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THE BIBLE EDUCATOR.

THE
BIBLE EDUCATOR.

EDITED BY THE

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THE BIBLE EDUCATOR.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

JOSHUA.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRECENTOR OF LINCOLN.

THE character of Joshua, Moses' minister and successor, the leader of Israel in their conquest of Canaan, is, confessedly, one of the grandest and most spotless in the whole Bible. The greatness of the man is indeed to some extent overshadowed by the greatness of the events through which he moved: we know him more as a conqueror than as a man. But so far as we do know him, he is almost absolutely faultless. He is one of the very few personages of holy writ of whom no evil is recorded. Free from all desire of self-aggrandisement or lust of gain, no taint of selfishness mars the simple nobility of Joshua's character. In whatever circumstances we find him placed, his one desire is to know what the will of God is, and his one resolve to do it, at all costs. Of him, as of his true heart-brother Caleb, the unerring verdict of the Word of Truth is, "He wholly followed the Lord" (Numb. xxxii. 12). Who, then, was more worthy to be the first bearer of that "Name which is above every name," which in fulness of time was to be the human designation of Him who was "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners," JESUS, the Captain of His people's salvation in their conflict for the heavenly Canaan?

It is as a warrior that Joshua is first presented to us, and this is the character he chiefly maintains throughout the Scripture record. His gifts and virtues are those of the warrior. Dauntless courage, indomitable perseverance, cheerful confidence in the face of difficulties (Numb. xiv. 7—9; Exod. xvii. 10), promptitude of action (Josh. iii. 1; x. 9; xi. 7), high honour (vi. 25; ix. 26), unselfish disregard of his own interests (xix. 49, 50), unswerving rectitude (vii. 25; ix. 23; xviii. 10), care for the interests of those committed to him—all built upon and based in faith in the Living God. Joshua, faultless and dauntless, without fear and without reproach, is a type of the high-minded, God-fearing soldier: the forerunner of the Napiers, Lawrencees, and Havelocks of our own days.

But it is not only as a soldier that Joshua's eminence is displayed. He was one who had learnt how to command by having first learnt how to obey. We see in the earlier part of his history faithful service to his master; zeal for his honour (Numb. xi. 28); a simple,

straightforward discharge of duty; moral courage strengthening him to stand firm when others faltered, and to declare unwelcome truths in the face of peril to life (Numb. xiv. 6—10)—qualities which sealed his fitness for the difficult post of the leadership of stiff-necked Israel, even before he had been designated as Moses' successor by the voice of the Most High. And when his duties as a general and a soldier were over, and he had been called to enter on the less exciting task of settling the tribes in their new home, and allotting to each his portion of the conquered territory, his statesmanlike qualities became equally conspicuous. We see him diligently and laboriously distributing the land among its new occupants, and, while with complete unselfishness he defers his own claim to a share of the fruits of victory until all other claims had been satisfied, exhibiting the most scrupulous equity in his assignment of their portions to the several tribes. We watch him appeasing jealousies, calming rising feuds, checking arrogance, moderating overweening pretensions (Josh. xvii. 14—18), and, with the magnanimity of real greatness and the calmness of conscious strength, executing in all its details the difficult task devolved upon him. And when the work of his life is done, and in extreme old age he gathers together the tribes, those whose fathers he had so often led to victory, to receive his parting commission, how full of dignity is the reticence he observes with regard to himself and his own exploits (Josh. xxiii., xxiv.). Natural as it would have been to have reminded them of what they owed to him as the leader and captain who had put them in possession of the goodly land which they were enjoying, pardonable as we should consider such a reference to his military prowess, all he had done is omitted, and the whole of the brilliant past is gathered up in one sentence, in which the entire glory is attributed to God: "Jehovah, your God, is he that hath fought for you;" and the human agent does not appear at all. Let his people, for whom he had laboured and fought, only be true to their covenant with their God, and Joshua would be content to be forgotten.

The life of Joshua naturally divides itself into four sections. (1.) His youth and early manhood in Egypt, of which we have no record in Scripture. (2.) The forty

years intervening between the Exodus and the death of Moses, in which he appears as Moses' attendant, and entrusted by him with important commissions, civil and military. (3.) The period between the crossing of Jordan and the complete subjugation of Canaan, in which period Joshua comes before us as the Divinely appointed captain and governor of Israel, including (a) the conquest and (b) the settlement of the land. (4.) His calm and honoured old age, passed at Timnath-serah, of which no events are recorded, except his closing address of warning and counsel to the assembled tribes and their elders.

I.—LIFE IN EGYPT.

According to a Hebrew tradition, in which there is nothing improbable, Joshua was born B.C. 1537, and was, therefore, forty-six years old at the time of the exodus. According to this chronology, his birth must have taken place about the time of Moses' flight into the land of Midian. His father, named Nun, was a member of the great tribe of Ephraim. We may feel sure that the father of the future leader of God's people was not one of those who "defiled themselves with the idols of Egypt" (Ezek. xx. 8), but at a time when God seemed to have forgotten his people, and to have given them over into the hands of their oppressors, maintained his faith in the promises made to his fathers, and trained up his son to expect their fulfilment in God's appointed time. The name given by Nun to his son seems to embody his trust that deliverance would come, and almost to indicate a hope that his offspring might be its destined instrument. The name Hoshea, or Oshea, the same borne by the last king of Israel and the first minor prophet, signifies *deliverance*, or *salvation*. To this name the sacred syllable expressive of the self-existent One, the JAH, the "I AM THAT I AM," was prefixed by Moses (Num. xiii. 8, 16) : "And Moses called Oshea, the son of Nun, Jehoshua," *i.e.*, *Jehovah's salvation*, or *Jehovah is salvation*, thus intimating that Israel's deliverance was to come from Jehovah, by the hand of him who bore the designation. But this deliverance was not to come yet. Many a weary year it had to be waited for. If not a slave himself, yet surrounded by those who were tasting all the miseries of slavery in its harshest form, the young Joshua would have grown up through boyhood and youth to manhood, witnessing the bondage of his down-trodden race growing harder and more crushing. The "service with rigour in mortar and brick," the toil of the brick-kiln, and of the field beneath the scorching Egyptian sun, the burdens, the bastinado of the taskmaster, must all have been matters of daily familiarity with him, if not of personal experience. The "groaning" of his brethren "by reason of the bondage" must have been an accustomed sound from his earliest childhood, if his own voice had not swelled it.

As a man of forty, Joshua would have had his faith in the God of his fathers revived, and his hopes of deliverance awakened, by the intervention of Moses in behalf of his enslaved countrymen. He must have witnessed the assertion of the outraged majesty of God in the plagues of Egypt, and have been prepared, by

their growing intensity, for the final and glorious triumph over the obstinate and besotted Pharaoh. Though the Scriptural record is silent, we cannot doubt that one who so immediately after the exodus was selected by Moses to lead the Israelites against Amalek, must have taken a prominent part in that mighty transaction, and have been employed by Moses as one of his chief subordinates in carrying out the arrangements of that vast migration, the real significance and immense difficulty of which we are apt to overlook, from the calmness and even flow of the Scriptural narrative. He must have stood by his great master's side on the shores of the Red Sea on that memorable night when "the Lord fought for Israel, and they held their peace;" he must have seen the waters divide before the outstretched rod; have helped to marshal the hosts as they crossed the dried bed of the Red Sea; and have swelled the song of triumph which rose from the emancipated nation when they beheld "the Egyptians dead on the seashore," and at last felt themselves free. If the work for which Joshua was destined was one calling for dauntless courage and unshaken faith in God, in the face of apparently insurmountable obstacles, he could not have had a better preparation for it than amid the marvels of the Exodus.

II.—LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS.

With the exodus from Egypt begins our personal acquaintance with Joshua, as by anticipation we may be allowed for clearness to call him. With that directness so characteristic of the sacred writings, and so indicative of truth, he is at once introduced by name. A few days only had elapsed since the passage of the Red Sea, and the mighty host had reached its first great halting place, Rephidim, "the places of rest" (Exod. xvii. 1). Here, their thirst being abundantly supplied by the water miraculously called forth by Moses at God's command from the rock, the wearied multitude reposed for a few days to collect strength for their onward march to Sinai (ver. 6). But their repose was of short duration. The spectacle of the enormous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep which accompanied them had already awakened the cupidity of the native tribes of the desert, to whom then, as now, cattle-lifters by profession, the temptation was irresistible. Besides, when the precarious pasturage of those parched valleys had been "licked up" by the flocks of the invaders, what would be left for their own cattle? The attack was made by the Amalekites; those bitter, implacable enemies of Israel, now appearing for the first time on the sacred page. As the host slowly wound its way beneath the granite precipices of the desert of Sinai, "faint and weary" with their toilsome march, they made a treacherous assault—dashing down, perhaps, from an ambush in a side ravine—on the feeble rear, the loose, disorganised fringe of the main body, "the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee" (Deut. xxv. 18). The success of this dastardly surprise was such as to encourage a second and more decided attack on the host, after they had en-

camped in Rephidim: "Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Rephidim" (Exod. xvii. 8). According to Josephus, the king of Amalek had summoned all the forces of the distant tribes, from Petra to the Mediterranean, to crush the unwelcome intruders. The emergency was a grave one. It was the first battle fought by a nation of slaves, unaccustomed to the use of arms, and entire strangers to the tactics and manœuvres on which military success so greatly depends. Under such circumstances, nearly everything would depend on the skill and prowess of the commanding officer. And this post of difficulty and danger is assigned to the hitherto unmentioned warrior of Ephraim, Joshua the son of Nun. Confident not only in his courage and martial prowess, but also in his good judgment and power of discrimination, Moses bids him select the troops to face the enemy. "And Moses said unto Joshua, Choose us out men, and go out and fight with Amalek" (ver. 9). Few scenes are more familiar to us than that which followed, when, on the next morning, the inexperienced commander led forth his untried troops to battle; while Moses, with his wonder-working rod, plants himself on the top of the hill, in the double character of a general directing the movements of the army, and of a mediator interceding with "the Lord of hosts," "the God of battles," for the success of their arms. The circumstances are too well known to all our readers to need repetition. Our mind at once recalls the image of the aged lawgiver standing aloft on the cliff's edge, stretching out "the rod of God"—that emblem of the cross, the sole pledge and instrument of the spiritual victories of Christ's true Israel—conspicuously visible to all the host as a token of the power and presence of God; and beside him, staying up his hands as they fail from weariness, his brother Aaron, and Hur. And we are equally familiar with the issue, as described by our Christian poet:—

"When Moses stood with arms spread wide,
Success was found on Israel's side;
But when through weariness they failed,
That moment Amalek prevailed."

The battle was evidently protracted and trying. Beginning in the morning, it lasted to "the going down of the sun" (ver. 12). The struggle was fierce and obstinate, marked with vicissitudes of success and discomfiture. Amalek, "that first of the nations" (Numb. xxiv. 20), was no enemy to be vanquished in a skirmish. But in the end victory was gained: "Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword" (Exod. xvii. 13). The memory of so signal an event was not to be allowed to die out. An altar was built by Moses, probably on the spot on the summit of the hill where he had stood, inscribed with the words, "Jehovah-nissi," "the Lord is my banner" (ver. 15). He was also expressly commanded by God to write an account of this battle in the book he was instructed to draw up, as a record of God's dealings with his people, and "rehearse it in the ears of Joshua," together with the command, to be transmitted through him to after ages, for the complete extermination of the Amalekites. "Because

the Lord hath sworn that the Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation" (ver. 16). Thus early was the intimation given that Joshua was to be the successor of Moses, and carry on the work that he had begun.

The Pentateuch records no more of Joshua's deeds as a warrior. For a long period he only appears in the humble, most unobtrusive character of "Moses' minister," the constant attendant on the leader of his people. This is the first example of that connection between a prophet or teacher, and a younger companion, often, as in this case, destined to succeed him, of which the relation of Elisha to Elijah (1 Kings xix. 19), of Baruch to Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvi. 4, &c.), of John Mark to Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiii. 5), and subsequently, according to ecclesiastical tradition, of the same evangelist to Peter (cf. 1 Peter v. 13), are familiar instances. The occasion on which this relation of Joshua to Moses is first definitely stated in Scripture is one of the greatest solemnity (Exod. xxiv. 13). It was when the Ten Commandments had just been given from Mount Sinai, amid accompaniments of such awful majesty, and the lawgiver was proceeding to obey the Divine call that summoned him again to meet the Most High on the summit of the mountain, and receive from his hands the tables of the law, that we first find Joshua in attendance on Moses. "And the Lord said to Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee tables of stone. . . . And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua: and Moses went up into the mount of God" (Exod. xxiv. 12, 13). Though not expressly stated, it is evident that he accompanied his master to the summit of the mountain. Moses' command to the elders, who had partaken with him of the covenant feast, and beheld with him the manifestation of the most high God (vs. 9—11), when he parts from them on the hillside, is, "Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you." We cannot suppose that he entered with Moses "into the thick darkness where God was." Joshua would remain, during the forty days he was in the mount, outside the immediate Presence, ready, when God "had made an end of communing with him," to accompany Moses once more to the camp. The circumstances of that descent, the startling contrast between the holy stillness of the mountain of God and the shouts of idolatrous revelry which assail their ears as Moses and his minister draw near the host, are familiar to us. To the soldier's ear, quick to receive the sound of the battle-field, the clamour is full of alarm. "He said unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp" (Exod. xxxii. 17). "Had the Amalekites taken advantage of the absence of the leader of the host, and the captain of the army, to make another attempt on Israel? If so, it was time they should be there." The keener and more chastened ear of Moses discerns the true nature of the wild uproar. As he had been already apprised on the mount, "the people he had brought out of Egypt had corrupted themselves," had "made a molten calf," had "worshipped it and sacrificed thereunto." The din was not that of combatants, but

of revellers. "It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome; but the noise of them that sing do I hear" (Exod. xxxii. 18). We well remember the holy indignation with which the lawgiver dashed to the ground and broke in fragments the tables of the law when he beheld the people so lately taken into covenant with God as "a holy nation," "His peculiar treasure above all people" (Exod. xix. 5, 6), circling with licentious dance and song, "naked to their shame" (xxxii. 25), the calf of gold; and the signal punishment—in which the warrior Joshua may well have taken part—with which their crime was visited, when the sword of the tribe of Levi laid 3,000 of the guilty ones dead on the ground. Another mark of the Divine displeasure follows, in connection with which we see Joshua once more acting as Moses' attendant. The tabernacle or tent already set up within the precincts of the camp, as the meeting-place between Jehovah and the representatives of the nation, was removed from the polluted neighbourhood, and placed at a distance. "Moses took the tabernacle" (it will be remembered that *the* "tabernacle," properly so called, had not yet been constructed), "and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp" (Exod. xxxiii. 7). Thus the nation was made to feel that they had forfeited the Divine presence, which was only restored to them on the intercession of their mediator. To this tent, Moses, attended by Joshua, goes forth, all eyes eagerly watching him, "every man at his tent door" (ver. 8), in awful suspense as to the issue; and within it, when it has once more been hallowed by the descent of the cloudy pillar, Joshua is left to guard the consecrated spot, when Moses returned after his intercourse with God. "And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but his servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the tabernacle" (ver. 11).

The zeal of the servant for his master's honour received a striking exemplification in an incident occurring shortly after the host had quitted the wilderness of Sinai, narrated in Numb. xi. At a place known afterwards by the ill-omened name of Kibroth-hattaavah, "the graves of lust," "because there they buried the people that lusted," the mutinous conduct of the people, weary of the insipidity of the manna which formed their daily food, and recalling with keen relish the juicy and high-flavoured viands of plentiful Egypt, "the fish, and the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic, which we did eat freely," had driven Moses to passionate remonstrances, and complaints of the intolerable burden God had laid on him in the leadership of such a rebellious, stiff-necked nation (vs. 10—15). To relieve the overweighted ruler, the Divine sanction was given to the appointment of a permanent council of seventy elders. To qualify them for the execution of their office, the gift of Divine illumination was promised them: "I will take of the spirit that is upon thee, and will put it upon them" (ver. 17). This gift was followed by outward signs. "And it came to pass, that,

when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied." It happened that, for some unstated reason, two who had been enrolled in this body—Eldad and Medad, by name—had failed to accompany their brethren to the door of the tabernacle, where their office had been solemnly recognised, and the spiritual gift imparted. But, as subsequently, when Cornelius and his companions received spiritual gifts without laying on of hands, and even before baptism, to show that God is not restricted to the use of the means He has been pleased to ordain, but "divideth to every man severally as He will," the gift granted to the others was exercised by them. "The spirit rested upon them, . . . and they prophesied in the camp" (ver. 26). Surprise was at once awakened. Men are ever slow to believe that God can be larger in his dealings than their own narrow minds. "There ran a young man, and told Moses, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp." The indignation of the loyal-hearted Joshua immediately blazes forth. This unauthorised "liberty of prophesying" seemed to him an infringement on his master's jurisdiction. All due subordination was at an end if this independent action were permitted. "My lord Moses," he cries, "forbid them." "Enviest thou for my sake?" is the mild rebuke of Moses, not unconscious, perhaps, of the personal pique veiling itself under a regard for his master's honour. "Art thou displeased to behold the gifts hitherto peculiar to thy master dispersed so widely? Not such is my temper. I rejoice to witness others sharing in my powers." "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them" (vs. 28, 29).

A few stations from Kibroth-hattaavah brought the children of Israel to Kadesh-barnea, on the borders of the Promised Land. A wise precaution, suggested by the people themselves (Dent. i. 22), and acquiesced in by Moses, dictated the sending forth spies to search out the land, and bring back a report of it, and its inhabitants. Of these, one was selected from each of the twelve tribes; "every one a ruler" in his tribe, the "head" of a family. Joshua was the representative of the tribe of Ephraim (Numb. xiii. 2, 8, 16). The report presented by the spies on their return to the camp was of a twofold character. As regarded the land itself, nothing could be more satisfactory. Its fertility even exceeded the report of it. The sample they brought—a huge cluster of grapes, as much as two men could carry, with figs and pomegranates, the fruits of the land—confirmed their words. But the picture had another and less cheering side. "Nevertheless the people be strong that dwell in the land; and the cities are walled, and very great: moreover, we saw the children of Anak there" (ver. 28), the dreaded descendants of the traditionary giants, whose very name inspired terror. The report filled the people with dismay. A nation only just emancipated from a degrading slavery, which had crushed out all moral courage and patriotic feeling, and physically enfeebled them, they shrank from the prospect of having to contend with such formidable adversaries. "If the goodly land were to be gained without a

struggle, or after just so much resistance as would enhance the pleasure of possession, they would be glad enough to go up and possess it. But to have to fight for it, inch by inch, against such tremendous odds; to stand up against giants; to meet in battle tribes accustomed to war from their youth; to scale the walls of fortified cities;—for this they had no mind." Notwithstanding all the proofs of the Divine protection they received, they were utterly destitute of any real faith in God. "Back to Egypt," is their cry. "Moses, the deceiver, is to be deposed; another captain to be chosen in his room; and they will return to the land of their bondage. If they had to labour hard there, they had at least an abundance of rich and varied food, and were in no danger of losing their lives in battle." The attempt of Caleb to calm the people's fears and inspire courage, fails utterly. The disaffection increases, and swells into a violent insurrection. Again the noble-hearted Caleb, and Joshua, who is now associated with him by name, throw themselves into the breach. Regardless of their own personal danger, for "all the congregation bade stone them with stones" (Numb. xiv. 10), they boldly assert the truth, and use all their efforts to rouse the panic-stricken crowd from their despondency. "The land, which we passed through to search it, is an exceeding good land. If the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it us. . . . Only rebel not ye against the Lord, neither fear ye the people of the land; for they are bread for us: their defence is departed from them, and the Lord is with us: fear them not" (vs. 7—9). Incensed beyond endurance by this attempt to thwart their rash resolve, the people are proceeding to open violence, when a Divine interposition saves Joshua and Caleb from death. "The glory of the Lord appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation before all the children of Israel" (ver. 10). Immediately the Divine sentence is pronounced against the rebellious nation, only spared once more from utter extermination by the intercession of Moses. They are condemned to atone for their rebellion, by a forty years' wandering in the desert, until all who had "thought scorn of that pleasant land," and refused to give "credence unto his word" (Ps. cvi. 24), "from twenty years old and upward" (Numb. xiv. 29), should have died. Two, and two only, are exempted from the general doom, "Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua, the son of Nun; for they have wholly followed the Lord" (Numb. xxxii. 12). A more sudden sentence carries off their ten companions, whose want of faith in God's protection and help had been the original cause of the rebellion. "Those men that did bring up the evil report upon the land, died by the plague before the Lord; but Joshua and Caleb lived still" (Numb. xiv. 37, 38); monuments of the Lord's just severity, and of his discriminating goodness.

Absolute silence envelops Joshua during the forty years of wandering in the desert. He does not reappear till the close of that period when, on Moses entreating that after he should have been gathered to his people, God would not leave the congregation

without a ruler and a guide, he is, by God's command, solemnly set apart, by laying on of Moses' hands, as his successor. "The Lord said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua, the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him; and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation: and give him a charge in their sight" (Numb. xxvii. 18, 19). But though thus recognised as Moses' successor, divinely commissioned to bring the children of Israel into the Promised Land, he was not to be Moses' equal. It was only "some" of his "honour" that he was to put upon him (ver. 20). There was one point in which his inferiority was very strongly marked. Moses enjoyed unrestricted personal intercourse with God, "face to face." This privilege was denied to Joshua. Eleazar, the high priest, was to be his medium of communication with God. Joshua was to bring his matters to the priest, and he was to inquire of God for him, through the ordinary means of obtaining the knowledge of God's will. "He shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the Lord" (ver. 21). Even unrestrained independence of action was not allowed him. "At his (Eleazar's) word shall they go out, and at his word they shall come in, both he, and all the children of Israel with him." In all other respects Joshua was to be what Moses had been to the children of Israel: "according as they had hearkened unto Moses in all things, so were they to hearken unto him, and to fear him as they feared Moses all the days of his life" (Josh. i. 17; iv. 14). Moses next delivers his charge to his successor—warning him, with an emphasis which shows how much there was in the prospect to daunt the spirit of the boldest, to "be strong, and of a good courage;" "Fear not, neither be dismayed;" and encouraging him with the repeated assurance that "the Lord would be with him," that "he would not fail or forsake him" (Deut. i. 38; iii. 22; xxxi. 7, 8). And then, in order that a visible Divine recognition might not be wanting, Joshua and Moses are told to present themselves at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, "and the Lord said unto Moses, Behold, thy days approach that thou must die: call Joshua, and present yourselves in the tabernacle of the congregation, that I may give him a charge" (Deut. xxxi. 14). There, in the sight of the assembled thousands of Israel, the Lord appears in the well-known sign, the pillar of cloud standing over the door of the sacred tent, and Joshua is solemnly inaugurated into his office (Deut. xxxi. 14, 15). He unites with Moses in rehearsing his parting song—those swanlike utterances of warning and encouragement which close his ministry—in the ears of the people, and teaching it to them that it might be "a witness for God against them" of the benefits they had received from him, and their own duties and responsibilities (Deut. xxxi. 19; xxxii. 44). This is the last act of a forty years' service. Moses ascends to the top of Pisgah to behold the land he is forbidden to enter, and to die. But he ascends without human companionship. Joshua is left below to continue his master's work, and to continue it alone.

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.

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WIND INSTRUMENTS.

CHALIL OR HALIL (THE PIPE).

THE universal usage of musical instruments of this class renders it difficult to reduce an account of them to reasonable limits. It will be well to state at once that in all probability the word *pipe*—the *αὐλός* of the Greeks, the *tibia* of the Romans—included two important divisions of modern instruments: namely, *reed* instruments, such as the oboe or clarinet; or simple *flue* pipes, such as the flute. That this must have been the case is evident from the fact, that while there is

clarinet is, that the former has a double tongue which vibrates, the latter a single tongue.

The derivations of some of the ancient names of flutes are very interesting: *chalil* or *halil*, from a root signifying “pierced” or “bored;” *tibia* (Lat.), from the fact that it was often made of a shin-bone; *aulos* (*αὐλος*), from the root *άω*, *άω*, “to blow,” exactly corresponding to our *flute*, from the Lat. *flō*, “to blow,” as also *flageolet*, from *flatus*; *calamus* (*κάλαμος*), *chalumeau*, from the material, just as the Arabian flute is called *nay*, “a reed,” of which the Arabs have as many as ten varieties; there

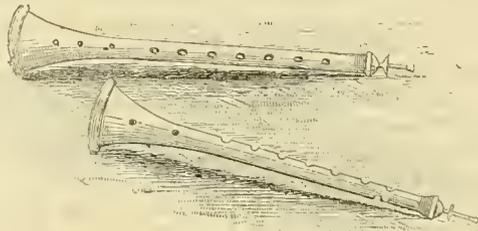


Fig. 46.



Fig. 47.



Fig. 48.

unquestionable evidence that many ancient instruments had reeds, no special name is set apart for them as opposed to open tubes without reeds. The very existence of the word *γλωσσοκομείον* (tongue-box) shows that the player was accustomed to carry his tongues or reeds separately from his instrument, just as our modern oboists and clarinetists do. It must also be borne in mind that both oboe and clarinet are children of one parent, and did not become distinct classes until the early part of the last century, the parent name being *chalumeau*, from the Latin *calamus*, Greek *κάλαμος*, a cane or reed. But when *chalumeau* is translated “a reed-pipe,” it must not be forgotten that the term is applied to the material of which the pipe is made (a cane), and not, as we always apply the term now, to a pipe containing a reed or tongue. Hence it will be seen that we are no nearer the discovery of distinctive names for these two classes of instruments, even when their parent stock is found. It may be worth mentioning that the real difference between an oboe and a

was also a small Phœnician flute called *gingra* (*γίγγρα*), which is probably connected with Sanskrit *grī*, “to sound.” To which of these two classes did *chalil* belong? Probably to the former. There is evidence from many sources that the Hebrews had oboes (see Lightfoot, who speaks, in his *Temple Service*, of oboes being used once in each month), and there seems to be no good reason for believing that they had a distinctive term for them. Jahn thinks it probable that they were very similar to the *zamar* of the Arabs, of which there are three kinds, not differing essentially from each other, but only in size and pitch, the largest being called *zamar-al-kabyr*; the middle sized, as being most commonly used, *zamar*; and the smallest *zamar-el-soghayr*. Fig. 46 shows two of these.

It is probably known to the reader that large and small oboes have always existed, and are in use at the present day. Two sorts are used in the score of Bach's *Passion Music* (according to St. Matthew), called respectively *oboe d'amor* (the love-oboe), and *oboe di caccia*

(hunting-oboe); the part of the former, the smaller of the two, can be, and always is, played on the common oboe; that of the latter on the tenor oboe or tenoroon, commonly, but very improperly, termed *cornò-inglese*, or the English horn. This last instrument does not terminate in a direct bell or *pavillon*, like those shown in Fig. 46, but has an upward turn, a form which, curiously enough, is found depicted on monuments two thousand years old.

Of the pipes without reeds, like our flutes, there always have been two kinds: one played by blowing in one end, hence held straight in front of the performer; the other played by blowing in a hole in the side, hence held sideways. The former was called the *flute à bec*, that is, the flute with a beak; the latter, *flauto traverso*, that is, the oblique flute, or flute played crossways. Fig. 47 is an illustration of a *flute à bec* in possession of the author, which was brought from Egypt by a musical friend. It was in the possession of a Mahometan pilgrim, who vowed that he valued it more than anything he owned, but who was very willing to part with it at the sight of a small sum of money. It is of cane, and is rudely ornamented with simple patterns. It seems closely allied to the *souffarah* of the Arabs. The next illustration (Fig. 48) shows an ancient Egyptian *flauto traverso* or *piffera di canna* (reed-flute), as it is described, in the museum at Florence.

These instruments seem, judging from the specimens found in Egyptian sculpture or frescoes, to have been of various lengths, sometimes far exceeding the size of the flute commonly used in our orchestras. This goes to prove that this nation was wise enough to make use of a family of flutes, just as we use a family of viols. And there are many musicians who think that we lose much by thus excluding flutes of deep sonority. Within the last few years an attempt has been made to revive these instruments, a concert having been given in London at which a quartett was played by four flutes, treble, alto, tenor, and bass.



Fig. 49.

Fig. 49 represents an Egyptian playing on one of these oblique flutes. The attitude will not strike a modern flautist as being either comfortable or convenient, but there is no accounting for the conventionalities of art. One thing the ancients lacked which has been of inestimable benefit to us, the use of keys, that is, a simple system of leverage by which holes in the instrument, quite out of reach of the length of the ordinary human five fingers, can be brought completely

under control, and can be closed or opened without any great disturbance of the position of the hand. The thumb, which could not possibly close a hole at the top of the instrument in former times, is now able to do so. Thus both the compass of the instrument and the ease with which it can be manipulated have been largely increased. It must not be supposed that such improvements have been rapidly created. They are of our own time, invented by Gordon, perfected by the ingenious Böhm. It is strange that this oblique flute should have been of comparatively late revival in Europe. All who have seen copies of the music of the last century must have observed how particular writers were to call it the *German flute*, as if forsooth it had not been one of the chief elements of sweet music many thousand years previously! So often does it happen that man-

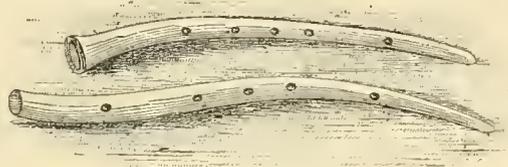


Fig. 50.

kind strives unwittingly after a supposed novelty, unaware that the same steps have been trod before, the same results a long time ago achieved.

Two ancient Greek flutes, found in a tomb, are preserved in the British Museum. Their great age renders the wood from which they were made extremely frail, and any rough usage would probably reduce them to dust. (Fig. 50.) It is remarkable that flutes of the exact shape of these are not to be found on any known monument. Is it possible that artists were tempted to mould, if not an ideal form of instrument, one not of the commonest kind?

But be this as it may, the curved form of such instruments was very common in the Middle Ages. The *cornetto curvo* of the Italians seems to have been used in all European countries under different names. Two very beautiful instruments of this kind and shape were discovered in the cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford, when the muniment-room was being removed for the purposes of restoration. They were probably in use in the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. Like most *cornetti curvi*, they are made of wood, covered with black leather, but so admirable is the workmanship that a casual glance would lead any one to believe them to be of black wood. They have the usual number of holes, six above and one below, and are elegantly mounted in silver, on which is engraved the arms of the college. They doubtless were the chief support of the treble part, at funerals or any ceremonies where it was necessary to have a musical procession. In Germany (says Engel) they were still employed in the beginning of the eighteenth century (under the name *zinken*), when the town bands played chorales, on certain occasions, from the tower of their parish church.

They were played with reeds, probably of the oboe or double kind. So, too, were these ancient Greek flutes (Fig. 50) reed instruments, but Fétis is of opinion that they had single tongues, like our clarinet, only he is inclined to think that the tongue was of metal, not of wood, because in a certain account given of a trial of musical skill, one player was unable to compete because the reed of his instrument was *bent*. But it is probably assuming too much to say that such an accident could not have happened to a wooden tongue, and that, therefore, brass was the material of which it was made. One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that in the earliest forms of *calamus*, the reed would naturally be of cane, because it would be simply formed by an incision in the surface of the cane itself, similar to that made by boys in a piece of straw, when constructing that toy instrument dignified by pastoral poets by the name of "oaten pipe." It is remarkable that the *flauto traverso*, or oblique flute, as shown in the Egyptian drawing

night when a holy solemnity is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe (*chalil*) to come into the mountain of the Lord, to the mighty One of Israel" (Isa. xxx. 29). The joy of the people when the cry "God save king Solomon!" promised a peaceful and prosperous reign, was shown by their music; "the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them" (1 Kings i. 40). The *chalil* is not so often mentioned in connection with the outpouring of prophetic gifts as instruments of the harp class; but yet when Samuel was describing to Saul how he should meet a company of prophets on his way to Gilgal, he described them as "coming down from the high place with a psalter (*nebel*), with a tabret (*toph*), and a pipe (*chalil*), and a harp (*kinnor*) before them" (1 Sam. x. 5). But these instruments were elsewhere to be met with than at the solemn processions of holy men, for the prophet Isaiah, in denouncing the drunkards who "rise up early in the

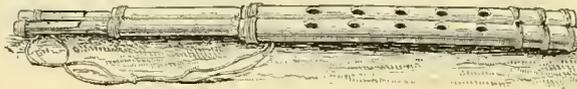


Fig. 51.

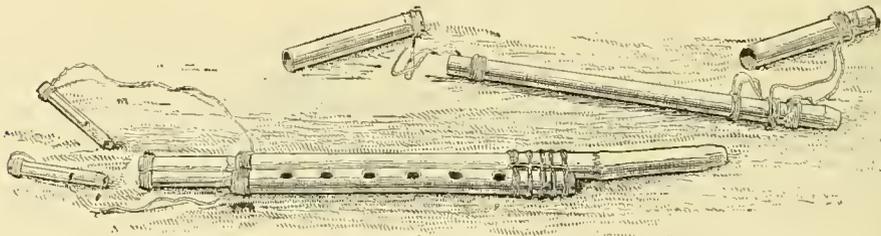


Fig. 52.

(Fig. 49), is not to be found on any Assyrian or Chaldean monuments. If then the Jews used it, they must have adopted it from Egypt, which is also acknowledged to be the source from whence the Greeks obtained it. The *chalil* seems to have been used by the Jews on very similar occasions to those at which our ancient oboes played an important part, most often during seasons of pleasure, but sometimes also at funerals. Two pipes at least had to be played at the death of a wife. The pipers, it will be remembered, were bidden to "give placo" by our Lord, when he said, "The maid is not dead, but sleepeth" (Matt. ix. 24). One common use of the *chalil* was as an amusement and recreation when walking or travelling. The solitary shepherd would cheerily pipe as he traced out his long hill-side walks, and the path of the caravan could be traced by the shrill echoes ever and anon tossed from side to side as, at each new turn in its many windings, frowning rocks beat back the piercing sounds. Especially such was the case when thousands of persons were making those periodical journeys to Jerusalem, so rigidly prescribed by the law: "Ye shall have a song, as in the

morning to follow strong drink," describes their wine feasts as being enlivened by the sounds of the *nebel*, *kinnor*, *toph*, and *chalil* (Isa. v. 12). The prophet Jeremiah, in showing the utter desolation and destruction of Moab, is inspired to say, "I will cause to cease in Moab, saith the Lord, him that offereth in the high places, and him that burneth incense to his gods. Therefore mine heart shall sound for Moab like pipes, and mine heart shall sound like pipes for the men of Kir-heres. . . . There shall be lamentation generally upon all the house-tops of Moab, and in the streets thereof: for I have broken Moab like a vessel wherein is no pleasure, saith the Lord." Could any words describe more touchingly than these the degradation and loss of moral life which should overtake Moab? that it should be wept over as one dead, piped over as a corpse!

There is no direct evidence as to whether the Hebrews used the *double flute*. It is quite certain they must have been aware of its existence, because it was known to Phœnicians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Chaldees before it found its way into Greece. So common is it

in Roman and Greek sculpture and pottery, that all are familiar with its form. The word *nechiloth* is understood by Jahn and Saalehütz to mean the double-flute, but, on the other hand, many others consider *nechiloth* to be the collective term for wind instruments. Some consider that *nekeb*, which is derived from a root signi-

easily have given rise to the comparison implied between the two names.

Such double-pipes are actually in use among the present inhabitants of Egypt. Two specimens, in the possession of the writer, are shown in Figs. 51 and 52. That in the latter illustration has three loose pieces,



Fig. 53.

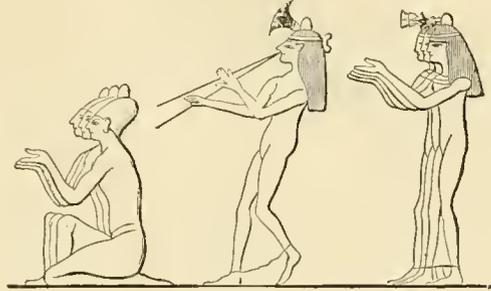


Fig. 54.



Fig. 55.



Fig. 56.

fying "to perforate," stands for the double-flute; but as this word is rendered *fistula* by Gesenius, it is not improbable that it may be a *syrix*. The two tubes forming the double-flute were called oddly enough male and female, but more commonly right and left (*dextra* and *sinistra*). The former appellation, no doubt, refers to the fact that one tube produces a deep note, which served as a *drone* or *bourdon*, while on the other was played the tune. The difference in the pitch might

which may be added at pleasure to the "drone" tube of the instrument for the purpose of adjusting it to the key of the tune to be played. That in the former has two similarly constructed pipes, so that a simple melody may be performed in two parts, much in the same way as on the double-flageolet, which at one time was somewhat popular in England, but is now rarely seen or heard.

Both these examples are of the simplest construction. The material of which they are made (including the

month-pieces and tongues) is of river reed, cut into lengths, which have to be inserted into each other before use. To prevent accidental loss, the separate parts are connected by common waxed cord. These instruments are called *arghool*, and have distinguishing titles, according to the length of the drone-tube.

In Fig. 53 the inequality in the length of the two pipes is very apparent. Fig. 54 shows that they were sometimes used in Egyptian processions of a solemn character. In Fig. 55 is shown the *capistrum*, which Greeks and Romans wore to give support to muscles of the cheeks and face whilst blowing. In modern orchestras we are perfectly content with the quantity of tone produced from our tube-instruments without the assistance of these head-baudages.

An Assyrian is shown playing upon the double-flute in Fig. 56. It is much to be regretted that no details as to the construction of these instruments can be gleaned from the ancient bas-reliefs. No attempt seems to have been made to mark even the position of the holes.

The use of the double-flute by nations with whom the Jews had constant intercourse having been shown, nothing more can be said. The reader must form his

own opinion as to the probability of its being rightly enrolled amongst Hebrew musical instruments. The quality of tone produced by the reed-pipes was, probably, very coarse and shrill. Particular pains have been taken by modern instrument-makers to produce delicate-sounding oboes, clarinets, &c. And with regard to the open pipes, or flutes, of the ancients, it should be borne in mind that it must have been most difficult to produce a series of sounds, either similar in *timbre*, or perfectly true in pitch, without the aid of keys. Up to the last century certain holes in the then existing flutes had to be only partially covered in order to produce certain notes *in tune*. We must learn from this, not to place much confidence in conclusions drawn from actual experiments on old pipes. Suppose, for instance, it were attempted to discover the series of scale-sounds of such an instrument by placing it in the hands of a modern performer, it would be impossible to say whether any noticeable variations from known forms ought to be attributed to the intentional design of the instrument itself, or to our loss of those traditions which influenced its use. But we may have to say something about the musical scales of the ancients when speaking further on of the vocal music of the Hebrews.

BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SCRIPTURE PROGRESSIVE.

THE law of progress runs through Revelation as well as through Nature. It is always upward, from the germ to the bud, from the blossom to the fruit. We are not to look for the same teachings of psychology in the Old Testament as in the New. The New Testament, as Augustine very well says, lies hid in the Old—the Old is unfolded in the New. The germ is in the one, and the full fruit in the other. Revelation, moreover, is not only progressive as a whole; it is also harmonious in its parts. There is a proportion or analogy of the faith. Truths are disclosed gradually as the need of them occurs, and one truth waits upon another. The relation between different truths is so intimate that it would be useless to disclose one while the other is held back. As the work of the Father prepared the way for that of the Son, and that of the Son again for the work of the Spirit, so equally there is the same succession of truths concerning man and his nature. As in theology we speak of the subordination of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, so in connection with anthropology there is something like a corresponding subordination of truths. Man's relation to God as his creature is the first truth—his redemption is the second—and his full adoption and restitution in the Divine image the third. It would only make us proud and high-minded to know of our adoption until we have first received the redemption, or again to know of redemption until we have felt our fall and

ruin. This order must always be attended to: "Howbeit that was not first that was pneumatical, but that which was psychical; and afterward that which is pneumatical" (1 Cor. xv. 46). As the first Adam was earthly, and the second Adam heavenly; so of the order in human nature: we first bear the image of the earthly, and afterwards the image of the heavenly.

This being the order of revelation from the lower to the higher, we are to expect this contrast between the psychology of the Old Testament and that of the New. Creation, redemption, regeneration are the three great truths of anthropology corresponding to the three theological truths of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Theology and anthropology advance step by step in Scripture and side by side. It would be contrary to the analogy of the faith to find an intimation of the spiritual faculty in man in anticipation of the work of that Blessed Person of the Trinity whose special office it is to discover man to himself as well as to reveal to him the deep things of God. Our Lord himself glances at this thought in the words, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all the truth." Full truth (*πάσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν*), the whole truth with regard to ourselves or with regard to God, is to be communicated by the Holy Ghost. If we reflect on the relation of the human to the Divine Pneuma, we shall see from the nature of the case that the knowledge of the one waits on that of the other.

What is inspiration without the sense of One to inspire and breathe into us thoughts deeper and more divine than any we could come by of ourselves? So it is that the spiritual in man waits for the full dispensation of the Spirit, and it is vain to seek for it before its time in the order of revelation.

There is, moreover, a certain correspondence between the manifestation of the pneumatical element in man in the Old Testament and the action of the Divine Spirit. In both cases it was occasional, not continuous. He is not as yet the abiding Comforter, such as is promised to be with the people of Christ, to compensate them for his bodily absence and to fill them with a sense of his spiritual presence. The Spirit in the Old Testament comes like angels' visits, few and far between. The Spirit of the Lord descends and acts mightily on a Samson, on a Saul, on an Elijah. While they are under this spiritual *afflatus* their strength is as that of ten men; they run with horses, as Elijah, to the entering in of the gate of Jezreel, and are not weary; they are found among the prophets, as Saul; and under the sudden impulse of a new and divine life, they manifest powers not only beyond but out of the range of their natural capacities. The most striking instance of this action of the Divine Spirit not only elevating the human spirit, but actually guiding it and carrying it whither it would not, is the case of Balaam. Balaam not only utters words beyond his consciousness, as all the holy men of old did; but this unholy man, probably as a punishment for his taking the wages of iniquity, is made to utter words against his will—he is made to bless those whom he was bribed to curse, and to curse those whom he wanted to bless. The miracle of the dumb ass speaking with man's voice is here a sign of what the Divine Spirit can do when the human spirit, like an untuned pipe, was about to give an uncertain sound. The dumb ass rebuked the madness of the prophet. There was the deepest irony in this sign from heaven. The unmelodious bray of the ass was replaced by the utterance of articulate sounds, or an impression equivalent to it, produced on the prophet's mind, teaching him, as a last warning on his way to oppose God's will, that the human pneuma is only the pipe of the Divine Pneuma, and that so mighty and powerful is that wind of God that it can breathe through the most reluctant instruments. It can make the wrath of men to praise Him, and then the remainder of that wrath He will restrain. Balaam's case is a solemn lesson as to the dependence of man for inspiration from on high. This inspiration, it is true, does not change character. He that is holy will be holy still, and he that is filthy will be filthy still. As a general rule, it is only holy men who are the subjects of heavenly inspiration, as it is the deliberately wicked in the other extreme who become devil-inspired (*δαμονιώδης*) (James iv. 15). But Balaam's is an apparent exception. intended, perhaps, to impress us the more as an exception. The warning was needed, perhaps, when prophecy was in its infancy, and men were tempted to seek inspiration from other sources than the pure fountain of truth. By one striking example men were taught that the

human spirit was dependent on the Divine Spirit. As with the lower so with the higher life in man—"Thou takest away their breath, and they die, and thou renewest the face of the earth." It was a true conception of the old heathen world that all inspiration was from God. The god of day was also the god of prophecy, of medicine.

"I am the eye by which the universe
Beholds itself and knows itself divine.
All harmony of instrument or verse,
All prophecy, all medicine, are mine:
All light of art or nature to my song,
Victory and praise by their own right belong."

There is a Pantheistic turn in these lines of Shelley, foreign to the simplicity of the ancient world. Still there is a substantial truth in the thought that the God of natural life is also the God of intellectual and spiritual life as well. In Him, from first to last, we live and move and have our being.

It is instructive to trace the connection between the pneumatical in man and the action of the Divine Pneuma. Man is everywhere dependent for inspiration from on high. Even Bezaleel and Aholiab only excel in what we should call the mechanical arts by some suggestion from the fountain of wisdom. Mere cleverness, that intellectual idol of our age, would be foreign to the simplicity of the Hebrew mind. Whether we are really gainers for having dropped these theological conceptions of the source of genius as something impersonal and inspired, we should be slow to decide. Certain it is that in the reaction from the Illuminism, or worship of the dry intellect in fashion last century, men have returned to something like the old world theory of the dependence of the human on the Divine Spirit. Not to speak of supernaturalists and mystics like Lavater and Jung Stilling, we find Goethe, whose mind, to use a cant phrase, we should describe as of the Hellenist, not the Hebraic cast of intellect, taking a view of genius which is on the borders of the religious theory. He tells us in his autobiography that while his mind was wandering about in search of a religious system, and thus passing over intermediate areas between various regions of theological belief, he met with a certain class of phenomena which seemed to belong to none of them, and which he used therefore to call demonic influence. It was not divine, for it seemed unintellectual; nor human, for it was no result of understanding; nor diabolic, for it was of beneficent tendency; nor angelic, for you could often notice in it a certain mischievousness. It resembled chance inasmuch as it demonstrated nothing, but was like Providence inasmuch as it showed symptoms of continuity. Everything which fetters human agency seemed to yield before it, and it seemed to dispose arbitrarily of the necessary elements of existence.

This magnetic influence, which Goethe is at a loss to account for, and which he is not content to define simply as genius, throws light on one of the profoundest questions in life—viz., the relation of the human to the Divine will, and our continual dependence on God, the *suggestio continua* of Malebranche. God may not be in all our thoughts consciously, and yet nevertheless

every deep and true thought is a thought of God : the formative impulse comes from Him ; it is shaped by ourselves, and as it passes into consciousness we so far forget ourselves as to forget that all things are of God ; we take the shaping of the thought which is the human element for its original suggestion which is divine. The dialectical faculty, the mere understanding, thus depresses the pure reason or intuition. We set up to be thinkers, give ourselves airs as "original," talk of genius as self-inspired, or use a phrase like this of Goethe's about a demonic influence which is neither human, divine, nor diabolic, but a strange medley of all three. Thus when we become wise in our own conceits it is the same as the poet says of the hardening effect of vice :—

"Oh misery on't. The wise gods seal our eyes
In our own filth, drop our clear judgments, make us
Adore our errors, laugh at us as we strut
To our confusion."

