consists of branches of brushwood, and of the limbs of trees, some of considerable size, brought down by the Jordan and other streams, and in course of time cast up on the beach. They stand up out of the sand and shingle in curiously fantastic shapes, all signs of life gone from them, and with a charred though blanched look very desolate to behold. Amongst them are said to be great numbers of palm trunks (Poole, 69); some doubtless floated over from the palm groves on the eastern shore already spoken of, and others brought down by the Jordan in the distant days when the palm flourished along its banks. The driftwood is saturated with salt, and much of it is probably of a very great age.

A remarkable feature of the western shore has been mentioned to the writer by the members of Mr. Clowes's party. This is a set of 3 parallel beaches one above the other, the highest about 50 ft. above the water; which though often interrupted by ravines, and by *débris*, &c., can be traced during the whole distance from *Wady Zuweirah* to *Ain Jidy*. These terraces are possibly alluded to by Anderson when speaking of the "several descents" necessary to reach the floor of *Wady Seyal* (177).

18. At the south-west corner of the lake, below where the wadys *Zuweirah* and *Mahanwat* break down through the enclosing heights, the beach is encroached on by the salt mountain or ridge of *Khashm Usdum*. This remarkable object is hitherto but imperfectly known. It is said to be quite independent of the western mountains, lying in front of and separated from them, by a considerable tract filled up with conical hills and snort ridges of the soft chalky marly deposit just described. It is a long level ridge or dyke, of several miles long.^a

⁷ They are identified by Dr. Anderson.

⁸ The salt of the Dead Sea was anciently much in request for use in the Temple service. It was preferred before all other kinds for its reputed effect in hastening the combustion of the sacrifice, while it diminished the unpleasant smell of the burning flesh. Its deliquescent character (due to the chlorides of alkaline earths it contains) is also noticed in the Talmud (*Menacoth* xxi. 1; *Jalkut*). It was called "Sodom salt," but also went by the name of the "salt that does not rest" (מלח שאנן שובתת), because it was made on the Sabbath as on other days, like the "Sunday salt" of the English salt-works. It is still much esteemed in Jerusalem.

^a There is great uncertainty about its length. Dr. Robinson states it at 5 miles and "a considerable distance

Its northern portion runs S.S.E.; but after more than half its length it makes a sudden and decided bend to the right, and then runs S.W. It is from 3 to 400 feet in height, of inconsiderable width, consisting of a body of crystallized rock-salt, more or less solid, covered with a capping of chalky limestone and gypsum. The lower portion, the salt rock, rises abruptly from the glossy plain at its eastern base, sloping back at an angle of not more than 45°, often less. It has a strangely dislocated, shattered look, and is all furrowed and worn into huge angular buttresses and ridges, from the face of which great fragments are occasionally detached by the action of the rains, and appear as "pillars of salt," advanced in front of the general mass. At the foot the ground is strewn with lumps and masses of salt, salt streams drain continually from it into the lake, and the whole of the beach is covered with salt—soft and sloppy, and of a pinkish hue in winter and spring, though during the heat of summer dried up into a shining brilliant crust. An occasional patch of the Kali plant (*Salicornia*, &c.) is the only vegetation to vary the monotony of this most monotonous spot.

Between the north end of *K. Usdum* and the lake is a mound covered with stones and bearing the name of *um-Zoghal*.^c It is about 60 feet in diameter and 10 or 12 high, evidently artificial, and not improbably the remains of an ancient structure. A view of it, engraved from a photograph by Mr. James Graham, is given in Isaacs's *Dead Sea* (p. 21). This heap M. De Saulcy maintained to be a portion of the remains of Sodom. Its name is more suggestive of Zoar, but there are great obstacles to either identification. [SODOM; ZOAR.]

19. It follows from the fact that the lake occupies a portion of a longitudinal depression, that its northern and southern ends are not enclosed by highland, as its east and west sides are. The floor of the Ghor or Jordan Valley has been already described. [PALESTINE, p. 675.] As it approaches the northern shore of the lake it breaks down by two offsets or terraces, tolerably regular in figure and level. At the outside edge of the second of these, a range of driftwood marks the highest level of the waters—and from this point the beach slopes more rapidly into the clear light-green water of the lake.

20. A small piece of land lies off the shore about halfway between the entrance of the Jordan and the western side of the lake. It is nearly circular in form. Its sides are sloping, and therefore its size varies with the height of the water. When the writer went to it in Sept. 1858, it was about 100 yards in diameter, 10 or 12 feet out of the water, and connected with the shore by a narrow neck or isthmus of about 100 yards in length. The isthmus is concealed when the water is at its full height,

further" (ii. 107, 112). Van de Velde makes it 10 miles (ii. 113), or 3½ hours (116). But when these dimensions are applied to the map they are much too large, and it is difficult to believe that it can be more than 5 miles in all.