It is something in favour of our age that our wiser minds have caught a glimmer of the great truth that all genius is inspiration. We are not prepared to admit in the same unqualified way the converse, that all inspiration is genius. The Hebrew and the Hellenic minds are not varieties of the same stock, as if human culture took the religious direction in one race, the artistic in another, in each case by a native impulse of its own. The Hebrews were by no means heaven-born religionists, as the Hellenists were heaven-born artists. So far from this, they were stiff-necked and rebellious, ever starting back into idolatry ; Mosaism and monotheism were ideas in advance of, not merely abreast of, the Hebrew mind. The intuitional school have thus caught a glimpse of a great truth, but distorted it. The true view of the case is that all things are of God, and that God has not left himself without a witness in the heathen world, educating the human race, or rather preparing them under pedagogues for the true educator, which is Christ. If the law given at the dispensation of angels was only a pedagogue (Gal. iii. 24), much more that "Moses Atticising," as Plato is called by Clement of Alexandria.

Thus all genius is a kind of inspiration, but it is a distortion of the truth to assert the converse, that all inspiration is only a mode of genius. To hold the balance on this question evenly between naturalism which confounds the two, and supernaturalism which too sharply distinguishes them, is not easy. Nearly all our errors in theology spring from not being able to trace the dividing line where nature passes into grace and the natural merges into the supernatural. These errors of theology have their root in a defective psychology. Sir W. Hamilton's dictum, that no question emerges in theology which has not previously emerged in philosophy, is undeniable. Perhaps we should add this qualification, that these defective views in philosophy (or to define our meaning more exactly, in psychology) enter into and confuse our theology. The popular psychology, which is dichotomist, has no place in it for the religious instinct or the pneuma. This defective draft of human nature leaves a whole class of emotions and experiences which we call spiritual unaccounted for. There are

those three convictions concerning sin, righteousness, and judgment to come which it is the proper office of the Holy Spirit to convince the world of (John xvi. 8). But the world only judges by sense-experience, and cannot receive Him because it knoweth Him not, neither seeth Him. It should be the duty then of theology to reconstruct psychology on a Christian, *i.e.* a spiritual basis, and thus to lead the world on from its own spiritual intuitions and the light of an awakened conscience to the deeper teaching of the Holy Spirit, thus comparing spiritual things with spiritual. This the Church, on account of its meagre and defective psychology founded on a dichotomy of man which omits the spiritual element altogether, to a great extent has failed to do. Through the prevalence of Augustinianism in the West, with its harsh line of separation between nature and grace, and with its Tertullian-like rejection of all relation between God and the heathen world, and its *quid philosophus ac Christianus* cry, we have lost the link of connection between nature and grace in the spiritual faculties of man. The conscience of St. Paul's Epistles is the link between the two, the bridge across which the philosophy of Greece was to pass over to the religion of Palestine. The Alexandrian school, as we may expect from their position midway between the two, saw this connection, and held to it till theology lost itself in subtleties and word-quibbles such as the monophysite and monothelite controversies. In better times the catechetical school of Alexandria, led by a Clement and an Origen, might have built up a true theology on the foundations of a true psychology. But the Platonic was too strong for the Pauline element. Losing themselves in confusions between the Impersonal and Personal Logos, the *λογος σπερματικός* and *προφορικός*, they opened the door to the Apollinarian error (it is hard to describe it as a heresy), that the Divine Pneuma in Christ replaced the human, thus mutilating the conception of his entire humanity as perfect man, body, soul, and spirit. The denial of his humanity as it was called, and which has been thought parallel to the Arian denial of his true and proper divinity, led to a reaction. The true trichotomy of man into body, soul, and spirit fell into disfavour particularly in the West, where, under Augustine's influence, it was so completely lost sight of that we find a Western creed (the creed very erroneously named after Athanasius) actually founding an argument for the co-existence of two natures in one person in Christ on the dichotomy of the reasonable soul and human flesh. "Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo ; ita Deus et homo unus est Christus." The phrase is almost identical with an expression of Augustine, from whose writings it was probably taken verbally : "Sicut enim unus est homo anima rationalis et caro, sic unus est Christus Deus et homo." (For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ.) (Aug. in Joh. Evang. xiv., Tract lxxviii.). Hilary of Arles, to whom this creed is attributed by Waterland, has the same argument : "Sicut per naturam constitutam nobis a Deo originis nostræ principe corporis atque animæ homo nascitur : ita Jesus Christus per virtutem suam

carnis atque animæ homo ac Deus esset habens in se et totum verumque quod homo est et totum verumque quod Deus est." (As by the nature given us by God, who is the author of our being, man is formed both of body and mind; so Jesus Christ, in virtue of his being constituted both in body and mind man as well as God, having in himself as well that which makes him entirely and truly man, and also and entirely and truly God.)

Now, however orthodox this theology, it is founded on a psychology which Athanasius would have been the first to repudiate. The true conception of the contrast between *psyche* and *pneuma* was lost in the West from the times of Augustine almost down to the present day, and the loss has been one which has reacted on theology in all its branches. For want of a true psychology several theological truths are obscured or rendered almost meaningless. What, for instance, is the meaning of original sin unless we can point out that part in man's nature where the defect lies? It is not in the sensitive or natural part of his nature that the *vitium originis* lies, unless we hold a Manichean theory of God being the author of evil. The defect is privative, not positive. It is the defect of the *pneuma* which accounts for that otherwise strange and repulsive doctrine that man is born in sin. So, again, regeneration is another cardinal truth of the Christian scheme; but what do we mean by it? Neither body nor mind can be regenerate unless a man should, as Nicodemus asked, enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born. To be born of the Spirit must mean that the dormant *pneuma* becomes quickened by the Divine *Pneuma*. Like produces like: "that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

So, again, the relation of spirit to soul throws light on the intermediate state which otherwise would be inconceivable. Again, the resurrection of the body is intelligible on no other ground than this, that the animating principle of the body, which is now psychical, will then be pneumatical. These are some of the many theological truths on which a Christian psychology may be expected to throw light. What we contend for here is that the revelation of Scripture is progressive on this as on other subjects. Light is let in on the nature of man in proportion as deeper discoveries are made of the character of God. Thus the theology and the psychology of the word of God are perfectly proportioned and harmonious. The fault lies in ourselves that we do not see them in their true perspective. If we put ourselves at the right point of view, we shall see that in Scripture an "increasing purpose runs." From the simplest account of God as the great El or Creator, who has made man a living soul by breathing into the dust the breath of life, we rise by regular stages of advance to the Jehovist doctrine of a Covenant God, the Redeemer from sin. The law and the prophets in their turn lead on to that full revelation of grace and truth by Jesus Christ by which man is brought back into fellowship with God in and through the communion of the Holy Ghost. Thus God the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier are the three theological stages corresponding to which are the psychological facts of body, soul, and spirit. When man is thus sanctified wholly and entirely (*ὁλοτελής καὶ ὁλόκληροι*, 1 Thess. v. 23), body, soul, and spirit, then the revelation is complete: God is glorified in us, and we are made perfect in Him.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

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THE Book of Judges takes up the thread of Israelitish history from the point at which the Book of Joshua drops it, carrying on the narrative of events after the death of Joshua. In doing this, however, there is reason to believe that, by way of general introduction, it briefly reviews the condition of the people for a short time before; and it is not improbable that the visit of the angel to Bochim (ii. 1) had taken place during the lifetime of the conqueror. This appears to be suggested by what is said (ii. 6), "And when Joshua had let the people go." The book is named from the judges of Israel whose actions it records; and in Hebrew the designation of these rulers, *Shofetim*, is the name also of the book. The first chapter depicts the actual condition of the people at the time when the history opens, and is quite consistent with those statements in Joshua which represent the whole land as being in possession of the Israelites, and yet large portions of it as unsubdued. The second chapter describes what was the persistent

condition of the people during the whole period of the history of the judges. The third chapter commences with an enumeration of the unsubdued races; and at ver. 8 the detailed history, properly speaking, begins. After this introductory portion the book naturally divides itself into two parts—the first extending to the end of chap. xvi., and the second consisting of the last five chapters. This second part has the character of an appendix to the rest; and instead of carrying on the history, appears rather to relate episodes which must have occurred in the earlier period of it. The space of time covered by Judges is that which elapsed between the death of Joshua and the death of Samson; lower than this the history does not carry us. The book is connected on the one side with Joshua and the events immediately succeeding the occupation of Canaan and the exodus, and on the other with the First Book of Samuel, which opens with a state of things similar to that which is still in existence when Judges ends. The author's point of view is very clearly indicated in chap.

ii. 11—23. This is worthy of study, not only as showing us what he did not propose to do, but also what he aimed at doing and professed to do. For example, he did not propose to give a connected history of the nation for a definite period, or a picture of society, or a clear and full notion of the mode of government, or the like. All these subjects would have been deeply interesting to the philosopher, the statesman, the historian; but they are almost entirely disregarded; and, on the contrary, the writer has undertaken to record the history of his nation from a point of view in which he claimed to be conversant with the Divine purposes and the Divine judgment passed upon the conduct of the people. All that he relates is to illustrate this. And so the appendix records a gross instance of idolatry, and gives the narrative of a brutal crime, perhaps arising out of the prevalence of such idolatry, together with the distinctive punishment that overtook the nation in consequence. It is the more important to notice this, because of its bearing upon what the Bible itself claims to be—namely, an account of national and human affairs as they present themselves to the Divine mind. If there is really no relation between the view thus given and that actually assumed in the Divine judgment, it is impossible to acquit the writer of a pernicious and misleading tendency. If, on the other hand, he had any authority for the view he took, then his narrative is worthy of the utmost deference. The difference of style between the two portions of Judges is probably as great, if not greater, than that which exists between any other portions of single books; the ordinary and familiar use of the consecutive *and* being substituted by the use of the past tense and the subject abruptly without *and* (see, *e.g.*, xviii. 17, 22; xix. 11, 22; xx. 43, &c.). This is more evident in the Hebrew than it is in the English, though it is quite perceptible even there. The chronological indications also vary—*e.g.*, in chap. xvii. 6; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 25, we have a frequently recurring formula, which never occurs once in the former part, though we might have had, “In the days of the judges,” &c., as at Ruth i. 1.

Regarded naturally as a chapter only in the national history, the Book of Judges represents the efforts made by the people in the development of what afterwards became the monarchy. Moses and Joshua had been kings in everything but the name; Abimelech endeavoured, but with only partial success, to convert the judgeship of his father Gideon into an hereditary monarchy, and the book which carries on the history of the judges shows us how the kingdom of Saul found its root in the supreme judicial power of Samuel. The period of the judges was naturally a transition period in which the real kingly power of Moses and Joshua was moulding and developing itself into the hereditary monarchy of David and Jeroboam. In tracing, however, this process of development, it is very difficult to eliminate altogether any agency which is not something more than merely human or natural. In a succession of twelve or fourteen deliverers who continually rose up at a period of great national depression and calamity

to rescue the nation and retrieve its fortunes, the people may certainly be pardoned for seeing the finger of God rather than the operation of chance or the unassisted agency of man. It is in defiance of the whole spirit of the Book of Judges if we do not acknowledge this, but still it may be well and instructive to note the human features and characteristics of which the deliverance was from time to time marked. For instance, the first judge was Othniel, the nephew of Caleb, the immediate companion of Joshua, and besides him the only Israelite who had survived the exodus and the wanderings. He was raised up in his capacity of deliverer in answer to prayer, and was prepared for his office of judge by the Spirit of the Lord coming upon him. It is remarkable also that Israel's first enemies after the occupation of Canaan arose in the same quarter as those who overthrew the monarchy—viz., in the land of the north-east, in the country washed by the Tigris and Euphrates. Othniel, moreover, was of the tribe of Judah, and thus his exploits served to keep in memory the blessing of Jacob upon Judah, as well as to illustrate the Divine injunction which had before been given, “Judah shall go up first.”

The next enemy that arose was Moab, and from that yoke Ehud the Benjamite saved his nation by slaying Eglon, the king of Moab. After him we hear of Shamgar, the son of Anath, who delivered Israel from the Philistines. The extent to which the unsubdued aboriginal inhabitants had been suffered to increase is shown very clearly in the next oppression of Israel. A powerful foe arose in the extreme north in the person of Jabin, who is called king of Canaan, and was master of 900 chariots of iron. For twenty years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel, until he was subdued by Barak, and slain by the treachery of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite. The other judges mentioned by name are Gideon; Abimelech, the son of his concubine, who attempted to make himself king by slaying all his brethren with the exception of Jotham who escaped; Tola, a man of Issachar; Jair, a Gileadite; Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon, and Samson. Of these it is only Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Abimelech, Jephthah, and Samson whose doings are related at all in full. The time thus covered according to the history is as follows:—

	Years.
In the time of Chushan-rishathaim	8
„ Othniel	40
„ Eglon	18
„ Ehud	80
„ Jabin	20
„ Deborah	40
	—206
Then we have under Midian, Amalek, and the children of the east	7
Under Gideon	40
„ Abimelech	3
„ Tola	23
„ Jair	22
	— 95
Again, there was a servitude under the Philistines and Ammonites	18
From which the nation was delivered by Jephthah, who judged Israel	6

Then there were—	Years.
Under Ibban	7
„ Elion	10
„ Abdou	8
Under the Philistines a servitude for	40
And finally the judgeship of Samson, which lasted	20
	—109
Making the complete total	410

which, together with the forty years of Eli, brings the entire period of the judges to “about the space of 450 years, till Samuel the prophet,” assigned to it by St. Paul at Antioch (Acts xiii. 20).

There is in Judg. xi. 26 an independent mark of the general correctness of a large portion of this period, for we are told that from the occupation of Heshbon till the time of Jephthah was 300 years, and the numbers given in the Book of Judges, from the invasion of Chushan-rishathaim till that of the Ammonites, make 301 years, so that the natural inference is that they are substantially accurate. It is to be observed, however, that we do not know the interval between the death of Joshua and the first invasion of the land by Chushan-rishathaim, nor the time that Shamgar was judge (clearly for some time, chap. v. 6), nor the period that elapsed between the death of Samson and the high-priesthood of Eli.

The time at which the earlier portion of the book was written is partly fixed by i. 21, which says “the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day.” Now we know from 2 Sam. v. 6—9, that it was the expulsion of these Jebusites from the citadel of Jerusalem which made Zion the city of David, and consequently the statement in Judges must have been written before the eighth year of David when this took place, for at that time the state of things described as continuing “unto this day” ceased. If the writer had lived under David, it is fair to assume that he would have related the capture of Jerusalem. He must have written before David’s reign, and under, if not before, the time of Saul. The omission also of the history of Eli probably shows either that the writer lived in his time, or else considered it so well known as to need no record from him. But as the history of Eli embraced a period of forty years, and was followed by the era of Samuel, the latter alternative appears improbable. The internal evidence, therefore, of the book itself gives us no more than an indication of the time after which the book could not have been written. There is an expression used in Judg. viii. 14 which shows that a young man accidentally taken by Gideon on his march home, was able to write down the names of the elders of Succoth. This is a clear proof, at that early date, of the prevalence of a fair amount of education among the people, and it is surely not too much to assume, in the presence of such evidence, that in the time of the author of the Book of Judges there were sufficient contemporary memoranda of the chief public events ready at hand to make use of. As to the time when the appendix (xvii.—xxi.) was written, nothing is known or very clearly discoverable. A king may be presumed to have been reigning in Israel from the recurrence of the phrase

already referred to, but not in Israel as distinct from Judah. Supposing the two portions of the book were written by one and the same author, this would leave us free to conjecture the reign of Saul as a possible time for its composition. We have seen that it could not be later. The difference in style between the former and latter portions of the book may be easily explained on the supposition that contemporary documents of some kind existed and were freely used by the responsible compiler, whoever he was. The tone of regret which the words “at that time there was no king in Israel,” seem to express at the contrast of what had been with what was the condition of the people is, perhaps, hardly consistent with the idea which would otherwise readily occur to us, that Samuel, who had strenuously opposed the desire for a king, was the compiler of the book. And yet during that period there is no one else to whom we can with more appearance of reason assign it.

It appears from xviii. 31 that when the second part was written the house of God was no longer in Shiloh. It was David who brought the ark to Jerusalem. Some have supposed that the omission of the name of the Levite in chap. xix. is in consequence of the lapse of time. This, however, is improbable. We have a somewhat uncertain guide to the time at which the events related in the second part happened from two circumstances: in Judg. xviii. 30 it is stated that Jonathan the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, was the first priest of the graven image set up by the tribe of Dan. Now Gershom was the son of Moses, and in Hebrew the two names, Moses and Manasseh, when read without the vowels, are the same but for the insertion of an *n*. Moreover, the word Manasseh is a various reading, the original word undoubtedly being Moses. There was, however, a strong prejudice against the idea that the grandson of the great lawgiver should have been the man to commence an idolatrous schism, and so the alternative name was suggested; but so great was the reverence for the traditional text that a note was added to the effect that the *n* was to be suspended, and so to this day it appears in the best Hebrew Bibles printed in accordance with this direction “above the line:” thus, נִמְשֵׁה. Now, if the setting up of the graven image by the tribe of Dan occurred in the second generation after Moses, it is plain this narrative refers not to a time corresponding to its position in the Book of Judges, but to a period contemporaneous with the very earliest events recorded in that book; and this, indeed, is probably the case. Again, the second episode recorded in chaps. xix.—xxi. appears, from xx. 28, to have occurred in the time of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, which is also in the second generation after Moses and Aaron. The natural inference, therefore, is that both these events recorded in the second portion of the book are to be referred in point of time to the earlier chapters of the first portion. They show us very plainly that after the death of Moses and Joshua there was a great relapse in the moral life of the nation. The flow of the spiritual tide had risen to its height, and it was now retiring. The Book of

Judges is itself a record of the strivings of God's Spirit to redeem and re-establish the nation. This was only effected by partial and spasmodic efforts recurring through a period of many centuries till the rise of "Samuel the prophet." But it is impossible to watch these efforts, and not see that they were effected on a plan and with a definite purpose. We cannot even, by divesting them of all their supernatural accidents, reduce them to the dimensions of the merely ordinary and common-place; and there are certain features in the narrative of them which are hardly less significant. For example, the judges are termed "saviours," and the Lord is said to have "raised them up" (ii. 16, 18; iii. 9, 15; vii. 7; &c.). Four times we have the mysterious manifestation of a Divine angel, who reproves the people or raises up the deliverer—*e.g.*, ii. 1—5; vi. 7, &c.; x. 10—16; xiii. 3—23. And in like manner the Divine Spirit is four times said to have come upon his chosen agents (iii. 10; vi. 34; xi. 29; xiii. 24, 25). It has been observed, moreover, that these periods of revival diminished in intensity, the deliverance of Othniel and Ehud being more effectual in its duration than that of Gideon, and that of Gideon more so than Jephthah's, and Jephthah's more than Samson's, the last being altogether of a lower and less spiritual type, and effectual in the death rather than the life of its agent. On any interpretation the history of the Book of Judges shows us the manifold grace of God condescending to employ manifold and diverse agencies to accomplish the salvation and regeneration of his people, and ever with the same recurring combination of success and failure: success as far as regards the deliverance achieved, but failure as regards the ineradicable tendency of the people to relapse and fall away.

Another indication of the date of the composition of the book requires to be noticed. In xviii. 30 Jonathan and his sons are stated to have been "priests to the tribe of Dan until the day of the captivity of the land." At first sight this looks like a reference to the captivity of Shalmaneser, or Esarhaddon, if not of Nebuchadnezzar, in which case, of course, a very late period of composition might be assigned to Judges. But it is, to say the least, extremely doubtful whether this is the most natural meaning of the phrase. For instance, the very next verse gives another note of time which, however, can hardly be other than synchronous with the former one, and this is "all the time the house of God was in Shiloh." In Jer. xxvi. 6 Shiloh is used as a proverbial example of desolation, and from the way in which the capture of the ark is spoken of (1 Sam. iv. 22; vii. 2) it is most likely that the captivity of the land, which involved the capture of the ark and the desolation of the tabernacle at Shiloh, is the captivity here intended. (Comp. also Ps. lxxviii. 60, &c., and 1 Chron. xvi. 34, 35.) Indeed, it is hardly possible to imagine that a centre of idolatrous worship such as this in the tribe of Dan should have been permitted, though at the northern confines of the country, all the time of David and Solomon, not to say of Hezekiah, and the other reforming kings. We conclude, therefore, that

there is no proof in this expression of a later origin than the proximate one already assigned to the Book of Judges. The *Speaker's Commentary*, however, takes a different view both of this matter and of the date of the book.

That the writer, whoever he was, had access to original documents of some kind is proved by his insertion of the song of Deborah: and the faithfulness with which he made use of his materials is shown by the phrase x. 4; xii. 14, which is original in the song of Deborah (v. 10.) Several of the statements in Judges also are confirmed in other books (*e.g.*, Judg. iv. 2, vi. 14, x. 1, in 1 Sam. xii. 9—12; Judg. ix. 53 in 2 Sam. xi. 21). The Psalms not only allude to Judges (*cf.* Ps. lxxxiii. 11 and Judg. vii. 25), but copy from it entire portions, as Ps. lxxviii. 8, 9, and Ps. xvii. 5, which are borrowed from Judg. v. 4, 5. Philo and Josephus knew the book and made use of it, and the New Testament alludes to it in several passages (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Matt. ii. 13—23 with Judg. xiii. 5; xvi. 17: so also Acts xiii. 20; Heb. xi. 32). This recognition is our warrant for its position in the canon. The internal proofs of its veracity are also numerous. After the death of Joshua, the Hebrew nation had, by their repeated victories, gained courage, and the natural consequence of their position was security. Instead of exterminating their enemies, as they had been commanded, they put them under tribute, and turned their thoughts to agriculture and the cultivation of the land. The natural result of this was the development of an unwarlike disposition, and efforts on the part of their enemies to throw off the yoke of conquest. In iii. 27 it is the hardy inhabitants of Mount Ephraim only who rise to the call of Ehud, and many abode quietly with their herds when Barak ("the lightning-flash") called to arms against Sisera (v. 14, 15, 17, 23). Gideon could use, or was allowed to use, only 300 out of 32,000. No writer at that early age could have *taken off* the characteristic features of the people in this way so strictly according to fact, and therefore we conclude the book is, as it professes to be, a veritable history.

Certain passages in Judges are almost identical with others in Joshua—*e.g.*, the grant to Caleb (Judg. i. 10—15, 20, 21) is repeated from Josh. xv. 14—19, 13, 63. So Judg. i. 27, 29 corresponds to Josh. xvii. 12, xvi. 10; Judg. ii. 7—9 to Josh. xxiv. 29—31. The conquest of Laish, related in Judg. xviii., is referred to in Josh. xix. 47, where, however, it is called Leshem. The mere differences of these passages, perhaps, show that they are independent records, or that they are borrowed independently from the same record. It is vain to speculate upon the actual case, and equally vain to dogmatise upon it as men have done. It is, however, to be observed that as the history of Judges claims to have occurred after the time of Joshua, so the composition of the work presupposes that of Joshua (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Judg. ii. 20, 21 with Josh. xxiii. 16, 13; Judg. v. 17 with Josh. xiii. 29—31, xix. 29, 31; Judg. v. 20 with Josh. x. 11, &c.). It is not possible to conceive that the Book of Judges being written, the Book of Joshua was compiled subsequently, to supply

the gap in the history. But even more evident is it that the entire history of the Pentateuch must have existed in substance as we now have it at the time when Judges was written, not to say at the time when the events recorded in Judges occurred. For example, the history and existence of the Pentateuch is involved in the first two chapters of Judges. Whether we regard these as a preface to the rest of the book, and written subsequently to it or not, matters not. It is inconceivable that the writer of these chapters should not have had the history of the Pentateuch, and probably that of the Book of Joshua, before him. (Cf. Numb. xiv. 24; Deut. i. 36; Josh. xiv. 9—14, for the antecedents of Caleb, with Judg. i. 20. Cf. Deut. vii. 2; xii. 3, with Judg. ii. 3. Cf. Deut. vii. 16—26; Exod. xxxiii. 33.) The whole of the second chapter of Judges implies the written law, and Judg. iii. 4 explicitly refers to it. With Judg. v. 4, 3 cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2; xxxi. 1, 3. The whole of Deborah's song is on the model of Gen. xlix. and Deut. xxxiii., and, if so recognised, is a proof of the existence of, and acquaintance with, those highly poetical compositions in her time if the song is acknowledged as hers, or as contemporaneous with her. Judg. vi. 8 is a brief summary of the history of Exodus and that of Joshua. Judg. xi. 13 refers expressly to events recorded in Numb. xxi. 24, 25, 26; Judg. xi. 17 to Numb. xx. 17; Judg. xi. 19 to Numb. xxi. 21, and Deut. ii. 26. The whole of this message of Jephthah is thick with references to the Pentateuchal history, and if it is genuine, as there is no reason to doubt, it implies a knowledge of the facts in

the king of Ammon also. But Judg. xi. 35 refers to the legal enactments of Numb. xxx. 2, and Judg. xiii. 5 implies the habitual practice of, and therefore a long acquaintance with, the law of the Nazarite in Numb. vi. 2. It seems very difficult to set aside the *bonâ fide* independent evidence that is involved here. Unless we reject the *natural* incidents of the story of Samson, we have proof that the enactments of the Pentateuch were in force then, were consequently in existence then, and were then of sufficient antiquity to claim observance, in virtue of their association with the name of Moses, and the authority they derived from him, which would have attached to no one else. It is needful to observe that, contrary to the view here taken, which is corroborated by St. Paul's sermon at Antioch, the history of the Judges, in the opinion of some critics, comprises a much shorter period of little more than 150 years. In this case it is understood that the various periods of rest and servitude which are specified were not consecutive but contemporaneous, that they concerned different portions of the same country at the same time, and that different judges were ruling in different parts and districts at the same time. The whole question of Biblical chronology is one of the most involved, and it would be out of place to enter into it here. The expression of St. Paul probably represented the then traditional view, and the several difficulties arising from genealogies and other dates given in Scripture, the long period of time involved, and the like, were, doubtless, not less obvious to him and his instructors than they are to ourselves now.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

JOSHUA (*continued*).

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRECENTOR OF LINCOLN.

III.—CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN.

NEVER, to quote an eloquent writer of our own time, who has done more than any living man—almost more than any man of any age—to make Scripture history a living, breathing reality¹—“never, in the history of the chosen people, could there have been such a blank as that when they became conscious that ‘Moses, the servant of the Lord, was dead.’ He who had been their leader, their lawgiver, their oracle, as far back as their memory could reach, was taken from them at the very moment when they seemed most to need him. It was to fill up this blank that Joshua was called.” “The lawgiver had done his part; the warrior succeeded to the administration of affairs, and to the directing intercourse with God.”² He steps forward with cheerful courage as the man of hope—the man of action. All lurking diffidence is immediately dispelled by the assurance of God: “As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.” He at

once assumes the command, and issues his orders, and his position is recognised without hesitation. “All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us, will we go” (Josh. i. 16).

The host of Israel was still on the eastern side of Jordan. The first step in the fulfilment of Joshua's commission was to carry the people over that river: “Arise,” is God's first word to him, “go over this Jordan, thou, and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them” (Josh. i. 2). The command does not seem to have been accompanied with any intimation of the manner in which the river, then at its full, was to be crossed. But Joshua had long since learnt that whatever God enjoins he renders possible to those who in simple faith seek to obey. If He bade Israel go over the river, the way to do so would be opened when they set themselves to do his bidding.

But there was something to be done before Joshua took Israel over the river. The crossing of Jordan, though in one sense an end, in another sense was only a beginning. It was the end of their forty years' wandering in the wilderness, but it was the beginning of

¹ Stanley, *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, vol. i., p. 225.

² Dean Milman, *History of the Jews*, bk. v.

the conflict which was to put them in possession of Canaan; and this conflict was likely to be a severe one. The Lord had promised to fight for them; but they would none the less have to fight. The fulfilment of God's promise was conditional on their own performances. Jericho, the key of Western Palestine, would oppose the first obstacle to the onward march of Israel. Future success or failure would mainly depend on the result of their operations there. As a wise, far-sighted general, therefore, does Joshua, as a first step, send two spies to reconnoitre the strength of this city. They, like the lion-faced Gadites in David's days (1 Chron. xii. 8, 15), swam the swollen river, at the fords, and entered, not unobserved, the doomed city. Concealed, at the peril of her life, by the faithful harlot, they returned to the camp with tidings full of encouragement. "So the two men returned, and passed over, and came to Joshua the son of Nun, and told him all things that befell them: and they said unto Joshua, Truly the Lord hath delivered into our hands all the land; for even all the inhabitants of the country do faint because of us" (Josh. ii. 23, 24).

A demoralised enemy is a more than half-conquered enemy. The report of the spies decided Joshua to delay no longer, but to profit at once by the existing panic: and he issued his orders for the immediate crossing of the river. The enormous host, amounting to more than two millions—601,730 was the number of adult males returned at the census in the plains of Moab (Numb. xxvi. 51)—descends from Shittim, the acacia groves which line the upper terraces of the valley on either side of the river, to the bank of the surging stream (iii. 1). Arrived there, a delay of three days intervenes—an interval none too long for the completion of the necessary preparations, now that they were about to quit the comparative security of the wilderness, and enter on a hostile territory.

We can well picture to ourselves the wonder, not unmingled with dismay, with which the Israelites must have looked across the flooded river, filling the whole of the lower trough, and overflowing the dense jungle of tamarisks and willows which clothes the inferior terrace—"the swelling of Jordan" of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. xii. 5; xlix. 19; l. 44)—to the green terraces fringing the yellow desert plains beyond, and have asked how the passage was to be effected:

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

At the end of these three days of suspense Joshua sent officers through the host to communicate his instructions. The passage was to be distinctly miraculous. "To-morrow the Lord will do wonders among you" (iii. 5). The visible agency was to be that of "the ark of the covenant;"—that was to lead the van. The removal of the ark was to be the signal for the breaking up of the encampment. When they saw that token of Jehovah's presence, borne aloft on the shoulders of the Levites, quit its place of greatest security in the centre

of the camp and advance towards the river, they were to "remove from their place, and go after it" (iii. 3).

An order of deep significance was to be first obeyed: "Sanctify yourselves, for to-morrow the Lord will do wonders among you." The entrance of God's peculiar people into the Land of Promise must be prepared for by ceremonial purification. All outward pollution must be put away. How forcibly does this recall warnings relating to that "better country, even a heavenly one," of which the earthly Canaan was but the type. How does the external purity enjoined by Joshua, before the children of Israel could be permitted to enter their earthly inheritance, remind us that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord;" and that into the heavenly city "there shall in no wise enter anything that defileth" (Heb. xii. 14; Rev. xxi. 27).

The circumstances of the passage are too solemn, too instructive, to be hurried over. In all, Joshua, the type of Jesus, "the Captain of our salvation," appears as the leader and commander of the people. His is the directing mind—his the authoritative voice.

The ark of the covenant—that symbol of the presence of Jehovah with his covenant people, that type of Jesus, the propitiation of a "better covenant"¹—preceded the host, borne on the shoulders of the Levites. The people remained behind, high up on the banks, nearly a mile in the rear, following with eager eyes the sacred coffer, as its bearers descended into the ravine and approached the rushing waters of the Jordan. Suddenly, as the feet of the Levites "were dipped in the brim of the water," the whole river-bed was laid dry. "The waters which came down from above," held back in their rapid descent from the Lake of Galilee, and piled up by the almighty hand of God, "stood and rose up upon a heap." The waters that were going down to the Dead Sea "failed and were cut off" from the source that supplied them, leaving bare the whole channel, above and below, as far as the eye could reach. Down the green terraces, across the oozy channel, among the huge stones that strewed its bed—some of which, at Joshua's command, were afterwards erected into a monumental cairn at Gilgal; others forming a similar memorial on the spot where the priests' feet first touched the water—the mighty host pass in safety, yet not without a natural fear. "The people hastened and passed over," (iv. 10), each, as he was nearest to the stream, hurrying down the sloping banks, and rushing across to the other side, lest he should be surprised by the returning waters. Then, when the whole multitude had passed over, the ark, which had hitherto stood motionless on the eastern bank, on the Levites' shoulders, descends into the bed and mounts the other side of the ravine. As soon as it has reached a place of perfect security, and "the soles of the priests' feet were lifted up unto the dry land"—the miracle ceasing the instant the necessity for it ceased—the imprisoned waters set free from the restraining Hand, "returned unto their place,

¹ The word *ἰλαστήριον*, signifying "the mercy-seat," and so translated in Heb. ix. 5, is rendered "propitiation" when referring to the sacrifice of Jesus (Rom. iii. 25).

and flowed over all his banks, as they did before" (chap. iv. 18).

The importance of this miracle can hardly be over-estimated. The people were now about to enter on a fresh stage of their national existence, and that under a new leader. On the issue of the next few days or weeks would depend whether they should become the masters of that goodly land, "flowing with milk and honey," which had been the earliest dream of their childhood, or be crushed by its warlike inhabitants; either reduced to slavery, or utterly destroyed, so that they should "be no more a people, and the name of Israel should be no more in remembrance." "Would the Lord be with them indeed? Would he fight for them as of old? Would he work wonders for them by the hand of Joshua, as he had done by the hand of Moses?" The assurance of the continued presence and protection of Jehovah, afforded by the drying up of Jordan, was exactly what was needed to encourage their fainting hearts, and secure for Joshua, accredited by so mighty a sign, the loyal allegiance of the people. This is the light in which this miracle is set before us in the words of God to Joshua. "This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee" (iii. 7); and the result tallied with it. "On that day the Lord magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life" (iv. 14). Another purpose to be answered by this exercise of the Divine power in behalf of Israel, was to deepen the feeling of discouragement already, as we have seen, existing in the minds of the Canaanites, and thus prepare for their easier and complete overthrow. That this was the effect of this miracle is plainly stated by the sacred historian. "And it came to pass, when all the kings of the Amorites, which were on the side of Jordan westward, and all the kings of the Canaanites, which were by the sea, heard that the Lord had dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until we were passed over, that their hearts melted, neither was there spirit in them any more, because of the children of Israel." That was no idle or gratuitous display of power, which afforded to the Canaanites, to Israel, and to Joshua himself, such unmistakable evidence that "the living God, the Lord of all the earth,"—no dead idol, or mere local deity—was among them, "and that he would not fail nor forsake them" (iii. 10, 11; i. 5).

The first two acts of Joshua on his entrance as the leader of Israel on the Land of Promise were of deep significance; they intimate a distinct recognition of the new position of the people. Hitherto, since their rebellion at Kadesh-barnea, they had been under a ban. By their impious resolve to return to Egypt rather than face the dangers of Canaan, they had rejected God, and therefore God had, temporarily, rejected them. As a token that they were no longer regarded by him as his covenant people, the symbol of the covenant, the rite of circumcision, was suspended; while, as an indication of displeasure at their determination to go back to the land of slavery, the ordinance of the passover, the memorial of their deliverance from that heavy bondage, was discontinued. But the years of rejection were now at an end, and the ban was removed. Entered on the Land of Promise, God once more regarded them as his own covenant people, and therefore the sign of the covenant was renewed. At the frontier fortress of Gilgal, entrenched by Joshua on the rising ground overlooking Jericho, about five miles from the banks of Jordan, Israel "cast off the slough of their wandering life," and "rolled away the reproach of Egypt" (v. 9), by submitting once more, at the Divine command, to the distinguishing ordinance of circumcision. Knives of flint,¹ reserved in other countries for this and other religious rites, were used for the ceremony by which Joshua, "the type of Him who alone gives the new circumcision"—the circumcision of the heart "made without hands" (Col. ii. 11), readmitted Abraham's descendants to the covenant made with their great ancestor. Three days after this national reconciliation of Israel, on the 14th of Nisan (v. 10), the passover was celebrated. Never since its first institution had its import been more powerfully shown. They were delivered from Egypt in order that they might hold possession of Canaan; and now at last Canaan was reached. The memorial of what Jehovah had done for their fathers would quicken their faith, and fill them with confidence as to the issue of the conflict that lay before them. For though reached, Canaan was not conquered; for the fortified camp at Gilgal, the walls and towers of Jericho, "great and fenced up to heaven," would be a stern but salutary reminder of the nature of the struggle on which they were about to enter, and of the need of a strength not their own to secure a successful issue.

¹ Chap. v. 2, margin.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. F. MOULTON, B.A., PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS, WESLEYAN COLLEGE, RICHMOND.

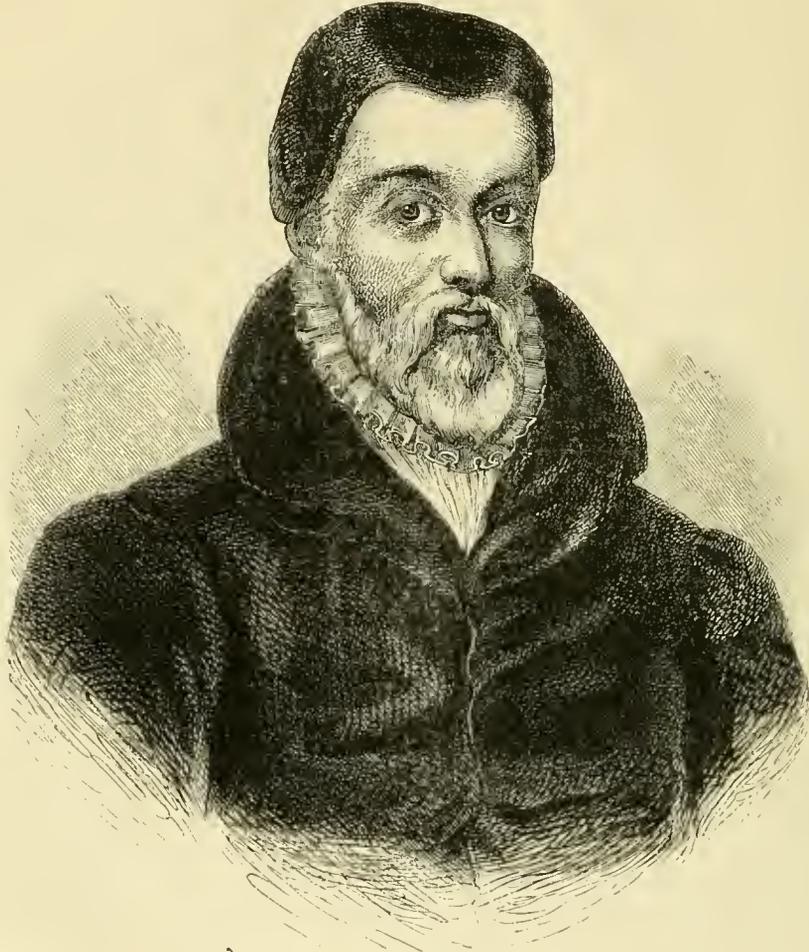


WILLIAM TYNDALE, "the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ," was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the University of Oxford, where he, by long continuance, grew up and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and

other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted. Inasmuch that he, lying then at Magdalen Hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen Colledge some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose

manners also and conversation, being correspondent to the same, were such that all they which knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition and of life unspotted. Thus he, in the University of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode

that in which Luther was born; the place was either North Nibley or (more probably) Slymbridge,² near Berkeley, in Gloucestershire. As little known are the details of his university career. We can hardly suppose that he would proceed to Oxford earlier than 1503. At that time, and for two years later, Colet was still delivering lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul; and we cannot doubt that Tyndale was one of the



WILLIAM TYNDALE.

a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, leaving that university also he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire."

Such is the brief account which John Foxe gives¹ of a period comprising more than two-thirds of Tyndale's life. Unhappily we can add very little to fill up the outline here given. Even the time and place of Tyndale's birth are not known with certainty. The most probable date appears to be 1484, the year following

many eager listeners to these fresh and vivid expositions. The reasons which induced Tyndale to leave Oxford for Cambridge we can only conjecture. On the one hand, he may very probably have been attracted by the teaching of Erasmus; on the other, he may have seen the necessity of avoiding a threatened storm. Colet himself was suspected of heresy; and his disciple, who occupied himself in reading "to students and fellows some parcel of divinity," would naturally be looked upon with distrust. The account of Tyndale's

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., p. 114.

² See the biography of Tyndale by the Rev. R. Demaus, pp. 5, 6.

residence in the family of Sir John Walsh, of Little Sodbury (a village in South Gloucestershire), we take from the first edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, since the narrative as there given¹ bears marks of being immediately derived from one of Tyndale's friends.

"Master Tyndale being in service with one Master Welch, a knight who married a daughter of Sir Robert Pointz, a knight dwelling in Gloucestershire, the said Tyndale being schoolmaster to the said Master Welch's children, and being in good favour with his master, sat most commonly at his own table, which kept a good ordinary, having resort to him many times divers great beneficed men, as abbots, deans, archdeacons, and other divers doctors and learned men. Amongst whom commonly was talk of learning, as well of Luther and Erasmus Roterodamus, as of opinions in the Scripture. The said Master Tyndale, being learned, and which had been a student of divinity in Cambridge, and had therein taken degree of school, did many times therein show his mind and learning, wherein as those men and Tyndale did vary in opinions and judgments, then Master Tyndale would show them on the book the places, by open and manifest Scripture. The which continued for a certain season divers and sundry times, until in the continuance thereof these great beneficed doctors waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against Master Tyndale. . . . Then did he translate into English a book called, as I remember, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*.² The which being translated he delivered to his master and lady. And after they had read that book, those great prelates were no more so often called to the house, nor when they came had the cheer nor countenance as they were wont to have, the which they did well perceive, and that it was by the means and incensing of Master Tyndale, and at the last came no more there. After that, when there was a sitting of the bishop's commissary or chancellor, and warning was given to the priests to appear, Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. And whether he had knowledge by their threatening, or that he did suspect that they would lay to his charge, it is not now perfectly in my mind; but thus he told me, that he doubted their examinations, so that he in his going thitherwards prayed in his mind heartily to God to strengthen him to stand fast in the truth of His word; so he being there before them, they laid sore to his charge, saying he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, a heretic in his divinity, and so continueth. But they said unto him, 'You bear yourself boldly of the gentlemen here in this country, but you shall be otherwise talked with.' Then Master Tyndale answered them: 'I am content that you bring me where you will into any country within England, giving me ten pounds³ a year to live with, so you bind me to nothing

but to teach children and preach.' Then had they nothing more to say to him, and thus he departed and went home to his master again.

"There dwelt not far off an old doctor that had been arch-chancellor to a bishop, the which was of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, who also favoured him well, to whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scriptures, for he durst boldly open to him his mind. That ancient doctor said, 'Do you not know that the Pope is the very antichrist which the Scripture speaketh of? but beware what ye say, for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion it will cost you your life;' and said, 'I have been an officer of his, but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works.' And soon after Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him drove him to that issue that the learned man said, 'We were better be without God's law than the Pope's.' Master Tyndale hearing that answered him, 'I defy the Pope and all his laws;' and said, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost.'"

It is very interesting to mark the dawn of Tyndale's great purpose of translating the Scriptures into the language of the people. The words last quoted may have been suggested by a striking passage in the "Exhortation" prefixed by Erasmus to his edition of the Greek Testament.⁴ "I would," says the great scholar of the Reformation age, "that all private women should read the Gospel and Paul's Epistles. And I wish that they were translated into all languages, that they may be read and known, not only by the Scotch and Irish, but also by the Turks and Saracens. Let it be that many would smile, yet some would receive it. I would that the husbandman at the plough should sing something from hence, that the weaver at his loom should sing something from hence, that the traveller might beguile the weariness of his journey by narrations of this kind." But even before he listened to Erasmus this subject had been in Tyndale's thoughts. It is remarkable that almost the only reminiscence of his childhood is connected with the labour of his life. In his work on the *Obedience of a Christian Man*,⁵ in the course of an argument that with special propriety may the Bible be translated into English, because the Greek and Hebrew tongues agree so much more with English than with Latin, he says: "Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child, thou shalt find in the English chronicle how that king Adelstone (Athelstane) caused the Holy Scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England, and how the prelates exhorted him thereto."

It soon became evident to Tyndale that his work could not be accomplished at Sodbury. "When I was

¹ Reprinted by Arber in the Preface to his Fac-simile of the *Grenville Fragment*, pp. 8-10. Mr. Demaus (p. 44) is convinced that Foxe's informant was Richard Webb, afterwards a servant of Latimer.

² Written by Erasmus in 1501.

³ Equal to £120 or £130 at the present day.

⁴ *Historical Account* (in the *English Hexapla*), pp. 43, 44.

⁵ *Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises* (Parker Society), p. 149. See also Demaus, p. 11.

so turmoiled," he says,¹ "in the country where I was, that I could no longer there dwell, I this wise thought in myself: This I suffer because the priests of the country be unlearned. . . . As I this thought, the Bishop of London² came to my remembrance, whom Erasmus . . . praiseth exceedingly for his great learning. Then thought I, if I might come to this man's service I were happy. And so I gat me to London, and through the acquaintance of my master came to Sir Harry Gilford, the king's grace's controller, and brought him an oration of Isocrates which I had translated out of Greek into English, and desired him to speak unto my lord of London for me, which he also did, as he shewed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself, which I also did. . . .

¹ In the Preface to the Book of Genesis (1531). See Arber *Fac-simile*, pp. 16, 17.

² Tunstall, who succeeded to the see of London in 1522.

Whereupon my lord answered me, his house was full, he had more than he could well find; and advised me to seek in London, where he said I could not lack a service. And so in London I abode almost one year, . . . and understood at the last, not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England."

It was probably in 1523 that Tyndale came to London. During the year of anxious waiting he found a home in the house of Humphry Monmouth, a cloth merchant of London, who proved himself now and in after years Tyndale's zealous and loving friend. When at last compelled to renounce the hope of translating the New Testament in England, Tyndale did not hesitate to give up his country in favour of his work; but in May, 1524, left England, never to return.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

ST. MATTHEW.—THE MESSIANIC PROPHECIES OF THE EARLY CHAPTERS.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

"Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not."—MATT. ii. 17, 18.

THIS quotation from Jer. xxxi. 15 agrees more closely with the Hebrew than with the version of the LXX. According to the reading now generally received, the words of the Evangelist may be thus compared with those of the prophet:—

"A voice was heard in Rama, wailing, and much lamentation (weeping of bitterness), Rachel bewailing her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not."—MATT. ii. 18.

"A voice was heard in Rama, wailing, bitter weeping (lit. weeping of bitterness); Rachel weeping over her children, refused (or refusing) to be comforted for her children, for they are not."—JER. xxxi. 15.

The primary reference of these words, as originally spoken by the prophet, will scarcely admit of doubt.¹ Previously to the removal of a number of Jewish captives, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, into Babylon, they were assembled, as it should appear from Jer. xl. 1, in chains, at Ramah. If this Ramah be the same as that mentioned in Ezra ii. 26 and Neh. vii. 30, many of its inhabitants, in accordance with the language of Jer. xxxi. 17, "came again to their border," *i.e.*, returned to Judah together with Zerubbabel. It is possible (as Mr. Grove, in his article on "Ramah," in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, has suggested) that some may have perished at Ramah, by the hands of their captors, as we know that some were put to death

at Riblah (Jer. lii. 27), and that it was in this way that Ramah became the scene of the wailing described in Jer. xxxi. 15. There does not, however, appear to be any proof of such a massacre as that which Mr. Grove suggests, nor do the words of the prophet, when understood as referring to the Babylonian captives, necessarily require such a supposition: for though the Hebrew word rendered "they are not," or, as it is literally rendered, "he is not" (*i.e.*, not one of them), commonly denotes the death of the person to whom it relates (as *e.g.*, in Gen. xxxvii. 30; xlii. 13, 32, 36 [of Joseph]; Job vii. 8, 21; Ps. xxxvii. 36), it does not, of necessity, imply a state of non-existence, but may imply only the absence or change of place of the person with regard to whom it is used, as *e.g.*, in Gen. v. 24, where it is used of the translation of Enoch; in Gen. xlii. 36, in reference to Simeon; and, yet more decisively, in 1 Kings xx. 40, where it simply denotes escape out of custody.²

Hence, in the primary reference of the words, the prophecy may reasonably be supposed to have received its fulfilment in the event to which allusion has already been made, as it is related in Jer. xl. 1, *viz.*, the deportation of a portion of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin into the land of Babylon.

There were several places bearing, either in the same, or in a slightly modified form, the name of Ramah, a word which (like Aram) points to an elevated position.³ This name is said to have been found

² The Chaldee paraphrast explains the word "because they have gone into captivity."

³ This signification of the word suggests another explanation of the passage which has approved itself to some commentators—*viz.*, that "Ramah" here points not to any one particular place, but to one of those "high places" which seem to have been chosen by the

¹ In addition to the fact that the chief deportations of the ten tribes were already past, the position of Ramah within the tribe of Benjamin, and the prospect of a return to their own land (ver. 17), seem to determine the primary reference of the prophecy to the captivity of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

attached to the spot close to that in which Rachel is supposed to have been buried (Gen. xxxv. 18, 19); but the place more commonly known by that name was about five miles to the north of Jerusalem, within the limits of the tribe of Benjamin. In either case, the distance from Rachel's sepulchre was not great; and the prophet, by the use of a striking and highly poetical figure, represents the mother of Benjamin, whose eager desire of offspring is distinctly recorded in Gen. xxx. 1, and whose death, at the birth of "the son of her sorrow," is so pathetically described in Gen. xxxv. 18, as personifying the land, or as representing its bereaved mothers, when the Chaldeans burned the houses of the people, and Nebuzar-adan, the captain of the guard, carried away captive a number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and of Judah (*i.e.*, of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin) into the land of Babylon (Jer. xxxix. 8, 9; xl. 1).

It was thus that the primary fulfilment of the prophecy took place in the days of the prophet who had delivered it; and a striking testimony was given by Nebuzar-adan himself, who was the executioner of the Divine vengeance, to the truth of the inspired predictions respecting the doom of the rebellious people, when in "looking well" to Jeremiah, as Nebuchadnezzar had commanded him, and giving him permission to go or stay in the land, as the prophet might himself desire, he added, "The Lord thy God hath pronounced this evil upon this place. Now the Lord hath brought it, and done according as he hath said" (Jer. xl. 2, 3).

Much has been said about the sense in which it is affirmed by St. Matthew, "that that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet" was fulfilled in the slaughter of the babes of Bethlehem and the "coasts thereof," *i.e.*, the surrounding country. A different formula is here used by the Evangelist from that which occurs in vs. 15 and 23, and it has been argued, and perhaps not unreasonably, that all that the words *necessarily* imply is that the language of the prophet might well be applied, by way of accommodation, to the event related in the preceding verse. This explanation, however, will scarcely be deemed satisfactory to those who are accustomed to have regard, not so much to the design of the human writer, or to his perception of the meaning of his own words, as to the mind of the inspiring Spirit. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that just as the prophecy quoted in ver. 15 looked back to the exodus of the typical Israel, and forward to the return from Egypt of the true Israel, so the words of Jeremiah may have had their primary and, so to speak, typical fulfilment in the

deportation into Babylon, and their ultimate fulfilment in the event recorded by St. Matthew.

In some respects the latter of these two events seems more fully to satisfy the terms of the prophecy than the former. The mourning for the slaughter of the babes at Bethlehem may be well conceived to have been more bitter than that for the deportation into Babylon, inasmuch as the one was inflicted by an avowed enemy, whilst the other was inflicted by Israel's nominal king; inasmuch as in the one there was "hope that the children should come again to their own border," whilst in the other they were utterly destroyed; and inasmuch, lastly, as the flight into Egypt must have remained unknown to many, and those who had hailed with joy the birth of the promised Deliverer may well have "refused to be comforted," in the belief that "He was not."

This personification in the person of Rachel of those who were "looking for the consolation of Israel," derives additional force and beauty from the fact that in Ruth iv. 11 Rachel and Leah are represented as the common mothers of the people of God; and although Rachel was the mother of two only of the sons of Jacob, she, as well as Leah, is described as "building the house of Israel."

Again, although the word used by the prophet, which is translated "they were not," does not invariably imply the *death* of the person to whom it is applied, it more frequently bears that signification than any other.

Once more, it must not be forgotten that the whole of the context in which the prophecy is found is, in the strictest and fullest sense of the words, a prophecy of the latter days, a prophecy including in its wide embrace the entire compass of the Christian dispensation, beginning (if we may assume the Messianic reference of ver. 22) with the miraculous conception of our Lord, and ending with that glorious consummation which is described in the Epistle to the Hebrews, with express reference to the same chapter of the prophecies of Jeremiah as that from which St. Matthew quotes the words under consideration, when "they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more" (Heb. viii. 11, 12, cited from Jer. xxxi. 34).

On these then, as well on other grounds which might be urged, it seems reasonable to infer that the prophetic personification of Rachel, mourning over her lost or slain children, had a direct reference, in the mind of the inspiring Spirit, to the slaughter, in the days of Herod, of the babes of Bethlehem, and of the adjoining confines of Judah and of Benjamin; and that in the lamentation of the bereaved mothers of those districts the words of Jeremiah received a yet fuller accomplishment than in the mourning at the deportation into Babylon: "A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not."

Israelites for special "weeping and supplications" (see Jer. iii. 21; vii. 29; in both of which places, however, a different word is used for "high places"). This signification is supported by the Chaldee paraphrast, in the Latin version, thus: "Vox in excelso mundi audita est, domus Israel fletus et gemitus, post Jeremiam Prophetam, postquam misit eum Nebuzar-adan princeps occidentium a Ramâ." (A voice was heard, on a high place of the world, of the house of Israel weeping and groaning after Jeremiah the Prophet, after that Nebuzar-adan, the chief of the executioners, dismissed him from Ramah.)

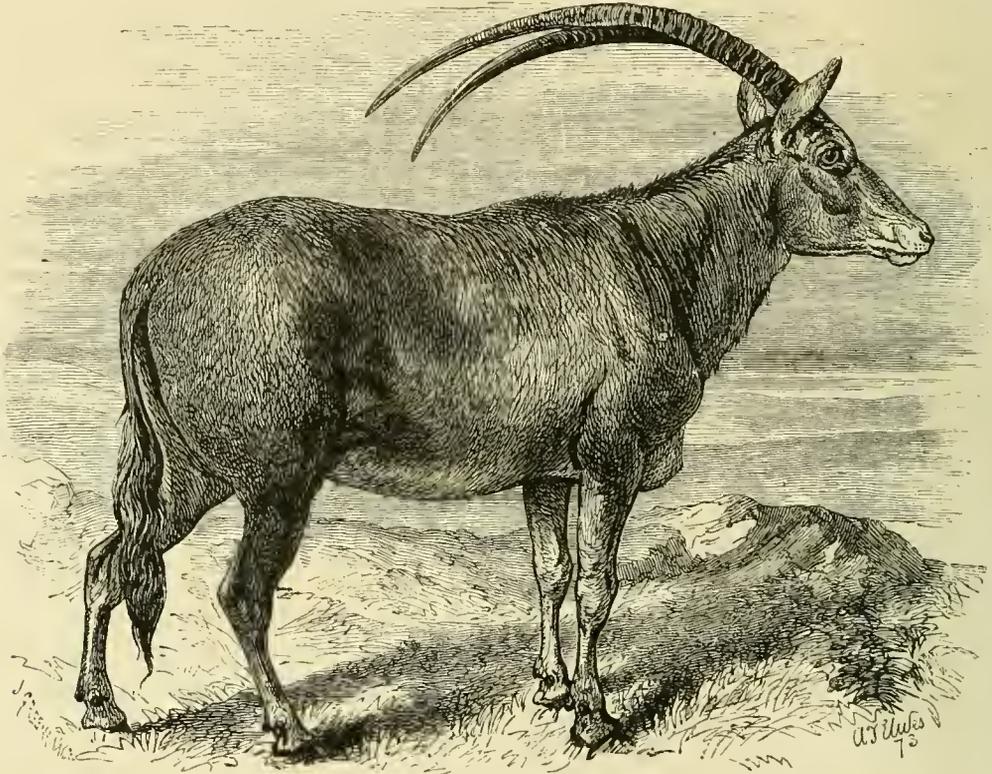
ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

WILD CATTLE.

LEAVING the domestic cattle, we come to the wild cattle of Palestine that appear to have roamed among the forests and hills of the country in Biblical times. In the English version we meet with two passages (Deut. xiv. 5, and Isa. li. 20) where the Hebrew words

lope (*Oryx leucoryx*) of North Africa, Syria, &c.; that the horns seen in profile appear as one, and hence the mistake of regarding it as a one-horned animal; others have no hesitation in referring the unicorn to the one-horned rhinoceros (*R. unicornis*) of Asia. This is the opinion generally entertained at this day. Now all attempts to discover a one-horned animal that shall



ORYX LEUCORYX.

teō or *tō* are represented by "wild ox" and "wild bull" respectively; but it is probable that the animal denoted by the original word is rather some species of antelope than a bovine animal; this question we shall consider at another time. There is another Hebrew word of frequent occurrence in the Bible—viz., *rēēm*, *rēcīm*, or *reim*, which our translators always translate "unicorn," but which there can be no doubt means "wild bull," as we showed ten years ago; see the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*, Nov., 1862, in a paper on the "Unicorn of the Ancients;" the *Quarterly Review*, on the "Natural History of the Bible," No. 227, &c. We here reproduce our remarks from the first mentioned:—

"And first of all there is the unicorn of the Bible. Pages upon pages have been written on this subject. Some have said the animal must have been the ante-

represent the unicorn of our English Bible are beyond the mark entirely, and for this simple reason: the so-called unicorn is no unicorn at all; the Hebrew word (*reem*) denotes a two-horned animal beyond the shadow of doubt. The 'unicorn' of our English Bible owes its origin to the Septuagint and Vulgate versions.¹ In Deut. xxxiii. 17, which contains a portion of Joseph's blessing, it is said, 'His horns are like the horns of a *reem*.' Our translators, seeing the contradiction involved in the expression, 'horns of the unicorn,' have rendered the Hebrew singular noun as if it were a plural form in the text, though they give the correct translation in the margin. The

¹ *Μονόκερας* in all the passages but one, where the Septuagint has *ἄρροι*. The Vulgate has *unicornis*, and sometimes *rhinoceros*.

two horns of the *reem* are 'the ten thousands of Ephraim and the thousands of Manasseh,' and represent the two tribes which sprang from one (viz., Joseph), just as two horns spring from one head. The unicorn of the Bible, therefore, may be dismissed at once, as being a very unhappy translation of the Hebrew two-horned *reem*, the animal denoted being, there cannot be much doubt, some species of 'wild ox,' as appears

Palestine and Syria in Biblical times, as is clear from the numerous allusions to them in Holy Writ; and it is interesting to note, as an additional proof, that the late Dr. Roth discovered bones of the lion in gravel near the Jordan. It is therefore quite probable that future investigations in Palestine may result in the discovery of the bones of *Bos primigenius*, or *Bison priscus*, or some other formidable ox. All readers will remember the



BISON BONASSUS.

pretty evident from a comparison of the different passages where the word occurs in Holy Scripture. The *reem* was two-horned; it is almost always mentioned with bovine animals; it is said to push with its horns; it must have been frequently seen roaming on the hills of Palestine, or in the woods of the Jordan valley, as is evident from the numerous allusions to it. It is true there is no wild ox at present known to exist in Palestine; but this is no reason why, in early times, some mighty species, allied perhaps to the urus which Cæsar saw in the Hercynian forest, should not have existed in that country. Lions were certainly not uncommon in

beautiful description of the *reem* in the Book of Job. Now let us compare with it the account Cæsar gives of the fierce urus which in his time frequented the great Hercynian forest: 'These uri are scarcely less than elephants in size, but in their nature, colour, and form are bulls. Great is their strength and great their speed nor do they spare man or beast when they once have caught sight of him. The hunters are most careful to kill those which they take in pitfalls, while the young men exercise themselves by this sort of hunting, and grow hardened by the toil; those of them who kill most receive great praise when they exhibit in public

the horns as trophies of their success. These uri, however, even when they are young, cannot be habituated to man and made tractable. The size and shape of their horns are very different from those of our oxen."

The indomitable nature ascribed to these wild uri exactly agrees with the description of the *reem* as given in chap. xxxix. of the Book of Job; and the apparently implied contrast which is made between the domestic ox and the wild urus finds an analogue in the above extract from Cæsar. The same remark may be made with respect to the great size and strength of the Scriptural *reem* when contrasted with the domestic oxen of Palestine, the ancient inhabitants of which land would naturally draw the same comparison between their domestic cattle and the mighty *reem*, as Cæsar's legions did between their cattle (*Bos longifrons*) and the great Hercynian wild bulls (*Bos primigenius*), whose bones are now occasionally found, together with those of the elephant, hyæna, &c., in the Tertiary deposits of this country.

Mention of the *reem* is made in the following passages:—

"God brought them out of Egypt; he hath, as it were, the strength of a *reem*" (Numb. xxiii. 22; xxiv. 8).

"His glory is like the firstling of his bullock,
And his horns are like the horns of a *reem*;
With them shall he push the people together
To the ends of the earth;
And they (the two horns) are the ten thousands of Ephraim,
And they are the thousands of Manasseh" (Deut. xxxiii. 17).

We have already explained this passage; which, indeed, written in full, explains itself: we only now call attention to the parallelism:—

בְּכֹר שׂוֹרֵי הָרָרִי
קַרְנֵי רֵעַם קַרְנֵי

*Bekôr shôró hâdâr lô,
Vekarnêi r'ém karnêiv.*

The multitudes of the tribe of Ephraim are represented by the one horn, and the multitudes of the tribe of Manasseh by the other horn, of a bullock or wild bull. The Hebrew word occurs three times in the Psalms:—

"Save me from the lion's mouth, for thou hast heard me from the horns of the *reems*" (xxii. 21).

"He maketh them to skip like a calf;
Lebanon and Sirion like a young *reem*"

(xxix. 6), where the parallelism is again to be noted.

"My horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of a *reem*."

(xcii. 10). The animal is also mentioned in Isaiah (xxxiv. 6, 7), where the parallelism of the whole passage is very striking:—

"The sword of Jehovah is filled with blood;
It is made fat with fatness;
With the blood of lambs and goats,
With the fat of the kidneys of rams;
Jehovah hath a sacrifice in Bozrah,
And a great slaughter in the land of Edom;
And the *reems* shall come down with them,
The oxen and the strong bulls."

Under the image of a great sacrifice of cattle to Jehovah, the prophet describes a terrible destruction that is to take place among Israel's enemies, especially

the Edomites. The lambs and goats and rams, it is very probable, denote the people, while the *reems*, oxen, and strong bulls represent the chiefs and princes.

A fuller description of the *reem* is given in the Book of Job:—

"Will the *reem* be willing to serve thee,
Or will he abide by thy crib?
Canst thou bind the *reem* by his band in his furrow?
Or will he harrow the valleys after thee?
Wilt thou trust him, because his strength is great?
Or wilt thou leave thy labour to him?
Wilt thou believe him, that he will bring home thy seed,
And gather it into thy barn?"

(xxxix. 9—12.) All this exactly suits some fierce untamable urus or wild bull, but is inapplicable to the buffalo, a common beast of burden in many countries; besides, we have shown above that the buffalo was certainly not known in Palestine in Biblical times, being comparatively a recent introduction from India.

It may be remembered that we stated our belief, some years ago, in the probability of future investigations resulting in the discovery of the remains of some species of wild *Bos* or *Bison*. Our remarks appeared in the *Quarterly Review* (cxxxvii., p. 53), as well as in the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*. Shortly afterwards Dr. Tristram visited Palestine, and discovered in bone breccia in the Lebanon five teeth, which were submitted to examination by a high authority in such matters, Mr. W. Boyd Dawkins, who said that four of the teeth belonged to some ox which cannot be distinguished from the aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), and the other tooth probably to a bison. Dr. Tristram, commenting on our prediction expressed in the *Quarterly*, says: "We may now congratulate him on the speedy verification of his anticipation, and on the further elucidation of an obscure Scriptural reference" (*The Land of Israel*, p. 12).

The sagacity of Mr. Layard some years ago led him to think, from the occurrence of wild bulls on the Assyrian monuments, that the Hebrew *reem* was one of these animals. "I was at one time inclined to think," he writes, "that the bull of the sculptures might represent the unicorn, or *rain*, so often alluded to in the Scriptures, as an animal renowned for its strength and ferocity, and typical of power and might" (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii., p. 429). From all that has been said above, it would seem almost certain that the Hebrew *reem* denotes some fierce wild bull, once not uncommon in Palestine, though long since extinct in that country.

We are now going to furnish the reader with what we regard conclusive evidence to prove that the Hebrew name *reem* not only signifies a wild bull, but that wild bulls actually did exist in Palestine about 800 years before Christ. The cuneiform inscriptions shall supply this evidence.

Figures of wild bulls of great size and strength occur in the old monuments of Nimrud; the accompanying woodcut (page 27), taken from a marble slab in the British Museum, represents an Assyrian monarch, Assur-natsir-pal ("Asshur protects his son"), hunting wild bulls, about B.C. 884. The ideogram for a wild

bull,  (forming the syllable *am*), is of frequent occurrence on the sculptures. Assyrian scholars read the sign phonetically as *rîm* or *rîmu*; and that this is correct appears from the fact that sometimes the animal is expressed by syllables, thus, *ri-i-mu* or *ri-mu*. They interpret the word to mean "a wild ox."

The following are passages where the *rîmu*, or wild bull, is spoken of:—

1. "*Mat-su kima alpi am (rîmî), a-dis*" (i.e., "his country like oxen [wild bulls] I trod down") (Norris, *Assyrian Diet.*, i., p. 21). The word *alpi* is the ordinary Assyrian word for "cattle." It is clearly the Hebrew *eleph* (pl. *alâphîm*); its being followed by the ideogram given above helps to determine the meaning of *rîmu*.

2. "*As-ru ru-su-qu i-na niri ya ri-ma-nis at-ta-kiz*" (p. 55) ("A difficult place on my feet like a wild bull

the Hittites and at the foot of Lebanon he killed"). Thus it appears nothing is wanting to show that the meaning of the Hebrew word *reem* is a wild bull, and that these animals existed in Palestine in historical times about 800 years before Christ.

We ask the reader to pay attention to the form and size of the horns in the woodcuts of the domestic cattle of the Assyrians, and to compare them with the horns of the wild bull or *reem*. These last are much stronger and larger than those of the domestic animals. We might expect some reference to these large and powerful horns in the Assyrian monuments; and this, too, we absolutely find. The *reem* is not unfrequently expressed on the monuments as *am'si*, i.e. "the horned reem;" 'si being used ideographically for *karnu*, "a horn," the Hebrew *keren*.

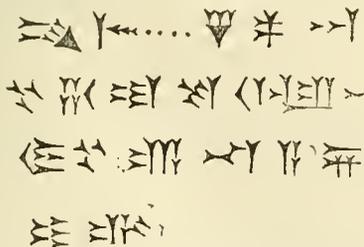


ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL, KING OF ASSYRIA, HUNTING WILD BULLS. (ASSYRIAN.)

I encountered"). The word *ri-ma-nis* is an adverb formed from the old plural of *rîmu* in *an(u)*, like *tulanis*, "in heaps."

3. *IV. buchal rîmi dan-nu-te su-tu-ru-te na-pis-ta su-nu u-sak-ti* ("Four wild bulls, full-grown and fine, their lives I cut off") (p. 81).

The monuments also show that these *rîmi* were hunted in Palestine. On the Broken Obelisk, probably of Assur-natsir-pal, these words occur:—



"*Rîmi . . . sa pa-an Cha-at-te va in nir Lib-na-ani i-duk*" ("Wild bulls which opposite the land of

In the annals of Tiglath-pileser I. the following words occur: "*X. am-'si bu-chu-li . . . lu a-duk*" (i.e., "ten full-grown horned wild bulls I killed" (see Norris, *Assyr. Diet.*, i., p. 81). Again, on the Broken Obelisk of Assur-natsir-pal: "*Am-'si ina iz-bam (mitpanu) va-san-kit*" (i.e., "horned wild bulls with his bow he brought down") (Norris, i., p. 311). Thus these wild cattle or *uri* are spoken of, being especially characterised by the strength and size of their horns.

Since much of the above was written we have received a letter from Mr. A. H. Sayce, to whom we are much indebted for kind help in Assyrian and Accadian words, and who thus writes to us on this matter:—"It seems to me that you are right in thinking that the evidence is complete, that *reem* means a wild bull, and that we have historical evidence of its former existence in Palestine."

Both the *urus* and the bison had a wide geographical range. They were to be found from the Rhine to China, in Thrace, and Asia Minor; while they or allied species are still found in Siberia and the

forests both of Northern and Southern Persia; while the gigantic *Gaur* (*Bibos gaur*) (of which animal we possess a magnificent pair of horns), and several congeners, are spread over all the mountain wildernesses of India, and the Sheriff-al-Wady; and a further colossal species roams, with other wild bulls, in the valleys of Atlas (Hamilton Smith, in Kitto's *Cyclop. Bib. Lit.*).

Gigantic oxen belonging to the genera *Bison* and *Bos* once roamed at large in our own country, but we have no historical record of their existence. Skulls and horn-cases, and a few bones, chiefly metatarsal and metacarpal, which have been found in some places in England and Scotland, show the existence of a large taurine race which was probably entirely destroyed by the old inhabitants before the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar. When the Roman armies penetrated the forests of Belgium and Germany, they found two large species of wild cattle, the *Urus* and the *Bison*. Of the *Urus*, which was distinguished by the great length of the horns, we have already spoken; the *bison* was distinguished by its shaggy coat. "Germany," says Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii. 15), "though it has not very many animals, has some fine kinds of wild oxen, bisons with long manes, and *uri* of remarkable strength and speed" (*Jubatos bisontes, excellentique vi et velocitate uros*). Seneca briefly and characteristically describes these two species:—

"Tibi dant varæ pectora tigris.
Tibi villosi terga bisontes
Latisque feri cornibus uri" (*Hipp.* vi. 3).

The *Urus*, which Professor Owen identifies with the *Bos primigenius*, whose remains have been found in the alluvial beds of rivers and the newer Tertiary deposits of this country, in marl-pits in Scotland, in drift sand overlying the London clay, in a tumulus of the Wiltshire downs, &c., has long become extinct, though it seems to have existed at later periods of the Roman Empire, and to have been occasionally, together with the bison, captured and exhibited alive in the shows of the amphitheatre. The genus *Bos* differs from the genus *Bison* in these particulars:—"The forehead of the ox (*bos*) is flat, and even slightly concave; that of the aurochs (*bison*) is convex, though somewhat less so than the buffalo; it is quadrate in the ox; its height, taking the base between the orbits, being equal to its breadth; in the aurochs, measured at the same place, the breadth greatly exceeds the height, in the proportion of 3 to 2. The horns are attached in the ox to the extremity of the highest salient line of the head, that which separates the forehead from the occiput; in the aurochs this line is two inches behind the root of the horns. The plane of the occiput forms an acute angle with the forehead in the ox; the angle is obtuse in the aurochs. Finally, that plane of the occiput is quadrangular in the ox, but semicircular in the aurochs" (*Menagerie du Mus. d'Hist. Nat.*, quoted from Owen). "The ribs never exceed in number thirteen pairs in any species of *Bos* proper; the European *Bison* or aurochs has fourteen, and the American *Bison* fifteen pairs of ribs" (*British Fossil Mammals and Birds*, pp. 492, 493).

From the recent character of the osseous substances of the skulls obtained from marl-pits in Scotland, Professor Owen concludes that the *Bos primigenius* maintained its ground longest in Scotland. There may be found here and there in history marks of the occurrence of the *uri* in Germany subsequent to the time of Cæsar, Seneca, and Pliny. It is related of Charlemagne that he used to hunt bisons and *uri* when in the humour. "Cum ecce quietis et otii impatientissimus Carolus ad venatum bisontium vel urorum in nemus ire, et Persarum nunties secum parat educere" (Sangall, lib. ii. *De Carolo M.*, c. ii., quoted from Du Cange's *Gloss.*, s. v. "Urus"). Professor Owen writes, "It is remarkable that the two kinds of great wild oxen recorded in the *Nibelungen Lied* of the twelfth century as having been slain with other beasts of chase in the great hunt of the Forest of Worms, are mentioned under the same names which they received from the Romans:—

'Dar nach schluch er schiere einen Wisent und einen Elch,
Starcher Uro vier, und eiaen grimmen Schelch.'
(After this he straightway slew a *Bison* and an Elk,
Of the strong *Uri* four, and a single fierce Schelch.)

The image of the great *Urus* in the full vigour of life is powerfully depicted in a later poem, destined perhaps to be as immortal as the *Nibelungen*:—

'Mightiest of all the beasts of chase
That roam in woody Caledon,
Crashing the forest in his race,
The mountain bull comes thundering on.'

But the following stanza shows that Scott drew his picture from the Chillingham wild cattle:—

'Fierce, on the hunter's quiver'd hand,
He rolls his eyes of swarthy glow;
Spurns with black hoof and horn the sand,
And tosses high his mane of snow'
(Scott, *Ballad of Cadyow Castle*.)"

We do not think Sir Walter Scott was thinking of the Chillingham wild cattle; he doubtless had in view a passage from the *Scotic Descriptio* of Lesley (p. 13), where a huge fierce wild bull is mentioned, very white in colour, with a mane like a lion.

The *Bison* has continued down to this day; it is still to be found in the forests of Lithuania, Moldavia, and the Caucasus. It has never been domesticated, but herds are protected, to the number of about 800, in the forest of Bialowieza, under the direction of the Emperor of Russia. There is a very fine stuffed specimen of this aurochs in the British Museum, which was presented some years ago by the Emperor of Russia. Cæsar and Pliny say that the large horns of the *Urus* were anxiously sought after for making into cups to be used at splendid entertainments, or for ornaments, the tips being bound with silver. The ancient monarchs of Assyria also prized the horns of wild cattle for ornaments; such sentences as the following occur on the monuments: "Silver, gold, lead, copper, iron, horns of wild oxen (*ka am-si*) without number I received them." "Their skins, their horns (*kai sunu*), with wild oxen alive to my city Assur, I carried" (Norris, *Assyr. Dict.*, ii., p. 502). The figures

of the wild bulls which occur on the Assyrian monuments exhibit strong animals with long powerful horns, and would indicate that they belonged to the genus *Bos*, and not to the genus *Bison*.

NOTE.—The European Bison—the *Bos Bison* of Linnæus, the *Bison Bonassus* of Gray, the *Bison priscus* of Owen, the *Urochs*, *Auer-ochs*, *Wald-ochse*, &c., of German writers—is no doubt identical with the fossil *Anrochs*, these being the ancestors of the animals now living in the forests of Lithuania.

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

BY THE EDITOR.

TH does not come within the scope of this paper to give a complete account of the rise and fall of this dynasty, and of the influence which it exercised for good or evil—mostly, it must be confessed, for evil—on the fortunes and character of Judaism. That account will come in its natural place, as part of the series of papers to which we have given the title of “Between the Books,” and which will include the period that intervenes from the return of the Jews from Babylon to the destruction of Jerusalem. There are, however, many points of interest to the general student of the Gospels in which the narrative of Josephus or other Jewish writers presents coincidences that at once illustrate and confirm the records of the New Testament. They show that where those records come into contact with the history of the outside world, as forming the stage on which the Divine drama was being played out to its great issues, they breathe the very spirit of the time to which they purport to belong, and are accurate with an unconstrained accuracy which was not likely to be met with in documents that were the mythical after-growth of a later age. So far, then, the coincidences which will be noticed here will have something, at least, of an evidential value. In not a few instances, it is believed, they will serve to throw a fresh light on passages the full significance of which is, for want of adequate knowledge, but half perceived by many readers. It will be convenient to arrange the coincidences more or less chronologically.

I. HEROD THE GREAT.

(1.) “Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?” (John ii. 20.) “And as some spake of the temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones and gifts” (Luke xxi. 5). “As He went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto Him, Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here” (Mark xiii. 1).

It was part of the policy of Herod, after he had obtained the title and power of king of Judea through the murder of John Hyrcanus, the last representative of the priestly Maccabæan dynasty, and the favour of the Emperor Augustus, to win the good-will of his subjects and the praise of other nations by works of a dazzling magnificence. Among these, which included a temple dedicated to Augustus at Paneas, near the sources of the Jordan, a theatre for gladiatorial games and chariot

rares at Cæsarea, a temple of Apollo at Rhodes, public buildings at Nicopolis and at Antioch, and (strange combination!) the revival, in something of their old splendour, of the Olympic games, that which fixed itself most on the minds of the inhabitants of Palestine was the reconstruction of the Temple (B.C. 20). Ten thousand workmen were pressed into the service, a thousand priestly garments provided for the more solemn celebration of sacrifices and daily psalmody, the priests themselves trained to be overlookers of the works. The foundations were relaid on those of the older Temple in large white stones; the Temple was surrounded with cloisters; a golden vine covered the gateway with its branches and its clusters. The inauguration of the sanctuary took place a year and a half after the work had been begun, but the cloisters were not finished for eight years (Joseph., *Ant.* xv. 11). The bounty of the king, however, did not end here. During the remainder of his life, from time to time, he adorned it with costly gifts, including, in one memorable instance, a golden eagle, dedicated, we may well believe, in honour of the master of the Roman legions, which roused the zeal of the Jews, as bringing with it the pollution of the holy place by the worship of a graven image (Joseph., *Ant.* xvii. 6). His example was doubtless followed by the wealthier priests and citizens, by pilgrims who came from distant countries; and from the date when the restoration was begun, B.C. 20, to that when our Lord began his ministry, A.D. 26 (a period of exactly forty-six years),¹ the work probably never entirely ceased. The multitude at Jerusalem were strictly within the letter when they described the building as having gone on for that period. It was upon the “goodly stones and gifts” thus brought together that the Galilean disciples gazed with admiration.

(2.) It was probably to the reign of this Herod that we have to ascribe the growth of the party or sect known as the Herodians. It is remarkable that the only mention of them by that name in the New Testament occurs in the Gospels of St. Matthew (xxii. 16) and St. Mark (iii. 6; xii. 13), and that they are not mentioned at all by Josephus or any other writer. The name was in its form, like Mariani, Pompeiani, and, we may add, Christiani (the followers of Marius, Pompeius, Christus), essentially Latin in its form, and implied that it was

¹ Our Lord was “about thirty years of age” at the time of his baptism (Luke iii. 23). The actual date of the Nativity must be placed, however (the Christian era having been inaccurately reckoned when it first came to be employed), at B.C. 4, and the commencement of his ministry coincides, therefore, not with A.D. 30, but with A.D. 26.

given after Roman influences had begun to tell upon the nation. The Herodians are obviously something more than a political party, something less than a religious sect. They differ from the Pharisees on the question whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar, as Herod and his sons had compelled their subjects to do (Matt. xxii. 16, 17). They coalesce with them, sometimes, as in the instance just referred to, under the guise of a simulated opposition, sometimes in open union against the Teacher in whom they saw a common enemy. The origin of the party as such is not very definitely marked. A movement which for a time threatened to break up the unity of the Pharisee party may, however, with some probability, be regarded as its starting-point. The great Rabbi Hillel had at one time as his colleague a certain Menahem, identical probably with Manaen the Essene, of whom more hereafter. The former continued steadfast to the milder, wider forms of Pharisee tradition, such as that of which Gamaliel was afterwards the representative, and watched with jealousy and disfavour the Hellenising, heathenising policy of the son of the Idumean Antipater. The latter, attracted by the hopes of advancement and the rising power of Herod, seceded from his party, and was followed by not less than eighty of his adherents among the Scribes. They adopted, as the outward badge of their new position, the luxurious habits and the gorgeous dress, glittering with gold embroidery, in which the Herodian dynasty delighted (comp. Acts xii. 21). Such a body would obviously be regarded by the zealous Pharisees much in the same way as those among the high Anglican party who took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary were regarded by the Non-jurors, and yet would still retain points of contact with them, leading sometimes to actual co-operation. The fact just mentioned throws a new light upon the words spoken by our Lord to the disciples of John the Baptist, "What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind?" The preacher of repentance was not like those Scribes of shifty and supple nature, who veered about as the wind of court favour blew from this or that point of the compass. "But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in king's houses" (Matt. xi. 7, 8; Luke vii. 24, 25). The Baptist was not like those renegade teachers who had sunk into the livoried parasites of a court. Both descriptions fit in with admirable precision to the character of the Herodians, to the followers of Menahem, and they do not fit in to any other party or set of teachers who could be contrasted with the Baptist. And the probability of their being thus referred is strengthened, we may add, by the fact, which we learn from a comparison of Luke vi. 11 with Mark iii. 6, that the coalition between the Herodians (whom St. Luke does *not* mention) and the Pharisees had all but immediately preceded the words of indignant scorn which St. Mark does not record. The coincidence in this case is one of that most interesting kind, in which a fact mentioned altogether incidentally by one writer supplies the key to the right under-

standing of words recorded by another. May we not believe that the studied mockery with which, when our Lord was brought before the Tetrarch, he and his men of war "arrayed him in a gorgeous robe," was an act of vindictive malice, seeking to revenge the scorn which the supporters of Herod had felt so keenly? We know from Matt. xxii. 16 that the Herodians were at Jerusalem at the time, and we should naturally look for them among the prominent persons at their prince's court.

(3.) The name of Menahem just mentioned connects itself with another set of facts in the history of Herod the Great. In the childhood of that king an Essene who bore that name, and whose austerity of life had won for him the reputation of a prophet, had greeted him, as by a divine impulse, as the future king of the Jews, had warned him against his besetting vices, and predicted the punishment that would fall upon him if he yielded to them. When the prophecy was half fulfilled, and Herod had gained the kingly title, he sent for the Essene prophet, and inquired how long he was to retain possession of his power. The eager question was not definitely answered, but as he held out a hope of twenty or thirty years at least, Herod dismissed him with honour, and continued to favour the Essenes. Josephus, who records the story (*Antiq.* xv. 11, § 5), had at one time attached himself to the Essene communities, and his information probably rested on what he had heard as one of the traditions of the sect. It is obviously all but impossible to avoid connecting this narrative with the facts that there was a foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, who bore the name of Manaen or Menahem (Acts xiii. 1), and that one of the same name was the leader of the seceding scribes who formed the nucleus of the Herodian party described in the last section. In some way or other, we may believe, Herod sought to show honour to the prophet by bringing up his son or grandson as a child of the palace, among his own sons. The influence which such an association may have had on the tetrarch's character, and the other coincidences which connect themselves with it, will be noticed more fully below.¹ It is remarkable that at a later date, when Archelais was summoned to Rome, and had a strange mysterious vision that perplexed him, he too consulted a diviner of the sect of the Essenes, who was held in respect as an interpreter of dreams (*Antiq.* xvii. 11).

(4.) More striking still, as illustrating what we are told in Matt. ii. of the suspicious temper and relentless cruelty of the king, is the picture drawn by Josephus of the old age of Herod. One by one, all whom he suspected among his own children had fallen victims to his jealousy. But two years before the birth of Christ the sons of Mariamne, his best loved wife, Alexander and Aristobulus, were strangled at Sebaste in Samaria. A little later, in the wretchedness of an old age which reminds us in its utter misery of that of Tiberius, his body devoured by ulcerous sores, his soul tormented by its remorse, after a half-accomplished attempt at suicide,

¹ Compare also the writer's *Biblical Studies*, Essay on Manaen.

he gave orders that Antipater, another son, should also be put to death. Even the Emperor, who had long supported him, was weary of the ceaseless complaints brought by the tyrant against his own children, and said, in the bitterness of his scorn, that it was better to be a swine of Herod's than a son. What was more likely than that all the suspicions of such a man should be roused by the tidings that men had come from the East asking, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews?" that, with the usual craft of his nature, he should dissemble his jealousy, and feign a desire to do homage to the king whom his people were expecting? We must not forget too that in the interval between the Nativity and the arrival of the Magi there had occurred the presentation in the Temple, and that it must already have been whispered in secret among those who "looked for redemption in Israel" that from the house and lineage of David, and the stir and throng of the first census of Quirinus (Cyrenius), One had been born who should be "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel."¹

(5.) The imperial *bon mot* just mentioned connects itself with another fact in the Gospel history. The history of the Gadarene demoniacs shows that, at least in Galilee, it was not uncommon, though in flagrant violation of the Mosaic law, for large herds of swine to be kept, in order, we may believe, to supply the wants of the Roman soldiers into whose diet swine's flesh, in some form or other, entered so largely. How long that traffic had existed, or whether there was any demand for the forbidden flesh among the older inhabitants—remnants of the old Canaanite races and the like—of Galilee, we cannot say. But the saying now before us shows that Herod at all events had sanctioned and extended it, and though not eating swine's flesh himself (his defiance of the religious scruples of his people does not seem to have gone as far as that), to have sanctioned what he might make a source of profit, and to have compelled or persuaded his subjects to become herdsmen of the unclean beast. After the death of Archelaus, Jerusalem, with only occasional visits from the Procurator, became more intensely Jewish; Galilee, under Antipas, more thoroughly Romanised. The eastern shores of the Sea of Galilee were so in a pre-eminent degree, and it is in that region that we meet with a form of the peasant's life which in Judea would have been looked on with abhorrence, and which was taken, as in the parable of the Prodigal Son, as the type of extremest degradation.

II. ARCHELAUS.

(1.) The position of Archelaus in the narrative of the Gospels is entirely a subordinate one. He is mentioned but once. When Joseph, after hearing in Egypt of the death of Herod, rose and took the young child and his mother, and came into the land of Israel, he "heard that Archelaus did reign in Judæa in the room of his father Herod, and was afraid to go thither" (Matt. ii. 22).

¹ The chronology of the events connected with the Nativity is not without difficulty. Wieseler, the most thorough and accurate of harmonists, places the arrival of the Magi immediately after the presentation in the Temple

Two things are noticeable in this statement. (a) The fact of Archelaus being the successor of his father seems to have come upon Joseph as something unexpected; so, indeed, it might well do. The right of succession in an Eastern monarchy like that which Herod had founded was somewhat unsettled, and, like that of the Roman *imperium*, was practically made to depend on the testamentary disposition of the present owner. It was characteristic of the rapidly changing jealousies and suspicions of the later years of Herod's reign that no less than three such wills were made one after another; the first appointing Antipater, who was afterwards executed; the second Herod Antipas, afterwards the Tetrarch; and lastly, one made just before his death, designating Archelaus. It may well have been, therefore, that one who had left Judæa before Herod's death would be more surprised to find that prince wielding the sceptre. (b) The narrative implies that Joseph thought there would be greater safety under Herod Antipas in Galilee than there was under Archelaus in Judæa. This also would be in perfect accordance with the facts of the case. The evil nature of Antipas had not as yet fully shown itself. That of Archelaus rivalled within a few months of his accession, the cruelty of his father. The Passover came, and the streets of the city were crowded with pilgrims. An enthusiastic wish to do honour to the memory of two leaders, Judas and Matthias, who had died what was looked upon as a martyr's death against the heathenising encroachments of Herod, took possession of the multitudes, and wrought them to a feverish excitement. Archelaus grew alarmed, sent in his horsemen to disperse them, and on meeting with resistance attacked them and slew not less than three thousand men. The remembrance of this massacre must have been fresh in the minds of men when Joseph found himself on his way back from Egypt, and may well have led him to seek a refuge in the sheltered home at Nazareth rather than in David's city, in which, as belonging to the house and lineage of David, he probably possessed some patrimony. It may have helped to determine his course of action that while Archelaus was at that time actually governing in Jerusalem, Antipas had taken his departure for Rome in the hope of obtaining, through the Emperor's favour, the confirmation of his father's second will which had assigned him the kingdom (Joseph, *Antiq.* xvii. 2, §§ 6, 8, 9).

(2.) It is a remarkable feature in the parable of the Pounds, as recorded by St. Luke (ix. 13), that it begins with the statement, "A certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return," that after what we may call the substance of the parable, which it has in common with St. Matthew's parable of the Talents, it adds what that does not give us, the incident that his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying, "We will not have this man to reign over us;" that on his return in power he takes vengeance on his subjects, "Those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me." In any other period

of Eastern rule, in any other state of society, such a picture, a nobleman gaining a kingdom as the result of a distant journey, would have been wanting in dramatic truthfulness. It was precisely the kind of imaginary history which the actual events of the reign of Archelaus were likely to suggest. Immediately after the massacre above referred to, Antipas started for Rome to urge his claim to the throne; Archelaus followed him, and scenes of accusation and recrimination followed. The Emperor reserved his decision, and during the interval a delegation of fifty envoys representing eight thousand citizens arrived, pouring out their complaints against Archelaus and his father, and above all imploring that they might be delivered for the future from all kingly rule, especially from that of one so cruel and barbarous as Archelaus. The Emperor, true to the balancing policy of Roman rulers, took a middle course, gave Archelaus the actual government of Judæa with the title of ethnarch, and the promise of the higher name if he merited it by his allegiance to the Empire, and appointed Antipas to the tetrarchy of Galilee. Archelaus returned to Palestine, revenged himself on the "enemies who would not that he should reign over them," and ruled with greater cruelty than ever. A second complaint addressed to the Emperor soon followed; Archelaus was summoned to Rome to defend himself, condemned, deposed, and banished to Vienne in Gaul (Joseph., *Antiq.* xvii. 9, § 11).

(3). One more fact in the life of this king is not without its interest as bearing on the Gospel history. He too married his brother's wife (Glaphyra, the widow of Alexander, by whom he had three children), in direct defiance of the law, which, while it prescribed that marriage where there was no issue, forbade it in all other cases. It shocked the feelings of the better and more devout Jews. The youth of the Baptist must have been impressed with the horror which that unlawful union had caused in the minds of Pharisees and priests. There is, however, no record of any protest having been made against it. The old indignation must have been rekindled when a like crime, aggravated by the fact that in this instance the husband was still living, was perpetrated by Antipas in the marriage of his brother Philip's wife. The witness which the preacher of repentance bore against the sin was the utterance of a very widely spread feeling against this breaking down of even one of the barriers which the Jews, with all their faults, looked on with reverence as safeguards of the purity of home. It may be worth while noting, for some readers, that the Philip who was thus wronged was not the tetrarch, but another son of Herod, who lived on his own property near Jerusalem, and that Herodias, who thus passed from one brother to another, was herself the daughter of Aristobulus, and therefore niece to both her husbands, so that the marriage was doubly unlawful (Joseph., *Antiq.* xvii. 11; xviii. 5).

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ISAIAH.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE prophet Isaiah is by general consent the greatest of all Hebrew writers, and the foremost of the long list of seers who form so remarkable an element in the history of the Jewish race. And yet we know but little of his personal history. His writings are his great memorial, and these so fully describe the person and offices of the Messiah, that from the time of St. Jerome downward he has been known as the Evangelical Prophet. We cannot, however, understand his position without a cursory glance, first, at the state of prophecy in his days; and secondly, at that of Hebrew literature.

At first, then, the prophets were the great orators of the Jews. Standing apart alike from the government and the priesthood, they were an irregular power, freely criticising and interfering both with church and state, originating and controlling the chief popular movements, and intervening in all the great crises of affairs with wonderful energy and success, but depending for their influence mainly upon the effect of their words. Till the time of Samuel we hear but little of them, and we may be right in gathering from the circumstances connected with the visit of Saul to Samuel, to inquire about his lost asses (I Sam. ix.), that as a class the seers

did not then stand very high in popular estimation or possess political power. Samuel's own position was very different. He was Eli's successor in the priesthood, and it was part of the duties of the high priest to consult God by Urim and Thummim. Moreover, his personal qualities had led to his being acknowledged, from the day of the battle of Ebenezer (I Sam. vii. 13—15), as the judge, or temporal ruler, of Israel. The addition to such a man of high prophetic power both largely influenced the people in their choice of him as their ruler, and ensured him their obedience. But among the measures taken by him for the restoration of Israel from the decay into which it had fallen, one, fraught with great results, was the introduction of the rudiments of education. Till his days probably none but priests of the noblest class could read or write; but in the fields round his own house at Ramah he gathered a few young men of promise, whom he trained for employment in church and state. Soon similar schools sprang up in several of the larger towns, at Bethel for instance, and Jericho, and Gilgal; and as these were presided over by prophets, we find their pupils both bearing the same name and growing into a numerous class, whose learning stood in such high esteem, that as

early as David's time they had become the historians and chroniclers of the court. Unlike the priesthood, the prophetic office was open to all; it depended neither upon birth nor station; even education and training in the prophetic schools was no certain stepping-stone to it. No doubt there were vast numbers of men who were prophets simply by education. Four hundred such were found in Samaria, even after Jezebel's persecution, and prophesied in the name of Jehovah before Ahab and Jehoshaphat (1 Kings: xxii. 6). Even these belonged to no special caste, but were recruited from all ranks alike; but above these, from time to time, there stood forth men instinct with Divine power—few in number, but vast in might and dignity; men who spake for God, and who were felt to be invested with superhuman awfulness.

It was in the northern kingdom that prophecy first rose to this colossal grandeur. The Mosaic institutions had fallen there into decay. Jeroboam had engrafted upon them the worship of the sun, as symbolised by the Egyptian bull Apis; Ahab and Jezebel tried to crush them, and set up instead the worship also of the sun, as represented by the Sidonian Baal. Were the powers of the state to be permitted thus to overthrow Jehovah's worship? No! God always grants his people a choice. The acceptance or rejection of his worship must be done by them, not for them; and the prophets were his appeal to the national conscience. Elijah and Elisha stepped forth, therefore, in proportions as vast as the evil with which they had to struggle. But in vain. They delayed Israel's fall; wrought a reformation among large masses of the people; saved multitudes of souls; but idolatry gradually prevailed, and Israel was carried away into a captivity which to this day has been followed by no restoration.