^b Dr. Anderson (181) says it is about 2½ miles wide. But this appears to contradict Dr. Robinson's expressions (ii. 107). The latter are corroborated by Mr. Clowes's party. They also noticed salt in large quantities among the rocks in regular strata some considerable distance back from the lake.

^c *ام زوغل* (Robinson, ii. 107). By de Saulcy the name is given Redjom el-Mezorahl (the gh and r are both attempts to represent the *ghain*). This "Zoghal" in *Athenæum*, Apr. 2, 1854, expressly states that his guide called it *Rudjeim ez-Zogheir*.

not then the little peninsula becomes an island. De Sauley attributes to it the name *Redjâm Lût*—the cairn of Lot.^d It is covered with stones, and dead wood washed up by the waves. The stones are large, and though much weather-worn, appear to have been originally rectangular. At any rate they are very different from any natural fragments on the adjacent shores.

Beyond the island the north-western corner of the lake is bordered by a low plain, extending up to the foot of the mountains of *Neby Musa*, and as far as *Ras Feshkhah*. This plain must be considerably lower than the general level of the land north of the lake, since its appearance implies that it is often covered with water. It is described as sloping gently upwards from the lake; flat and even, except rare patches of reeds round a spring. It is soft and slimy to the tread, or in the summer covered with a white film of salt formed by the evaporation of the surface water. The upper surface appears to be only a crust, covering a soft and deep substratum, and often not strong enough to bear the weight of the traveller.^e In all these particulars it agrees with the plain at the south of the lake, which is undoubtedly covered when the waters rise. It further agrees with it in exhibiting at the back remains of the late tertiary deposits already mentioned, cut out, like those about *Sebbeh*, into fantastic shapes by the rush of the torrents from behind.

A similar plain (the *Ghôr el-Belka*, or *Ghôr Belka*) appears to exist on the N.E. corner of the lake between the embouchure of the Jordan and the base of the mountains of Moab. Beyond, however, the very brief notice of Seetzen (ii. 373), establishing the fact that it is "salt and stony," nothing is known of it.^f

The southern end is like the northern, a wide plain, and like it retains among the Arabs the name of *Urdun*.^g It has been visited by but few travellers. Seetzen crossed it from E. to W. in April, 1806 (Seetzen, i. 426-9), Irby and Mangles in May, 1818, De Sauley in Jan. 1851, and Poole in Nov. 1855, all crossed it in the opposite direction at a moderate distance from the lake. Dr. Robinson, on his way from Hebron to Petra in May, 1838, descended the *Wady Zuceirah*, passed between *K. Usdum* and the lake, and went along the western side of the plain to the *Wady el-Jeib*. The same route was partially followed by M. Van de Velde. The plain is bounded on the west side, below the *Urdun*, by a tract thickly studded with a confused mass of unimportant eminences, "low cliffs and conical hills," of chalky indurated marl (Rob. ii. 117), apparently of the same late formation as that already mentioned further north. These eminences intervene between the lofty mountains of Judah and the plain, and thus diminish the width of the plain from what it is at *Ain Jidy*. Their present forms are due to the fierce rush of the winter torrents from the elevated tracts behind them. In height they vary from 50 to 150 feet. In colour they are brilliant white (Poole, 61). All along

their base are springs, generally of brackish, though occasionally of fresh water, the overflow from which forms a tract of marshland, overgrown with canes, tamarisks, retem, ghurkud, thorn, and other shrubs. Here and there a stunted palm is to be seen. Several principal wadys, such as the *Wady Emaz*, and the *Wady Fikreh*, descend into the *Ghor* through these hills from the higher mountains behind, and their wide beds, strewn with great stones and deeply furrowed, show what vast bodies of water they must discharge in the rainy season. The hills themselves bend gradually round to the eastward, and at last close the valley in to the south. In plan they form "an irregular curve, sweeping across the *Ghor* in something like the segment of a circle, the chord of which would be 6 or 7 geogr. miles in length, extending obliquely from N.W. to S.E." (Rob. ii. 120). Their apparent height remains about what it was on the west, but, though still insignificant in themselves, they occupy here an important position as the boundary-line between the districts of the *Ghor* and the *Arabah*—the central and southern compartments of the great longitudinal valley mentioned in the outset of this article. The *Arabah* is higher in level than the *Ghor*. The valley takes at this point a sudden rise or step of about 100 ft. in height, and from thence continues rising gradually to a point about 35 miles north of *Akabeh*, where it reaches an elevation of 1800 ft. above the Dead Sea, or very nearly 500 ft. above the ocean.