In Judæa the prophets never attained to so grand an elevation as in Israel. They always wrought within a narrower circle, and more as a literary than as a popular power. In the books of Chronicles we find the names of a large number who compiled histories of the kings who reigned at Jerusalem; and while writing does not appear to have been an art much practised in Israel—though we find it mentioned in the days of Ahab—it is reasonably certain that from the time of David there was a large literary class at Jerusalem. The historians mentioned in Chronicles were the successors of Dan and Gad, who kept the records of David's court. In the palmy days of the learned and versatile Solomon, the number of writers must have largely increased. Of this educated class, the priests and prophets formed the chief proportion; and the many Psalms written in these two reigns, and the perfection of style attained to in them, prove that the standard of literary excellence, even at this early period, was a very high one.

But after the days of Solomon literature for a while decayed. The rupture of the two kingdoms, the loss of national power and glory, the disastrous invasion of Shishak, and the tyrannical nature of Rehoboam's government, all conspired to lower the national tone,

and turn its ability into inferior channels. Still we find Shemaiah and Iddo writing books (2 Chron. xii. 15), but it was not till the time of Hezekiah that learning again attained to something like its ancient proportions, or indeed surpassed them.

During this intermediate time there was nothing to call forth great energy on the part of the prophets. The kings were in general good, if often feeble, men. The nation was slowly ripening for its high purpose, and the revolt of the ten tribes had removed the two dangers of a despotic court at home, and a military policy abroad. First under Jehoshaphat, and then under Uzziah and Jotham, Judæa enjoyed great prosperity; and though the sixteen years' reign of the foolish Ahaz brought with it a bitter reverse of fortune, yet it was not enough to undo the effects of the able government of the kings who had preceded him; and in Hezekiah's reign Jewish literature reached its Augustan age.

It was a reign of very chequered events in political matters. The dark cloud long gathering on the Tigris burst with tremendous force upon the mountains of Judæa. The great Assyrian warrior Sennacherib, the pictorial record of whose numberless conquests has been so strangely disintombled for us within the last few years, that we are as familiar with his features as with those of Napoleon or Wellington, laid his heavy hand upon Hezekiah's dominions; but after many a severe struggle, there were still tranquil years in store for Judæa and her king. And of this period many literary monuments remain. Many psalms, less vigorous and forcible, but more calmly beautiful, were written, inscribed to Asaph and others of the minstrels of the Temple. A supplementary collection of the psalms of David was made, of which Ps. lxxii. 20 is a record. Search was made for proverbs by Solomon (Prov. xxv. 1); Micah and other prophets flourished; but above all Isaiah wrote his matchless poetry.

Apparently he held a high rank in the city, for Hezekiah, when sending a deputation to him, chose his highest officers and the elders of the priests (2 Kings xix. 2). Many of the Rabbins assert that he was of royal lineage, and brother of King Amaziah; but of this there is no proof. Still more unfounded is the idea of Clement of Alexandria, that he was son of the prophet Amos; for his father's name is in the Hebrew quite different, though the same in Greek and English. Really we know nothing of his parentage, but his dwelling, we find, was not in the city of Zion, or in the Temple buildings, but in the lower town; for such in the Hebrew is the meaning of the words translated in our version, "Afore Isaiah was gone out into the *middle court*" (2 Kings xx. 4). It is exceedingly probable that he was the head and chief of the prophetic order, holding in Jerusalem the same rank which Elisha had held in the prophetic schools in Israel. To such a position his great talents as well as his high gift of prophecy would justly entitle him. And these gifts seem to have developed themselves at an early age; for he was appointed to write the annals of the great King Uzziah when scarcely more than a boy (2 Chron. xxvi.

22). For as his life was prolonged certainly till towards the close of the reign of King Hezekiah, whose death is separated from that of Uzziah by a period of no less than sixty years, at the utmost he could have been but a young man when appointed to this task, and yet already in the year in which King Uzziah died he had been called to the office of prophet by a vision of surpassing magnificence.

The Rabbins have indeed a tradition that he survived Hezekiah, and having provoked the anger of Manasseh by his opposition to his idolatries, was by his order enclosed in a hollow tree and sawn asunder. To this martyrdom of Isaiah the words in Heb. xi. 37 are often supposed to refer; but really there is no authority for this legend, and it is scarcely probable that Isaiah could have lived to so great an age. There is no difficulty, however, in supposing that Isaiah had but just arrived at manhood when he was appointed a prophet; for equally the call came to Jeremiah when still but a youth, or as less correctly rendered in our version, "a child" (Jer. i. 6). But no more glorious vision is recorded in the Bible than that by which he was inaugurated to his office. He saw in the Temple the Deity sitting enthroned among the seraphim, and adored with thrice repeated cries of "Holy is Jehovah of hosts!" Shrinking with natural timidity from so heavy a responsibility, he is nevertheless solemnly dedicated to Jehovah's service by his lips being touched with a live coal from the altar, while withal he is warned that his mission would be apparently in vain. In the very acme of Uzziah's prosperity the prophetic vision saw Judah wasted without inhabitant, the houses empty, the land desolate. Yet she could not perish. The Jew then as now bore a charmed existence. In Isaiah's days the great purpose for which God had formed the nation was still altogether unaccomplished: even now there is part of the work as yet not done (Rom. xi. 15). And so the call of Isaiah ended in the repetition of the old promise. The type of fallen Israel is the oak in winter, stripped of the luxuriance of its summer foliage, but not dead. Its substance is yet in it, and in due time it shall revive (Isa. vi. 13).

So wonderful a picture of life in death, representing so truly the intense vitality of the Jews under so long a series of national reverses, was a strange vision to greet the eye of the child-seer, called so young and with such high gifts to his office; and it was the more remarkable, as Isaiah was born and educated at a time of great and long-continued national prosperity. But he lived to see the beginning of those troubles which, coming from Nineveh and Babylon and Rome, have literally fulfilled the vision's boding words.

For a long time, as was naturally to be expected, the youthful prophet does not seem to have taken much part in national affairs. His earliest prophecy is that contained in chaps. ii., iii., iv., though we must not suppose that his writings give us the record of the whole activity of his life. Even of this, his first prophecy, the date is uncertain; but he describes the country as enjoying the utmost prosperity (ii. 7), while the long list of articles

of feminine adornment enumerated in chap. iii. shows how great was the luxury then prevalent, while the things themselves are as difficult to understand as would be a similar list of the toilet requisites of a West-end lady of the present day. But such luxury is just the theme which a youthful poet would lash with his satire, only Isaiah's indignation rises to nobler proportions than that of Juvenal, or of even those famous sermons of St. Chrysostom, launched against the foibles of the women of his days.

A far more interesting question is the relation of Isaiah to the prophet Micah; for the prediction begins with three verses quoted verbatim from Micah iv. 1—3, not omitting the "and" at the beginning (rendered in Micah, in our version, "but"). Now in Jer. xxvi. 18, we read that Micah uttered this prophecy in the days of Hezekiah, and that it made a very great impression upon both king and people. Thus there is no little difficulty in harmonising the matter; for we are distinctly told in Jeremiah that the prophecy is Micah's, and not Isaiah's. Next, the manner of quotation drives us to the same conclusion; while, nevertheless, the general date of these three chapters cannot well be later than the days of Jotham. My own opinion is that they were prefixed to this prophecy at the time when Isaiah wrote chap. i., and placed it as a sort of preface to a collection of his works, published probably about 710 B.C., and containing chaps. i.—xxxv., with an historical appendix consisting of four chapters more. The quotation hangs loosely upon Isaiah's prophecy, while it is the very centre and core of Micah's, as subsequently it gives the key-note to some of Isaiah's own writings, as, for instance, to chap. xxv. Nothing was more natural than that Isaiah, when editing, as we should say, a collection of his prophecies in Hezekiah's days, should prefix to them words with which all Jerusalem was then ringing, and should thus both himself solemnly reaffirm the appalling vision of Micah, and also add weight to his own warnings by quoting words so famous and so fear-inspiring.

Commentators constantly forget that the date of a prophecy as contained in the Scriptures is not merely that of the time at which the events referred to in it happened, but also that of the period when the author finally published it in a written form. Most prophecies were, I imagine, published immediately in some form or other; but when the author made a collection of such as had a lasting and permanent significance, he would probably both omit what had served its purpose, and add, under the guidance of the Spirit, whatever would increase their usefulness. Such an addition seems to be this quotation from Micah prefixed to an older prophecy of Isaiah, at the time when the first chapter was written.

In that chapter we have first a general title to the works of Isaiah, in which they are called his Vision, with direct reference, doubtless, to the marvellous sight by which he was inaugurated to his office (chap. vi.). We have, further, the date given of Isaiah's labours, extending through the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz,

and Hezekiah. The last name fixes generally the date when the volume was put forth in its written form; it must have been at some time in Hezekiah's reign, and probably was about the middle of it, when Isaiah would be about sixty-five years of age.

Its whole matter is prefatory, a sermon rather than a prediction, sharply rebuking princes and people for their sins, warning them that no amount of attendance upon Temple services, so magnificently restored by Hezekiah, would avail without personal repentance and holiness. But what decidedly fixes the date is the account of the Assyrian invasions. The whole country desolate, the fenced cities all captured, bands of marauders roving without check far and wide over the land, Zion alone unconquered, but even it shorn of its glory, and compared to a booth of boughs put up for the temporary lodging of the keepers of a melon garden. But all this is past: a remnant is left; the Temple once again resounds with the tramp of worshippers; sacrifices of fed beasts tell of the restoration of agriculture. There has been time to recover from the worst effects of the invasions of Sennacherib. Now as the historical appendix ends with the account of the embassy from Merodach-baladan, itself a proof of the falling power of Nineveh, and of Hezekiah's growing prosperity, and as this restoration of national weal is not obscurely indicated in chap. i., it is not without grounds that we consider that this portion of Isaiah's works was collected by the prophet himself, arranged in order, and published about three or four years after the destruction of the Assyrian host. Isaiah may well have given new force to his former predictions by putting at their head the startling words with which Micah had alarmed all Jerusalem; and returning power and prosperity may have made the warning more than ever necessary.

It was probably their similarity in subject to the preface in chap. i. that made Isaiah place the prophecy contained in chaps. ii., iii., iv., and that of the unfruitful vineyard (chap. v.), before the account of his inauguration to his office. Thus far all is general. It is the usual lesson of the preacher—and the prophets were Israel's preachers—Repent: for man is corrupt; but God merciful. But the vision of the Almighty on his throne ushers in one of the most remarkable of all Isaiah's predictions—that contained in chaps. vii., viii., and ix. 1—7; and the importance of this prophecy was apparently the reason why Isaiah placed in front of it his own solemn call.

Ahaz had probably been upon the throne of Judah for two or three years when a powerful confederacy was formed against him by Pekah, king of Samaria, and Rezin, king of Damasens. And the league was at first only too successful. In one day there fell in battle 120,000 valiant warriors of Judah, and 200,000 women and children were taken prisoners (2 Chron. xxviii. 6, 8). No wonder that, as the confederate kings marched upon Jerusalem with the avowed intention of utterly destroying it, "the heart of the people was moved as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind." With some show, nevertheless, of courage, the young king took measures

for the coming siege, and while visiting the works on the north-eastern side of the city, by which Jerusalem was supplied with water, and where, too, an assault would probably be made upon the walls, the prophet went forth to meet him.

His son was specially ordered to go with him, and we may notice how the names of the prophet's family contain the substance of his predictions. His own name means the "salvation of Jah," or Jehovah: Shear-jashub is "a remnant shall return." Chastisement there is to be, and national ruin, and dispersion, and captivity; but never a total destruction. The other son has a name of less significance, portending only the speedy fall and spoiling of Samaria. Accompanied then by his elder son, Isaiah meets the idolatrous king, assures him of deliverance, and offers him a sign in proof thereof. But Ahaz had cast off his allegiance to Jehovah, and with a certain show of consistency will accept no sign from a Deity whom he no longer serves.

But Judah is still Jehovah's people, and he grants them the sign rejected by the royal house. And here we must notice that the word "sign" is our word "miracle." In St. John's Gospel the word rendered "miracle" in our version is constantly in the Greek "sign;" and thus what Isaiah offered was a miracle, that is, a sign of God's presence, not in the ordinary workings of nature, but in some special and supernatural way. Ahaz will have no miracle: Isaiah gives him the miracle of the virgin's child, the Immanuel. A mere ordinary event is not in Biblical language a sign.

Yet this sign has an ordinary side to it. As far as Ahaz and unbelievers generally were concerned, there was nothing more than a plain promise, though couched in an obscure form, that within about two years all danger from the confederacy would have passed away. Who or what was the *almah*, or virgin; who or what the child; and why the name "God with us:" with all this Ahaz had nothing to do. It was one of the dark sayings which Hebrew seers loved so well. But that the two kings would in two years be swept away, of that the promise was clear.

There was the clear threatening, too, of long and desolating invasions. By the eating of curds and honey is signified the cessation of all the ordinary processes of agriculture. There is no corn, no vintage, no olives, but such produce only as grows of itself. On the sloping hill-sides, where there were wont to be vineyards with a thousand vines, each worth a piece of silver, the scanty population will come with bows and arrows to shoot the game which has found there an undisturbed covert, or to pasture the heifer, or two or three sheep, which are all they have managed to save from the invading foe (vii. 21—24).

In the main this picture is ideal. The land was not so wasted in the days of Ahaz, nor even when in the time of Hezekiah the heavier hand of Sennacherib lay upon the country. We must carry on our minds to the days when the Jews had gone into captivity at Babylon. Then agriculture did thus utterly cease, and the land enjoyed a sabbath-fallow for seventy years.

But the meaning is probably quite general. For Ahaz there is the special prediction that within two years the confederacy of Pekah and Rezin shall be utterly broken up. There is then a picture of deep and entire ruin; of the land bare as if shorn by a hired razor; of invading armies passing over it like a flood reaching to the very neck; of the inhabitants "hardly bestead and hungry," and in desperation cursing alike their king on earth and God in heaven; of trouble and gloom, and "driven to darkness" of desolation. All this completely transcends the state of things in the time of Ahaz; nor when that king had refused to ask for a sign can we imagine the prophet doing more for him than granting the assurance that the danger which so bowed the heart of him and his people would pass away. Most certainly, then, do these considerations point to the conclusion that the promise of the *almah's* Child, of the Son on whose shoulder is the key of government, and whose awful names are Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Father of Eternity, the Prince of Peace, cannot be tied down to the times of Ahaz; it rises to too grand proportions, is surrounded by representations of things with which Ahaz had nought to do, is a jewel set altogether in too ideal a framework, for any just-thinking commentator not to see in it the portraiture of Judah's ideal king, the Messiah, and of the light of the Gospel shining forth upon man dwelling in the land of the shadow of death, and walking amid the deep darkness of sin.

After a very interesting prophecy addressed to Samaria (ix. 8—x. 4), remarkable for being arranged in regular strophes, we next have a magnificent poem belonging to the time of Hezekiah (x. 5—xii. 6). After a description of the pride of Assyria, there is a wonderfully vivid description of the march of Sennacherib on Jerusalem; but just as he has reached the mountains that gird her round, and shakes his hand against her in haughty exultation as if sure of victory, God smites him down. Like a cedar of Lebanon cut down mightily he falls, and the prophet without pause or break, so miserably caused in our version by the division into chapters, contrasts with him a feeble sucker that shall grow out of another hewn-down tree. Yes, Judah is to fall too; but not by Sennacherib. Hezekiah's royal house is to fade away; but from the stem of Jesse, not from Hezekiah's descendants, but going back to the time when his ancestry were simple farmers at Bethlehem, there is to spring forth one in whom not David's kingdom, but an era of universal peace and happiness, is to revive. Again we say that Isaiah's words cannot be tied down to the temporal fortunes of Judæa. For Hezekiah there was nothing more than the assurance that Sennacherib would not capture Jerusalem. The very march is ideal, for Isaiah tells us that Sennacherib did not approach the city (Isa. xxxvii. 33), and apparently it was at Pelusium, far enough from Jerusalem, that the Assyrian army was destroyed. There then follows, though in dim outline, a picture of Judah's dispersion, of the fall of her kings, to be followed by an empire of peace, under a righteous king, on whom rests

the Spirit of Jehovah, and who is Israel's Messiah, Christ our Lord.

And now to the end of the twenty-fourth chapter we have a series of *burdens*, or rather sentences, decrees of God, *against Babylon*, in which, in chap. xiv., the prophet surpasses even himself in the magnificence of his poetry; *against Moab*, made doubly interesting by the discovery of the Moabite stone; *against the whole Nile-land*, and specially Egypt; *against the Arabian peninsula*, called "the desert of the sea;" *against Jerusalem*, called "the valley of vision;" and *against Tyre*. In the next four chapters (chaps. xxv.—xxvii.), we have a general picture of Messiah's kingdom, of the gathering back of the dispersed of Judah to worship in the holy mount, and of the resurrection of the dead. Then follow *woes* (chaps. xxviii.—xxxiii.): woe on Samaria; woe on Ariel, that is, Jerusalem; woe on those who looked to Egypt for deliverance; woe on those who trusted not in God; woe on the Assyrian spoilers. Then upon these follow the judgment of the heathen; and finally the establishment of Christ's kingdom and the happiness of Gospel times (chaps. xxxiv., xxxv.). In this, which forms the conclusion of the earlier collection of Isaiah's prophecies, as previously in chap. lxxii., in the midst of the woes addressed to apostate Judah, we have the same phenomenon as has been twice before mentioned. Isaiah, borne aloft by the spirit of prophecy, breaks away entirely from the present; he leaves Hezekiah and his fortunes far behind, and mounts into an ideal region. But that region, ideal then, was the representation of Christ's kingdom. And that kingdom is in part ideal still. The prophet's vision describes what Christ really is, and what his kingdom ought to be. But his Church has only in part answered to Isaiah's glowing picture: too often only in small part. "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," and church history shows us more of the vessels than of the treasure that is within.

Attached to the book of prophecies, and probably published at the same time, is the history of the invasion of Judæa by Sennacherib, the account of Hezekiah's sickness, a hymn of thanksgiving composed by that monarch himself, and, finally, the visit of Merodach-baladan's ambassadors, and the reproof that followed of Hezekiah's pride, with the terrible denunciation that his seed should serve as eunuchs in the court of Babylon, a prediction painfully fulfilled in Daniel and others. Excepting Hezekiah's hymn, the rest is contained in the Book of Kings, Isaiah having been restored in Hezekiah's time to the office of chronicler, of which he had been deprived by Ahaz.

And now we come to Isaiah's final prophecy, published by him some years afterwards, probably towards the end of the lives of both Hezekiah and himself. In it, leaving the temporal fortunes of Judah far behind, he soars onward and upward to Christ and his kingdom. The criticism of these twenty-seven chapters has been the crux and opprobrium of modern scholarship. It started with the fullest belief in the unity of this wonderful work, a unity evident to the judgment of every attentive

reader; but with equal confidence asserted that it was written by some second Isaiah at the close of the Babylonian captivity, when the growing power of Cyrus justified the use of his name in chap. xlv., as the probable conqueror of Babylon. But a close comparison between the words and phrases used in the first thirty-nine and the last twenty-seven chapters showed a very extraordinary amount of resemblance. The language of the two portions is even in minute particulars the same; so, too, are the ideas. If this second part described Judæa as desolate, such was the most common picture in the first: if it represented Zion as a wilderness, and God's holy and beautiful house as burned with fire (chap. lxi. 10, 11), though within a few verses it speaks of city and Temple as if still standing (lxvi. 6), as just before it had described the watchman standing upon the walls of Jerusalem, so had the prophet started with a quotation from Micah, part of which was that Jerusalem was to become heaps of ruins, and the Temple site a desolate mountain-top. But in fact all is ideal, and the desolation of the city and the burning of the Temple refer rather to the times of the Romans, when the literal Israel was removed that the spiritual Israel might take its place, than to the capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar.

In fact, in reading it through as modern critics have done to discover by internal evidence proofs of the period when it was written, only two certain facts appear—the first, the mention of Cyrus; the second that the prophecy was written in Judæa; and that the people at the time when it was written were given to Moloch worship. This second fact is proved by chap. lvii. 5, 6. The Jews are there represented as sacrificing their children to Moloch in dried-up water-courses, the beds of what in the rainy season were rushing streams; for such is the meaning of the word there rendered “valleys.” Now there were no such valleys in Babylonia, and no stones worn smooth by torrents, such as are common in Palestine; for the whole region is alluvial, and watered by canals from the Euphrates. Nor is there the slightest proof, but the contrary, that the horrible fanaticism which drove the people to sacrifice their offspring to Moloch in the days of Hezekiah and his successors, ever existed among the exiles at Babylon.

Criticism has therefore changed its front, and instead of two portions of Isaiah, one a collection of the most remarkable predictions of his younger days, the other the calm outpouring of his later years, written at a time when he had retired from active life, and was bowed down beneath the load of nearly eighty winters, it now dismembers all Isaiah, and distributes his mangled limbs among a host of prophets known and unknown, extending from Isaiah down to Maccabæan times. Manasseh did but saw him asunder, and this was the sole feat attempted by modern critics at first. Having found this simple process impossible, they now hack him into small pieces.

Into this criticism we decline to follow them; for it involves a detailed consideration of almost every

chapter; nor is there any agreement among the critics themselves, who, for reasons so shadowy often that it is scarcely possible to understand them, ascribe the same prophecy to men very unlike one another, and who lived at very different times. One thing, however, we may notice, that they restore much of these last twenty-seven chapters to Isaiah, or to a prophet who did not live later than Manasseh's days.¹

Let me say, in conclusion, a few words upon the contents of these marvellous chapters themselves. They begin with Jehovah's controversy with idols. Now this was the great question in Hezekiah's days. The nation was making its choice whether it would serve a spiritual, unseen Deity, Jehovah, or the idols which appealed to their senses, and whose worship were impure orgies, which threw the cloak of religion over licentious pleasures. Vigorously Isaiah contrasts the powerlessness of idols, made, perhaps, out of the remnant of a log, of which the rest had been burnt as firewood, and which had to be carried on men's shoulders because they could not walk, and to be nailed in their place for fear they should fall; vigorously he contrasts these with the God who measures the waters in the hollow of his hand, and metes out heaven with the span, and comprehends the dust of the earth in a measure.

But Isaiah is not content with this. He appeals not only to God's works in Nature, but also to his foreknowledge (xli. 22, 23), and thus the specific prophecy of the fall of Babylon by the hand of Cyrus forms an integral part of the proof. If this appeal was made after the fact, the whole prophecy is a sham, and the claim that Jehovah frustrates the pretensions of diviners and of the wise men of the earth, while He confirms the words of his own messengers (xliv. 26) is manifestly dishonest, and to be rejected with scorn.

We find, however, from this time frequent allusions to Isaiah's arguments. Jeremiah, the least original of all the prophets, reproduces them in chap. x. They are reproduced also in Ps. cxv., where also, in ver. 17, there is an unmistakable allusion to Hezekiah's prayer, suggesting to us that the writer had both that prayer and the second part of Isaiah before him. And, in short, they were the strong armoury whence arguments against idolatry were drawn; and at Babylon they prevailed. There was henceforth no controversy among the Jews between Jehovah and idols: the nation utterly rejected them, and chose instead Pharisaism as its sin.

The twenty-seven chapters are divided into three portions of nine chapters each by a refrain occurring at the ends of chaps. xlviii. and lvii. In the second part Isaiah leaves behind the controversy with idols and all allusion to Babylon, and whereas before he had spoken of Israel as being Jehovah's servant, he now describes the person and offices and sufferings of Christ, to whom

¹ For a more full discussion of this question, see my *Bampton Lectures, Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*, ed. sec. p. 294; and Professor Stanley Leathes' *Witness of the Old Testament to Christ*, p. 254. Also my *Messianic Interpretation of the Prophecies of Isaiah*, p. 99; for the *Almah*, ib. 301; and on the mention of Cyrus by name, ib. 101.

the title really belongs. For the name "servant of Jehovah," in Oriental phrase, means the vicegerent or representative of Jehovah on earth, and hence is but rarely bestowed. It was the title of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 5), because he represented God to the Israelites; it was the title of the Israelites (Isa. xlv. 1), because they represented God to the heathen nations round; it is especially Christ's title (Isa. lii. 13), because he represents God to all mankind (John i. 18; xiv. 9).

Starting, then, with references to Israel, to their coming captivity and deliverance, to the great question then debated among them, whether they should

serve God or idols, the prophet goes on to describe their duties as the depositaries of God's true doctrine; and then, warming with his subject, he dwells upon Christ's work for man, and the founding of his Church. With many a lesson for the long-waiting time before Christ came, with fuller warnings and richer hopes for us, there is still in it a glorious vision not yet fulfilled, when the religion of the Gospel shall fill all hearts with love, when the voice of weeping shall no longer be heard on earth, nor the voice of crying, but all be gentleness, and happiness, and peace; because Christ has seen of the travail of his soul and been satisfied.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

"Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him. But John forbade him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? And Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him."—*MATT. iii. 13—15.*

THE difficulties connected with the baptism of John, and more particularly with our Lord's baptism at his hands, are not inconsiderable, either in their nature or in their number.

Amongst these the following naturally suggest themselves:—Was the rite of baptism commonly observed in the reception of Jewish proselytes? or was it something hitherto unknown? In what sense are we to understand the distinction drawn by John the Baptist between his own baptism and that of Christ? and in what respects, if any, does the sacrament of baptism, as afterwards instituted by Christ, correspond with or differ from the baptism of John? How are we to reconcile John's unwillingness to baptise our Lord, on account of his own unworthiness, and of the dignity of Christ, with his repeated assertion in John i. 31, 33, with reference to this very time and event, that he did not know Him? In what sense are we to interpret the words, "us," "now," and "righteousness," in our Lord's reply? And lastly, what was the nature and design of the miraculous attestation to Christ which immediately followed upon his baptism?

Now, it is obvious, as well from the special design of the ministry of the Baptist, as from the narratives of the Evangelists, that the baptism of John immediately preceded the beginning of the public ministry of Christ; and inasmuch as our Lord was "about thirty years of age" (Luke iii. 23) at the time of his baptism, we may reasonably conclude, independently of other chronological indications, that the baptism of John, who was six months older than our Lord, began at the time at which he had attained the age prescribed in Numb. iv. 3, 23, 47, for the Levites to enter upon "the service of the ministry." Much has been advanced on both sides

of the controversy respecting the initiation of proselytes into the Jewish Church by means of baptism. Those who are acquainted with the extreme difficulty of acquiring reliable information from Jewish sources respecting any rites or observances practised amongst them previously to the formation of the Christian Church, will best appreciate the degree of value to be assigned to later testimony on this subject. Such testimony, however, is so abundant, and so explicit, not only in the writings of Maimonides, and other earlier and later rabbins, but also in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud, that it seems unreasonable to suppose that it was altogether an invention of a later period. This presumption is confirmed by the consentient (as we believe) Jewish opinion that Israel was sanctified to the Lord by means of circumcision, baptism,¹ and sacrifice; and that as the same rites were requisite in the admission of proselytes, so long as the Temple stood, and will be necessary again, when the Temple shall be rebuilt, so, during the intermission of sacrifice, baptism, as well as circumcision, is the proper method of initiation into Judaism.

It must not be overlooked, however, that the same Jewish authorities which prescribe the necessity of baptism as a rite of initiation for proselytes deny the necessity of its observance in the case of the children of those who have been fully initiated; holding that, in like manner as the original lustration of the entire nation superseded the necessity of its repetition in the case of the descendants of the Israelites themselves, so the baptism of the parents or ancestors, in the case of the admission of proselytes to Judaism, rendered unnecessary the renewal of the same rite in the case of their children. Whilst, then, the observance of the ordi-

¹ The washing of the clothes enjoined upon the Israelites previously to the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai (Exod. xix. 14) is interpreted here, as elsewhere, as extending to the lustration of the entire person. The whole nation, moreover, had already been "baptised unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea" (1 Cor. x. 2).

nance of baptism, in the reception of proselytes amongst the Jews, might serve to account for the absence of all expression of surprise at its adoption by John the Baptist in the case of proselytes from the heathen, it will scarcely suffice, of itself, to account for the general concourse to the Jordan of "Jerusalem and all Judæa," including "many of the Scribes and Pharisees" themselves. If, then, we would seek for any other explanation of the fact beyond the general expectation which undoubtedly prevailed at this period of the advent of some great prophet, and the providential preparation of men's minds for his reception, we must seek it, as it appears to us, in those numerous prophecies of the Old Testament Scriptures which describe the blessings of the new covenant under the figure of sprinkling, or washing with pure water (Isa. xlv. 3; Ezek. xxxvi. 25; Zech. xiii. 1), and in the fact of which we have unquestionable evidence, both as regards the doctrine and practice, of the existence of "divers washings" (or baptisms, Heb. vi. 2; ix. 10) amongst the Jews, rather than in any formal adoption by the Baptist of their traditional rites and ceremonies.

With regard to the next point which suggests itself for discussion, it is obvious that it is an easier matter to assert in general terms—what few will be disposed to deny—the inferiority of the baptism of John to the sacrament of Christian baptism, as administered upon, and subsequently to the day of Pentecost, than it is to lay down in precise terms the nature and extent of the difference between the two.

That the primary distinction to which the Baptist refers when he contrasts his own baptism "with water" with Christ's baptism "with fire and the Holy Ghost," is not a distinction between two kinds of water baptism, seems to follow from the following facts: (1) that our Lord did not baptise in his own person (John iv. 2); and (2) that the prophecy received its literal and unquestionable accomplishment, as foretold by our Lord himself (Acts i. 5), in the miraculous descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. This inference appears to be supported by the fact, that whilst, on the one hand, we read in Acts ix. 3 of the administration of Christian baptism at Ephesus to some who had already received the baptism of John, we read of no general command to the same effect; nor is there any reason to suppose that, in the case of the apostles themselves, the baptism with water, received at the hands of John, was repeated, after the reception of the higher baptism "with the Holy Ghost."

It was whilst the Baptist was discharging his appointed office as Christ's forerunner, an office the design of which was the manifestation of the Messiah (John i. 31), that He, whose hour for that manifestation had now come, presented himself at the banks of the Jordan, to be baptised of John. "But John forbad him," saying, "I have need to be baptised of thee, and comest thou to me?" These words, at first sight, un-

doubtedly appear to be inconsistent with the twice-repeated assertion of the Baptist (John i. 31, 33), "And I knew him not." The difficulty, when viewed only in reference to the relationship of our Lord to the Baptist, might be overcome, as has been suggested, by the consideration of the remoteness of the wilderness of Judæa from Nazareth. It is obvious, however, that this consideration does not meet the real difficulty, which consists in reconciling the knowledge of our Lord's person involved in the words, "And John forbad him," with the express and repeated assertion, "And I knew him not."

It would be possible, indeed, to explain the apparent inconsistency by the supposition that the revelation of the Messiah was made to John, not before, but at the very time of His baptism. And, to a certain extent, this appears to be the true interpretation, inasmuch as whilst the reluctance of the Baptist to impart to One from whom he needed rather to receive, implies a certain amount of knowledge of the person and claims of Christ, on the other hand, it was the visible descent of the Spirit upon our Lord (John i. 33) which was the pledge and assurance given to him that Jesus was "the Son of God," and which imparted to him a fuller knowledge than any which he had heretofore possessed of the real nature of the person and work of Christ. Nor is it hard to adduce both from the Gospel of St. John, and also from the Apocalypse, abundant evidence that the words "I knew him not" are fairly capable of being thus interpreted. Thus, e.g., in John vii. 28, our Lord told the Jews that they "both knew Him," and that "they knew whence He was;" whereas in viii. 19, He assures them plainly that they "neither knew Him nor his Father." Again, whereas in chap. vii. 27 the Jews declare, "We know this man whence he is," we find them in chap. ix. 29 declaring, as expressly, "As for this fellow, we know not from whence he is." And, in like manner, we find St. John (Rev. xix. 12) testifying concerning the name which he had *seen* written (probably upon the brow of the Son of God), that "no man knew (it) but He himself;" where (as in Exod. vi. 3) it seems absolutely essential to understand the knowledge to which reference is made, as involving something beyond the seeing with the eye, or the hearing with the ear. If this interpretation of the words "I knew him not" be accepted, the narratives of St. Matthew and of St. John appear to be in entire accordance. Whether personally known or unknown to the Baptist heretofore, it was not until the beginning of our Lord's public ministry that the true nature and dignity of His person was revealed to him. When first our Lord approached the Jordan there was a recognition by the Baptist of His majesty, like that which, thirty years previously, had accompanied the salutation of the Virgin (Luke i. 44)—something which convinced St. John of his own unworthiness, and which led him to shrink from baptising with water One who had come to baptise with the Holy Ghost; but it was not until after the baptism in the Jordan that the crowning attestation was given of the Messiahship, and that the Baptist was not only led

¹ The word employed, *ἀπέκάλυψεν*, is a very strong one, denoting, probably, as Dean Alford suggests, a preventing by gesture, hand, or voice.

to acknowledge Jesus of Nazareth as the Son of the living God, but also to point his disciples to Him as "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world" (John i. 29).¹

The first official words of Christ, "Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness," are words the full import of which a volume could not explain, and which eternity alone can unfold. Its full temporal meaning must be given to the adverb "now," as denoting that John's acknowledgment of inferiority was well grounded, and that Christ's superiority would afterwards be displayed.

Nor must the plural pronoun "us" be overlooked; inasmuch as it is the key to the whole of our Lord's coming both "by water and blood," not only "in the likeness of sinful flesh," but as One who condescended to be "made sin for us."

And inasmuch as the baptism of John was indeed "from heaven," and not "of men," therefore it behoved Him who came to bring in an everlasting righteousness for men, and to fulfil all righteousness in His own person, in order "that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him," to submit himself to the baptism of water, who was about to baptise us with the baptism of the Spirit—not that He might obtain cleansing from

¹ The exact correspondence of the history, as thus understood, with the Jewish tradition, as expounded in the "Dialogue of Justin Martyr with Trypho," is too remarkable to be overlooked. "Christ" (says Trypho) "is unknown, nor does he as yet know himself . . . until Elias coming shall have anointed him, and made him manifest to all" (c. viii.).

it, but that He might impart cleansing to us. "Ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus non tam mundatus est in lavaero, quam lavaero suo universas aquas mundavit."²

The time appointed by the Father for the manifestation of the Son had now come, and He who was ever well pleased in his beloved Son (εὐδοκῆσα), proclaimed that good pleasure in a voice from heaven, which voice was heard by the Baptist, and of which he bare record to his disciples.

In a visible form the Holy Spirit then descended upon Jesus of Nazareth; the dove, as the emblem of purity (and, like the lamb, having a sacrificial import), being the outward form selected to denote the anointing of the Redeemer for his appointed work.

It was thus that the resemblance between the appointment and consecration of the typical and of the true Israel was sustained; and as the one was "baptised unto Moses" in the Red Sea, sanctified in the wilderness of Sinai, and, in the person of their representatives, the priests (after they had, as a nation, renounced the priestly character), anointed for their high office, so the Other was baptised in the Jordan, visibly "anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power;" and finally, "not by water only, but by water and blood," consecrated to His eternal priesthood, for the discharge of which He entered in once, "by his own blood," into the true holy of holies, "having obtained eternal redemption for us."

² S. Hieron. adversus Luciferianos, tom. iii., fol. 62. 1516.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

ORDERS VIII.—XI.—RESEDACEÆ, CISTINEÆ, VIOLACEÆ, AND POLYGALACEÆ.



HE Mignonette family consists of a small and unimportant group of plants, confined to the Old World, and chiefly to the Mediterranean region, though two species are indigenous to Britain—viz., *Reseda luteola*, Linn., and *R. lutea*, Linn. The first is the dyer's weed, which was at one time extensively cultivated as a dye stuff, supplying, according to the different mordant employed, a green, yellow, or blue colour. Both species are without odour, and in this respect they are in striking contrast to *R. odorata*, Linn., the remarkable fragrance of which has given it a foremost place in our gardens for more than a century. This plant is cultivated everywhere in Palestine as with us; and, though met with as an outcast from gardens, has not been observed in a wild state. It is said to be a native of Egypt. Four other species occur in Palestine, one of which, *R. lutea*, Linn., is a British species, and another, *R. alba*, Linn., is naturalised in maritime localities in England. Several other species of this family, belonging to the sub-

tropical flora of the south, creep up from Arabia and Egypt to the desert borders of Palestine, and one with a berry fruit (*Ochradenus baccatus*, Del.) is found as far north as Jericho, as well as in the localities around the Dead Sea.

The plants of the Rock-rose family are most abundant in the countries around the Mediterranean; a few species occur in North America. They are small shrubs, with simple leaves, and large brightly-coloured flowers, which open only once, and then perish. They consequently never last longer than a day, expanding under the influence of the bright sun in the morning, and perishing with the setting sun of the evening. They do not open in dull weather, when there is no sunshine. The largest genus in the family receives its name, *Helianthemum* (*sun-flower*), from this obvious characteristic. Their large pink or yellow flowers make many of the species favourites in our gardens; but as they are southern plants, they are not quite hardy, and require protection in the winter. The indigenous flora of Britain contains four species, all belonging to the

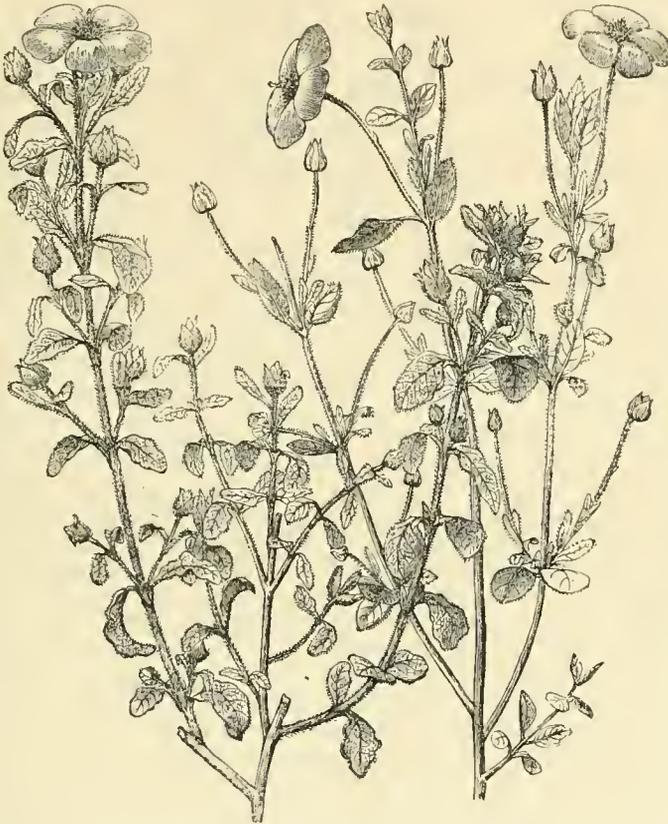
genus *Helianthemum*. Three of these are rare and local plants, but the fourth adorns our dry pastures with its bright yellow flowers all through the summer months. Ten species are met with in Palestine; the large and beautiful flowers of several of them supply a more striking feature to the landscape than their humbler representatives at home. The large pink flowers of *Cistus villosus*, Linn., are said to give a glow to Mount Carmel in April which is not inferior to that produced by the heather on the mountains of Scotland. And the yellow flowers of *C. salvicifolius*, Linn., are often massed together in the landscape. The leaves and branches of these two plants produce a fragrant resinous gum, which was formerly in great repute for its supposed medicinal qualities. It was employed as a stimulant, then it was held to be a valuable expectorant, and now it is collected almost entirely for its use by the Turks as a constituent of some of their perfumes. This gum is a black homogeneous and tenacious substance, yielding to the pressure of the fingers. It is called Gum Ladanum; sometimes incorrectly written Labdanum.

Although the Rock-roses are not referred to in the Bible, it is generally believed that this odoriferous product is the substance referred to under the name עֵשׂ (*lot*), rendered "myrrh" in our Authorised Version. The word occurs only twice in the Old Testament, and both times in the Book of Genesis. In the one passage we are told that the Ishmaelite merchants, to whom Joseph was sold by his brethren, were on their way from Gilead, "with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt" (chap. xxxvii. 25). The other use of the word occurs in the narrative where, under the pressure of a terrible famine, Jacob permitted his sons to return to Egypt for corn, and to take Benjamin with them; and in order to secure the favour of the Egyptian ruler, he sent with

them, as "a present, a little balm, and a little honey, spices, and myrrh, nuts, and almonds" (chap. xliii. 11).

The substances mentioned in these passages were evidently products of Palestine, and the plants producing them must be sought for among those which constitute the indigenous flora of that country. There have been, as in regard to most other Bible plants, no lack of suggestions as to the plant intended. The resemblance in sound between the Hebrew word and the name of the lotus lily has led some authors to suppose that it is meant. But no explanation has been offered why

such a plant should have been included among these presents. Besides, the lotus was well known in Egypt, while it is not at present found in Palestine, and there is no reason for believing that it ever grew there. Chestnuts and pistachionuts, as well as different kinds of spices, have also been suggested, but modern writers generally agree in identifying it with the resinous gum of the cistus. The Greek words, *λάδανον*, for the gum, and *λήθος*, for the plant, are derived from the Arabic *ladun*, and this has the same root as the Hebrew *lot*. According to Herodotus, this gum was originally obtained from Arabia, and was first got by the shepherds from the



Cistus villosus, Linn., and *C. salvicifolius*, Linn. Half the natural size. The plants which yield the myrrh referred to in Gen. xxxvii. 25.

beards of the goats, which browsed on the cistus. Rakes with leathern thongs, made in imitation of the goat's beard, were then used for collecting it. The collectors shortly after sunrise beat the bushes until the thongs were coated with the gum. The morning was selected, because the gum was then free from the dust and sand with which the winds were likely in the course of the day to coat it. The large amount of sand and other impurities mixed with it has considerably influenced its disuse, and the name has been transferred to the tincture of opium, which has similar but more powerful medical properties than the gum of the cistus.

Few plants are greater favourites in the garden or

the field than the Violets. Our native flora contains eight species, the best known of which is the sweet violet, that in early spring scents the hedge-banks of the east of England, and finds a corner in almost every garden. This species extends through Europe to Asia Minor, but has not yet been seen nearer to Palestine than Aleppo. Four species are, however, included in the indigenous vegetation of the Holy Land, but they belong to that northern flora which finds its southern limits in the mountain regions of the country. They are small plants, and are only met with on the Lebanon

and anti-Lebanon ranges, and there high up among the cedars.

The Milkworts belong also to the same northern type of flora as the Violets. They are represented in Britain by three small plants, one of which (*Polygala vulgaris*, Linn.) ornaments our heaths and grassy banks throughout the length and breadth of the land, with its blue, white, or pink blossoms. In Palestine there are two similar species, which occur in Lebanon, coming farther down the mountain-sides than the violets, and almost reaching the shore at Sidon.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

I. SACRED SEASONS (*continued*).

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D., PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

THE second of the three annual Jewish feasts was that of Pentecost, known also by the name of the "Feast of Harvest" (Exod. xxiii. 16), and the "Feast of Weeks" (Exod. xxxiv. 22). It received the name of the "Feast of Weeks," and in later times of "Pentecost" (the fiftieth day), from the manner in which the period of its observance was fixed; while the name "Feast of Harvest" was assigned to it from the relation in which it stood to the then completed grain-harvest of the year. Seven full weeks were reckoned from the presenting of the first sheaf of barley upon the second day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread; and the day following, the fiftieth day, was the Feast of Pentecost. The day was one of "holy convocation"—in this respect resembling the first and last days of the Feasts of Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles; and the distinguishing feature of its services was the presenting to the Almighty of two loaves of fine flour baked with leaven. These loaves were not laid upon the altar, but were waved before the Lord in token of dedication to his service, and were then given to the priests to eat. Like the first sheaf of barley, they were a national, and not an individual or a family offering. They might probably be taken for the purpose from one family one year, and from another family the next. But, whatever might be the arrangement upon this point, it is of importance to observe that two loaves only were offered, and that, not for the family out of which they were brought, but for all the families of Israel considered as one whole. With these loaves were associated as a part of the same festal offering seven lambs without blemish of the first year, one young bullock, and two rams for a burnt-offering, with their appropriate meat and drink offerings, one kid of the goats for a sin-offering, and two lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace-offerings (Lev. xxiii. 17—19). Other offerings also were presented, upon which it is unnecessary to dwell. As in the case of the other great feasts, the Feast of Pentecost was attended by innumerable crowds.

"An immense multitude," says the Jewish historian, speaking of it on one occasion, "ran together out of Galilee and Idumea, and Jericho, and Perca that was beyond Jordan."¹ The mention of the multitudes assembled at the Pentecost, spoken of in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, is familiar to all. Finally, it may be noted as an important point of distinction between this feast and the two other great festival seasons of the Jewish year, that it lasted only for a single day.

In inquiring into the meaning of the Feast of Pentecost, the first thing to be observed regarding it is its independent character. That it was not, as often imagined, merely the closing service of the Easter feast delayed for fifty days, in order to embrace the conclusion of a harvest whose opening had been already celebrated, is obvious from the simple circumstance that it is described as one of the three feasts at which all the males of Israel were annually to appear. It is thus ranked as parallel to the two others, and not as subordinate to one of them. Further, the last day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread had been a day of "holy convocation." With it, therefore, that festival had been closed in, and the "holy convocation" of Pentecost points unmistakably to another and a separate feast. The services of the day, too, were characterised by such marked peculiarities that it is impossible to regard them as a simple continuation of services previously begun.

While, however, thus independent, we have next to ask as to the relation which Pentecost actually occupied to the earlier festival of the year. If such relation existed, it is obvious that the point of connection is to be found in the presenting of the first sheaf of barley, for it was from the day upon which this was done that the fifty days to Pentecost were reckoned. Was it, then, the feast of the closing, as the second day of Unleavened Bread was that of the opening, harvest? And were the two loaves now waved before the Lord to be regarded

¹ Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, ii. 3, § 1.

as the first-fruits of the later, as the barley sheaf had been the first-fruits of the earlier grain? To these questions we must answer, No. For in that case no reason can be imagined why the offering of the time should have been *loaves*. The harmonious symbolism of the Old Testament would have required that it should have taken the shape of two sheaves or omers of wheat. Nor is this all; for, just as the week of Unleavened Bread was the first-fruits of all the weeks of the year, so the first sheaf of the crop then offered was the first-fruits of the whole crop, and not merely of a part of it. It is true that by the time Pentecost arrived all the grain had ripened and been gathered in, while, fifty days before, only the barley was ripe. But the first sheaf of barley was not on that account the first-fruits of the barley alone. It was a part of the whole, and, as such, an acknowledgment when presented in God's house that the whole was his. There was no room, therefore, for a fresh offering of first-fruits of the grain. The same conclusion is forced upon us when we remember that the offering at Pentecost is itself called an offering of first-fruits, "the first-fruits of thy labours which thou hast sown in the field" (Exod. xxiii. 16), and that the day was known as the "day of the first-fruits" (Numb. xxviii. 26). Now, according to the ideas embodied in the Mosaic economy, an offering of first-fruits was not so much a thanksgiving for past mercies, as a dedication to God of all the blessings of which the first-fruits were a part. The waving of the two loaves, therefore, before the Lord must have had a prospective rather than a retrospective reference. It must have been a dedication to God, not of the harvest in itself, but of the fruits of harvest regarded under some other point of view. The irresistible proof, however, that the Feast of Pentecost, strictly considered, had relation to something altogether different from the harvest alone is to be found in the provision that the offering of that day was to be one of *leavened loaves*; that is, it was to be an offering of the fruits of the ground, not in the shape in which they had just been gathered in, but in the shape which they assumed when prepared as *food for man*. Hence also the injunction that these loaves should be "brought out of their habitations" (Lev. xxiii. 17). The barley sheaf had been taken from the field where it grew, because it represented the grain. The loaves were taken from the houses where they had been baked for family use, because they represented the means of family support. Here, then, lay the main point of distinction between the second day of Unleavened Bread and Pentecost. In the one we have the dedication of harvest considered simply as harvest; in the other we have the dedication of harvest as actually applied to the purpose for which it was intended—the sustenance of the people. We have reached, therefore, a higher stage than that at which we previously stood. The Feast of Pentecost is an advance upon that second day of the first festival of the year, by a reference to which the time of its occurrence has been determined. It takes note of the fruits of the ground in a still nearer

relation to man than when they existed only as grain. It is concerned with them as the expression of a still higher degree of that protection and care and favour which Israel enjoys at the hands of God.

The other special features of the feast bear out and correspond with this account of it. It will be remembered that on the day of first-fruits immediately following the Passover, the quantity of barley presented was an omer (Exod. xvi. 36), and that this quantity was waved as a single sheaf or measure. Now, however, the quantity was doubled. Instead of the single sheaf, we have two loaves, and the express provision that these loaves shall be baked of two omers instead of one (Lev. xxiii. 17). In the symbolism of the Hebrews, however, a higher gradation was always expressed by doubling,¹ and the greater importance and solemnity of the latter offering were thus brought into view. Further, with the barley-sheaf there had been connected as a burnt-offering only the offering of a single lamb, together with its meat and drink-offerings. With the two loaves of Pentecost was connected the much larger number of offerings of which mention has been already made. This increase alone would mark out the latter solemnity as the higher; but the point of increase most especially worthy of our notice is, that, while only a burnt-offering accompanied the sheaf of barley, a peace-offering also accompanied the loaves. We know, however, that the peace-offerings were the highest in the ritual of sacrifice, that they were expressive of the closest possible relation between the offerer and God, that they symbolised the offerer's participation in all the blessings of a Divine communion. If, therefore, the burnt-offering of the earlier festival set forth Israel's dedication to Him who had redeemed it, the peace-offering of the later set forth the blessed fruits of the dedication made. Here was something more than the fact that the people had offered themselves. The offering had been accepted, and a spiritual intercourse had been established between God and them.

With what has now been said it may seem difficult to reconcile the fact that the Feast of Pentecost lasted only one day, while that of Unleavened Bread lasted seven days. But the ground of this is to be sought in the consideration that Pentecost commemorated no great era in Israel's religious life. Efforts have indeed been made to connect it with the ratification of the covenant at Sinai, and the later Jews certainly adopted this idea. There is, however, no trace in Scripture of any such connection. And, in truth, the Feast of Pentecost was not the following up and advancing of the whole Easter feast; it was the following up and advancing only of its second day. The ideas of Unleavened Bread as a whole stretched forward not to Pentecost only, but over all the year thus begun; and expressing as they did a religious revolution in Israel, the new spirit of the covenant life, they were fitly embodied in the sacred number of seven days, and did not need to be repeated until a new year began. It is only with the second day

¹ Kurz, *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*. Clark's Translation, p. 378.

of Unleavened Bread that Pentecost must be brought into comparison, and in that comparison the festival is obviously a heightened one.

What, then, are the truths of the New Testament dispensation, or of the Christian life in which the Feast of Pentecost is fulfilled? In answering this question our main guide must be the narrative in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where we learn that on the day of Pentecost there took place that great outpouring of the Spirit for which the apostles had been instructed to wait in Jerusalem. It was not, we may well believe, without a special purpose that that day in particular had been fixed on. Nor can we doubt that the reason of the choice must have lain in ideas connected with the time itself, and not in the mere fact that there would then be gathered together in the holy city "devout men out of every nation under heaven" (Acts ii. 5). Such a correspondence was already to be found in the two great events, the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord. On the very day whose opening evening had seen the Paschal lambs slain, and the Jews engaged in celebrating their Paschal supper, Jesus, the spotless Lamb of God, had died upon the cross of Calvary, the purchaser of a still more glorious redemption than that which lived in the grateful recollections of Israel. On the very day when the first sheaf of harvest was presented in the Temple, He who was "the first-fruits of them that sleep," "the first-begotten of the dead," had burst the bonds of death, and come forth from the grave, not alone, but as the first sheaf of a ripened harvest, embracing all the members of His body. Should the selection of Pentecost for the next act of the triumphal drama have been without a special meaning? Must there not have been something in that festival which rendered it a time peculiarly appropriate for the Lord again to work? Such questions, we imagine, can only be answered in the affirmative. A connection between the events there must have been, whether enough has been revealed to enable us to discover it or not. Keeping, however, by the two points already gained, first, that the offering of the first-fruits of the Divine bounty, appropriated and used for food, is the special Pentecostal idea to which the Mosaic ritual refers us; secondly, that on the day of Pentecost the Spirit was poured out upon the Church, the Christian fulfilment of Pentecost seems to rise to view.

It is in the gift of the Spirit that it is to be found; but not so much in the mere giving on the part of God, as in the reception, the appropriation of the gift by those on whom it is bestowed; and first of all, by the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour himself. For not only did God bestow upon Him the Spirit "without measure," but the Spirit was received by Him with all the openness of a filial heart that offered no hindrance to its Father's dealing with it. It was appropriated by Him in all its fulness, every power of the mind and faculty of the soul and affection of the heart being presented by Him as an open channel to the Father, through which the streams of Divine grace might be poured in all their quickening and life-giving influences. The highest and noblest gift of

the Divine love, that in which not the New Testament only, but the Old, sees the realisation of the most precious blessings of Messianic times, was ever in the soul of Jesus, inspiring his words, regulating his actions, filling him with holy joy amidst the dark problems that met Him in his errand of mercy to mankind (John iii. 34; Luke iv. 14; Matt. xi. 25. Comp. Luke x. 21). His was a constant Pentecost, the Spirit not merely offered, but accepted, and presented again by Him to the God from whom it came, so that He could say, "I do always the things that please him;" "I and my Father are one."

Again, however, we cannot rest here. What belongs to the Head belongs also to the members. The sap that rises in the stem circulates through every twig and leaf and blossom and grape of the vine. Christians, therefore, have also their Pentecost, when their eyes are opened to their position, and they are endeavouring to realise it as they ought. They have it in the same manner as their Lord. It is not the offer of the Spirit only that constitutes the privilege which they enjoy; nor is it in magnifying this fact, or in praising God for it, that they walk worthy of the festival privileges of Israel now fulfilled to them. It is in the appropriation of the Spirit that they do so, in the taking of the Spirit into their hearts in such a way that it becomes the ruling principle, the leavening power, the regulating influence of their new and better life. "For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Whereof the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us: for after that he had said before, This is the covenant that I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord. I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them" (Heb. x. 14—16): and again, "Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart" (2 Cor. iii. 3). And once more, even in Old Testament prophecy, this part of the dispensation of the Spirit had been plainly set forth: "And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh: that they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances, and do them: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God" (Ezek. xi. 19, 20). Here then, we imagine, is the "fulfilment" in the Christian system of the idea of Pentecost to be found, not in the fulness of the Divine bounty only, but in the conscious reception and application to its proper purpose of that bounty on the part of man. The harvest is indeed now complete. The gifts of God, summed up in the gift of the Spirit, are now bestowed. But they are not only bestowed by him, they are also appropriated by his people. They have been taken home by believers to their hearts and houses, and they are made the strength and nourishment of their whole character and daily life. All their future course is to be run in the power thus conveyed to them. As they are redeemed by grace, they live through grace. A Divine communion between them and the Father of their spirits

is not only rendered possible, but is actually consummated. "Their fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ;" and just as bread digested and assimilated is the staff of the natural life, so the Spirit of God received, assimilated, introduced into every faculty of the mind and affection of the heart, is the staff of that higher life which they lead in Jesus. Redeemed by the blood of the Lamb, they have dedicated themselves and their possessions to the Almighty as their first step, and in the first week of their spiritual year. That was their spiritual Passover, together with their spiritual feast of Unleavened Bread. Their next step is their spiritual Pentecost, when, as members of Christ's body, they are made full partakers of his Spirit, and are sent forth to their Christian work and race, endued with "power from on high."

On one point further it seems desirable to say a single word before we close. It has been already stated that Pentecost in Israel was a national festival. It had reference to all the families of the people. All were liable to its duties; all were interested in its privileges. It was associated with no favoured order, with no chosen few. Are the events of the Christian Pentecost to be regarded as giving the key to the fulfilment of Israel's Pentecost in the Christian Church?—then surely, reading the antitype in the type, we are led to the conclusion that the gift of the Spirit that day bestowed belongs not to apostles only, but equally to the whole Church of God. It appears, indeed, almost upon the face of the narrative, that it

was so, for it is hardly possible to think that the "all" of Acts ii. 1 can refer to the apostles alone. It must refer to the company of "disciples" spoken of in Acts i. 15, of whom it is said that "the number of the names together were about an hundred and twenty." If so, then the tongues of fire sat upon "each," not only of the twelve, but of the whole company, and the words of ver. 4 apply to every member of the latter, as well as of the former: "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." No two lines of duty or privilege come before us here, one belonging especially to apostles, the other to members of the Church. One line alone appears, that pertaining to Christ's body as a whole, in the ideal conception of which, as there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither male nor female, so also there is neither apostle, nor bishop, nor minister, nor elder; all are one in Christ Jesus. The same consecration belongs to the humblest believer in Jesus that belongs to the most exalted dignitary in his church. To none can more be given than that he be "filled with the Holy Ghost." There are differences of function, there are distinctions of order, but the grace of Pentecost does not make these. It finds them existing in the nature of things, required by the necessities of the case, and it hallows them; the grace itself is the same to all. The Christian Pentecost knows of but one gift of the Spirit, although the gift may fill many different agencies; and although the members are many, the body is one.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

SHEEP.

THE following Hebrew words occur as the names of this useful animal:—*Tsón*, a collective noun to express "a flock of sheep or goats;" *seh*, "a single sheep or goat;" *ayil*, "a ram," so called from its strength, according to some authorities (others connect the word with a root having the sense of *twisting* or *rolling*, in allusion to the twisted horns of the ram); *râchêl*, "a ewe;" *kebes* or *kîbsah*, "a lamb," "yearling sheep," or "one from the first to the third year;" *tâleh*, "a young lamb" [compare 1 Sam. vii. 9, *teleh châlôb*, "a sucking lamb;"] in Arabic the word means any young animal, especially "a young gazelle;" *tala*, in Ethiopic, means "a kid"—the Syriac *taleetha*, "a young girl;" hence our Lord's words to the daughter of Jairus, *Talitha cumi*, "Young girl, arise!" (Mark v. 41) Another word, *kar* (*kârim* pl.) occurs several times; it appears to denote "a sheep fattened in the pastures."

We give the following principal Biblical allusions to these well-known domestic animals which from the earliest periods of civilisation have contributed so abundantly to the wants of mankind. Next in value

and importance to cattle came sheep in the estimation of the ancient Hebrews; the ram, being the type of strength and boldness, was held in especial honour in the sacrifices. "It was presented as a *holocaust* or a *thank-offering* by the whole people (Lev. ix. 4, 18; xvi. 5; Numb. xxviii. 11—14) or its chiefs (Numb. vi. 14, 17; vii. 15, 21, 27, &c.); by the high priest or an ordinary priest (Lev. viii. 18, 22; ix. 2; xvi. 3), and by the God-devoted Nazarite (Numb. vi. 14), but never by a common Hebrew; and as it was primitively employed for a medium of exchange and barter it was the ordinary animal for the trespass-offering instituted to expiate violation of the rights of property (Lev. v. 15, 18; xix. 21; Numb. v. 8). The lamb (*kebes*), the usual animal food of Eastern tribes, was regularly employed for the daily *public* holocausts (Exod. xxix. 38—42; Numb. xxviii. 3—8), presented on festivals in increased numbers, and accompanied by bullocks and rams (Numb. xxviii. 11, 19, 27); and very often for private burnt and thank-offerings, for sin, trespass, and purification offerings (Lev. i. 10; iii. 7; iv. 32; v. 6; xii. 6—8; xiv. 10; Numb. vi. 12, 14). The gradation in the choice of the victims is plainly manifest from the

precepts as to sin-offerings: the high priest of the whole community required a bullock; a chief of the people a male kid of the goats; and a common Israelite a female kid of the goats or a female lamb" (Kalisch's *Commentary on Leviticus*, part i., pp. 83, 84). A very young lamb was not allowed to be sacrificed until it was eight days old; the same prohibition applied to cattle and goats (see Lev. xxii. 27); neither was it lawful to kill cow and calf or ewe and lamb together in one day (ver. 28).

Sheep and lambs were used as food by the ancient Hebrews, but not as with us in Western Europe, where mutton or lamb is daily eaten by hundreds of thousands of consumers. Sheep as food were usually slaughtered only on great occasions and special festivities, and the Jews did not indulge in flesh meat at their ordinary meals, but, as Dr. Tristram tells us, like the Orientals at the present day, they always welcomed a friend or a stranger as guest with the kid or the lamb. There are not many allusions to sheep as used for food; but compare 1 Sam. xxv. 18; 1 Kings i. 19; iv. 23; Ps. xlv. 11; 2 Sam. xii. 4; Amos vi. 4.

The milk was considered perhaps the most useful produce of the sheep, and was daily consumed. In its fresh state it was called *châlâb*, in a sour or coagulated one it was called *chemâh*. In Dent. xxxii. 14, we read of *chemath bâkâr vachalêb tsôn*, i.e., "curdled milk of cattle, and fresh milk of sheep." St. Paul asks, "Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?" (1 Cor. ix. 7.) "Ewes' milk," Dr. Tristram tells us, "is held in higher esteem than that of cows in the East, and is considered peculiarly rich for *leben*, or soured curds. For butter goats' milk is preferred, but ordinarily the sheep and goats are milked indiscriminately, the lambs and kids being penned up from them in the night that their owners may get the first share of the milk. We found it considered highly dishonourable among the Bedouins to sell milk. A draught from the flock was spontaneously offered to the passing stranger, but payment was promptly refused by men who just before had been begging from us, and who would take the first opportunity of robbing us" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 136).

The wool of the sheep is another most important product of the animal, and was much prized by the Hebrews. "Woollen garments" are mentioned in Lev. xiii. 47; see also Dent. xxii. 11, where it is ordered that no garment made of wool and linen should be worn. Job appeals to his kindness in having constantly clothed the poor in distress: "If I have seen any perish for want of clothing, or any poor without covering; if his foins have not blessed me, and if he were not warmed with the fleece of my sheep; then let mine arm fall," &c. (Job xxxi. 19, 20, 22). In the Proverbs we read, "Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds. . . . The sheep [A. V., 'lambs,' *chebâsîn*] are for thy clothing" (xxvii. 23, 26). The virtuous woman "seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands" (xxxii. 13). Meshah, king of Moab (whose record of his own exploits

was a few years ago discovered in that land), was a great sheep-master, and had been in the habit of paying a large tribute of sheep and "rams with the wool" (*eylim tsâmer*) to some of the kings of Israel (2 Kings iii. 4). The mention of the wool with the animals shows the importance of that commodity. Damascus was noted for the excellence of its white wool, and supplied Tyre therewith. "Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making . . . and in white wool" (Ezek. xxvii. 18). "At present the quality of the Syrian wools varies as widely as do those of the merino and of the black-faced Highland breeds. There is a very fine soft wool in the Belka and in Moah, and the fleeces of some of the short-wooled Lebanon sheep are choice, while the middle districts of Palestine produce a long-wooled but rather coarse fleece." The art of dyeing wool and other materials was understood by the Hebrews. The Tyrians were celebrated throughout the world for their purple and scarlet dyes. "Rams' skins dyed red" were used as one of the coverings for the tabernacle (Exod. xxv. 5).

There are several references in the Bible to sheep-shearing. Dr. Tristram well remarks: "What the harvest was to an agricultural, that the sheep-shearing was to a pastoral people: celebrated by a festival corresponding to our harvest home, marked often by the same revelry and merry-making." It was when Laban was occupied with his sheep-shearing that Jacob took the opportunity of going off with his wives, cattle, and provisions. Judah, after the death of his wife, "was comforted, and went up unto his sheep-shearers to Timnath, he and his friend Hirah the Adullamite" (Gen. xxxviii. 12). The story of Nabal the churl is told in 1 Sam. xxv., how he had three thousand sheep in Carmel, gathered thither from the southern wilderness for the shearing; and how when David and his men, who had been a wall to them both by night and day when encamped in the wilderness, applied to share in the festivities, Nabal replied, "Shall I then take my bread and my water, and my flesh that I have killed for my shearers, and give it unto men whom I know not whence they be?" (1 Sam. xxv. 11.) And Nabal "held a feast in his house like the feast of a king, and Nabal's heart was merry within him, for he was very drunken" (ver. 36). Amnon was killed by the order of his brother Absalom at a feast held after sheep-shearing, when his heart was "merry with wine" (2 Sam. xiii. 28).

In Joshua (vi. 4) we read of "rams' horns" being used as trumpets. There seems good reason for believing that the Hebrew words *shôpherôth hayyôbelim* do not denote "trumpets of rams' horns," but "trumpets of prolonged soundings;" in ver. 5 we have, as synonymous, *keren hayyôbél*, "horn of long soundings." The etymology of *קָרְן* is uncertain; the Talmud refers it to an Arabic word; Fürst, of modern authorities, agrees with this view; but Gesenius and others, with greater probability, think that *קָרְן* (*yôbél*) coincides with *קָרְן* (*yûbal*), "jubilee," and that it is the trumpet with which originally the year of jubilee and subse-

quently other festivals or national convocations were proclaimed. The author of the Commentary on Joshua in the *Speaker's Bible*, while adopting this explanation, observes that "the horn of the ram is solid, and not at all suitable for being used as a cornet." But surely the ram is one of the *hollow-horned* ruminants. Rams' horns were probably used for carrying the anointing oil. "Then Samuel took the horn of oil, and anointed him [David] in the midst of his brethren" (1 Sam. xvi. 13); see also 1 Kings i. 39—"Zadok the priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon." Such horns were no doubt used for various other purposes, amongst others as a kind of lady's toilet-bottle, for holding henna paint, &c., for the eyebrows and eyelashes. This seems to be implied in the name of Job's third daughter, *Keren-happuch*, i.e., "horn for paint." Jarchi expressly says that this name was given her "from the name of the horn in which they put paint and soap," *stibium et smegma* (Jarchi, *Comment. in Hiobum*, xlii. 14, ed. Breithaupt). Rams' horns, Dr. Tristram tells us, are still in constant use as flasks amongst Arabs, especially for gunpowder. Untanned sheep-skins are worn by the shepherds of Palestine, both in the south country of Judea and in the Lebanon; some such a rude covering, perhaps, was used by Elijah and John the Baptist, and the persecuted saints of old, who "wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins" (Heb. xi. 37).

Immense numbers of sheep were reared in Palestine in Biblical times, as is the case to this day in some portions of the country. The patriarchs were very rich in cattle and sheep; Job possessed 7,000 before and 14,000 after his troubles. The Reubenites conquered the Hagarites, and took from them 250,000 sheep (see 1 Chron. v. 21). Meshah, king of Moab, a country eminently adapted for sheep pasturing, possessed 100,000 sheep of the pasture (*kârim*) and 100,000 "rams with the wool" (see 2 Kings iii. 4). Dr. Tristram sat under the tent of a Beni Sakk'r sheikh, who pastured his sheep in the ancient plains of Moab, and boasted of counting 30,000 in his flocks.

In the time of Asa the people gathered themselves together at Jerusalem to a great sacrifice, at which 7,000 sheep were offered at one time (2 Chron. xv. 11). "Hezekiah king of Judah did give to the congregation a thousand bullocks and seven thousand sheep, and the princes gave to the congregation a thousand bullocks and ten thousand sheep" (2 Chron. xxx. 24). Solomon's consumption of sheep for the royal household is said to have been one hundred daily, besides numbers of other animals (1 Kings iv. 23); while at the feast of the dedication of the Temple sheep and oxen were sacrificed "that could not be told nor numbered for multitude" (1 Kings viii. 5). Especial mention is made of the sheep of Bozrah, in the land of Edom, and Bashan and Gilead; and large parts of these districts are at the present time "at the proper seasons alive with countless flocks" (Dr. Thomson. *The Land and the Book*, p. 205). Dr. Tristram speaks of the immense number of sheep his party saw on the east of Jordan. "No country,"

he says, "could be conceived more adapted by nature for flocks than the rich plateaux where the foeders of the Jabbok rise in the ancient Ammon. The land is almost treeless, and well watered everywhere. Never did I see such a display of pastoral wealth as met our eyes in the neighbourhood of desolate Rabbah. It was the early spring, when the grass was shooting forth in its first freshness. The sheep of the great tribes of the Advân and Beni Sakk'r had gathered here from far and near, and mile after mile we rode through flocks countless as the sand, while winding up the gently-sloping valley, at the head of which stand the magnificent but lovely ruins of the great city. To the open spaces among the temples the sheep and goats were driven at night, and their bleating was almost deafening" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 135).

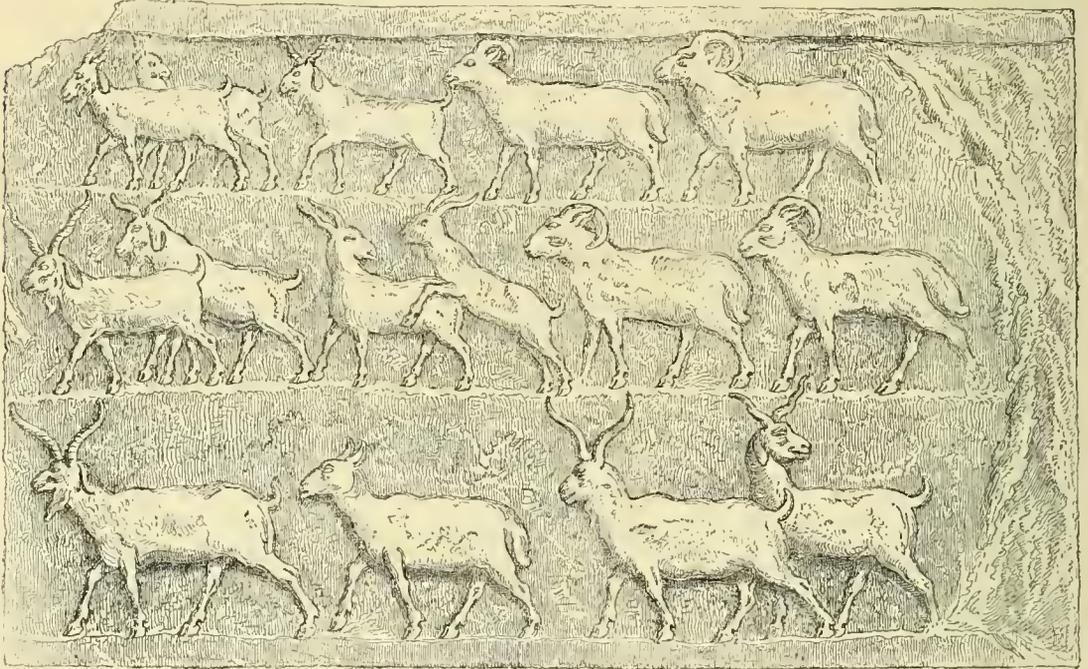
We read in Ezekiel that sheep and goats were imported into Tyre from Arabia. "Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied [traded] with thee in sheep of the pastures (*kârim*), rams and he-goats" (xxvii. 21). The prophet Isaiah mentions sheep of Arabia, which in some parts abounded in sheep and cattle: "All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee" (lx. 7). In 2 Chron. xvii. 11, we read that the Arabians brought Jehoshaphat presents of flocks of sheep, "seven thousand and seven hundred rams, and seven thousand and seven hundred he-goats." Kedar and Nebaioth are mentioned as two sons of Ishmael, that settled in Arabia (Gen. xxv. 13); in Isaiah they will represent two nomad pastoral tribes. The word *kêdar* means "having a black skin;" compare with this etymology Cant. i. 5—"I am black, but comely. O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar," alluding to the dark goat or camel-skin tents of the Arabians, like those of the modern Bedawee. Hence *benei kedar*, "children of Kedar," denote a nomad tribe which, like that of Nebaioth, dwelt in Northern Arabia, and possessed abundant flocks. The Assyrian monuments also testify to the enormous numbers of sheep possessed by the Arabians. In the account of Assur-bani-pal's expedition against Arabia, to punish Vaiteh the king, who had rebelled against the Assyrian monarch, express mention is made of the numbers of sheep and other cattle which were captured. "*Nisi, imiri, gammali, va tsêvi, chubûs sunu ina la mini aehbûta*" ("men, asses, camels, and sheep, their plunder without number I carried off") (Smith's *Assur-bani-pal*, p. 270). The flocks were protected from wild beasts—wolves being the especial enemies—by shepherd-dogs at night; but these dogs of Syria are not like the intelligent collies of our country; they are "usually kept in some numbers, not less than six together; they lie outside the fold, and raise their defiant bark whenever the jackal's howl is heard. Notwithstanding their use, they are hardly treated, kicked, and half-starved; yet their fidelity is unswerving" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 141). From a passage in Job, as well as from the general way in which the dog is spoken of in Scripture, it would appear the poor animal was always treated with con-

tempt: "But now they that are younger than I have me in derision, whose fathers I would have disdained to have set with the dogs of my flock" (Job xxx. 1).

Shepherds in Palestine and other parts of the East do not drive their sheep, but always lead them, without the aid of a dog; they also gave names to their sheep, just as in this country we do to our cattle. This illustrates our Lord's parable of the good shepherd: "Ho that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber; but he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep. To him the porter openeth, and the sheep hear his voice; and he calleth his own sheep by

rounded him; then to climb the rocks—the goats pursued him; and finally, all the flock formed in a circle, gambolling around him" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 140).

To the same effect Dr. Thomson writes: "I never ride over these hills, clothed with flocks, without meditating upon this delightful theme of the good shepherd. Our Saviour says that the good shepherd when he putteth forth his own sheep goeth before them, and they follow. This is true to the letter. They are so tame and so trained that they *follow* their keeper with the utmost docility. He leads them forth from the fold, or from their honses in the villages, just where he pleases. As there are many flocks in such a place as this, each one takes a different



DOMESTIC GOATS AND BROAD-TAILED SHEEP. (ASSYRIAN.)

name, and leadeth them out. And when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him: for they know his voice. And a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him: for they know not the voice of strangers" (John x. 1—5). The old rams are often decorated with bells, and share the shepherd's confidence in a special degree. "On the hill-side he searches out the choicest morsels of herbage, and calls the sheep to partake of them.¹ They have the attachment of a dog to their master. We once observed a shepherd playing with his flock. He pretended to run away—the sheep ran after him and sur-

rounded him; then to climb the rocks—the goats pursued him; and finally, all the flock formed in a circle, gambolling around him" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 140). To the same effect Dr. Thomson writes: "I never ride over these hills, clothed with flocks, without meditating upon this delightful theme of the good shepherd. Our Saviour says that the good shepherd when he putteth forth his own sheep goeth before them, and they follow. This is true to the letter. They are so tame and so trained that they *follow* their keeper with the utmost docility. He leads them forth from the fold, or from their honses in the villages, just where he pleases. As there are many flocks in such a place as this, each one takes a different path, and it is his business to find pasturo for them. It is necessary, therefore, that they should be taught to follow, and not to stray away into the unfenced fields of eorn which lie so temptingly on either side. Any one that thus wanders is sure to get into trouble. The shepherd calls sharply from time to time, to remind them of his presence. They know his voice and follow on; but if a stranger calls they stop short, lift up their heads in alarm, and if it is repeated they turn and flee, because they know not the voice of a stranger. This is not the fanciful costume of a parable, it is simple fact. I have made the experiment repeatedly. The shepherd goes before, not merely to point out the way, but to see that it is practicable and safe. He is armed in order to defend his charge, and in this he is very courageous. Many adventures with wild beasts occur. . . . They not unfrequently attack the flock in the very presence of the shepherd, and he must be ready to do

¹ We may add that the attachment of the Eastern shepherd to his flock is exhibited in the Hebrew word for shepherd, viz., *vóch*, or *vóv*, from the root *vóv*, "to look with pleasure on," "to delight in," especially "to feed;" hence in Ps. xxiii. 1, *Yehovah vóv* to *ehsár* ("Jehovah is my shepherd [feeder], I shall not suffer want"). Compare also the Greek *ποιμνίσ*, from *πός*, "grass," and Latin *pastor*, from *pasco*, "I feed."

battle at a moment's warning. . . . And when the thief and the robber come (and come they do), the faithful shepherd has often to put his life in his hand to defend his flock. I have known more than one case in which he had literally to lay it down in the contest. A poor faithful fellow, last spring, between Tiborias and Tabor, instead of fleeing, actually fought three Bedawin robbers until he was hacked to pieces with their khanjars, and died among the sheep he was defending" (*The Land and the Book*, 202, 203). All this very beautifully and very strikingly illustrates the Biblical allusions: "Thou leddest thy people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron." "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leddest Joseph like a flock" (Ps. lxxvii.

names to their sheep. In an idyl of Theocritus, which Virgil in his third *Elogue* has partly imitated, a goat-herd and a shepherd are singing for a wager, reclining on the grass where their flocks are grazing; some of the sheep approach too near to the young olive-trees, and are addressed by name by the shepherds.

COMATAS.

"From the wild olive, bleaters! Feed at will
Where grow the tamarisks, on the sloping hill.

LACON.

Off from that oak, Cynætha and Conarus!
Feed eastward—yonder where you see Phalaros."
(Chapman's *Greek Pastoral Poetry*, 47, 48.)

Of the manner of tending sheep in Palestine, and of



THE MOUFFLON (*Caprovis Musimon*).

20, and lxxx. 1). "I am the good Shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine" (John x. 14). "The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy" (ver. 10). "I am the good Shepherd: the good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep" (ver. 11).

Not only in Palestine was it the custom to give names to the sheep, it was also usual in Greece. "Passing by a flock of sheep, I asked the shepherd to call one of his sheep. He did so, and it instantly left its pasturage and companions, and ran up to the hand of the shepherd with signs of pleasure and with a prompt obedience which I had never before observed in any other animal. The shepherd told me that many of his sheep are still *wild*, that they had not yet learned their names, but that by teaching they would all learn them. The others which knew their names he called *tame*" (Hartley's *Researches in Greece and the Levant*).

The ancient Greeks, as well as the modern, gave

an Eastern shepherd's life, Dr. Tristram gives us a graphic account. "The sheep districts consist of wide open wolds or downs, reft here and there by deep ravines, in whose sides lurk many a wild beast, the enemy of the flocks. During the day the sheep roam at will over a wide extent of common pasture, only kept from encroaching on the territory of another tribe. In the evening they are gathered into folds. These folds are in most parts of the country the natural caves or old dwellings of the Horites, adapted for the purpose, with a low wall built outside them, as may be seen in Mount Quarantania, near Jericho, in the glens near the Lake of Galilee, and in the hill country of Judah. Elsewhere a simple boundary wall, with an entrance, is built in the open ground. Owing to the multitude of jackals and wolves, the shepherds are obliged to keep watch over their flocks by night. Thus the shepherds of Bethlehem were 'abiding in the field, keeping watch

over their flock by night' when the angel of the Lord came and announced to them the 'good tidings of great joy to all people' (Luke ii. 8, &c.). The same practice continues to this day. Even on the highest ridges of Lebanon, far above human habitations, are found little depressions where the shepherds had contrived sleeping places for themselves, inside of which rushes were collected for bedding. These simple beds were arranged in a circle, and sticks and roots were collected in the centre for a fire; a few pots or pans stood by them, and the sheep-skins and old rugs were left in their places under the guardianship of three or four faithful watch-dogs, whose vigilance was sufficient protection while their masters wandered during the day with their flocks. We often met the shepherds miles away from their stations. It is their ordinary summer habit to live thus in the open air, as they do in the south throughout the year. In the open district east of Jordan there are no caves, and so the children of Reuben said to Moses, 'We will build sheepfolds here for our cattle' (Numb. xxxii. 16). To these sheepfolds Reuben still continued devoted, and forgot the troubles of his brethren. 'Why abodest thou among the sheepfolds, to hear the bleatings of the flocks? For the divisions [in the divisions, i.e. family divisions, tribes] of Reuben there were great searchings of heart' (Judg. v. 16). But in the hill country of Judah the folds were in caves. Thus Saul, when in search for David, 'came to the sheepteots by the way where was a cave' (1 Sam. xxiv. 3). In such folds David had passed his youth. 'I took thee from the sheepteote, from following the sheep, to be ruler over my people, over Israel' (2 Sam. vii. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 70). And as the traveller passes over the Philistian plains, and sees the ruined cities, with rude hovels and sheepfolds built of their fragments, who can forget the denunciation of the prophet: 'The sea-coast shall be dwellings and cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks?' (Zeph. ii. 6)." (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, pp. 138, 139.)

In our own country sheep do not as a general rule require water to drink, the succulent nature of their food being sufficient to prevent thirst; still in drouthy seasons, when the herbage is scorched from great and prolonged heat, sheep will drink with avidity. But what is the exception in England is the rule in the East, where watering the flocks is a necessary and common operation. When Jacob met his cousin Rachel for the first time in his eventful history it was at the well-side.

¹ There is a sarcastic irony in Deborah's rebuke of Reuben which it is not very easy to express. "In the divisions, or, among the brooks" (as some translate the Hebrew word) "of Reuben, there were deep deliberations, solemn thoughts as to helping their brethren. Why then did Reuben abide among the sheepfolds, lazily listening to shepherds piping on their reeds, instead of engaging in brave fight and clamour of war? Oh! yes, there must have been great deliberations indeed." There can be no doubt that the Hebrew words *sheritokh adarim* refer to shepherds whistling on their pipes, and not to the bleatings of the sheep. *Shirak* means "to whistle on a pipe," "to hiss and make a shrill noise." The word, like our English "hiss," is probably onomatopoeic, and would be in the highest degree inappropriate to express the bleatings of sheep. So interpret Gesenius, Rosenmüller, and Fürst; the latter adding that *יָרַח* (*idar*), "a flock," here = *יָרַח אִישׁ* (*ish ider*), man of the flock, i.e., "shepherd." So too Keil and Delitzsch, "the pipings of the flocks."

Jacob looked, "and behold a well in the field, and, lo, there were three flocks of sheep lying by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks: and a great stone was upon the well's mouth. And thither were all the flocks gathered: and they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in his place" (Gen. xxix. 2, 3). When Moses fled from Egypt into Midian, he sat down by a well there. "Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock. And the shepherds came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them, and watered their flock. And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, How is it that ye are come so soon to-day?" (Exod. ii. 16—19.) The operation must have taken some time, for the water was drawn out by means of rope and bucket, and poured into the troughs or reservoirs, which were generally of stone, that were round the margin of the Eastern wells. Hence there was time for a little chattering and gossiping, and not unfrequently a little love-making; indeed, the well seems to have been a recognised place where to seek a wife. Thus Abraham's servant went to Mesopotamia, to the city of Nahor, to find a wife for Isaac amongst the daughters of the land who came out of the city to draw water from the well. The steward sat down, and the camels, thirsty from their long journey, rested; a maiden approaches, unveiled, very beautiful, with the bloom of innocence on her countenance, altogether enchanting; her name is Rebekah, or *Ribkah*, that is, "the girl who ensnares men by her beauty," from the Arabic word *ribkah*, "a rope having a noose." She draws water for her own camels, and then the active obliging girl draws water for the camels of Abraham's steward. The result is well known: Rebekah became Isaac's wife, "and he loved her, and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death." It was at the well-side where Jacob, as we have already seen, first met Rachel, who afterwards became his wife.

The old scenes are repeated to this day, as Dr. Tristram tells us:—"And still the 'places of drawing water,' when the land is free from the 'noise of archers,' are the spots where the youth and girls of Bedouin life congregate; and at the wells alone is Oriental courtship carried on to this day. The Syrian girl, especially if a Druse or Christian, unlike the secluded daughter of the towns, is frequently entrusted, like Rachel or Zipporah, with the care of her father's flock. The well—the most precious of possessions—is carefully closed with a heavy slab until all whose flocks are entitled to share its water have gathered. The time is noon. The first comers gather, and report the gossip of the tribe. The story of Gen. xxix. is, in its most minute details, a transcript of the Arab life of to-day. 'It is yet high day, neither is it time that the cattle should be gathered together [i.e., to be folded for the night]: water ye the sheep, and go and feed them. And they said, We cannot until all the flocks be gathered together, and till they roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep' (vs.

7, 8). Then follow the arrival of Rachel, the claim of relationship, and the brotherly kiss, with the home found in Laban's house. Though Mohammedanism has sadly degraded woman, and restricted her freedom, yet the daughters of the desert can still choose indirectly for themselves among their comrades at the well; and they are always eager to offer the stranger, though no Mohammedan, a draught of milk" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, pp. 142, 143).

There appear to be two breeds of sheep in Palestine, each of them merely a variety of the common sheep of this country, *Ovis aries*; one which occurs in the northern hills is said to be "not unlike the merino, with short, fine wool, well shaped, short and fine legs." This would seem to be a variety of the *Ovis Hispanicus* of Linnæus. Sheep are subject to almost endless variations. Dr. Gardiner, in his journey from Pernambuco to Crato, passed through a flock of several hundred sheep. "The excessive heat of the climate had wrought a remarkable change in their appearance, their skin being totally destitute of wool, and replaced by a short hair not unlike that of a cow" (*Trav.*, p. 163). Again, in the form and even in the number of the horns, as well as in the texture of their clothing, sheep offer many varieties. Sheep may have four horns, or even eight in number; they may have a pair, or none at all. The ordinary sheep of Palestine, which is the sheep of the southern parts of the country, and which probably was the sheep of the land in Biblical times, is the fat-tailed sheep of the East, the *Ovis laticaudata* of Erxleben, the *Ovis laticauda platyceros s. Arabica* of Linnæus, the *Ovis orientalis* of Ludolf, who in his *History of Ethiopia* (Bk. i., cap. x., pl. 14), has figured this sheep drawing his long fat tail in a cart ("caudam adiposam XL. et amplius librarum in plostello trahens"). In the same plate Ludolf figures another sheep, with a tail not so long, but excessively broad and fat. There are several forms of this fat-tailed variety known to naturalists, but we need not take any notice of them. This variety was known both to Aristotle and Herodotus; the former speaks of Syrian sheep with tails a cubit long; and Herodotus mentions a similar kind found in Arabia. The story of sheep drawing their large tails behind them, in a little carriage, first mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 113), repeated by Leo Africanus in the fifteenth century, and again by Ludolf in the seventeenth, has sometimes been ridiculed as a mere traveller's tale. "When this story is applied to the sheep near Aleppo," Dr. Russell says, "it may certainly be ascribed to exaggeration; for though increase of size might expose the tail to be injured by the thistles or bushes, and render the expedient of the board necessary, where wheels could be of little service, no increase of bulk could well bring it to trail on the ground. But the necessity of carriages for the tails of the African sheep, mentioned by Herodotus, Ludolphus, and other writers, is real. The tail of that animal when fat actually trails, not being tucked up like that of the Syrian sheep. I have seen some at Aleppo brought from Egypt, and kept as curiosities, which agreed

exactly with the figure given by Ludolphus" (*History of Aleppo*, ii., p. 149).

At present these enormous tails, a mere mass of fat, are used for grease, lamps, and for cooking. Dr. Tristram does not speak highly of their flavour. The Arabs fry them in slices, and consider them delicacies, but he compares the flavour to that of fried tallow. He adds: "The enormous development of the tail appears to abstract both flesh and fat from the rest of the body. Though the carcase does not weigh more than fifty or sixty pounds, the tail will average ten pounds, and I have known it fourteen pounds."

The fat tail of the *Ovis laticaudata* was part of 'the sacrifice of the peace-offering made by fire unto Jehovah' (Lev. iii. 9); "the fat thereof, and the whole fat tail, it shall he take off hard by the backbone . . . and the priest shall burn it upon the altar." The ordinary Hebrew word for an animal's tail is זָנָב (*zánáb*); but in those passages which refer to the fat tail of the Syrian sheep another word, אֵלָה (*alyáh*), is used from the root *áláh*, "to be round" or "thick," "to have a fat tail." The ordinary colour of the sheep is white, "white as wool" (Isa. i. 18); "Jehovah giveth snow like wool" (Ps. cxlvii. 16); "the hair of his head like wool" (Dan. vii. 9; Rev. i. 14); but black and white, spotted, and black or dark brown sometimes occurred, as commonly now, amongst different breeds of sheep.

Sheep have been domesticated from a very remote period, and it is impossible to say from what original animal the numerous breeds have proceeded. They existed in the Stone period, for M. Rüttimeyer found their remains in the Swiss lake-dwellings, of small size, fine legs, short and goat-like horns, resembling in some particulars northern and mountain varieties of the present day, as those of the Shetlands, Orkneys, Welsh hills, and parts of the Alps. In one place M. Rüttimeyer found traces of a sheep with large horns. There is a wild sheep, called *Aoudad* or *Kebesch*, occurring in North Africa, and also in Sinai, Ethiopia, and Abyssinia, whose figure occurs on the Egyptian monuments. "The sheep was sacred in Upper Egypt, particularly in the vicinity of Thebes and Elephantine. The Lycopolites, however, sacrificed and ate this animal, 'because the wolf did so, whom they revered as a god;' and the same was done by the people of the Mendesian nome; though Strabo would seem to confine the sacrifice of sheep to the nome of Nitriotis. In the Thebaid it was considered not merely as an emblem, but ranked among the most sacred of all animals. It was dedicated to Neph, one of the greatest deities of the Thebaid, who was represented with the head of a ram. . . . and the inhabitants of that district deemed it unlawful to eat its flesh or to sacrifice it on their altars. According to Herodotus, they sacrificed a ram once a year at Thebes, on the festival of Jupiter, the only occasion on which it was permitted to kill this sacred animal; and after having clad the statue of the god in the skin, the people made a solemn lamentation, striking themselves as they walked around the temple. They afterwards buried the body in a sacred coffin. The

sacred boats or arks of Neph were ornamented with the head of a ram, and bronze figures of this animal were made by the Thebans, to be worn as amulets, or kept as guardians of the house, to which they probably paid their adorations in private, invoking them as intercessors for the aid of the deity they represented" (*Ancient Egyptians*, v., p. 191). Numerous mummies of sheep are found at Thebes, where large flocks were kept; for though they were neither eaten nor sacrificed, their wool was of the highest importance to the people. Diodorus ascribes the high honour in which the sheep was held to the benefits which mankind derive from it.

The woodcut (p. 49) represents the moufflon (*Caprovis*

Musimon), the *Capra Ammon* of Linnæus, the wild sheep of Sardinia, Corsica, and Crete, where it is now only found. It is said to have been formerly common in Spain and the Greek mountains, and to have extended across Circassia to Persia; and probably at one time was found in the Lebanon. The moufflon appears to differ only in size and in the smallness of the horns of the female from the great argali (*Caprovis Argali*) of Siberia and the snowy barriers of high Asia, an animal which attains the stature of a fallow deer. Some have supposed that the innumerable breeds of our domestic sheep have been derived from the moufflon or argali, but this is very doubtful.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JOEL.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

INTRODUCTION.

MANY of the Hebrew prophets are rather voices to us than men—voices crying in the past, and saying, "Repent." Of the men themselves we know nothing but the names. At times we can fix neither their date nor place. They live, and tell upon the world, simply in virtue of the words they were moved to speak. Possibly their words take an added power from the darkness from which they sound forth, voices in the dark being commonly impressive, and easily stirring us to wonder and awe. And as we stand peering into the gloom of antiquity, and hear voice after voice take up a strain of mingled warning and promise, each confirming and expounding the one Divine message which all proclaim, we may be the more moved by them because we can see no form, because the very darkness itself seems to have become vocal. Indeed, it is characteristic of Revelation throughout that it is, to a wonderful extent, independent of person and time and place. Even of our Lord himself, although we have four memoirs of him, we cannot be sure in what year he was born, or even in what season of the year; nay, the very day of his death is still in dispute. Eternal truths do not depend on scene and date for their value or for their effect. That God is angry with the wicked; that He forgives and restores the penitent; that He blesses the righteous and exalts the humble; that He is ever seeking to win the sinful to contrition and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; that his judgments are forms of mercy, and are designed to bring in a golden age of righteousness and peace;—these are spiritual facts which are true in all ages and in all lands; and these are the sum and substance of the prophetic message: this is the single theme which the prophetic choir pursue through endless variations, and enrich with harmonies ever new. And this music may touch us all the more profoundly because we stand, as it were,

outside the antique temple in which they worship, and cannot see the men who sing.

Of Joel, for example, we know absolutely nothing but what may be gathered from his prophecy; and *that* tells us neither when nor where he flourished, save by hints and implications which are still variously read. That he lived in Judah, probably in Jerusalem, we may infer from the facts that he never mentions the northern kingdom of Israel, and that he shows himself familiar with the Temple, the priests, the ordinances of worship: he moves through the sacred city and the temple of the Lord as one who is at home in them, as one who is native and to the manner born. On this point the commentators are pretty well agreed; but no sooner do we ask, "When did Joel live and prophesy?" than we receive the most diverse and contradictory replies. He has been moved along the chronological lines of at least two centuries, and fixed now here, now there, at almost every point. For myself, I prefer, on the whole, the theory which holds him to have been the earliest of the prophets whose writings have come down to us. There are hints in his poem, or prophecy, which indicate, I think, that it must have been written in the ninth century before Christ (circa 870—860), more than a hundred years before Isaiah "saw the Lord sitting on his throne, high and lifted up," and some fifty years after Elijah was carried "by a whirlwind into heaven."

Tradition has always assigned Joel an early date, although his place in the Old Testament canon might seem to indicate a different conclusion. That place, however, was determined, not by any doubt of his having lived before Isaiah and Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Hosea, but simply by the fact that his scripture is shorter than theirs. The arrangement of the prophetic books is not chronological, but an arrangement of convenience. First come the major or longer prophets; then the minor or shorter prophets; and

even these minor prophets do not succeed each other strictly according to their dates : indeed, it is not easy to discover on what principle they are arranged.