23. Thus the waters of two-thirds of the *Arabah* drain northwards into the plain at the south of the lake, and thence into the lake itself. The *Wady el-Jeib*—the principal channel by which this vast drainage is discharged on to the plain—is very large, "a huge channel," "not far from half a mile wide," "bearing traces of an immense volume of water, rushing along with violence, and covering the whole breadth of the valley." The body of detritus discharged by such a river must be enormous. We have no measure of the elevation of the plain at the foot of the southern line of mounds, but there can be no doubt that the rise from the lake upwards is, as the torrents are approached, considerable, and it seems hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the silting up of the lagoon which forms the southern portion of the lake itself is due to the materials brought down by this great torrent and by those, hardly inferior to it, which, as already mentioned, discharge the waters of the extensive highlands both on the east and west.

24. Of the eastern boundary of the plain we possess hardly any information. We know that it is formed by the mountains of Moab, and we can just discern that, adjacent to the lake, they consist of sandstone, red and yellow, with conglomerate containing porphyry and granite, fragments of which have rolled down and seem to occupy the position which on the western side is occupied by the tertiary hills. We know also that the wadys *Ghurundel* and *Tufileh*, which drain a district of the mountains N. of Petra, enter at the S.E. corner of the plain—but beyond this all is uncertain.

(A.D. 1217), who crossed the Jordan at the ordinary ford, and at a mile from thence was shewn the "salt pillar" of Lot's wife, seems to imply that there are masses of rock-salt at this spot, of the same nature as that at *Usdum*, though doubtless less extensive (Thietmar *Peregr.* xl. 47).

^g *Rohr* in the spelling adopted by De Sauley.

^h See the section given by Petermann in *Geogr. Journ.* xviii. 89.

^d This island was shewn to Maundrell (March 30, 1697) as containing, or having near it, the "monument of Lot's wife." It forms a prominent feature in the view of "the Dead Sea from its northern shore," No. 429 of Frith's panoramic views in the Holy Land.

^e This was especially mentioned to the writer by Mr. David Roberts, R.A., who was nearly lost in such a hole on his way from the Jordan to *Mar Saba*.

^f The statement of the ancient traveller Thietmar

25. Of the plain itself hardly more is known than of its boundaries. Its greatest width from W. to E. is estimated at from 5 to 6 miles, while its length from the cave in the salt mountain to the range of heights on the south, appears to be about 8. Thus the breadth of the *Ghôr* seems to be here considerably less than it is anywhere north of the lake, or across the lake itself. That part of it which more immediately adjoins the lake consists of two very distinct sections, divided by a line running nearly N. and S. Of these the western is a region of salt and barrenness, bounded by the salt mountain of *Khashm Usdum*, and fed by the liquefied salt from its caverns and surface, or by the drainage from the salt springs beyond it—and overflowed periodically by the brine of the lake itself. Near the lake it bears the name of *es Sabkah*, i. e. the plain of salt mud (De Saulcy, 262). Its width from W. to E.—from the foot of *K. Usdum* to the belt of reeds which separates it from the *Ghôr es Safieh*—is from 3 to 4 miles.¹ Of its extent to the south nothing is known, but it is probable that the muddy district, the *Sabkah* proper, does not extend more at most than 3 miles from the lake. It is a naked marshy plain, often so boggy as to be impassable for camels (Rob. 115), destitute of every species of vegetation, scored at frequent intervals² by the channels of salt streams from the *Jebel Usdum*, or the salt springs along the base of the hills to the south thereof. As the southern boundary is approached the plain appears to rise, and its surface is covered with a “countless number” of those conical mamelons (Poole, 61), the remains of late aqueous deposits, which are so characteristic of the whole of this region. At a distance from the lake a partial vegetation is found (Rob. ii. 103), clumps of reeds surrounding and choking the springs, and spreading out as the water runs off.