In reading the Old Testament we need constantly to bear in mind that the order in which the books are found is no index to the order in which they were written. Job, one of the most ancient scriptures, comes after Esther, one of the latest scriptures ; and Joel, one of the most ancient prophets, comes after Daniel, one of the latest.

With some confidence we may place Joel *first* on the list of written prophecies ; but if we try to define its date more exactly, we shall have to trust to the uncertain guidance of very slight, though pregnant hints. The only enemies of the chosen race mentioned by the prophet Joel are the Phœnicians, the Philistines, the Edomites, the Egyptians : he does not once mention the Assyrian, or even the Aramæan invasions. Now had he lived subsequently to these invasions, the probability is that, like the prophets who came after him, he would have referred to them and to the judgments they executed in the land. It seems incredible, for instance, that we should have had no allusion to it, had he lived after that fatal Aramæan war which, in the later years of his reign, cost King Joash not only the treasures of the Temple and his palace, but his very life, and in which many fair cities were captured, and " a very great host," and " all the princes of the people," were destroyed. Had so great a catastrophe recently occurred, Joel would surely have used it to point the warning, to illustrate the judgment he was sent to denounce. But if from his silence respecting the Aramæan invasion we may infer that he lived before it, *that* will land him at least as far back as the early years of Joash, king of Judah, some 870 years before Christ. This inference is confirmed by his style, which belongs to the earlier period of the prophetic activity. A singular and significant change passed on the style of the Hebrew prophets in the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ. As their spirit grew more catholic, and they set themselves to appeal and persuade rather than to judge, the ancient strictness, terseness, and vigour of their style relaxed : if it grew more picturesque and elaborate, it also grew more diffuse.

Joel's style is that of the earlier age. So marked, indeed, is " the antique vigour and imperativeness of his language," that purely on this ground, Ewald, whose fine critical instinct deserves a respect which his dogmatism often averts, places him without a doubt first in the rank of the earlier prophets, and makes him the contemporary of Joash.

The inference is still further confirmed by the prevailing tone and spirit of his prophecy, in which he differs greatly from " the goodly fellowship " to which he belongs. He does not once refer to the *idolatrous* rites and customs which they perpetually rebuke. Though the Hebrews are a sinful nation, and by their guilt have provoked Divine judgment, yet, in the pages of Joel, Jehovah is still recognised as their God and King ; the simple but stately worship of the Temple is

maintained, priests and people keep the feasts and observe the ordinances to do them. Now, curiously enough, this exceptional state of general conformity to the law and ritual of Moses obtained in the years which preceded the Aramæan invasion, the earlier years of Joash's reign, and in hardly any other period to which Joel has been assigned. So that the absence of allusion to foreign wars and invasions, the antique severity of his style, and the religious condition reflected from his pages, combine to indicate the earlier half of King Joash's reign as the period of Joel's prophetic activity. Yet it would not be wise to lay too much stress on any one of these arguments, or on all combined. Joel may have been one of the earlier prophets, as his style indicates, and yet not have been cotemporary with Joash. The Aramæans, at least in their assault on Judah, may, as Ewald suggests, have appeared simply as auxiliaries of the Philistines ; and Joel does mention the Philistines. And many of the religious conditions of the time are not reflected in Joel's pages. The reform initiated by Joash, though general, was by no means profound. Of a weak impulsive character, taking his tone from the advisers who had his ear, Joash " did that which was right in the sight of the Lord *all the days wherein Jehoiada instructed him ;*" but no sooner was the high priest gone, than he fell into the hands of evil counsellors, and " served groves and idols." Of so little weight in the state, that even the priests neglected his ordinance to repair the house of the Lord, till Jehoiada endorsed it (2 Kings xii.), the reformation he set on foot was but superficial, and broke down the moment the good priest who had made a covenant " between all the people and between the king, *that they should be the Lord's,*" was taken to his rest. Such a condition as this outward conformity, undermined by inward indifference to the service of Jehovah, was, one should have thought, the very condition to provoke pungent rebuke from a prophet of the Lord. And it is by no means easy to say why, if Joel laboured during the first three-and-twenty years of Joash's reign, we do not find the religious conditions of the time more clearly reflected in his words.

We must not dogmatise, then. All we can say is, that in all probability the son of Pethuel lived in Jerusalem during the reign of Joash ; that he aided Jehoiada, the high priest, in urging the citizens to repair the Temple and to recur to the service of Jehovah ; and that his prophecy is the oldest in our hands, and was written in that comparatively calm and pure interval in which Jerusalem was free from the bloody rites and licentious orgies of the Baalim worship.

That the prophet was an accomplished and gifted man is proved by his work. His style is pure, severe, animated, finished, full of happy rhythms and easy graceful turns. " He has no abrupt transitions, is everywhere connected, and finishes whatever he takes up. In description he is graphic and perspicuous, in arrangement lucid ; in imagery original, copious and varied." Even in this early poem we find some instances of the tender refrains and recurring " burdens " which cha-

racterise much of the later Hebrew poetry.¹ In short, there are marks both of the scholar and of the artist in his style, which distinguish him very clearly from Amos the shepherd and Haggai the exile. It is almost beyond a doubt that he was a practised author, of whose many poems and discourses only one has come down to us. Ewald does not hesitate to say of him that "he was in early times the highest model" of literary composition in the prophetic fellowship; so that his successors all followed his elevated precedent.

The prophecy itself is, beyond all others, independent of local circumstances; it is singularly free from historical, political, geographical allusions, and interprets itself. It divides itself easily and naturally into two parts. In the first part (chap. i. 2—ii. 17), we have Joel's description of a terrible judgment which fell on the land—viz., a plague of locusts, accompanied by years of drought. In this judgment the prophet sees the dawn or harbinger of the great day of doom, and summons men to repent that the judgment may be averted. In the second part (chap. ii. 18 to chap. iii. 21), we have the promise that if, or because, men repent, the Lord will have mercy on them, deliver them from judgment and through judgment, and bring in an era of universal righteousness and peace. For the most part, this simple series of thoughts is presented in forms so simple and general that the prophecy might have been uttered in any age and of any Oriental race. All that localises it in time and space are the few allusions to the Temple, to the covenant, to the special enemies of the Hebrew people. And, so far as I know, there is only one disputed question in the whole book, though it must be admitted that this question is a sufficiently important one. All the commentators are agreed that the earlier half of the prophecy contains the most graphic and "fearsome" description of a plague of locusts ever penned. So terrible is the description that till quite recently it was held to be too terrible for a mere plague of locusts; it was maintained that the image of a locust-plague was used to set forth an invasion by some mighty host of armed men. Nay, so ingenious were the commentators, that in the four kinds of locust mentioned by Joel—"the gnawer, the multiplier, the lieker, and the devourer"—they saw four successive invasions by the Assyrians, or even four successive periods in the history of the people of God—the Babylonian, the Macedonian, the Roman, and the Antichristian. But now that travellers and naturalists have made us better acquainted with the phenomena which attend a flight of locusts and the horrible ruin they leave behind them, it is generally admitted that Joel's description is no whit exaggerated; that we need not invent or supply armies and invasions to account for the terror and misery which his language breathes. Where the locust swarms descend, all vegetation instantly vanishes; they spare neither bark nor root, much less leaf and flower. They darken the air, so that the sun, and even men at a little

distance, become invisible. They advance in a close military array, which yields to no obstacle of stream or fire. As they advance a peculiar roaring noise is heard, like that of a torrent or a waterfall. No sooner do they settle to eat, than, as Volney puts it, the grating sound of their mandibles reminds one of "the foraging of an invisible army." Indeed, no army of men could well work a devastation so complete as that wrought by an interminable flight of locusts, such as visits the lands of the far East, and even Algeria, to this day. And as the locusts are an adequate explanation of even the strongest phrases of Joel, we need seek no other.

Indeed, we shall do well to remember that the prophets of Israel and Judah were patriots and statesmen to whom nothing that affected the national welfare was alien or indifferent. If any great dearth were to afflict England, if any of our food-crops were suddenly to fail, how many speeches would our public men make upon it, how many pamphlets would they publish on its origin, on its probable recurrence, and on the best methods of meeting it and guarding against it. The Hebrew prophets were the public men, the orators and councillors, "the tribunes" of the Hebrew people. When any calamity befell, when any danger threatened, it was their part to point out its cause, to bid men repent and renounce the sins which had provoked it, to assure them that God was merciful even when He judged, and sent his judgments only to bring them to a better mind, to a purer and happier life. Nor were the prophets only patriots, statesmen, poets. They had a far higher inspiration than that of character and genius. Their hearts were moved, their eyes opened, their tongues set on fire by the Divine Spirit; so that they could see the set and flow of present events more clearly than their fellows, and the issues in which they would result in the future. Holding in their heart of hearts the great moral principles of the Divine law, holding them as ruling personal convictions, believing that the lives and fortunes of men were really controlled and shaped by these principles, they were unmoved by the temporary success of triumphant wickedness, or the passing misfortunes of the righteous and the good. They saw and foresaw that, in the end, the latent miseries of wickedness must break out like a consuming fire; that the peace and joy latent in all good actions and customs must, at last, bring forth their pleasant fruit. Basing themselves on these convictions, the veils of human life grew luminous to them; they could see men as they were, and as they would be—the men themselves, and not the "vain shows" in which they walked. Faithful students of the past, they could project themselves into the future; and as they stood peering into the years to be, what they needed to see was shown them by the Inhabitant of Eternity, to whom all the years of time are present. Taught by Him, they taught and warned their brethren, often speaking words that were wiser than they knew, often "searching what, and what manner of time the Spirit that was in them did signify."

Two mistakes, as it seems to me, are current about

¹ Examples of the use of such refrains will be found in chap. i. 10 and chap. iii. 15, and in vs. 25 and 27 of chap. ii.

the Hebrew prophets, against which we need to be on our guard. The one is, that they were for ever predicting what form and fashion the future would take; the other is, that they never predicted the things that were to come to pass: and for us, probably, the former of these mistakes is the more dangerous of the two. The truth the prophets spake was emphatically what St. Peter calls "the present truth," the truth which the men of their time most needed to hear. Perhaps we most truly conceive them when we think of them as religious statesmen—men who, under the inspiration of the Almighty, honestly and reverently applied the broad moral principles of the Law to all the public questions of their day, and passionately besought the people to carry a religious spirit into all their actions, public and domestic. This was their common work, their main work, as we may see for ourselves, as I hope we shall see. But we ought also to see that these holy men

were at times raised above themselves; that, in the stillness of profound meditation, or in the ecstasy of a faith that grew to vision, their spirits took a forward or an upward flight; that, carried by the Spirit of God to some pinnacle of the Eternal Temple, they beheld from it all the kingdoms of the world, all the years of time, seeing them dimly perhaps, not able to utter in gross human words the half of what they saw; but still having a true vision of the future, and speaking words concerning it which after centuries fulfilled and will yet fulfil.

In this double character, as mainly a teacher of righteousness to his own generation, but also as a seer, catching at times glimpses of a larger and more heavenly kingdom than that of Judah, and of a happier and more glorious time than the world has ever yet seen, Joel comes before us, and speaks to us across a gulf of nearly three thousand years.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRÆLECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

BABYLON.

HAVING pointed out the sites, so far as they can at present be ascertained, of the places in the land of Shinar in which the kingdom of Nimrod is said to have had its beginning, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, together with Ur and Ellasar, we proceed now to investigate the site and indicate the remains of the city of Babylon, the greatest of them all. We may remark in the outset that, with the exception of Nineveh, no ancient city that we know of has ever approached Babylon in size, and very few places have done so in what we may call Biblical importance; but that it has met with a destruction even more complete than that of Nineveh, partly from a cause which will appear in the course of our survey.

After speaking of the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom, the Scripture narrative proceeds to mention the city and tower whose building was interrupted by Divine visitation, and to which the name Babel ("confusion") was given, in consequence of the confusion, or rather the dispersion of languages, which took place at the same time (Gen. xi. 9). From this time, with three exceptions, we have no mention of Babylon until the time of the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel. These exceptions, which in themselves contain the elements of a good deal of history indicated though not described at length, are (1) the invasion of Canaan by the king of Shinar (Gen. xiv. 1); (2) the mention of the "Babylonish garment," about 1530 B.C. (Josh. vii. 21; see Vol. I., p. 263); (3) the subjection of Israel to Chushan-rishaim, king of Mesopotamia, but not necessarily of Babylon, about 1558 B.C. (Judg. iii. 8). At the time of that captivity Babylon was subject to Assyria, for we read that the king of Assyria, probably Esarhaddon, brought people from Babylon and other places in the neighbourhood to settle in Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 24). From this

time, for about 170 years, 700—530 B.C., Babylon occupies a large share in the history of Scripture, both narrative and prophetic, and not only is the greatness of its power during the time of its prosperity described, as well as the rapidity and severity of its downfall, but we may add that both of these features are taken as the groundwork of figurative description applied to other objects so late as the Book of Revelation in the first century A.D. (See 2 Kings xx.—xxv.; 2 Chron. xxxvi.; Isa. xiii. xiv.; Jer. l., li.; Rev. xiv. 8; xviii. 2, 10, 21.)

What then do we know about Babylon, and what information do the existing features and monuments of the country furnish us concerning its former greatness? From what we have already seen concerning Chaldean cities it is clear that at an early period some very important architectural works were begun, if not completed, in Babylonia: have we any remains of them? Now if, speaking in a general sense, it be true that there is no place of which we know whereabouts it stood more certainly than Babylon, there is, perhaps, none whose ruin has more completely effaced the definite form and character of its plan and structure. The prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah have been verified to the letter, and thus the task of identification, though in a general view most easy, is in details full of difficulty. To begin then with the great ruin, which by many travellers has for many years been regarded as the most probable representative, if not the ruin of the tower itself, of Babel. There is, perhaps, no ancient building of which our childish imagination has formed a more definite idea. We all remember the picture in the old Bible dictionaries so familiar from childhood, of the tapering but truncated tower, pierced with numberless openings and girdled with ascending causeways; and in all times the marvellous nature of its history has no doubt led people eagerly to appropriate its name to more than one

existing ruin within the Babylonian region. One, however, among them has usually been selected as possessing most external claim to attention. Our description of it is gathered from various authors, whom, for convenience' sake, we quote freely without special distinction. In our sketch map in Vol. I., page 96, the town of Hillah will be seen marked, a town of some 10,000 inhabitants, about 216 miles from Korna, built on both sides of the river Euphrates, and having its two portions connected by a crazy bridge of boats. The river is there about 200 yards wide and fifteen feet deep, a noble stream

through one-third of its height. The mound is of an oblong form, 762 yards in circumference, and rising at the western end to the height of 198 feet, which with the height of the tower makes a total of 235 feet. "The dry nitrous earth of the parched plain," we are now quoting Mr. Layard, "driven before the furious south wind, has thrown over the huge mass a thin covering of soil in which no herb or green thing can find nourishment or take root. Thus, unlike the grass-clothed mounds of the more fertile districts of Assyria, the *Birs Nimroud* is ever a bare and yellow heap. Neither



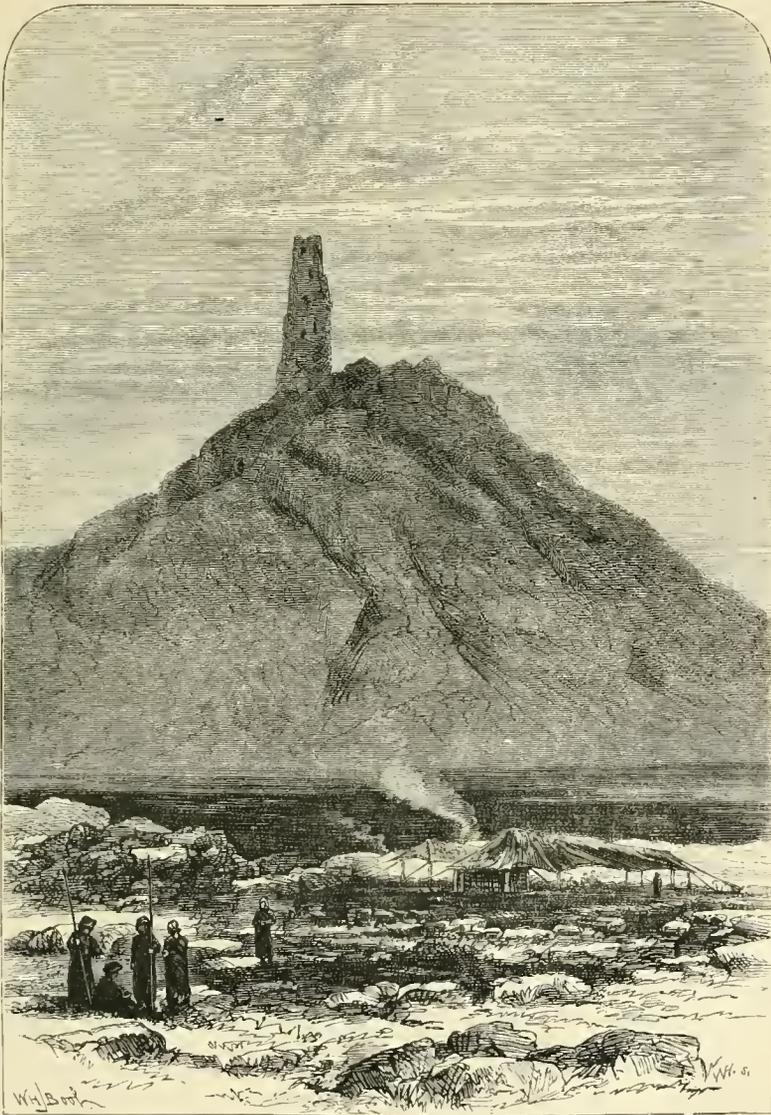
THE MESOPOTAMIAN PLAIN, WITH DISTANT VIEW OF BIRS NIMROUD.

with a gentle current, well fitted for steam navigation. Such was the river which flowed through Babylon, for it is in the neighbourhood of Hillah that the traces of Babylon are to be found in greater or less abundance and magnitude. About six miles south-west of Hillah on the west side of the river, and on the edge of the great marsh formed by the overflowing waste of the Hindiyeh canal already described, is a gigantic mound or mass of ruin, visible many miles off on the treeless plain like a conical mountain. The mound at its eastern end is cloven by a deep furrow, but at the west it rises into a sort of tower of brickwork thirty-seven feet high and twenty-eight broad, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is broken and rent by a fissure extending

the original form nor object of the edifice, of which it is the ruin, have hitherto been determined. . . . It is pierced by square holes, apparently made to admit air through the compact structure." The tower on the top is built of fine burnt bricks laid so firmly in mortar that it is almost impossible to extract one of them whole. The other parts of the mound are occupied by immense fragments of brickwork lying like blocks of granite on the summit, fused into vitrified masses as if from the action of fire. The building is supposed, when entire, to have been erected in stages; it bears the name, as we have seen of BIRS NIMROUD—a phrase which is explained to mean "the palace or prison of Nimrod," for the word *Birs* has no definite meaning in

Arabic—and for many years it was regarded as the ruin of the true Tower of Babel. A short distance from it on the east side is another mound, of inferior dimensions, said in popular tradition to be the place at which, as already mentioned, Abraham was cast into the fire by Nimrod (see Vol. I., page 75).

grove of palm-trees twelve miles distant, overshadowing the supposed tomb of the prophet Ezekiel, to which the Jews of Baghdad, Hillah, and other towns of Chaldaea still annually make pilgrimage, as they did in the days of Rabbi Benjamin. It was said to have been erected by Jechoniah, king of Judah, and the 35,000 Jews who



BIRS NIMROUD.

The Birs Nimroud is described by the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, as the tower built by "the dispersed generation." The heavenly fire which struck the tower split it to its very foundations. From the summit, he says, there is a prospect of twenty miles. Among the objects thus visible, which consist chiefly of Arab huts just raised above the surrounding marshes, a scene of intense desolation, is a

went along with him, when Evil-merodach released him from his prison. The noble Mohammedans also resort thither to pray, because they hold the prophet Ezekiel in great veneration, and they call this *Dar Melicha*, "the agreeable abode;" the sepulchre is also visited by all devout Arabs. Within half a mile of the synagogue are the sepulchres of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. Even in times of war neither Jew nor Mohammedan

ventures to despoil and profane the sepulchre of Ezekiel. We have given this account to show the belief prevalent in Rabbi Benjamin's day, which has lasted in full force even to our own. The reader may form his own opinion as to the degree of credence to be attached to it, but the tomb seems in any case to be a feature in the Babylonian landscape, and in the history of the country, too striking and too closely connecting the present with the past to be omitted in our description.

To return to the Birs Nimroud. "Its appearance," says Sir R. Porter, "is sublime even in its ruins." Its recesses are inhabited by lions; three were quietly basking on its heights when he approached it, and scarcely intimidated by the cries of the Arabs, gradually and slowly descended into the plain. Thus the words of the prophet have been fulfilled: "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; owls shall fill their houses, ostriches shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. Jackals shall howl in their palaces, and wild hounds in their pleasant places." But although this mass of ruin may very possibly stand on the same ground as the original Tower of Confusion, there can be no doubt that in its present form it belongs to the age of the great

building monarch Nebuchadnezzar, for every brick that has yet been examined is inscribed with his name. It is now generally thought to stand on the site of the town called Borsippa, to which Berosus tells us that Nabonnedus, king of Babylon, or rather the survivor of the two kings reigning at the time of the siege of that city by Cyrus, retired after its capture. We are also informed that when Alexander the Great was warned by the Chaldean soothsayers of the danger which they said awaited him when he entered Babylon, he took up his residence at Borsippa. The name Borsippa is a Greek adaptation of a Chaldean name *Borsip*, which, according to the Talmud, was the name of a place near the tower. The building itself appears to have been a temple dedicated to the heavenly bodies. It was erected in eight stages, of which each one of the first seven was appropriated, and coloured accordingly, to a planet; and the eighth, at the top, was a dwelling for the priests. Cuneiform inscriptions upon the cylinders, found according to custom built into the corners of each stage, record that Nebuchadnezzar repaired, or rather rebuilt the edifice, which had fallen into decay after its original erection by Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF BIBLICAL POETRY.

§ 1.—PRIMITIVE TIMES.

THE oldest literary compositions which have come down to us are poetical. This might have been expected from the nature of things. For the earliest efforts to give expression to thought and feeling naturally take some form of verse, which flows spontaneously from the attempt to make language correspond to the emotion of the moment. In the same manner every impulse of the mind has a certain tone of voice, and a certain gesture of the body adapted to it, so that the sister arts of music, dancing, and song are in early stages intimately connected. The rhythm of verse, the time of music, and the movement of the dance, were born together and from the same affections of the mind.

The preservation of ancient fragments of song, where every other record of primitive life has perished, indicates another reason for the early appearance of poetry. Verse not only lends itself with charming effect to the expressions of passionate thought, but gives it permanence as well. It is easily retained in the memory, and, by the fixed form imposed by its rules, it defies the corruptions of accident or design, as well as those of time.¹ A ballad or popular song will often preserve

the correct features of an event which tradition has distorted or allowed altogether to pass into oblivion. From a sense of its usefulness as a vehicle of publicity and preservation, the ancients employed verse for all the most important purposes of religion and politics. The Grecian oracles were delivered in hexameter verse. "The laws themselves were metrical, and adapted to certain musical notes; such were the laws of Charondas, which were sung to the banquets of the Athenians; such were those which were delivered by the Cretans to the ingenuous youth to learn by rote, with accompaniments of musical melody, in order that, by the enchantment of harmony, the sentiments might be more forcibly impressed upon their memories."² The early history of many other nations offers instances of a like kind. Some scholars have traced among the enactments of the Mosaic code specimens of metrical laws. But we do not need this evidence to the fact of the antiquity of poetic composition amid the Semitic tribes, for the Book of Genesis contains fragments of song which have survived from a time, compared with which even the Exodus seems recent. The present seems the proper place for speaking of these ancient relics, for while they can hardly be said to belong to Hebrew poetry, being only a rude and imperfect prelude to it, they yet exhibit in so remarkable a manner the germ

¹ So faithful a preserver of truth is metre, that what is liable to be changed, augmented, or violated almost daily in prose, may continue for ages in verse, without variation, without even a change in the obsolete phraseology. (Michaëlis, Note in Lowth, Lect. iv.)

² Lowth, Lect. iv.

of the peculiar features of its versification that they cannot be passed altogether by.

The earliest of these, probably the most ancient poetical composition extant, a solitary specimen of antediluvian poetry, is the address of Lamech to his wives, contained in the fourth chapter of Genesis. It came down, perhaps, as a popular song, preserved by its form amid the traditions of the patriarchal times, and was at length inserted in the written history. Short as the fragment is, it contains expressions of great obscurity, and has never been quite satisfactorily explained. The version given here is taken from Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Lamech:"—

"Adah and Zillah! bear my voice,
Ye wives of Lamech, give ear unto my speech;
For a man had I slain for smiting me,
And a youth for wounding me:
Surely sevenfold shall Cain be avenged,
But Lamech seventy and seven."

There are two main lines of interpretation, according as the words of Lamech are understood to relate an actual fact, or only to utter a threat of vengeance if injury should be offered him. In the former case the explanations differ considerably. Some suppose Lamech to be a murderer driven to make this confession of his guilt to ease his conscience; others, that the appeal is that of a man who has innocently shed blood, and therefore deserves a still greater protection than was promised Cain. There is a tradition that Cain himself was the victim. Lamech, it is said, was blind, and was led about by his son Tubal-cain, who, seeing in a thicket what he supposed to be a wild beast, directed his father to shoot an arrow, which killed Cain. In alarm and indignation Lamech killed his own son, and hence his wives refused to associate with him. He therefore excuses himself to them as having acted without a vengeful or murderous purpose. The tradition must have been formed on the verses, and in ignorance of the principle of their construction. The student should notice that the composition consists of three pairs of short lines, each line constituting a sentence in itself, and the second repeating the first with some addition or alteration, or resembling it in form and sound. This construction has received from Bishop Lowth the name of *parallelism*, and will be shown to belong essentially, in some of its forms, to the genius of Hebrew poetry. Attention to it in the present case shows us that only one death is mentioned. The line, "And a youth for wounding me," repeats the statement of the first member of the distich. "For a man had I slain for smiting me," with the additional information that the man was young.¹

But the other mode of interpretation seems on the whole preferable. It is due to Herder,² who connects the song with the invention of metals by Tubal-cain, just as we have already seen it may be connected with the invention of musical instruments by Jubal. According to this suggestion the words of Lamech form a threat, and have a future sense, and the whole composition is

a song of exultation at the possession of a new weapon, and the power which it confers. Thus an art which was afterwards to be consecrated to such high and holy uses had for its earliest associations vengeance and war, and the first song of the Bible was "the song of the sword." But we shall find a martial strain running through nearly all Hebrew poetry, and we may not improperly compare with Lamech's primitive song the words of Israel's greatest lyric poet (Ps. xviii. 34):

"He teacheth mine hands to fight,
And mine arms shall break even a bow of steel."

Some importance attaches to this ancient fragment of poetry from the bearing it has on the literary relations of Israel with Egypt. When the essential element of Hebrew versification is found in a piece of such undoubted pre-Mosaic origin, it can scarcely be maintained that the art of poetic composition was unknown to the Semitic race before the Egyptian period. Even if *parallelism* can be shown to be common to Hebrew poetry and that of Egypt, Lamech's song throws back the period at which it passed from the one race to the other to a time long anterior to Moses.

One other very early fragment is extant, which, though it falls rather "into the rhythmical and alliterative form into which the more solemn utterances of antiquity commonly fell" than into poetry, should be mentioned here because it is the first instance of that patriarchal prediction which in the blessings of Jacob and Moses rose to such a sublime height. "And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him: and he said—

"Cursed be Canaan,
A slave of slaves shall he be to his brethren."

And he said—

"Blessed be Jehovah, God of Shem,
And let Canaan be their slave!
May God enlarge Japhet,
And let him dwell in the tents of Shem,
And let Canaan be their slave!" (Gen. ix. 25—27.)

The benedictions of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 27—30) are far more poetical examples of the same kind of composition. The parallelism is distinctly marked, and there breathes through the lines that keen, glad sense of the beauty and freshness of Nature which is one of the most delightful features of the poetry of this race, carrying us out with them to drink "the dew of heaven," and rejoice in the "fatness of the earth" and the "smell of the field which God hath blessed."

The patriarchal benedictions may, perhaps, owe the form in which they have been preserved to later hands. But the substance of them, the thought and feeling, belong to the age of the fathers themselves. It was an age pervaded with a poetic spirit,³ as the traditions in which this primitive history is embodied amply testify. We learn, too, that occasions of family rejoicing were celebrated with music and song, for Laban complains that Jacob had stolen away, instead of being sent from his house "with mirth and with songs, and with

¹ *Fedel*, primarily, "a newly-born child" (see Vol. I., page 29).

² *Geist der Ebraischen Poesie*.

³ Speaking of these times, Herder says, "The whole relation is now an idyll, now a kind of heroic saying." (*Geist der Ebr. Poesie*.)

tabret and with harp" (Gen. xxxi. 27). That we have no specimens of this domestic minstrelsy should make us prize more highly those precious fragments which have preserved some, at least, of the features of the poetry of those distant times.

The history of Hebrew poetry proper falls conveniently into three well-marked periods, occupying altogether about ten centuries. The first of these periods extends from Moses to David, including both those great names. Taking the common chronology, we may reckon this period at 450 years from the middle of the fifteenth century to B.C. 1000, about the time of the completion of the Temple of Solomon. The second period extends from Solomon to the death of Hezekiah (B.C. 697), covering about 300 years, and ending with the fall of the northern kingdom, and close of the eighth century. From this date, 250 years carry us over the decline of Judah, the overthrow of Jerusalem, the exile and restoration, down to B.C. 450, when Ezra was collecting the Jewish Scriptures, and beginning the formation of the canon.¹ A glance away from Hebrew history to the fortunes of other nations shows that in 480 B.C., when Æschylus, who had already several times gained the prize for tragedy at Athens, was in the zenith of his fame, Euripides was born; that Pindar was celebrating the deeds of victors in the sacred games of Greece, in odes which remain unrivalled, till they are compared with the lyric triumphs of Deborah and David; while Rome was only just beginning to feel her strength in battle with the rival cities of Latium and Etruria, and had to wait two long centuries for the dawn of her literature.

§ 2.—THE MOSAIC AGE.

The birth of Israel as a nation, and of the national lyric song, dates from Moses. We trace his influence throughout the whole history and literature of the people which he formed, especially in the hymns which they sang to Jehovah in times of victory and national rejoicing. Herder finds three signs of this influence: one in the great events of which, as lawgiver and leader, Moses was the spirit; another, in the impulse which he gave to prophecy; and the third in his own poetry and song. The first of these will meet us at every step in our studies; but it will be brought into more prominent notice when we inquire into the chief sources from which Hebrew poetry drew its inspiration. Prophetic poetry will also claim a treatment by itself. The actual poetic remains of the Mosaic age and the half century following the Exodus may be briefly considered here.

First both in order and importance is the triumphal ode, called the Song of Moses and Miriam, which celebrates the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 1—21). It is the earliest specimen of purely lyrical poetry which we possess, and is, both in form and spirit, worthy to rank with the highest

efforts which human genius has made in this direction. It is the oldest Hebrew hymn, and re-echoes through all hymns of the following ages, and also through the Psalter.² Ewald thinks it formed a Paschal hymn, which during hundreds of years must have been sung at the yearly festival, and thus became the pattern for all later songs of rejoicing. The arrangement in *strophes* or *stanzas* which completed the artistic development of this kind of composition, and which we see already approximating its perfection in Deborah's song, is indeed almost wanting in the Mosaic poetry. But in all other respects this ode may be studied with advantage, as combining the chief excellences of the lyrical poetry of the Bible. "Every part of it breathes the spirit of nature and passion; joy, admiration, and love, united with piety and devotion, burst forth spontaneously in their native colours."³ The images are in the truest sense sublime, and flash upon us with a sudden and vivid reality which only Hebrew poetry can produce. We see the right hand of Jehovah stretched out, the blast of the breath of his nostrils sounds in our ears, and we feel it sweeping by to heap up the waters, and congeal them in the depths of the sea. With the same dramatic power are delineated the pride and pomp of the pursuing enemy, and their sudden overthrow, and the consternation of the surrounding tribes, as in a moment Egypt's power is swept away, and Israel stands safe, triumphant, and exulting on the shore. These circumstances are all expressed in language suitable to the emotions produced, abrupt, fervid, concise, animated, dramatic, with the frequent repetition of the same impassioned burst of thanksgiving which forms the chorus of the song—

"I will sing unto Jehovah, for he hath triumphed gloriously;
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

The Authorised Version has so well kept the spirit of the ode, and exhibits the parallelism so distinctly, that it will be enough to refer the reader to Exod. xv. It cannot be better dismissed than with the following admirable remarks from Professor Perowne's Essay on the Lyric Poetry of the Hebrews:—"It is the grandest ode to liberty that was ever sung; and it is this, because its homage is rendered, not to some ideal spirit of liberty, deified by a people in the moment of that passionate and frantic joy which follows the successful assertion of their independence, but because it is a thanksgiving to Him who is the one only Giver of victory and freedom. Both in form and spirit it possesses the same characteristics which stamp all later Hebrew poetry. Although without any regular strophical division, it has the chorus, 'Sing ye to Jehovah,' &c.; it was sung evidently in antiphonal measure, chorus answering to chorus, and voice to voice; it was sung accompanied by dancing, and to the music of the maidens playing upon the timbrels. Such is its form. In its spirit, it is like all the national songs of

¹ This reckoning takes no account of the psalms which were (possibly) composed during the Maccabean period, nor of the apocryphal writings and the examples of lyrical poetry in the New Testament.

² Cf. especially ver. 2 with Ps. cxviii. 14, and the whole ode with the historical portions of Ps. lxxvii. and lxxviii.; cf. also the hymn of Habakkuk (chap. ii.).

³ Lowth, Lect., 27.

the people, a hymn sung to the glory of Jehovah. No word celebrates the prowess of the armies of Israel or of their leaders: 'Thy right hand, O Jehovah, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Jehovah, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.' Thus it commemorates that wonderful victory, and thus it became the pattern after which all later odes of victory were written."¹

There are two words used in Exod. xv., which are both translated "song." One of them is *shîr* (fem. *shîrah*), the most common term of the kind, and embracing all forms of lyrical poetry; the other, *zimrah*, which under its other form of *mizmor* forms the title of many psalms. At the head of some psalms the two words occur together, and are apparently interchangeable, since sometimes one appears first in the combination, sometimes the other (see Ps. xxx., lxvii., xlviii., lxvi. &c.). The Authorised Version usually employs "song" for *shîr*, "psalm" for *mizmor*. The LXX. employ $\psi\delta\eta$ for *shîr*, the Vulgate *canticum*, keeping "psalm" for *mizmor*. All forms of lyric song, religious and warlike, national songs of rejoicing, and hymns expressing individual feelings, whether of sorrow and repentance, or thanksgiving and joy, are embraced under these terms.² But there are other names used, which have regard either to the subject of the poem or to the nature of the musical accompaniment. These will be noticed in connection with the Psalter. One of them, *Tehillah*, or "praise," which is a title given to the whole book of Psalms, is more especially applicable to festival odes which embody a nation's sense of gratitude to God their Redeemer, such as the songs of Moses and Deborah. Perhaps the best English term to express them is the word "ode" adopted from the Greek, for while it originally included any lyrical piece adapted to music, it has by long use appropriated a style of its own. In modern poetry the ode is distinguished from a song by a more complicated and apparently irregular construction,³ as well as by its loftier conceptions, and more intense and passionate emotions. "The form of the ode is by no means confined to any certain rule for the exact and accurate distribution of the parts. It is lively and unconstrained; when the subject is sublime it is impetuous, bold, and sometimes might almost deserve the epithet *licentious*, as to symmetry and method."⁴ There is usually an *exordium*, or *proem*, which strikes the key-note of the whole, and sometimes forms the chorus or refrain. The after arrangement depends on the subject of the poem and the nature of the passions delineated, and the highest art of the poet is displayed in keeping this *motive* steadily in view through imagery and illustration, which cannot be too grand, copious, and varied. The language of the ode is abrupt, concise, and energetic, and the metres and cadences often change with the varying thoughts and emotions. If it is added that the ode is a form of

composition in which the poet conceives of all Nature as animated, and instead of speaking about things and persons, calls them into his presence and addresses them, we shall see the fitness of the name to designate those magnificent hymns in which the Hebrews pour out, as at the very throne of God, their gladness and sorrow, their feelings of gratitude, hope, and praise.

The best English odes are all too long for quotation. They are, however, well known, and should be read for the purpose of comparison with the odes of the Bible. Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*, Collins's *Ode to Liberty*, Gray's *Bard*, Coleridge's *Ode to the Departing Year*, Wordsworth's great ode on *Immortality*, would supply ample material for this comparison. But nothing will be found in the best examples, ancient or modern, to surpass the Song of Deborah, at whose great design, combining dignity, fire, and pathos, and making it, with its well-ordered and beautiful execution, a pattern of triumphal song, we may well wonder, remembering the epoch which produced it, 800 years before Pindar. Although it is anticipating the history, it is inserted here, that it may follow the Song of Moses.

THE SONG OF DEBORAH.⁵

PRELUDE.

"For the leading of the leaders in Israel,
For the free self-offering of the people,
Praise Jehovah!
Hear, O kings; give ear, O princes;
I to Jehovah, even I will sing,
Will sound the harp to Jehovah, the God of Israel.

THE EXODUS.

"O Jehovah, when thou wentest out of Seir,
When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,
The earth trembled, the skies also dropped,
The clouds also dropped water.

The mountains melted from before the face of Jehovah,
Sinai itself from before the face of Jehovah, the God of Israel.

THE DISMAY.

"In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath,
In the days of Jael, ceased the roads;
And they that walked on highways, walked on crooked roads.

There ceased to be heads in Israel, ceased to be,
Till I, Deborah, arose;
Till I arose, a mother in Israel.

THE CHANGE.

"They chose gods that were new,
Then there was war in the gates:
Shield was there none, or spear,
In forty thousand of Israel.

My heart is towards the lawgivers of Israel,
Who offered themselves willingly for the people.
Praise Jehovah!

Ye that ride on white dappled she-asses,
Ye that sit on rich carpets,
Ye that ride in the way,
Meditate the song!

From amidst the shouting of the dividers of spoils,
Between the water-troughs,
There let them rehearse the righteous acts of Jehovah,
The righteous acts of his headship in Israel;
Then went down to the gates the people of Jehovah.

Awake, awake, Deborah!
Awake, awake, utter a song!
Arise, Barak! and lead captive thy captives,
Thou son of Abinoam.

¹ Perowne, *Psalms*, vol. i., Introduction.

² *Shîr* is used even for such a composition as the parable in Isa. v.

³ This is not universal. Some of the finest English odes, as Milton's *Hymn on the Nativity*, Shelley's *Sky-lark*, Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty*, consist of regular stanzas. Horace's *Odes* were also regular.

⁴ Lewth, *Lect.*

⁵ This translation and arrangement is taken from Stauley's *Lectures on Jewish History*, vol. ii., p. 332, where see note.

THE GATHERING.

"Then came down a remnant of the nobles of the people.
 Jehovah came down to me among the heroes.
 Out of Ephraim came these whose root is in Amalek,
 After thee, O Benjamin, in thy people;
 Out of Machir came down lawgivers,
 And out of Zebulun they that handle the staff of those
 that number the host;
 And the princes of Issachar with Deborah, and Issachar as
 Barak,
 Into the valley he was sent on his feet.

THE RECREANTS.

"By the streams of Reuben great are the divisions of heart.
 Why sittest thou between the sheepfolds,
 To hear the piping of the flocks?
 At the streams of Reuben great are the searchings of heart.
 Gilend beyond the Jordan dwells,
 And Dan why sojourns he in ships?
 Asher sits at the shore of the sea,
 And on his harbours dwells.

THE BATTLE AND THE FLIGHT.

"Zebulun is a people throwing away its soul to death,
 And Naphtali on the high places of the field.
 There came kings and fought;
 Then fought kings of Canaan;
 At Taanach, on the waters of Megiddo;
 Gain of silver took they not;
 From heaven they fought,
 The stars from their courses
 Fought with Sisera.
 The torrent of Kishon swept them away,
 The ancient torrent, the torrent Kishon.
 Trample down, O my soul, their strength.
 Then stamped the hoofs of the horses,
 From the plungings and plungings of the mighty ones.

THE FLIGHT.

"Curse ye Meroz, said the messenger of Jehovah;
 Curse ye with a curse the inhabitants thereof;
 Because they came not to the help of Jehovah,
 To the help of Jehovah with the heroes.

THE DESTROYER.

"Blessed above women be Jael,
 The wife of Heber the Kenite,
 Above women in the tent, blessed!
 Water he asked, milk she gave;
 In a dish of the nobles she offered him curds.
 Her hand she stretched out to the tent-pin,
 And her right hand to the hammer of the workmen;
 And hammered Sisera, and smote his head,
 And beat and struck through his temples.
 Between her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay,
 Between her feet he howed, he fell;
 Where he bowed there he fell down slaughtered.

THE MOTHER.

"Through the window stretched forth and lamented
 The mother of Sisera through the lattice:
 'Wherefore delays his ear to come?
 Wherefore tarry the wheels of his chariots?'
 The wise ones of her princesses answer her,
 Yea, she repeats their answer to herself:
 'Surely they are finding, are dividing the prey,
 One damsel, two damsels for the head of each hero.
 Prey of divers colours for Sisera,
 Prey of divers colours, of embroidery,
 One of divers colours, two of embroidery for the neck (of
 the prey).'¹

THE TRIUMPH.

"So perish all thy enemies, O Jehovah;
 But they that love thee are as the sun when he goes forth like
 a giant."

These wonderful songs, preserved from such an early

period, are evidence of the high state of culture attained by Israel even at the time of the Exodus. Hebrew scholars say the language of them has the rigidity and hardness to be expected in compositions so ancient, that they are in many points of expression and artistic excellence surpassed by later models.² As war-songs, however, they remain unequalled, and show how wonderful an inspiration the leaders of the nation caught from faith in an Almighty King, ever ready to take command of his hosts, and lead them to victory.

Some fragments contained in the Book of Numbers let us see the more imperfect forms in which the same spirit manifested itself. We can trace some of the stages through which the high culture was reached. Two of these (Exod. xvii. 16; xxxii. 18), the one a fragment of a war-song, the other a spontaneous burst of lyric indignation, are from Moses himself. The others (Numb. xxi. 14, 15; 27—30) derive additional interest from the happy chance that the compiler of the history has named the sources of his information. The first of them is cited from a book called the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah," which, it has been conjectured, was a collection of ballads and war-songs, composed on different occasions by the watch-fires of the camp, and commemorating for the most part, though not perhaps exclusively, the victories of the Israelites over their enemies.³ Its title confirms the impression of the deep religious feeling of the Hebrews in the conduct of their wars, which is given by the whole history. The second fragment is derived from another source. It refers to certain people who spoke "in proverbs" (*hamoshelîm*). But the word, as will be seen hereafter, has a far more extended meaning than our word "proverb." It is applied to many kinds of poetry, and may perhaps not improperly be translated "ballad-singers." It is doubtful if the verses in question are an original Hebrew composition. Some interpreters consider them to be a translation of an old Amorite ballad. If, however, it has a Hebrew origin, the song affords the first instance of that mocking or taunting speech (*melitsah*)⁴ which some of the prophets use with such tremendous effect. Ewald thinks this is even implied in the reference to "they that speak in proverbs," since such people may easily become satirists.⁵ A strong vein of satire certainly runs through much of the Book of Proverbs.⁶ According to this interpretation the victors sing in a mocking tone—

"Come home to Heshbon!
 Let the city of Sion be built up and restored!"

"Rebuild if you can the city we have destroyed." A second voice then takes up the strain. "Yet surely this is the same city of Heshbon out of which once burst forth the devouring flame of battle against Moab," &c. At the conclusion the general result of the victory is announced:—

¹ *Shelal*, "prey," is the reading of the Received Text, for which Ewald proposes to substitute *shegal* (the queen). Otherwise the connection of the word "prey" must be supplied. (Stanley's note.)

² Ewald, *Dichter des A. B.*

³ Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Numbers."

⁴ Micah ii. 4; Hab. ii. 6; Isa. xiv. 4; Ps. xlv. 14.

⁵ *History of Israel*, vol. i. 206.

⁶ Prov. i. 23, 27; xxvi., &c.

"We have burned them—Heshbon has perished unto Diben;
And laid them waste even unto Nephah,
With fire unto Medeba."

The other relic contained in this precious 21st chapter of Numbers is of a totally different kind. It is the "Song of the Well" (vs. 17, 18), first sung at the digging of it, and afterwards used, no doubt, to beguile the labours of the maidens who came to draw water. The little carol is bright, fresh, and sparkling as the water of the well itself, and has a peculiar charm from the insight it gives us into the happy relations of the leaders of the young community with the people. This confidence in the sympathy and help of their rulers gave promise of the grand future of Israel, and the lively little verse in which the feeling is enshrined is a perfect type of the true "people's song" (*volkslied*):—

"Spring up, O well! sing to it:
Well which the princes dug,
Which the nobles of the people bored
With sceptre of office, with their staves."

One other phase of the early poetic spirit of the Hebrews survives from the desert wanderings. It contains the germ of the future magnificent Temple poetry. Already the art which David was afterwards to bring to such elaborate perfection, and consecrate to the service of the sanctuary, was called in to adorn the primitive worship of the tabernacle. When the ark set forward in the morning, Moses said—

"Rise up, Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered."¹

And in the evening when it rested, he said—

"Return, O Jehovah, unto the ten thousand thousands of Israel."

The priestly blessing (Numb. vi. 24—26), also falls into the form of verse. It is a triplet, and, according to Jewish belief, was pronounced with a corresponding triple division of the fingers of the upraised hand.² It was chanted with the hand lifted above the head;

¹ Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 1, 2; cxxxii. 8.

² Stanley, *Lectures on Jewish Church*, ii. 419. The ancient melody of the chant is supposed to be preserved in Spanish and Portuguese synagogues. (*Ibid.*)

or, if the high priest performed the ceremony, above the shoulders, and the word "Jehovah," which in later days was elsewhere altered to "Adonai," in this solemn act was retained unchanged, as if in a sacred charm:—

"Jehovah bless thee and keep thee;
Jehovah make his face to shiue upon thee, and be gracious unto thee;
Jehovah lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."

From these originals the national and religious poetry of the Hebrews was developed. But there are still belonging to the time of the Exodus two great compositions which can only be mentioned here (Ps. xc. and Dent. xxxii.). Both are ascribed to Moses, and even those scholars who refer them to a later date confess that in their spirit, and the truth with which they reflect the circumstances of the desert wanderings, they are truly Mosaic. These complete the principal types of the psalm form—the hymnic, the elegiac, and the prophetic-didactic.

The stormy period which followed the first occupation of Canaan was favourable only to one species of poetry, which we have already seen developed to a truly grand height in the song of Deborah. The Book of Jasher, or "the upright," which was probably a collection of poems celebrating the deeds of heroes, from which Joshua's address to the sun and moon is quoted, may have contained odes and war-songs of equal power. One only has been preserved from it—a poem of rare beauty and pathos—the elegy or lament of David over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19—27).

Samuel, however, must have given an impulse to the more peaceful and religious side of lyric poetry in the schools which he established for training young men in the prophetic office, where song and music formed a great part of the course of instruction (1 Sam. x. 5). The results of this are seen in David, with whom begins the great era of *psalmody*, by which name we designate that kind of lyric song which now put forth its utmost strength and attained to a truly Divine height of splendour and power.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MATTHEW: THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

BY REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

THERE is enough of general agreement in the circumstances under which the Sermon on the Mount, as recorded by St. Matthew, and the discourse contained in St. Luke vi. 20—49, were delivered, to warrant the conclusion that the occasion was one and the same, and that the origin of the differences observable in the two accounts must be sought in the objects respectively proposed by the two Evangelists.

Our Lord, having descended from that higher part of the hill-country (*τὸ ὄρος*) whither He had retired for

meditation and prayer before the selection of the twelve, by whom He was then accompanied (St. Luke vi. 17), took up his position on some level spot in that district (*ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινῷ*),¹ where the multitude which had thronged around Him, not only "from all Judæa and Jerusalem," but also "from the sea-coast of Tyre and Sidon," could more conveniently listen to His words.

¹ It deserves notice, as pointed out by Bishop Wordsworth, that the Septuagint version of Isa. xlii. 2 contains an exact description of the spot selected by our Lord for the Sermon on the Mount, combining, as it does, the descriptions given of it by the two Evangelists, *ἐπὶ ὄρους πεδινῷ*.

St. Matthew, in conformity with the general design and character of his gospel, dwells with particular prominence upon those portions of the discourse which vindicate the precepts of the Levitical law from the false and pernicious glosses of its appointed interpreters; whilst St. Luke, in conformity with the general scope of his gospel, omits those parts of the discourse which correct the current misconceptions of the meaning of the Jewish law, and records only those portions which enforce the distinctive principles and precepts of the law of Christ.

The difficulties which exist in St. Matthew's account of this discourse are of two kinds. The one class of difficulties consists in allusions to Jewish customs, and in the adoption of forms of speech current amongst the Jews, which were familiar to those whom our Lord addressed, but which, without explanation, are almost unintelligible amongst ourselves. The second class consists in the nature and extent of the contrast drawn by our Lord between the Jewish and the Christian law; and more particularly in determining how far the maxims and traditions then prevalent among the Jews are to be regarded in the light of just expositions of the Mosaic law, or in that of false glosses, and of unauthorised additions. We propose to deal, in the first instance, with the former of these difficulties.

The first passage which seems to call for explanation is found in v. 21, 22, and it is as follows:—"Ye have heard [or, "Ye heard," ἤκουσατε] that it was said by [or rather, as the marginal reading is, *to*] them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: but I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, *Raca*, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire."

It is possible, as has been suggested, that our Lord refers, in these words, to the recently delivered discourse of some Jewish rabbi, in which case the words following the sixth commandment might be regarded as the addition of the speaker. Inasmuch, however, as these words are nothing more than a summary of Jewish law respecting the murderer; and further, inasmuch as in vs. 27, 33, and 38 a similar reference is made either to the precise words of the law or their near equivalents, it seems more reasonable to suppose that our Lord here refers directly to the Mosaic law itself than to any recent rabbinical exposition of its requirements.

Our Lord then proceeds, not by way of disparagement of the Jewish law, but by an exposition of its latent and spiritual meaning, to enforce the higher code of the Gospel, as reaching not only to the outward acts, but also to the intents of the heart, and to the utterance of the lips.

In language more intelligible to those to whom it was immediately addressed than it is to us, our Lord describes the guilt and the condemnation incurred by those who cherish in their hearts the emotions of sinful

anger. There is, indeed, an anger, *i.e.*, a holy indignation against sin, which our Lord himself experienced (St. Mark iii. 5), and which His apostle St. Paul represents as capable of being indulged without guilt (Eph. iv. 26). But the anger which is here forbidden is the anger of unruly passion, stirred by animosity, and prompting to revenge. He who thus sins against his "brother" (for it is at this early period in our Lord's ministry that the true "fraternity" of the Gospel began to be inculcated) is represented by our Lord as rendering himself obnoxious to the same jurisdiction to which, in accordance with Jewish law, murderers were amenable.

The second case adduced by our Lord is the application to a "brother" of the word *Raca*. This word is derived from one which means "empty." It is of common occurrence amongst the Talmudists. Its meaning was explained to St. Augustine, by a Jew of whom he made inquiry, as "merely expressing the emotion of an angry mind." It is explained by Buxtorf as equivalent to the German *der Bösewicht*—*i.e.*, villain.

The expression employed by our Lord in describing the third exhibition of anger is of more doubtful signification. It may be a Greek word, in which case it is correctly rendered, "Thou fool;" or it may be the Hebrew word used by Moses and Aaron at Kadesh, "Hear now, ye rebels," when they incurred the penalty of exclusion from the Land of Promise (Numb. xx. 10).

The obvious import of the verse is that a gradation is denoted both of sin and of punishment, which will appear more clearly from a brief consideration of the meaning of the words "judgment," "council," and "Gehenna," or "hell fire."

The first of these three words seems designed to denote those ordinary courts of justice established in every town or village which had not less than 120 representative men, and which consisted of 23 members appointed by the great Sanhedrim. Against the decision of these inferior courts there seems to have been no right of appeal; and it appears to have been only when a division of opinion existed on the part of the judges, or when, in the opinion of those judges, the magnitude of the case so required, that it was relegated to the higher court, which we shall now describe.¹

The "council," or *συνέδριον*—*i.e.*, the great Sanhedrim, or supreme court of justice—consisted of seventy members, chosen from three classes of the people—*viz.*, the priests, the elders, and the scribes, or lawyers. In accordance with the requirement of Deut. xvii. 8, it was held in Jerusalem, and, in all probability, in some place nearly adjoining the Temple. This assembly possessed and exercised both legislative and administrative

¹ The words of the Jews recorded in St. John xviii. 31, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," are in exact accordance with the statement of the Jerusalem Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 1, beginning; vii. 2), that "forty years before the destruction of the Temple, the power of inflicting capital punishment was taken away from Israel;" but it is the opinion of Dr. Ginsburg (in the article "Sanhedrim" in Kitzo's *Dictionary*) that the meaning of both these statements is that the sentence of the Sanhedrim required the confirmation of the Roman procurator.

functions, and by it the highest and most momentous questions respecting the interpretation and the execution of the law were determined.

The third degree of punishment to which our Lord refers is described as the "Gehenna of fire." The word Gehenna is the Greek form of the two Hebrew words גֵּהִנּוֹם (*Ge-hinnom*), i.e., the valley of Hinnom. In this valley, which lay to the south-east of the city of Jerusalem, the idolatrous Jews used to burn their children, in honour of the god Molech. The pious king Josiah polluted the valley,¹ and it became a place for the burning of offal, and for the corpses of criminals. Isaiah speaks of this valley under its name of "Tophet," as "ordained of old." "The pile thereof," he writes, "is fire and much wood; the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it."² And in reference, as it would seem, to the same valley, he writes thus in chap. lvi. 24: "And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched." It was not, then, without cause that the Jews used the name of this valley to denote the place of future torment.

It can scarcely admit of doubt that our Lord in these verses describes, in language adapted, in accord-

ance with Oriental usage, to the capacities and modes of thought of His hearers, the criminal nature, and the fatal results of the indulgence of feelings of hatred and revenge. The simple consideration that our Lord himself uses the word rendered "fools" in His twice-repeated address to the scribes and Pharisees, "Ye fools (*μωροί*) and blind," of which He condemns the use when spoken under emotions of hatred and revenge, furnishes a sufficient clue to the general drift of His meaning. That meaning is to be extracted by a due consideration of the spirit, rather than of the letter, of His words. There may be, indeed, and there probably is, a designed gradation to be traced, alike in the guilt which He describes and in the punishment which He threatens. But the fact to which allusion has just been made, that our Lord himself employs, in reference to the Scribes and Pharisees, the very word which He here represents as exposing him who uses it to the highest degree of punishment, is, of itself, a conclusive proof that in the interpretation of these, as of all other words which proceeded from His lips, we must ever bear in mind the fundamental canon of interpretation furnished by Himself when He said, "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life" (John vi. 63), a canon of interpretation which is thus explained and enforced by St. Paul, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life" (2 Cor. iii. 6).

¹ 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

² Isa. xxx. 33.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JOEL (*continued*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

FIRST PART.

THE JUDGMENT (CHAP. I. 2—II. 17).

THE prophecy opens with a lamentation over the land laid waste and bare by successive swarms of locusts—a lamentation in which Joel describes this terrible calamity in the most graphic terms, urging the nation to lay it to heart, and finally breaks into a pathetic prayer for deliverance (chap. i. 2—20), so that the opening verses of this inspired poem take an elegiac form. In studying the elegy we commence at the *second* verse, since that which stands as the first verse in our Authorised Version is, obviously, the general title prefixed to the whole prophecy.

We need not linger over this title, save to make a single remark on the meaning of the proper names. Joel, or Yoel, is compounded of the two sacred names most commonly used in the Old Testament—of a contracted form of *Jehovah*, such as *Jah*, and of *El*: it means either "Jehovah is God," or "whose God is Jehovah." Joel is "the son of *Pethuel*," but who Pethuel was we do not know; his name, which means "the openheartedness or sincerity of God," may be added simply in accordance with the Oriental usage which demands that a man should be described as the

son of So-and-so, or to mark off the prophet from cotemporaries who bore the same name.

Verses 2—4 contain an animated introduction to the theme of the elegy. The prophet calls on the old men taught by long experience, accustomed to take note of what seems contrary to the usual course of nature; nay, he calls on all the inhabitants of Judah, whatever the district they occupy, and whatever the calamities they have witnessed, to say whether, in their own days or the days of their fathers, there had ever befallen a calamity so terrible as that which had recently swept over the land. The motive of his appeal is, that he may suggest to them his conviction that a calamity so unheard of, so unparalleled, must be a visitation of God, a judgment from offended Heaven; for then, as now, men were wont to find God in the exceptional rather than in the ordinary events of life—in the marvel or miracle rather than in the law. He commands them to tell their sons of this terrible plague, to recount the story of it through three generations; not as supposing that there is any need for the command, for the memory of so unparalleled a disaster was sure to live in the mouths of men as long as that; but in order to impress on his readers a sense of the vastness and terror of a disaster which

would darken the national memory for so long a period.

The four names by which (in ver. 4) the prophet designates the locusts which had wrought so fearful a devastation in the land, have been variously interpreted; but there is now no doubt that they denote various species of *grylli*, various kinds of locusts, although our Authorised Version renders three of them by "palmer-worm, cankerworm, and caterpillar." It has been proposed to render them by "young locust, old locust, fledged locust, flying locust," and indeed in many other ways. On the whole, it seems better to fall back on the etymology of the four names, *gázám*, 'arbeh, yeleq, and *cházil*. Now *gázám* is from a verb that means to "cut or bite off;" 'arbeh is from a verb which means "to be or to become many;" yeleq is from a verb which means "to lick" or "to lick off;" and *cházil* is from a verb which means "to eat up," "to consume," "to devour." To preserve the etymological meanings of these names, we must render ver. 4—

"What was left by the gnawer the multiplier ate;
And what was left by the multiplier the licker ate;
And what was left by the licker the devourer ate;"

for thus we get as nearly as possible English equivalents for the Hebrew names of the locust. There is no reason to suppose that Joel used them in any exact scientific sense, as distinguishing one species from another, or in any exact historical sense, as meaning that the order in which he names them was the chronological order in which they darkened over the land. All he means is, I suppose, to affirm that successive swarms of the locust brood fell on the land, and that among them they consumed every green thing. Some critics will have it that four is the sign of universality; and that the prophet mentions four swarms and no more, to indicate that the judgment swept in all directions over the whole country. The thought is not so absurd or far-fetched as at first it might seem to be; since, throughout the Bible, beyond all question numbers are used in a symbolical or mystical sense.

And now, having announced his theme, instead of narrating the several kinds of ruin wrought by the locusts, the prophet, like a true poet, throws *verve*, fire, dramatic force into his description by a series of appeals, each of which is a little picture in itself, to the various classes of Judah—to the lovers of the wine-cup, to the vine-dressers and husbandmen, to the priests and ministers of the altar, and to the personified nation.

The series commences with an appeal to the *bons vivants*, to the lovers of good wine (vs. 5—7).

Even the wine-bibbers, wrapped in careless self-indulgence, are to wako up to a recognition of the hand of God. The last, if left to themselves, to discern and trouble themselves about national calamities, they are the first to whom the prophet addresses himself. They are to "weep and wail," for indeed the judgment has come home to them; it has touched what they most love. They are "drinkers of wine;" and the term here used for "wine" includes the intoxicating drinks

that were expressed from barley and honey, from figs and dates, as well as the juice of the grape: and "the new wine," the juice of the grape or other fruit, which when first pressed out is remarkable for its sweetness and strength, has been "cut off from their month." It has been cut off by an invading "nation," "strong and innumerable," with teeth like "lions' teeth." Each of these epithets is admirably chosen.

The locusts are *strong*, for nothing can stop them. They are *innumerable*, succeeding each other in "infinite swarms" flying "millions thick," and have been known to cover an area of "two thousand miles." And their teeth are like *the teeth of a lion*, not simply because of the terrible devastation they effect, but also because "the denticulated jaw of the locust resembles, to the naturalist's eye, the typo of the lion." These are the hostile and warlike nation which have "come up over my land," "laid waste my vine, and broken down my fig-tree."

In King Solomon's time, we are told, "every man sat under his vine and under his fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid"—a phrase which implies how common these two trees were, how much the people prized them. It was natural, therefore, that Joel, some two centuries after Solomon, should select *these* as in some sense *the* trees of Judæa, and lament their destruction. The vine is marked as the chief of the two in a way many readers will omit to note. Observe, then, that having said of the locust nation,

"It hath laid waste my vine,
And broken down my fig-tree,"

the prophet does not continue, "it hath utterly peeled them, their branches have grown white;" but,

"It hath utterly peeled her and cast it away,
So that her branches have grown white."

So to speak, he drops the fig-tree out of his verse, and retains only the vine, as the more characteristic and precious of the two. And though the fig, which is indigenous to Palestine and grows there in great luxuriance, yields a food of the sweetness and value of which we, who eat only the dried fig, can have no conception; yet the vine is both a nobler and more valuable tree. From time immemorial it has flourished in Palestine, often attaining a marvellous size and fruitfulness. It has been known to throw a stem, nearly five feet in circumference, to a height of thirty feet, and to spread branches over a circle of ninety or a hundred feet. Its clusters often weigh ten or twelve pounds, and its single grapes are at times as large as our damsons. To have these noble trees destroyed was nothing short of a public calamity to a nation whose common drink was wine. And with a poet's quick eye for graphic touches, Joel describes the locusts as *peeling* the vine, by gnawing off its bark, so that the branches grow white—surely a very picturesque verse. It is as accurate as it is picturesque; for, tough as is the fibre of the vine-bark, the locusts eat clean through it, and thus injure the tree for more than a single year, sometimes destroying its very life.

This is our first tiny picture, then. A company of wine-bibbers, with the wine-cup dashed from their lips, weeping and wailing as they look out on the drooping vines, with their whitening trunks and leafless branches.

The second appeal is to the impersonated nation (vs. 8—10). Judæa, *Judæa desolata*, is to lament like "a virgin girded with sackcloth" over "the husband," the lord, the beloved "of her youth," whom that "churl Death" has rapt from her side. She is to lament with the utter passion, abandonment, despair of a young girl who sees her life blighted, and the desire of her eyes taken away at a stroke, who clothes her tender limbs in rough sackcloth, and casts herself weeping on the ground. And for what is Judæa to abandon herself to this passion of woe? Because the Temple mourns; because "the priests, the ministers of Jehovah, mourn;" because "offering and libation have perished from the house of the Lord," now that the locusts have eaten up the vine, the olive, the wheat, and there is no longer meal, oil, wine, incense for the altar of Jehovah, and the service of his House; because the land mourns as well as the Temple—Nature sympathising in the woe of man; because "the field," the open uninclosed country, "is laid waste," and "the ground," the rich red soil fenced for culture, "lamenteth" over "the corn" that has perished from its bosom, and over "the new wine" dried up in the very veins of the vine, and over "the oil" that has "sickened" or "languished" in the ungathered olive. A ravaged land and an abandoned Temple—for God was supposed to have left the Temple when his altar-table was not duly furnished forth; a land smitten with judgments by the God who had forsaken his sanctuary—it was for *this* that Judæa was to lament like a virgin over the bridegroom of her youth.

This, then, is our second picture. The daughter of Zion, clothed in sackcloth, weeping in passionate abandonment, as a virgin for the "lord" of her youth, as a bride awakening to widowhood, over a land despoiled, a temple forsaken by God and man—by God, because he is incensed against the nation; by man, because he has no longer any offering or libation to bring before the Lord.

The third appeal is to the husbandmen and vine-dressers (vs. 11, 12). Joel bids the husbandmen "turn pale" with disappointed hope "over the wheat and over the barley" destroyed before their eyes, and the vine-dressers to "wail" or "howl" over the sickening vine and the choice fruit-trees, such as the fig, the pomegranate, the date-palm, and the apple-tree, which often grew in their vineyards, and from whose fruit they distilled "strong drink." Of the vine and fig I have already spoken: a word or two must be added on each of the trees newly mentioned. The *pomegranate*, or *rimmôn*, is one of the noblest trees indigenous to Syria. It grows to the height of twenty feet, has a straight stem, spreading branches, lanceol-shaped leaves; the foliage is dark-green; the flowers, which are large and beautiful, are of a deep crimson hue; the fruit is of the size of an orange, of a red hue when ripe, and yields a

cooling and delicious juice. The *date-palm*, or *tâmâr*, is remarkable for its upright growth and crown of splendid leaves; it sometimes reaches the height of a hundred feet; the dates, which grow in clusters under the long large leaves, are a valuable food, and yield a liquor which, when fermented, tastes something like champagne. Both Tacitus and Pliny select the palm as the characteristic tree of Palestine. It is ever used as the symbol of Judæa on the coin of Vespasian. And this pre-eminence of the palm is marked by Joel; for he prefixes an intensive particle before the word *tâmâr* (ver. 12), "*gam-tâmâr*," the force of which I have tried to retain by rendering the verse:—

"The vine is dried up,
And the fig-tree sickeneth;
The pomegranate, the palm-tree even, and the apple-tree,—
All the trees of the field are withered;
For joy is withered from the children of men."

The familiar *apple-tree* needs no description; but it is worth while, perhaps, to notice the force of the graphic Hebrew name for it, *tappûäch*. This noun is from a verb which means "to breathe," and Gesenius conjectures the tree to have been thus named because of its fragrant breath or scent. Nor must we omit to note the fine touch in which Joel once more asserts the sympathy of Nature with man:—

"All the trees of the field are withered,
For joy is withered from the children of men;"

as though it were impossible for the natural world to rejoice in beauty and fruitfulness while the hearts of men were oppressed with sadness. That one life beats throughout the universe, revealing itself in subtle and manifold interchanges of sympathy; that, therefore, Nature feels with her foster-child, man, rejoicing when he rejoices, weeping when he weeps—this is a dominant conception with Joel, as indeed it is with the poets of all ages.

Our third little picture, then, presents us with a group of husbandmen and vine-dressers, pale, and sick at heart with wasted toils and defeated hope, as they glance round on fields from which the harvest has perished, and on vineyards and orchards in which vine and fig-tree, the luscious pomegranate, the stately palm, the fragrant apple-tree, wither and die—Nature sickening as *they* sicken, and weeping because they weep.

The fourth appeal is to the priests of the Temple (vs. 13, 14). They are to gird themselves with sackcloth night and day; to wail and lament night and day; to cry unto the Lord night and day; and not only they, but the elders—nay, all the people. And to this end, the priests are to "*sanctify a fast*"—that is, to hallow, or set apart certain days for fasting; to "*proclaim a restraint*"—that is, a period during which, restrained from manual toil, all the inhabitants of the land were to repair to the Temple, and devote themselves to humiliation, confession, and prayer. No formal and customary supplication will suffice; they are to break from the routine of life and worship, and "to cry" with impassioned fervour, with tearful and importunate repetitions on Him who alone was able to succour them.

So that our last picture carries us from field and vineyard to the precincts of the sanctuary. A train of priests clothed in sackcloth, worn with vigils, stands between the porch and the altar, weeping and making supplication to God; an orderly multitude, led by their elders, gathers round them, and chants, with one voice and one heart, a passionate supplication for mercy and the succours of heavenly grace.

With many picturesque touches Joel has set before us the terrible effects of the Divine judgment in city and field, in Temple and vineyard. He now hints at the omen latent in the plague of locusts, proceeds to add new touches to his description, and passes into an impassioned prayer for relief (vs. 15—20).

He cries, "Alas!" or "Alack!" "for the day!" Oh, ill-omened and most miserable time! It is most miserable, not simply because of the evils it has brought, but also, and still more, because of the evils it predicts. There is a portent in it, a portent of woe. To the forecasting spirit of the prophet it is the harbinger of "the day of Jehovah." What was this "day" that the mere prospect of it should fill the hearts of men with ruth and fear? Let Isaiah reply (Isa. ii. 12—17):—

"Jehovah of Hosts hath a day over all that is proud and lofty,
And over all that exalteth itself, and it shall be brought low;
As upon all the cedars of Lebanon, the lofty and exalted,
So upon all the oaks of Bashan;
As upon all the mountains, the lofty ones,
So upon all the hills, the exalted ones;
As upon every high tower,
So upon every fortified wall;
As upon all the ships of Tarshish,
So upon all that is fair to see:
And the lofty looks of the people shall be bowed down,
And the pride of their great ones humbled,
And Jehovah, He alone, shall be exalted in that day."

As the inspired Hebrew seers studied the vicissitudes of human life, as they saw the good suffer while the evil revelled in prosperity and mirth, the humble trodden under foot and the proud exalted, they early came to the conclusion, which after ages only confirmed, that there would be, that there must be, a day of the Lord, to which all the days of time were conducting men—a day on which all wrongs would be righted, and every deed done in the body receive its due recompense of reward. This day they called *yōm Yehovah*, "the day of the Lord." It was to be a day of judgment over all that was evil and ungodly; a day in which the Almighty Ruler of the world would bring down whatever had exalted itself against Him. Every intermediate calamity was, in some sense, both a part, and a portent, of that great day. The whole history of man was a Divine judgment, though often veiled and unsearchable to human eyes; and this constant, though often secret, judgment was to culminate and to become manifest in the end, when, whatever had been carried by the over-flowing stream of time into eternity unassorted and unjudged, was to be judged and adjusted to its due place once for all, and all things were to round to their final goal. This was "the day of Jehovah," for which even Joel, the earliest of the prophets, looked; the day which drew nearer

and nearer with every successive act of judgment executed among men; the day of which every calamity spoke as it fell; the day of which some faint image might be seen even in that plague of locusts under which the land now mourned. "Alas, for to-day!" he cries, "Alas, for to-day! for even this day of lamentation and woe shows that the final doom draws nigh—the day that will come like a destruction from the Almighty, that will smite evil and all who cling to it with an eternal death."

It was this great and final day of the Lord, ever present to the prophetic eye, which threw deep and ominous shadows on every intervening day of judgment. That the land should be parched by drought and consumed by locusts was in itself a terrible calamity; but this calamity clothed itself in new terrors when it was regarded as a portent of the last judgment. And it was in this portentous light that Joel regarded it, and would have the people regard it. They would miss "the sweet uses" of this adversity, unless they permitted it to quicken within them a profound sense of the moral government of God—the government which is to reach its climax at that final session in which every man will receive according to his deeds, whether they be good or whether they be bad. And at least one feature of that great day was clearly prefigured in the present judgment. The day of Jehovah would come "like a destruction from the Almighty;" a destruction on all that was evil, nay, a destruction of much that in itself was good, in order that evil might be punished and extirpated; for was not the fair teeming earth to be swept with fire? were not the gracious heavens to be folded like a seroll, and the serviceable elements to be consumed as in a furnace, that the wickedness of the wicked might be brought to an end? That aspect of the last day, if no other, was illustrated by what was now passing before their eyes; for even now the fair face of Nature was blackened and deformed as by fire; the innocent creatures, the flocks and herds, roamed disconsolate over wasted pastures, or stood bewildered by water-courses that were dried up. Food was cut off; joy and gladness were banished from the House of God. And all for what? All for "the guilt" of man; all that men might repent their guilt, and return to Him from whom their hearts had gone astray (vs. 15—20).

By this easy and natural transition, the prophet—after having robed the present calamity in new terrors by making it a portent of judgments still more sweeping—falls back on the calamity which was now rending all hearts, and adds new pathetic touches to his description. At first we might think that in vs. 16—20 he was simply describing the effects of that plague of locusts which he has already described; for *they* cut off food, *they* consumed pasture and field, and, in the leafless blackened stems of orchard and vineyard, they left behind them a trail as of fire. But there is one touch, in ver. 20, which shows that to the plague of locusts there had been added a plague of drought, and that both were now in the prophet's mind. "The water-

courses," so abundant in that land of hills, so welcome and indispensable in that fervid climate, "were dried up;" and this could not be the work of the locusts; it could only be the effect of that drought which so often brings dearth to Eastern lands, and which, in all lands, is commonly accompanied by blight and insect pests.

Between them, the drought and the locusts had converted a land like the Garden of Eden into a barren desert. "Is not the food cut off before our eyes—joy and gladness from the house of our God?" cries Joel. *The locust had anticipated the reaper*, as Jerome epigrammatically puts it; and with the harvest the offerings for the Temple had perished—the sheaves, the meal, the fruit, the oil, the wine, the fragrant spices that were laid on the table of the Lord. On these offerings the priests and Levites, with their families, subsisted. When these ceased, joy and gladness would cease from the chambers of the Temple, in which they dwelt. Nay, more, the holidays of the people were spent in the Temple and its courts. Their harvest-home, for example, was the feast of Pentecost. Of their sacrifices and offerings only a part was consumed on the altar; the flesh of their sacrificed lambs and bullocks, the meal, the wine, the fruit they presented before the Lord, furnished forth a table at which they ate and drank and were merry. All their great annual services and feasts were merry-makings—holidays as well as holy days; and, now, all these had ceased performe. Pinched by famine, they could no longer know the "joy and gladness" of their national festivals—a joy all the deeper because it was "the joy of the Lord," a gladness all the more pure and sweet because it was gladness in the house of their God.

This is the first new stroke of pathos which the poet adds to his previous description; but mark how he multiplies stroke on stroke. As though it were not enough to lose all mirth in the passing day, the heart of the people is torn with apprehension for the future. The very grain in the earth has "rotted under the clods," so that there is no prospect of a crop in the coming year to compensate for the loss of this year's harvest. Smitten by the burning rays of the sun, denied the vivifying touch of dew or rain, the germ has withered in the seed. The husbandmen, hopeless of any reward for their toils, fold their hands in indolent despair; they suffer their garners to moulder away, their "barns" to fall. Why should they repair barn and storehouse, when "the corn is withered," even the seed corn?

From the homestead, with its mouldering barns and garners, the poet passes into the parched and blackened fields. Not only do guilty men suffer, but also the innocent dependants on their care.

"How the cattle groan!" he cries, as if the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the oxen rent his very heart. With that fine and tender humanity characteristic of the Hebrew prophets and bards, he suffers with the suffering beasts of the field, and attributes human emotions to them. The herds of oxen are "bewildered," because the plains they have often cropped

yield no pasture for them. The flocks of sheep, in their vague wanderings and pitiful iterations, seem to him to be "mourning the guilt" of men. His heart is torn with a passion of sympathy which compels him, for the first time, to address himself directly to God.

"To thee, O Jehovah, do I cry,"

for these innocent sufferers, whose pastures the fire of drought has turned black; nay, even they themselves, "the very beasts of the field, cry unto thee," lifting up their heads in dumb yet eloquent appeal, and groaning out their misery before Thee.

Let us here recall the fact, that it is the Spirit of God who speaks by the mouth of the prophet; for it is to be feared that we do not make enough of the *humanity* of God, of His intense delight in trees and flowers, in herds and flocks, of His humane care for them, of His tender sympathy with them. The psalms and prophecies are full of this Divine humanity—no prophecy fuller, perhaps, than that of Joel; and in no passage of Joel's is that tender intense humanity more beautifully and pathetically expressed than in the verses (18—20) we have just considered.

The one imperative and supreme question for the inhabitants of a land so cruelly afflicted is, "What can we do? How may these plagues be averted?" And to this question we are now, in chapter ii., to hear a reply. Joel, who had already addressed himself to the nation and to its various classes, was at last stung, by his intolerable sympathy with the dumb, innocent victims of man's guilt, to appeal directly to Jehovah. And now Jehovah responds to that appeal.

Beyond a doubt, it is God who is represented as speaking from the 12th verse of this chapter onward, and probably we are to take Him as the speaker from the first verse. But, whether Jehovah in person or Jehovah through the prophet be the speaker, the lesson is the same, viz., that the one hope of cure for the ills which afflict the State lies in repentance, humiliation, and amendment. A solemn assembly is to be convened, in which the people are to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, and to entreat the succours of Divine mercy. The formal summons to this assembly is given in ver. 1, and repeated with emphasis in vs. 12—17. And between these two commands, as a reason for obedience to them, we have still another graphic description of the greater plague of the time, that of the locusts and of its terrible results (chap. ii. 2—11).

The priests are to blow their silver trumpets from Zion, to sound a note of alarm on the *holy* mountain, the hill consecrated by the Temple; and as the clear imperative tones ring through the narrow streets of the city, "all the inhabitants of the land" are to "tremble." *i.e.*, as the Hebrew verb implies, they are to start up from the sullen indifference, the hopeless apathy of despair: they are to recognise the spiritual omens that are abroad, to read in the troubles of the time portents of the approaching "day of Jehovah," to know that it was near; nay, as all judgments are part

of that divine Day of Judgment, to know that it has already begun. It is—

“A day of darkness and gloom,
A day of clouds, and of cloudy night.”

This phrase we often meet again in later Scriptures. Indeed, it became “a standing form” with the prophets, and was used in most of their descriptions of the Day of Judgment. And, therefore, it is well to note that it was suggested to Joel by the natural phenomena which filled his thoughts as he wrote. It had its origin in the darkness which obscured the land, as the flights of locusts moved over it, intercepting the light of the sun; and it was commended by its native propriety to the prophets who came after him. For the phrase, brief as it is, contains four words, almost synonymous, expressive of *darkness*, and thus gives a very strong expression to the obscurity which encompasses all Divine judgments to mortal eyes. We know that even now we are being tried and judged; that, as

St. Paul phrases it,¹ we are “already made manifest unto God.” We know that all the great calamities and all the great blessings which befall men are, in some sort, Divine judgments. We believe that “we must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ;”² that a day is coming in which “we shall each receive the things done in the body, according to that he did, whether good or bad.” But whether we consider the judgment through which we pass now, or the judgment we must meet when we leave the body, it is alike wrapped in a mystery we cannot penetrate. We may hold fast to the rule that, in the end, good will come to the good, and evil to the evil; but how that rule is worked out and applied, either in time or in eternity, this is beyond our reach. To us, as to Joel, the judgment of God is a profound mystery, the Day of the Lord is “a day of darkness and obscurity, a day of clouds and of cloudy night.”

¹ 2 Cor. v. 11.

² Ibid. v. 10.

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.

BY JOHN STAINER, M.A., MUS. D., MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; ORGANIST OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

WIND INSTRUMENTS (*continued*).

MACHOL, OR MAHHOL.

THIS word is found in several passages of Holy Scripture associated with the *toph* or timbrel. In the Authorised Version it is almost always rendered by “dances” or “dancing:”—“And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances” (Exod. xv. 20); and again, “Jephthah came to Mizpeh unto his house, and, behold, his daughter came out to meet him *with timbrels and with dances*.” In thus rendering *machol*, our translators have simply followed the Septuagint, in which the corresponding expression is ἐν τυμπάνοις καὶ χοροῖς; the same too in the Vulgate, “cum tympanis et choris.” The German, like our own version, follows the Septuagint—“mit Panken und Reigen,” that is, with “drums and chain-dances,” dances with linked hands. Although in modern German orchestral scores *pauken* signifies “kettledrums,” it must not be supposed that more is here meant than a common timbrel. That dances took place on these and many other occasions in which timbrels were used there can be no doubt. But may not *machol* signify a small flute? If so, the expression with *toph* and *machol* would exactly correspond to our old English *pipe* and *taber*, to the sounds of which instruments many a rustic dance was merrily footed. They are still the common accompaniment of village festivities in many parts of Europe. In some of the Pyrenean districts may be seen gathered on the green, round which their homesteads are clustered, the gaily attired villagers dancing to the sounds of a pipe which the seated musician plays with his left hand, while with

his right hand he beats a sort of tambour, consisting of six strings stretched across a resonance-box, which rests on his knees.

The arguments in favour of the theory that *machol* is a flute, are founded on the fact that many authors, amongst them Pfeifer, consider the word itself to be derived from the same root as *chail*, signifying, as before mentioned, “bored through;” and also, that in the Syriac version the word is translated by *rephaah*, which is the name of a flute still to be found in Syria. On the other hand, some authors have traced *chail* to a root *hhalal*, “to dance;” and, of course, if this be a correct derivation, *machol* would more naturally signify a dance than a flute. Saalehntz is of opinion that it implies a combination of music, poetry, and dancing, and is not the name of any special musical instrument. Much can be said in favour of this view. We have words in our own language which have a very similar meaning: for instance, *roundelay*, which may be taken as a song, a dance, or a piece of poetry. But there seems to be but little necessity for forcing such a mixed meaning from the word *machol*. To say that on a joyous occasion men or women went forth with “pipe and tabret,” is enough to imply that they danced; and therefore, if our translators would have more properly rendered *machol* by a “pipe,” they have none the less conveyed the real sense of the context by rendering it “dancing.” But by assuming the former of these interpretations much force is given to that beautiful passage in the Book of Lamentations (v. 15): “The joy of our heart is ceased; our pipe is turned into mourning;” as if the prophet had said, “The merry pipe which once did lead the dance, has now given place to

that whose plaintive notes recall our saddest griefs." As the Psalmist in his joy uses just the converse of this expression, in Ps. xxx. 11, "Thou hast turned for me my mourning into dancing (*machol*): thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness," so does the prophet himself, joying over the restoration of Israel (Jer. xxxi. 4 and 13). The only other passage in which the Psalmist uses the word is in Ps. cl. 4, "Praise him with the timbrel and dance." It was the noise of the pipe and tabret which Moses heard as he descended the holy mount to find the people, whom Jehovah had but just highly honoured by the giving of the Law, dancing round a golden calf. We may, then, for two reasons, believe the *machol* to have been a flute used specially for dancing, first, because it is highly probable that an instrument was used in conjunction with the tabret; and next, because such a supposition does not exclude the idea of dancing, and in no case seems to do violence to the text.

MAHALATH, OR MACHALATH.

A word allied both to *chalil* and *machol* occurs in the title of two Psalms (liii. and lxxxviii.), the former being inscribed to the "chief musician upon Mahalath," the latter to the "chief musician upon Mahalath Leannoth." Each of these is called also a "Maschil," a title generally thought to designate a poem of a moral or typical import. "Sing ye a *maschil* with the understanding," sings the Psalmist in Ps. xlvii. 7. Many learned writers trace *mahalath* to the same root as *chalil* ("perforated," "bored"). If a musical direction then, this word clearly points out the class of instruments which is to accompany the singers of the psalm—namely, *chalil*. The addition *leannoth*, from the fact that it means "to answer," most probably is a special order for an antiphonal treatment. Some authors have, in the case of these two psalms, as with regard to many others, considered these and other titular words as the names of special tunes. Gesenius considers *mahalath* to mean a "lute." If this be so, it would still be a musical direction, but would refer to stringed instead of wind instruments.

HUGGAB, OUGAB OR UGAB.

Having spoken of the pipe, and of the possibility that the Hebrews knew of the double pipe, we naturally come to those instruments which place a number of pipes under the control of the performer. And first it should be remarked that there is an essential difference between the *flute à bec*, or flute with a beak, and the *flauto traverso*, which it was unnecessary to point out when these instruments were previously mentioned. It is this. In the former class, the performer has only to blow into the end, and the sound is produced by the air being led by the form of the interior against the sharp edge termed the *upper lip*. In the *flauto traverso* (now the common flute), the player has *himself*, by adjusting the form of his lips, to force the air against the edge of one of the holes, which he thus temporarily makes into an *upper lip*. By comparing a penny whistle with a common bandsman's-fife,

this difference of their construction will be very apparent. In the former, a piece of wood placed in the mouth-piece guides the column of air to the opening, where it is compelled to pass the under lip (the lower edge of the opening), so as to strike against the upper lip; but in the latter nothing of the sort is provided, the player making his mouth the *under lip*, and, as before said, the side of the hole the upper lip. It is plain, therefore, that two classes of "manifold-pipes" can exist, the one corresponding to a collection of *flauti traversi*, the other to a collection of *flutes à bec*.

Now, if we take any piece of a tube open at both ends, and blow against the sharp edge until a musical sound is produced, we are acting exactly on the same principles as does the player on the *flauto traverso*. And if now we place our hand so as to *close* the other end of the tube, the pitch will immediately fall to an octave lower than it was before, for physical reasons which need not be entered into here. In both cases, whether the tube is open or closed, we are blowing and producing the sound *on the same principles*.

A collection of tubes of different sizes stopped at one end, and blown into at the other as above described, forms the musical instrument known as Pan's-pipes, in the Greek *syrix* (σῦριξ), Lat. *fistula*. Whereas a collection of *flutes à bec* of different sizes placed in a series of holes in a box, through which the air can be mechanically forced, constitutes what has for centuries been distinctively called the *organ*. This difference between these two instruments—namely, that the *syrix* is blown on the same principle as the *flauto traverso*, while the organ-pipes are made to speak, by their being constructed like *flutes à bec*—is of the more importance, because it is a commonly received notion that the *syrix* is the parent of the organ. Unquestionably, as regards antiquity, the former instrument must be allowed to have priority, but this does not necessarily prove any connection between the two.

From what has been said, it will be easily imagined that a Pan's-pipe blown by mechanical means would really be a very scientific instrument; but on the other hand, when *flutes à bec* were once commonly used, it would not require any special ingenuity or invention to suggest that several should be placed in a row over a box, and be blown one after another from the same supply of wind. Of course, as each organ-pipe was only required to give one sound, there would be no necessity for finger-holes being made in it. Again, it must have been very easily discovered that pipes containing *reeds* could be as easily made to speak over a wind-box as *flute-pipes*. The universality of the Pan's-pipe is as remarkable as its antiquity. To find a nation where it is not in use is to find a remarkable exception. In an ancient Peruvian tomb a *syrix* was discovered and procured by General Paroissen. A plaster cast of this interesting relic was lent for exhibition at South Kensington Museum in 1872, by Professor Oakeley of Edinburgh, by whose kind permission the engraving (Fig. 57) is given.

The description of the original, as given in the catalogue, is as follows:—"It is made of a greenish stone, which is a species of talc. Four of its tubes have small lateral finger-holes, which, when closed, lower the pitch a semitone." The Inca Peruvians called the syrinx *huayra-puhura*. The British Museum possesses one of these, consisting of fourteen pipes. The example shown in Fig. 58 has been selected in order to show how little even savage nations have departed from the earliest known classical form of the instrument. It represents the *syrinx* from the island of Tanna, New Hebrides. All must be so familiar with the many representations of Pan playing his river-reed pipes, that it is quite unnecessary to give an illustration of one of them. It should be said, however, that the commonest number of reeds used among the ancients was seven,

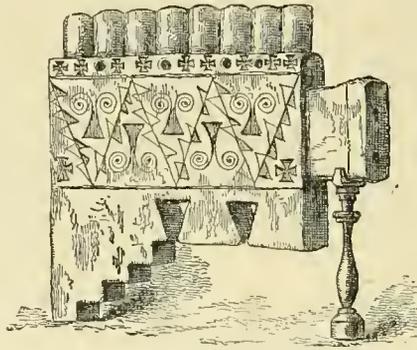


Fig. 57.

Him with the *minnim* and *ugab*." Its mention here in antithesis to a collective name for stringed instruments surely points to the fact of its being a more important instrument than a few river reeds fixed together with wax! Let us not forget that we have but one and the same name for the single row of about fifty pipes, placed, perhaps, in a little room, and the mighty instrument of 5,000 pipes, occupying as much space as an ordinary dwelling-house, and requiring the daily attention of a qualified workman to keep its marvellous complications properly adjusted. Each is an organ. May it not have been the case that the *ugab*, which in Gen. iv. 21 is mentioned as the simply-constructed wind-instrument, in contrast to the simple *stringed*-instrument, the *kinnor*, was a greatly inferior instrument to that which in Ps. cl. (before quoted) is thought

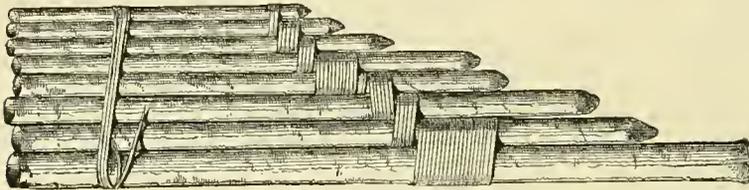


Fig. 58.

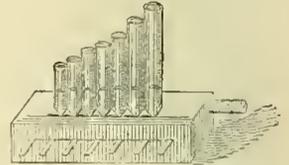


Fig. 59.

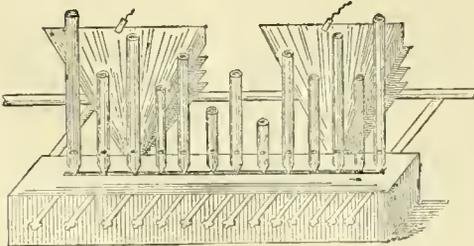


Fig. 60.

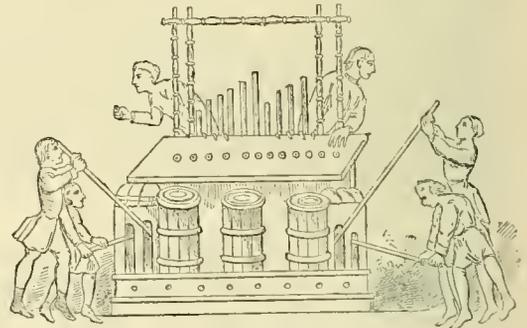


Fig. 61.

but eight or nine or even more are occasionally found. Was the *ugab* a *syrinx* or an organ? As the former seems to have been the more ancient of the two, and as *ugab* is included in the very first allusion to musical instruments in the Bible, it would seem reasonable to say at once that it was a *syrinx*, especially as this instrument was, and is to this day, commonly met with in various parts of Asia. Yet it would indeed be strange if such an instrument were selected for use in Divine worship; and that the *ugab* was so used is proved beyond a doubt by its mention in Ps. cl., "Praise

worthy of mention by the side of a term for the whole string-power of Divine worship?"

Even if it be insisted that the first-mentioned *ugab* was nothing more than a *syrinx*, are we, therefore, forbidden to believe that the mere name might have been retained while the instrument itself was gradually undergoing such alterations and improvements as to render it in time a veritable organ? That men's minds have from the earliest time striven to find out in what way many pipes could be brought under the control of a single player, there are indubitable proofs. A passage in

the Talmud, describing an instrument called a *magrepha*, which was said to be used in the Temple, is exceedingly interesting. This organ, for it is entitled to the name, had a wind-chest containing ten holes, each communicating with ten pipes; it therefore was capable of

Let us now trace the various stages through which the organ has passed, while developing from what we should now consider a toy, to that noble instrument which makes our beautiful cathedrals and churches ring again with sweet sounds, and whose duty it is to guide and

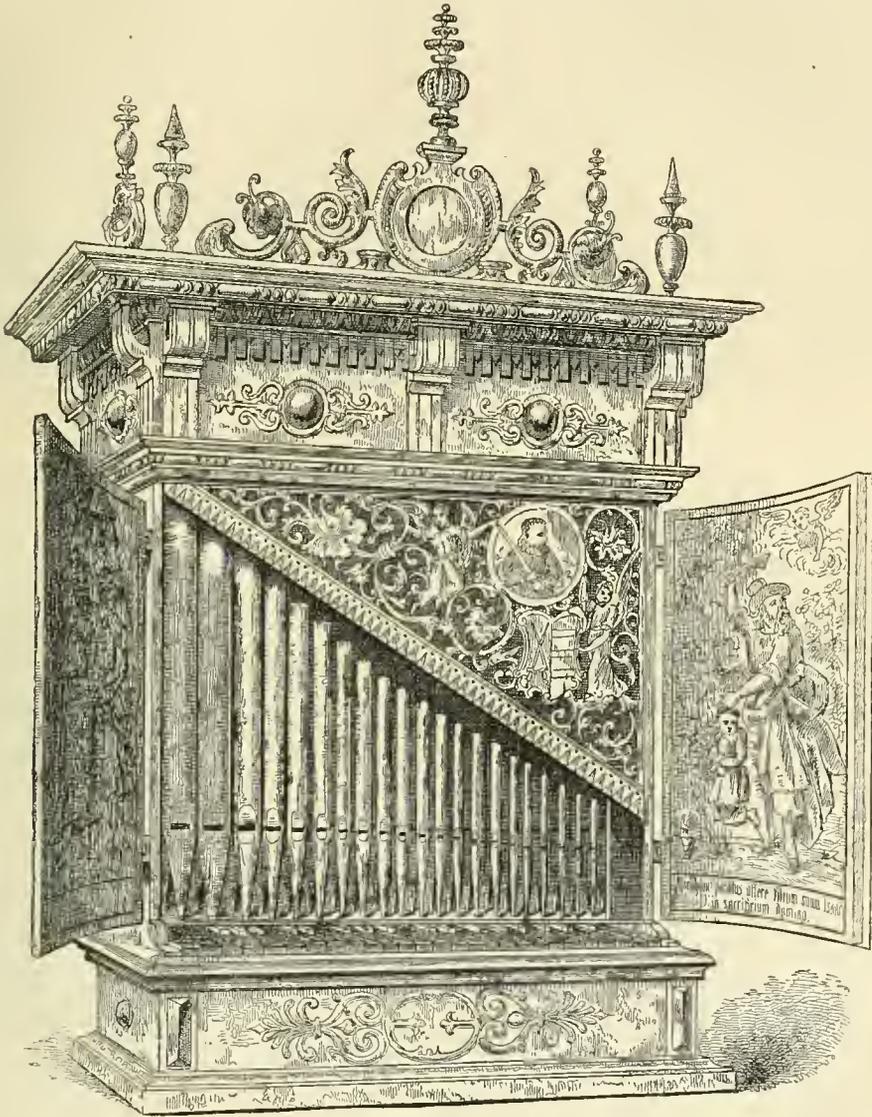


Fig. 62.

producing 100 sounds. These were brought under the control of the player by means of a *clavier*, or keyboard. Its tones were said to be audible at a very great distance.