26. To this curious and repulsive picture the eastern section of the plain is an entire contrast. A dense thicket of reeds, almost impenetrable, divides it from the *Sabkah*. This past, the aspect of the land completely changes. It is a thick copse of shrubs similar to that around Jericho (Rob. ii. 113), and, like that, cleared here and there in patches where the *Ghawarîneh*,³ or Arabs of the *Ghôr*, cultivate their wheat and durra, and set up their wretched villages. The variety of trees appears to be remarkable. Irby and Mangles (108 b) speak of “an infinity of plants that they knew not how to name or describe.” De Saulcy expresses himself in the same terms—“une riche moisson botanique.” The plants which these travellers name are dwarf mimosa, tamarisk, dom, osher, *Asclepias procera*, nubk, arek, indigo. Seetzen (i. 427) names also the *Thonja aphylla*. Here, as at Jericho, the secret of this vegetation is an abundance of fresh water acting on a soil of extreme richness (Seetzen, ii. 355). Besides the

¹ Irby, 1½ hour; De Saulcy, 1 hr. 18 min. + 800 metres; Poole, 1 hr. 5 min. Seetzen, 3 hours (i. 428).

² Irby and Mangles report the number of these “drains” between *Jebel Usdum* and the edge of the *Ghôr es-Safieh* at six; Poole at eleven; De Saulcy at three, but he evidently names only the most formidable ones.

³ The Ghorneys of Irby and Mangles; the Rhaouarnas of De Saulcy.

⁴ Probably the *Wady el-Tufileh*.

⁵ See De Saulcy, *Narr.* i. 493.

⁶ Larger than the *Wady Mojib* (Seetzen, i. 427).

⁷ Seetzen (ii. 355) states that the stream, which he calls *el-Hössa*, is conducted in artificial channels (*Kanälen*) through the fields (also i. 427). Poole names them *Ain Azhka*.

watercourse,⁸ in which the belt of reeds (like those north of the Lake of Huleh in the marshes which bound the upper Jordan), the *Wady Kuráhy* (or *el Ahsy*), a considerable stream from the eastern mountains, runs through it, Mr. Poole mentions having passed three swift brooks, either branches of the same,⁹ or independent streams. But this would hardly be sufficient to account for its fertility, unless this portion of the plain was too high to be overflowed by the lake; and although no mention is made of any such change of level, it is probably safe to assume it. Perhaps also something is due to the nature of the soil brought down by the *Wady el-Ahsy*, of which it is virtually the delta. This district, so well wooded and watered, is called the *Ghôr es-Safieh*.⁹ Its width is less than that of the *Sabkah*. No traveller has traversed it from W. to E., for the only road through it is apparently that to *Kerak*, which takes a N.E. direction immediately after passing the reeds. De Saulcy made the nearest approach to such a traverse on his return from *Kerak* (*Narrative*, i. 492), and on his detailed map (feuille 6) it appears about 2½ miles in width. Its length is still more uncertain, as we are absolutely without record of any exploration of its southern portion. Seetzen (ii. 355) specifies it (at second hand) as extending to the mouth of the *Wady el-Hössa* (i. e. the *el-Ahsy*). On the other hand, De Saulcy, when crossing the *Sabkah* for the first time from W. to E. (*Narr.* i. 263), remarks that there was no intermission in the wood before him, between the *Ghôr es-Safieh* and the foot of the hills at the extreme south of the plain. It is possible that both are right—and that the wood extends over the whole east of the *Ghôr*, though it bears the name of *es-Safieh* only as far as the mouth of the *el-Ahsy*.

27. The eastern mountains which form the background to this district of woodland, are no less naked and rugged than those on the opposite side of the valley. They consist, according to the reports of Seetzen (ii. 354), Poole, and Lynch, of a red sandstone, with limestone above it—the sandstone in horizontal strata with vertical cleavage (Lynch, *Narr.* 311, 313). To judge from the fragments at their feet, they must also contain very fine brecciae and conglomerates, of granite, jasper, greenstone, and felspar of varied colour. Irby and Mangles mention also porphyry, serpentine, and basalt; but Seetzen expressly declares that of basalt he there found no trace.

Of their height nothing is known, but all travellers concur in estimating them as higher than those on the west, and as preserving a more horizontal line to the south.

After passing from the *Ghôr es-Safieh* to the north, a salt plain is encountered resembling the *Sabkah*, and like it overflowed by the lake when

⁸ Mr. Tristram found even at the foot of the salt mountain of *Usdum* that about 2 feet below the surface there was a splendid alluvial soil; and he suggested to the writer that there is an analogy between this plain and certain districts in North Africa, which though fertile and cultivated in Roman times, are now barren and covered with efflorescence of natron. The cases are also to a certain degree parallel, inasmuch as the African plains (also called *Sebcha*) have their salt mountain (like the *Khashm Usdum*, “isolated from the mountain range behind,” and flanked by small mamelons bearing stunted herbage), the streams from which supply them with salt (*The Great Sahara*, 71, &c.). They are also, like the *Sabkah* of Syria, overflowed every winter by the adjoining lake.