Supposing that the whole of this account is apocryphal, it still shows that in the second century such an instrument was not only considered *possible*, but believed, rightly or wrongly, to have actually existed at some previous period.

support the combined voices of many hundreds, or it may be, thousands of hearty hymn-singers.

Assuming that a series of wood or metal *flutes à bec* had been constructed so as to give in succession the notes of a scale, and also that the wind-chest was pierced with holes to receive them, the first thing required by the player would be a contrivance for allowing him to make any one he wished speak separately. As might be supposed, the simplest method of doing

this is to place little slips of wood in such a position that they can either be pushed under the foot of the pipe, and so stop the current of air from passing into it, or be pulled out so as to admit the air.

Fig. 59 exhibits this most simple piece of mechanism, and very possibly shows what the *ugab* might have been at some period of its existence. A pipe at the side of the wind-chest points out the fact that the commonest bellows of the period was thought capable of supplying the required current of air. The whole construction is in a more advanced state in the instrument depicted in Fig. 60. Not only are its pipes more numerous, but it has bellows specially adapted to its requirements. While one bellows is being replenished, the other is still able to support the sounds, so there is no awkward pause while the instrument is taking breath.

In the next illustration (Fig. 61), which is from a MS. Psalter of Eadwine, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the organ has begun to assume a more dignified form. There is an attempt at an ornamental case, and judging from the number of blowers

required, the music must have been rapid, or the sounds powerful.

As soon as these instruments became large and not easily movable, the terms *positive* and *portative organ* came into existence; the former being an instrument which, owing to its size, had to remain stationary; the latter one that could be carried about. In the sixteenth century, these portable organs were called *regals*, the exact derivation of which is somewhat uncertain. They formed a very important element in ecclesiastical processions, as their cases were frequently elegantly decorated. Fig. 62 is an illustration of a German organ *positive* of the sixteenth century, the shutters of which are also elaborately painted. This instrument has iron handles, by which it can be moved, but it is too large to have been of the portative class. The bellows, which are behind it, and so not seen in the figure, are very similar both in position and shape to those seen in Fig. 60.

Some further remarks on ancient organs must be reserved for our next chapter.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JEREMIAH.

BY THE VERY REV. E. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE character of Jeremiah is in many respects the exact opposite of that of Isaiah. Possessed of no great literary power, writing in a timid, hesitating style, yet often with a plaintive sweetness; borrowing constantly the thoughts and even the very words of others, as if glad to have their authority in his support; melancholy in temperament, brooding constantly on the difficulties in his path, till he even cursed the hour of his birth, he yet in his moral qualities rises to the very highest elevation, and is not unworthy of the place he held in the estimation of the Jews, who regarded him as the chief of all the prophets.

There is even in his call to his office this same mixture of strength and weakness. There is no glorious vision as in Isaiah's case: nothing of that awful and superhuman grandeur which characterises Ezekiel's summons to the prophetic dignity. The images are tame and simple; but there is a strength of purpose indicated by them and a decisiveness in action, which were the real secret of Jeremiah's strength. In age but a lad, probably just arrived at manhood—for forty years of active labour were before him, and finally, as is too probable, a martyr's death—called thus in the early beauty of youth, he sees first a branch of an almond-tree (chap. i. 11), and next a pot boiling upon a fire of thorns, and just ready to overturn from the unequal consumption of the blazing fuel. But the words that accompany these ordinary images are of startling strength. Jeremiah is set over kingdoms and nations as God's deputy on earth, with authority to "root out,

and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant" (chap. i. 10): and because in the execution of these awful powers he would have to confront the whole land, with its king, its princes and people, God promises to make him firm and defiant as a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls. Young in years, shy in character, despondent in temper, God yet gives him a commission of wider and fuller authority than any ever conferred before, except it be that of Moses. But even to Moses the commission was to build up and form the Jewish nation: Jeremiah's is one chiefly of condemnation and destruction. Four verbs of ruin come first in his instructions, and then two only of restoration. For such a commission nothing less seems necessary than the energy and self-devotion of a Paul; but Jeremiah proved not unworthy of it. No man ever felt difficulties more: no man ever faced them with braver resolution, or more unflinchingly did his duty.

We have in the 15th chapter a deeply interesting picture of Jeremiah's mental state. He tells us there that when first appointed prophet, he received his commission with joy: "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart: for thy name is called upon me, O Jehovah, God of hosts." There was nothing in his commission to warn him that all his efforts would apparently be in vain, as had been the case with the more sanguine Isaiah. For Jeremiah there was a struggle, hard and fierce, but with the promise that his enemies should not prevail. And so he entered with firm hope on his

duties, and readily gave up, as was a prophet's duty, the ordinary pleasures of life. "I sat not in the assembly of the merry-makers, nor rejoiced; I sat alone because of thy hand: for thou hast filled me with indignation." A righteous zeal for God had taken full possession of him, and his one thought was to vindicate Jehovah's honour against the sinful generation among whom he had been placed. This state of feeling may have lasted more or less during the eighteen years of his prophetic career under Josiah; and then followed the severer struggle and sharper contest under the tyrant Jehoiakim, and with it disappointment. He laboured, and none heeded him. In spite of all his efforts things grew worse and worse: opposition he could have endured, but there was something far harder to bear—derision and contempt; and bitterly he accuses God of betraying him. "Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed? wilt thou be altogether as a liar unto me, and as waters that fail?" The Divine word seemed to him as the mirage of the desert, ever promising cool refreshment, ever encouraging to new exertions, ever at last making only tenfold more cruel the agonies of thirst.

Wicked as was such accusation of God, it yet brought no condemnation. It was the struggle of a strong but melancholy nature, trying to cast off the Divine yoke, and yet doing so with entire and real trust and devotion to God. There was nothing of disobedience in it: in spite of others, and what was far harder, in spite of himself, Jeremiah was determined to do his duty. And so his loving Master sought rather to abate the agony of his feelings, and calm down the tempest of his soul, by again promising him that he should have strength to bear all that was laid upon him: "I will make thee unto this people a fenced brazen wall: and they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee" (chap. xv. 20).

And so again when Pashur, the deputy high-priest, scourged the prophet, and put him into the stocks, the same tempest of excited feelings overpowers him. The burden of his cry again is, that God has deceived him (chap. xx. 7). There has been no fruit of his labours. He speaks, but only to be mocked and derided. All around him he saw nothing but contempt joined to fierce anger at the political course he was taking. The word constantly in his mouth—his motto as it were—was *Magor-missabib*, "fear on every side." And again God comforts him; but though he praises Jehovah for his deliverance, nevertheless the chapter ends with bitter excretions on the day wherein he was born (taken from Job iii.). He wishes that he had been slain at his birth, or that his mother had been his grave. "Wherefore," he asks indignantly, "came I forth out of the womb to see labour and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame?"

Now what was there to justify these excited feelings? Or, as no doubt they were sinful, what was there to call them forth and explain their intensity?

Plainly Jeremiah was placed in a position of extraordinary difficulty. His office was to condemn in the

most emphatic manner the whole public policy of his country. When Isaiah had to oppose Ahaz, it was the king's personal conduct which called forth reproof, while as regarded the struggle against the two confederate kings, Isaiah was entirely on his side, and could promise him deliverance. But no sooner was good King Josiah dead, than Jeremiah's real work began. Till that time he had been but preparing for his office; but no sooner was Jehoiakim on the throne, than he had to denounce, and struggle against, and seek in every way to render void the whole policy of the king and of the large mass of the nobles and people. The personal character of the king he does not spare. He represents him as a tyrant and oppressor; as one who, indifferent to the misery of the people, in the midst of the general ruin, had the heart to build for himself magnificent palaces by forced labour; with earnest indignation he contrasts the equity and justice of his father's reign with his iniquity. "Thine eyes and thine heart are not but for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence, to do it." And therefore he predicts the utter failure and extinction of his seed, and that he should die a dishonourable death, and his body be cast into a ditch without burial in the fields about Jerusalem (chap. xxii. 13—19). It was no slight matter thus to speak of a monarch who was as fierce and despotic as he was bad, and one of whose first acts had been to send men to Egypt to arrest there the prophet Urijah, and bring him to Jerusalem, and put him to death (chap. xxvi. 20—23).

But it was not the fear of death which preyed so heavily on Jeremiah's mind; it was the general indignation felt against him by the great mass of the people. A small party among the princes, headed by Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, approved of his conduct, but all the rest condemned it bitterly. It was unpatriotic, mean, degrading to his country. Prophets before had even urged the people to resistance. They had said, "Trust in Jehovah, and he will deliver you from your enemies." But Jeremiah wanted king and people to remain quiet under the Babylonian yoke; while they were entirely for rebellion, and looked to an alliance with Egypt as the panacea for all their troubles.

Now let us look for a moment at the political state of things when Jeremiah gave this advice. Babylon and Egypt were the two great world-powers at that time, and Judæa, situated midway between them, oscillated backwards and forwards, inclining now to the one, and then to the other, as occasion served. In Josiah's time the struggle was undecided, and Pharaoh-necho was on his march against Babylon, when Josiah met him as a true vassal of the Chaldees, and in the unequal encounter was defeated and slain. Upon this Necho turned aside from his march, and having removed Jehoahaz, who had been put upon the throne by the party who held Jeremiah's views, substituted for him Jehoiakim, another son of Josiah, but one opposed to his father's policy; and weakened probably by the losses sustained in the battle of Megiddo, withdrew to Egypt and abandoned for the present the war with Babylon.

It was in the fourth year of the new king's reign that Baruch wrote, at Jeremiah's mouth, the famous roll (chap. xxxvi.), in which the prophet showed how consistently the word of Jehovah had declared, even from the days of Josiah, that the king of Babylon would destroy the land, and make man and beast—the cattle, that is, used in agriculture—to cease from it. Egypt could not help; if they repented of their sins, Jehovah could and would still save them; but they must remain in true allegiance to Babylon till the storm was overpast. Already thus early Jeremiah's life was in danger. "I am shut up," he says, "and cannot go into the house of Jehovah;" but the roll was to be read in the audience of all the people coming to the Temple upon the fasting day. The fame of it reached Jehoiakim's ears, and the roll was brought before him; but when only a small part of it had been read, he cut it in angry contempt into pieces, and burnt it in the fire. And the roll would have cost the prophet and his scribe Baruch their lives, had they not hastily gone into a place of hiding before it was taken into the king's presence.

In what way Jeremiah regarded Nebuchadnezzar, we learn in chap. xxv. He was Jehovah's servant, his vice-gerent (see page 38), to execute a commission of punishment upon many nations for their sins. This commission to Babylon was to last for a fixed and definite time, and then Babylon was also to have its meed of chastisement. Whether or not Judah would be included in this commission depended upon the people themselves; by repentance they might avert the danger, though the prophet too well saw that they would not. But as Egypt certainly was to be punished, and as Nebuchadnezzar was executing Jehovah's will, it was in the prophet's view rebellion against God to resist him, and prophetical madness to make alliance with doomed Egypt.

Not that the prophet loved Babylon, or was unconscious of the wickedness of the sanguinary wars of conquest which it waged. To him as to Habakkuk it was a city built with blood (Hab. ii. 12). What he wished was that Judah should see that Nebuchadnezzar was an instrument in God's hand to execute punishment, and so should yield to Jehovah's will. As for Babylon, he concludes his enunciation of the nations to be punished with her name. There is a wine-cup of fury placed in the prophet's hand, and one after another he names the long roll of nations who must drink of it; and then come the words, "The king of Sheshach shall drink after them" (chap. xxv. 26).

Now we have here a doubly interesting phenomenon. First of all, it is the oldest specimen of writing in cipher. If the Hebrew alphabet be written out in order, and then under it you place the letters in reverse way, Sheshach becomes Babel, that is, Babylon. No doubt the word soon became known to Jeremiah's friends; for we find it again in chap. li. 41, in a letter denouncing final punishment on Babylon, sent to the exiles there by the hand of Seraiah, brother of the faithful Baruch, who had to accompany Zedekiah on a journey to Babylon, in the fourth year of his reign,

when he was required to do homage to Nebuchadnezzar, and Seraiah had charge of his accommodation by night (curiously rendered in our version, "Seraiah was a quiet prince"). This letter was then to be fastened to a stone, and cast into the Euphrates, that it might not, as a treasonable document, endanger any of the exiles, should it be found upon them. Nevertheless, what we possess is apparently a copy given to Baruch by Seraiah, after Jeremiah's death.

The cipher used by Jeremiah is called *atabash*, a name formed from the two first letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and the two last placed in reverse order. Another instance of it occurs in chap. li. 1, where the strange expression occurs, "those that inhabit the heart of my standers up." Read, however, by this cipher, the words mean "those that inhabit Chaldæa." And this brings us to the second point. How strange was the position of Jeremiah! Regarded by his own countrymen as a traitor, because he steadily resisted all attempts at an alliance with Egypt, and bade them submit tamely, and basely as they deemed it, to the Chaldæans; and yet really regarding these Chaldæans as the enemies of his country, and prophesying their downfall; and so left without friends, and obliged to use a cipher, in order to conceal from those with whom he had to work the meaning of his own words!

In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the year famous for Jeremiah's roll, the fearful drama of Divine chastisement began to unroll itself. Though temporarily delayed by the battle of Megiddo, yet the struggle between the two great powers was inevitable, and Egypt marched to its doom, seeking probably the encounter because it saw how rapidly the power of Babylon was growing under the enterprising hand of the youthful Nebuchadnezzar, and anxious that the contest should not take place within its own dominions. The Euphrates was the limit of the two realms, and at its famous ford of Ciresium, or Carchemish, Pharaoh-necho crossed it, but on the other bank met with a severe defeat. For the moment Nebuchadnezzar was in no position to follow up his victory; for the news reached him of the death of Nabopolassar his father, and he hurried home across the desert, with a few light armed troops, to secure the vacant throne. And thus Judæa had a breathing time, and Jehoiakim was compelled perforce to adopt for the present the policy of Jeremiah.

But this brought no alleviation to the prophet. On the contrary, the king was so determined upon his death, that he had to be in continual hiding, or in exile, so that we find no record of any further activity on his part during the rest of Jehoiakim's reign. Apparently he fled to Babylon, and to this period we may therefore assign the prophecy of the linen girdle hidden by the Euphrates (chap. xlii.). Certainly we find him afterwards kindly treated by the Babylonians, who regarded him, no doubt, as one who had suffered for their cause, and by many of whom apparently he was personally known.

But though compelled by the defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish to become a vassal to Babylon, yet

Jehoiakim seems to have spent his time in continual plots, and finally rebelled; hoping, perhaps, as Nebuchadnezzar was engaged in distant wars, to attain to independence. But the Chaldean king, besides troops of his own soldiery, sent against him bands of Syrians, and Moabites, and Ammonites, who were now all of them, on the result of the battle of Circesium, incorporated into his empire (2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2, 7). To add to his distress, the land was desolated by the terrible dearth described in Jer. xiv.; and at length, in the eleventh year of his reign, a regular army advanced upon Jerusalem. But before it reached the city, whether by a conspiracy or sudden violence, Jehoiakim, by the usual fate of tyrants, fell; and so hated was he, that his body was refused burial, and cast out upon the open ground around the city, to be a prey to dogs and birds.

His death seems to have rendered all resistance to the Chaldeans impossible, and Nebuchadnezzar, having joined the army, took possession of the city three months and ten days after Jehoiakim's death. His son, the young king Jeconiah, apparently but eight years old (2 Chron. xxxvi. 9), though elsewhere, by a less pro-

bable reading, described as aged eighteen (2 Kings xxiv. 8), was carried captive to Babylon with the queen-mother Nehushta, and a large number of the princes and chief people of the land. The foolish prophecies of Hananiah, described in Jer. xxviii., indicate too probably the existence of plots among the exiles for his restoration, and so account for the barbarous treatment he met with from his conqueror. For thirty-seven years he was kept in prison in actual durance, and had to wear prison garments. Well may he be called Jeconiah-assir, "Jeconiah the prisoner," in 1 Chron. iii. 17. Son he had none, and Salathiel, his representative, was descended from David, not through the line of Solomon and the kings, but through Nathan. After this weary captivity Evil-merodach set him free, treated him as a friend, and made him eat at his table. But after two years Evil-merodach was murdered by his brother-in-law, Neriglissar, and probably Jeconiah perished with his benefactor. The tales in the Apocrypha of his living as a wealthy noble at Babylon with his wife Susannah (Sus. i. 4; Baruch i. 3) are mere legends unworthy of serious account.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF BIBLICAL POETRY (*continued*).

§ 3.—DAVID.

IT is with David that the great era of lyric poetry begins. Its germ, as we have seen, may be discovered in the records of the patriarchal times. In the Mosaic and succeeding age it was growing wildly and luxuriantly, displaying sometimes a vigorous fulness and creative power of thought, and giving, in one direction, grand and noble utterance to the deep religious feelings of the community. But it showed itself still only in occasional and fitful bursts of splendour. It flashed out in the great battle odes of Moses and Deborah, but its right place had not yet been found in the national worship and in the civil life. It was but a wild flower, till David planted it, a kingly blossom, on Mount Zion, and cultivated it with affectionate care.¹ There, under one who was at once the greatest king and the greatest poet of Israel, poetry itself became truly great, continuing still to cherish with amazing power the virtues of valour and patriotism, but lending itself also to the encouragement of every sentiment of religion and morality on which individual and national happiness depends.

David himself supplied the chief element of this greatness. In his Psalms he has stamped himself indelibly on the thought and feeling of the world. But like every great poet he owed something to the times in which he lived, and it is in studying David's relation to his age that we come to appreciate the

healthy influence of Samuel's great work, and to understand how his efforts prepared the way for the appearance on the throne of Israel of one endowed with that great originality and spiritual power which we see reflected in the Psalms. The song of Deborah is a glorious witness to the martial spirit of the Hebrews. But it allows us to see also how easily the aspirations of the nation might have turned altogether to the glory of conquest and empire, and how much some gentler influence was needed to counteract the wild spirit of revenge which was fostered in those times of bloodshed and disorder. The schools of the prophets afforded scope for the exercise of this gentleness. In them Samuel laboured unweariedly, up to the close of his life, as a teacher of youth, taming the wild spirit by the peaceful arts of the muses.² The poetry of David shows the result of these efforts, not only in the milder tones which temper the warlike feelings breathing through them, but in the attempt, made now for the first time, to express in song all the sweeter and gentler emotions of the heart, and to penetrate to the sources of all moral strength. In the success with which the "strange musical world of the East—with its gongs and horns, and pipes, and harps"³—was called into the service of religion by David, and tempered and chastened till it became a fitting instrument to carry to the ear of God, not only exultant praise for aid in battle, but the sighs of helpless sorrow, and the vows

¹ See Herder, *Geist der S. B.*, ii.

² Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. iii.

³ Stanley, *Lectures on Jewish History*, vol. ii.

of penitence, we have an apt illustration of the moral and intellectual refinement effected for Israel by the successive efforts of Samuel and the son of Jesse. Similar testimony is borne by the hymn of Hannah, which, though it must, in its present form, belong undoubtedly to a later date, yet justifies its reference to the mother of Samuel, by the expression it gives of the tendencies towards a nobler and purer religious feeling which it was his glory and privilege to develop, until they could produce in David's hands the perfect Psalm of Israel.¹

But his own pre-eminence is so supreme that we readily identify David with all the greatness of his time, and refer to his original genius all the grand results obtained in empire and in song. His position was understood by posterity to be that of the founder of the Jewish monarchy. "In this sense his name is repeated in every possible form. 'The city of David,' 'the seed of David,' 'the house of David,' 'the key of David,' 'the oath sworn unto David,' are expressions which pervade the whole history and poetry of the Old Testament, and much of the figurative language of the New."² In the same way he was regarded as the founder of Jewish poetry. The whole Psalter was ascribed to him, an opinion which has prevailed down to Christian times. To "chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music *like David*," was one of the occupations of the court in the time of the prophet Amos (Amos vi. 5). Known as "the man who was raised up on high," and "the anointed of the God of Jacob," he was also remembered with equal affection and constancy as "the sweet psalmist of Israel" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1; lit., "pleasant of songs").

This individual influence was various as his many-sided character, and as the vicissitudes of his strongly chequered career. David's poetry is the mirror of his life. We see in it that wonderful versatility which is so forcibly described in the "Song to David" written by the half-crazed poet, Christopher Smart, on the walls of his mad-house. We see him

"Great, valiant, pious, good, and clean,
Sublime, contemplative, serene,
Strong, constant, pleasant, wise,"

Shepherd, courtier, outlaw, king, poet, musician, warrior, saint, "priest, champion, sage, and boy," David was all these—he is all these in his Psalms. The harp, which from his boyhood, when he kept his father's sheep on the hills of Bethlehem, was his inseparable companion, was tuned to every kind of song. There is a tradition that it hung always above his bed, and that at midnight the north wind swept music from its strings.³ The lofty spirit of song which possessed him, did indeed, with sweet and magic power, give expression to every innermost feeling, laying bare the deepest and most secret recesses of his mind and heart.

This is peculiarly true of his religious feelings. The

foundation of his character was laid in a firm and unshaken trust in God. His faith was simple and pure, his piety real. His wayward passionate nature led him into great sin. But he could return to God all the more loyally, and with the sincerest repentance, after his fall. The notices of him in the historical books leave us in no doubt as to the strength of his faith and the reality of his repentance. But the Psalms show us into the recesses of his heart while the struggle was going on. We see the depth of his humiliation, the completeness of the peace to which he was restored. The 32nd and the 51st Psalms are the records of his confessions, his prayers, his vows, his thanksgiving for the mercy of God. When they were composed they were entirely new to literature. Other Hebrew poets afterwards produced hymns of a like kind. But David's Psalms have ever remained, and will remain, of all recorded human words, dearest to the penitent and renewed soul, because they best express the feelings which it longs to pour out in utterance at the feet of God.

But these devotional hymns, unlike so many of the modern attempts to imitate them, bear the stamp of true poetry. They are not composed of sighs and groans strung together in unmelodious verse. Even that variety of psalm which dates entirely from this period, and in which we catch the prevalence of mournful sentiment, displays the grace and charm which flows from genuine poetic genius. How powerful and vivid are the touches with which Ps. xxxii. opens:—

"Blessed is the man to whom Jehovah doth not reckon iniquity,
And in whose spirit there is no guile.
For while I kept silence, my bones waxed old
Through my roaring all the day long.
For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me;
My moisture was turned into the drought of summer."

What a sense of security and contented rest in the Divine protection is conveyed by the threefold metaphor of the same Psalm:—

"For this cause let every godly man pray to thee
In a time when thou mayest be found;
(So) surely when the great waters overflow,
They shall not reach him.
Thou art my hiding place;
Thou wilt preserve me from trouble;
Thou wilt compass me about with songs of deliverance."

In these "songs of deliverance" we are not only brought into contact with a profound and original mind, but we see also, through the experience of an individual heart, how the ancient national religion was advancing into purer and nobler forms. There had always been in Israel faith in an invisible Power who would redeem him from danger, and give him victory in war. In David we see this faith deepened and purified. He took the brightest and most spiritual views of the creation and government of the world. We feel, as we read his poetry, that the ancient fear of God is passing, for the first time, into love of God.⁴ The deep tenderness which had its root in the centre of his being, irradiates his religion. The love which

¹ Cf. with 1 Sam. ii. 1—4, 8, &c.; Ps. ix. 14; lxxxvi. 8; xciv. 4; xxvii. 15; cxiii. 7, 8, &c.

² Stanley, as above.

³ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, art. "Harp."

⁴ Stauley, as above.

made him the most dutiful son, the fondest husband, the truest friend, the most tender father—the tenderness of personal affection which penetrated his public life, and made him “love his people with a pathetic compassion, beyond even that of Moses”—was not excluded from his thought of the Divine greatness and power, but drew him close to God, with a truly child-like confidence, even when he was conscious of error and transgression. No words could express more beautifully the feeling about him with which David’s poetry inspires us, than the sentence of the Book of Ecclesiastics: “With his whole heart he sung songs, and loved Him that made him” (Eccles. xlvii. 8). Recall some of those grand metaphors of the protecting and restoring love of the Most High, which have now passed into poetical commonplaces, but were in David’s mouth fresh and real with the memory of moving escapes and miraculous deliverances. One single verse of the grand hymn of praise, the 18th Psalm, is a brief but vivid record of the changing vicissitudes of his life:—

“I will love thee, O Lord, my strength.
The Lord is my stronghold, and my fortress, and my deliverer.
My God is my rock in whom I find refuge;
My buckler, and the horn of my salvation, my high tower.”

In that one verse is the wilderness with its cliffs and caves, and Saul hunting the fugitive to death; there is Keilah and its strong walls; the warrior band with their shields and spears, who had so often shared their leader’s dangers and triumphs; the high towers which he had scaled, or which his victorious hands had built; and, through all, the sense of complete trust in One who had in past troubles provided these places of refuge, and in whose love was ample room for confidence under every trial to which soul or body could be exposed. But there is one short poem of exquisite sweetness, which is vivid with the memory of the serene and quiet days of the old shepherd life, and of some deadly peril just escaped, but from which the psalmist emerges with a trust so calm, a peace so profound, that not even the shadow of death can disturb it. “It is the most complete picture of happiness that ever was or can be drawn. It represents that state of mind for which all alike sigh, and the want of which makes life a failure to most. It represents that *heaven* which is everywhere if we could but enter it, and yet almost nowhere because so few of us can.” It is the 23rd Psalm, which was referred by Michaelis, and with great probability, to the time, in the flight from Absalom, when David and his party were refreshed at Mahanaim by the kindness of Barzillai.

“Jehovah is my Shepherd, I shall not want.
In pastures of tender grass he maketh me to lie down;
Beside waters of quietness he leadeth me;
He restoreth my soul;
He leadeth me in right paths,
For his name’s sake.
Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,
I will fear no evil, for thou art with me,
Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.
Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of my
enemies;
Thou anointest my head with oil,

My cup runneth over.
Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my
life,
And I will dwell in the house of Jehovah for length of days.”

Seldom has poetry in so short a compass struck so truly those two opposite chords of feeling which Nature, in her different moods, has power to awaken, the sense of gladness and content in her beauty and fulness, and that undefined horror—a shudder as at the “shadow of death”—which her more gloomy and terrible aspects can create. Never certainly was the one great spiritual fact underlying them both, and of which each, to innocent trustful hearts, is a symbol, expressed, as it is expressed by Israel’s greatest poet, in this short, sweet song. He feels both the strength and the tenderness of God; he would follow the Shepherd as fearlessly in darkness as in sunshine; he discerns the “Hand that guides,” and the Providence which sustains, as much within the rocky sides of the dark and dismal valley, as in the green pastures and beside the still waters. The contrast only deepens our conception of the trust, and adds force to the triumphant joy with which the psalm concludes.

It is difficult to seize on any characteristics of David’s poetry, by which to distinguish it from that of other Hebrew poets. There is no certainty as to the number of psalms which his hand contributed to the Psalter. The inscriptions allot seventy-three to him.¹ Ewald’s criticism allows him only fifteen. It is not therefore strange that while some regard David’s peculiar manner to be plaintive, soft, and pathetic, others think his poetry distinguished by vehemence and sublimity of passion. If we start only from those examples preserved in the Second Book of Samuel (2 Sam. i. 17–27; xxii., xxiii. 1–7, and the fragment in iii. 33, 34), one of which appears with some variations, as Ps. xviii., we find even in this small compass of song almost every element which makes the charm and the greatness of lyric poetry. There is the sudden rush of feeling, “as if he were speaking after long repression;” there are the transitions so rapid and instantaneous that they make us feel we are listening to spontaneous song; there is imagery drawn from every variety of experience, and ranging through every degree of grandeur and sublimity, or of simplicity and plainness; and all presented as rising naturally out of the poet’s experience, so vivid are the touches, and so true and profound is the feeling for nature. There is also, even if we confine ourselves to these poems, enough to show us the most striking points in his many-sided character. Of his last psalm alone (2 Sam. xxiii.) it has been truly said “it is a true picture of the chequered life of David, and of the chequered fortunes of the ruler among men.”

I.
“If a man ruleth over men justly, ruling in the fear of God,
It is as when a morning is bright and the sun riseth,
A morning and no clouds;
After sunshine, after rain the tender grass springeth from the
earth.

¹ The LXX. assign eleven others beside those so assigned in the Hebrew titles.

II.

"For is not my house so with God that He made with me an everlasting covenant,
Ordered in all things and sure?
For all my salvation and all my desire—
Yea, should he not make it to grow?"

III.

"But wicked men are all of them as abominable thorns,
That cannot be grasped with the hand:
And who cometh near them is fenced with iron and the staff
of spears;
And they are forthwith utterly burnt with fire."¹

It would be rash, therefore, to try to fix definitely on the distinguishing features of David's poetry. "His harp was full-stringed, and every angel of joy and sorrow swept over the chords as he passed. For the hearts of a hundred men strove and struggled together within the narrow continent of his single heart." The variety, even if we take the fewest assigned to him, of the psalms belonging to David, shows a mind richly endowed. "The royal singer excels in the hymn, the poem, the elegy, the didactic ode. The diction too is varied, both difficult and easy, soft, diffuse, tender." There are many scholars who ascribe to him a tendency to sweetness and pathos, rather than to grandeur and power. Yet the description of the storm in Ps. xxix. (one of the few allowed by Ewald to be Davidic psalms) shows a sympathy with Nature in her wildest mood. It is certain that no other psalmist can compare with David in general merit or range of inspiration. The following summary of the excellence of David's poetry is by one well qualified to judge the merits of lyric song, the poet Campbell:—"His traits of inspiration are lovely and touching, rather than daring and astonishing. His voice, as a worshipper, has a penetrating accent of human sensibility, varying from plaintive melancholy to luxuriant gladness, and even rising to ecstatic rapture. In grief *his heart is melted like wax, and deep answers to deep*, while the waters of affliction pass over him; or his soul is led to the green pastures by the quiet waters, or his religious confidence pours forth the metaphor of a warrior in rich and exulting succession. Some of the sacred writers may excite the imagination more powerfully than David, but none of them appeal more interestingly to the heart. Nor is it in tragic so much as in joyous expression, that I conceive the power of his genius to consist. Its most inspired aspect appears to present itself when he looks abroad upon the universe with the eye of a poet, and with the breast of a glad and grateful worshipper. When he looks up to the starry firmament, his soul assimilates to the splendour and serenity which he contemplates."²

There is a prominent feature of David's song which demands a passing notice. It has been remarked how truthfully his character is reflected in his poetry. That character, like that of all truly great men, combined the opposite qualities, strength and tenderness. "He was strong with all the strength of man, and tender with all the tenderness of woman." He could hate as

well as love, and when stung with a sense of meanness, wrong, or injustice, he could flash out into strong words and strong deeds. "For evil men and evil things he found no abhorrence too deep, scarcely any imprecations too strong." His poems reflect this twofold character. Luther called them a garden in which the fairest and sweetest flowers bloom, but over which can blow the most tempestuous winds. One psalm shows this contrast in a striking way. It is the 63rd. It exhibits in the opening verses the same depth of feeling, the same tenderness of natural affection which breathes through the elegy on Jonathan. Here it is chastened and elevated by the attitude of prayer in which the poet pours out his soul to God. The close of the psalm shows the other side. "It is almost startling in the abruptness of its contrast, yet strikingly true and natural. It breathes the sternness, almost the fierceness of the ancient warrior." The poem which begins in a strain of lofty musing, ends with a cry for vengeance on his treacherous enemies.³

Even within the compass of these psalms which can safely be ascribed to David, there are enough to show what efforts lyric poetry was making to strike out new paths, and occupy new fields of feeling and thought. Many efforts have been made to divide the Psalms according to their character and contents, but the changes of feeling and expression in individual poems are too rapid to allow of an easy division. The inscriptions show an attempt to distinguish the various kinds of song. Besides the *shir* and *mizmor*, there are these among other names. *Michtam*, translated by the LXX. *σθηλογραφία*, i.e., "an inscription on a tablet;" by the Vulgate, *tituli inscriptio*. It has latterly been derived from a root meaning "gold," but there seems no particular reason, from the character of the three poems so inscribed, to call them *golden songs* (Ps. xvi., lvi., lx.). *Maschil* occurs in the titles of eleven psalms, and in the text of Ps. xlv. The LXX. translate it *συνέκρας* or *εις σύνεσιν*, the Vulgate *intellectus*, or *ad intellectum*, from which some modern scholars, as Gesenius, explain it to mean "didactic poem." Ewald prefers to interpret it "a skilful and highly-finished ode."

Shiggaion (Ps. vii.) is also variously explained. Ewald takes it for a name signifying "an irregular or dithyrambic ode." The dithyramb was a name given by the Greeks to a lyric measure of a wild enthusiastic kind. But there is nothing in the 7th Psalm to distinguish it in this direction from many others. *Shiggaion* is therefore most probably one of those musical directions which are prefixed to so many of the Psalms, and about which very little certain is known.

These titles do not give any effective help to a division of the contents of the Psalter according to subject and style. Nor is the chronological arrangement, of which traces can be discerned in the five books, satisfactory or complete. It will be shown how this division probably arose in treating in the next paper of the history of lyric poetry after David.

¹ 2 Sam. xxiii. 4-7. *Psalms Chronologically Arranged*, by Four Friends.

² Quoted by Davidson, in his *Introduction to the Old Testament*.

³ Perowne, *Psalms*, Introduction. Mr. Perowne's translation has been followed in the above quotations from the Psalms.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. JOHN II. 18 (*continued*).

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EXCURSUS "A" ON ST. MATT. XXIV.—THE BASIS OF ST. JOHN'S TEACHING RESPECTING THE "LAST TIME."¹

THE 24th chapter of St. Matthew appears to be a general prophetic picture of suffering and danger incident to the "last time"—a period, we have shown in our last paper, reaching from the days of Messiah to the day of the final judgment of the world. In the course of the prophecy our Lord makes plain and unmistakable allusions to that great and solemn judgment day, the consummation of all things, notably in vs. 14, 29, 30, 31, 36.

In the foreground, however, of the great general picture is delineated, with a few sharp, rough touches, some terrible calamity which is powerfully to affect the course of the world's history, and in a degree seems a foreshadowing of the great judgment. This lesser judgment, from the Messiah's own memorable words, was evidently near at hand; nor could those that listened to him have failed to perceive that some, at least, of those present would certainly live to behold it, and to share in it. Not quite forty years after the words were spoken came the fall of Jerusalem and the final destruction of the Temple. This first judgment swept away all the old Jewish landmarks, and left an open field for the development of Gentile, universal Christianity. While the chosen race existed as a distinct and powerful nationality, while the Holy City and Temple stood, Christianity could never have been taken out of its original Jewish setting—could never have become the religion of the world. This catastrophe closed the first act of the world's drama of the "last time." In the great prophetic picture of our Lord it is the only one of the lesser judgments specially painted by him.

But we may look on the violent break-up of the Roman Empire under the assaults of the Teuton tribes—a long period of untold bitter sufferings—as the close of the second act. All this weary, terrible misery, however, cleared away the old pagan landmarks, customs, and life, and allowed the spirit of Christianity to remodel, in a great measure, public thought and public opinion.

The great Reformation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries closed the third period in the history of the "last time," and prepared the way for free generous thought and action, tearing down, boldly, fearlessly, all these parasitic growths which had been suffered to come up and twine about the walls and towers, and

which threatened the safety of the very foundations of the city of God on earth.

Whether the termination of the temporal power of the Bishops of Rome and the rise of the great Protestant Teuton Empire be the close of the fourth act and the opening scene of the fifth act of the great world drama, is a question another generation will have to answer.

EXCURSUS "B," ON "L'ANTECHRIST" OF M. RENAN.

The fourth part of M. Renan's work, *Histoire des Origines du Christianisme*, tells the story of the Christian Church from M. Renan's own peculiar point of view, from the time of St. Paul's arrival at Rome, A.D. 61, to the close of the Jewish revolt, A.D. 73. The central figure of this eventful period, round whom other personages are grouped with more or less distinctness, is the gloomy and eccentric figure of the Emperor Nero, in whom the French writer sees the Antichrist of St. John—the "beast" (τὸ θηρίον) who occupies so prominent a place in the Revelation. M. Renan places the writing of the Revelation A.D. 69. He lays great stress on that only half-expressed, but still wide-spread expectation of Nero's return; that partial disbelief in the tyrant's death which existed in many parts of the Roman Empire for a long period after the emperor's self-murder at the hands of his freedman, Epaphroditus;² and pictures, with a strange, fantastic power peculiarly his own, the writer of the Revelation looking back with awful horror on the scenes of blood and cruelty which he had himself witnessed during the persecution of the Christians at Rome by Nero, A.D. 64, and from which he had hardly escaped. He represents St. John contemplating Nero, his life and work; the centre of that wicked, selfish, luxurious Roman world; the cruel persecutor, the licentious, degraded prince, whom, in common with many others at that time, he imagined not dead, but in hiding temporarily among the Parthians, or elsewhere, and about to re-appear again, with greater power, with more unbridled licence than before. In this monster, in this deadly enemy to the Christian sect, in this curse of the world, St. John (according to M. Renan) saw "the Beast," the enemy of Christ, the Antichrist, who, after being let loose for another season of crime and bloodshed, was eventually to be cast into the Lake of Fire for ever and ever.

M. Renan, in support of his hypothesis, gives an elaborate explanation of the Apocalyptic symbolism,

² Renan, concerning the expected return of Nero, quotes Tacit., *Hist.* i. 2; ii. 8; Suet., *Nero*, 57; Dion. Chrys., *Orat.* xxi. 10, &c. See page 319 and note ("L'Antechrist").

¹ See Vol. I., page 382.

with a confession in one place, perhaps, of some confusion (see his note on page 414). "The head wounded to death, whose deadly wound was healed" (Rev. xiii. 3, 12), he considers a plain reference to the current notion (firmly held, as he assumes, by the writer of the vision) of the dethronement and only *attempted* suicide of the Emperor Nero, and of the tyrant's wonderful preservation from death. The famous number 666

points, in his opinion, to the same conclusion—that "the Beast," the Antichrist of the early Church, was Nero.¹

¹ M. Renan, in a note to pp. 415, 416, explains how the numerical values of the Hebrew characters which represent the Greek form of Nero Caesar, when added together, give the mystic number of the "Beast," 666 (Rev. xiii. 18), Νέρων Καίσαρ, נררן קסר. Thus:— $(\aleph = 50) + (\aleph = 200) + (\aleph = 6) + (\aleph = 50) + (\aleph = 100) + (\aleph = 60) + (\aleph = 200) = 666$. (*L'Antichrist*, pp. 415, 416.)

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

THE HERODIAN FAMILY (*continued*).

BY THE EDITOR.

III. HEROD ANTIPAS.

THE fact (1.) previously referred to that Manaen, probably an Essene by descent and training, had been brought up as the foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, presents not a few points of contact with the Gospel narrative. (a) It helps to explain the inconsistencies of his character. He comes before us alike in the Gospels and in Josephus, as ambitious, licentious, unscrupulous. And yet he is obviously, at the commencement of our Lord's ministry, one whose conscience has not yet been seared. When he is reproved by the Baptist in sharp unsparing words, his first impulse is not one of scorn or anger, but of reverential attention: "He feared John, knowing that he was a just man and a holy, and observed him; and he did many things, and heard him gladly" (Mark vi. 20). This respect for one who presented a pattern of holiness, which he admired as from a distance, is just what would be natural in one whose youth had been passed in close contact with one of this sect who was true to the principles and practices of an Essene, and whose life would therefore be framed after the same model of Nazarite and Rechabite austerity as that of the Baptist.

(b) The fact that the name of Manaen appears among the prophets and teachers at Antioch is, as I have pointed out elsewhere,¹ suggestive of the fact that in him there was one in whom the seed of the Divine word fell on the soil of an honest and good heart, and brought forth fruit abundantly. If we assume, as is probable, that he continued to be on terms of greater or less intimacy with the prince with whom he had been so closely connected during his youth, we may think of his influence as having, for a time at least, counteracted that of the ambitious and vindictive Herodias. When the weaker mind of the tetrarch was led on to the irrevocable act which marked him as the murderer, even then the unwilling murderer, of the forerunner of Christ, the Essene must have made his choice, and joined himself to the company of those disciples in whose aims and rules of conduct he found so much that was in harmony with those of the brother-

hood with whom he had till then been associated.² There are signs, at any rate, in the Gospel history that some such influence as that which such a man was likely to exercise was at work amongst the officers and attendants of the tetrarch. The nobleman at Capernaum who sent to our Lord beseeching him to come down and heal his son (John iv. 46, 47) was, as his name indicates (*βασιλικός*, an attendant of the king's), attached to the court of Herod, and obviously believed in the supernatural, divine power of Christ, even at that early stage in his ministry. Joanna, the wife of Chuza, the steward or guardian of Herod's property, took her place among the devout women who followed our Lord, and ministered to Him of their substance. The presence among the early believers at Rome of one bearing a name (Herodion), which marked him out as connected with the dynasty, points in the same direction (Rom. xvi. 11). The fact that Herod, when "he heard of the fame of Jesus, said *unto his servants*, This is John the Baptist, he is risen from the dead," gains a fresh interest (as Professor Blunt points out in his *Scriptural Coincidences*) when we connect it with the notices which show that those servants must have included some at least who were in heart followers of the Baptist and disciples of the Christ.

(c) We may add, that the ready acceptance Herod gave to the strange belief which these words imply, was

² An interesting article on the Talmud, in the July (1873) number of the *Edinburgh Review*, starts, or rather revives the hypothesis that the Essenes were in fact Christians, and supports the conjecture by a considerable number of superficial resemblances—their purity, abstemiousness, voluntary poverty, aversion to the use of oaths, and the like. What has been mentioned in these papers shows, I need scarcely say, that the theory is untenable. The resemblances are only such as are to be found in all communities which aim at a devout, contemplative, yet industrial life. And there is the one insuperable difficulty that the Essenes are mentioned by Josephus, as in the case of the elder Manaen, as existing even in the childhood of Herod the Great, sixty years or so before the birth of Christ; that the full account of their mode of life is given by him as belonging to the time of Judas of Galilee; and that the historian himself joined the sect when he was about sixteen years of age, and therefore some years before there was a body of Christian disciples. It is probable enough, of course, that many of the order followed the example of Manaen, and that they formed an important element in the Jewish Christian Church; but the assumption that the Essenes, as such, were Christians, is simply an anachronism.

¹ *Biblical Studies*, "Manaen," p. 336.

precisely what might be expected from one who had been more or less under influences like that of the Essenes. Commentators, assuming that, like most of the wealthy and powerful, he belonged to the Sadducees, or at least held their tenets, have, for the most part, seen in these words either the irony of a mocking scorn, or else the reaction of a superstition which he could not shake off, against the scepticism of a sect which denied that there was any resurrection or spirit. The view which has been here taken presents, it is believed, a much more natural explanation. The Essenes taught, as the Pharisees did, that the soul was immortal, and that when released from the burden of the flesh, it gained a new power and blessedness. Though they do not seem to have held, as the Pharisees did, a distinct doctrine of transmigration (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8), yet the two beliefs were so closely linked together, that in the mind of the conscience-stricken tetrarch, the one would naturally suggest the other. The old Essene belief would fill his mind with vague fears and forebodings. It was in no mood of scorn, but of real perplexity, that he accepted the popular solution of the fact that mighty works were wrought by One who seemed to him to be doing the same work, with yet more mighty signs of power, as had been done by the Baptist.

2. The glimpses which we get in the Gospel history of the character of Herodias point to her as having a stronger will for evil than her husband. She is to him as Jezebel was to Ahab, as Lady Macbeth, in Shakespeare's terrible creation, is to the Scottish thane. What we read of her in other records brings this characteristic into yet greater prominence. Even in the marriage, which stamps the name of the tetrarch with such an eternal infamy, she appears to have been as much the temptress as the tempted. She agreed to leave one nucle-husband for another in the hope of gaining greater power and a higher title; stipulated that the tetrarch, as the condition of the incestuous adultery, should put away his former wife, the daughter of Aretas, an Arabian chief; and then urged on her new husband in the path of ambition which she had marked out for him (Joseph., *Antiq.* xviii. 5). The career of crime was marked at every step by new disasters. The death of John the Baptist, imprisoned as he had been at Machærus, shocked the feelings of the great body of his subjects, who had acquiesced, though with suppressed indignation, in the marriage itself, and involved Herod in a war with the father of the wife whom he had, without any ostensible cause, so insolently repudiated. Traces of that war, which ended in the disastrous defeat of Herod's troops, are to be found in two memorable passages of the Gospel history. (1.) We read in St. Luke's account of the Baptist's ministry that among those who flocked to his preaching, seeking a new rule of life, were "soldiers," whom he counselled to "do violence to no man, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content with their wages" (Luke iii. 14). The word so translated, however (*στρατευόμενοι*), means more than soldiers by profession. They were men actually

on service, marching (for we know of no other warfare in which Herod was engaged at the time) against Aretas, the father of the injured princess. It is a noteworthy feature in the teaching of the Baptist, that preaching to such men at such a time, he forebore to speak to them of the guilt of the master whom they served, and contented himself with telling them what was their plain and simple duty. It was not theirs to decide on the causes of the war. Each was simply to do his duty even to such a master, and to keep his own hands and heart clear from the sins to which warfare tempted him. (2.) We find, if I mistake not, an allusion to the same campaign in our Lord's illustration of spiritual truths, in Luke xiv. 31, 32: "What king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassador, and desireth conditions of peace." The words of the Teacher, who adapted his instructions always to the thoughts and experience of those who heard Him, may well be thought of as pointing the lesson in this case from the history which was so recent. Herod Antipas had not calculated his resources, had been ignominiously defeated, and had been compelled to appeal to Tiberius, and solicit his armed intervention.

The ambition of Herodias, however, was not yet satisfied. When her brother Agrippa (of whom more hereafter) had obtained, through the favour of Caligula, for whom he had helped to secure the succession to the empire, the title of king, she was indignant to find her husband in a position of inferiority. Again the stronger will overpowered the weaker. She urged him to go to the imperial city, as Agrippa had done, and gain the emperor's favour. "Let us go to Rome, and spare no pains or expense either in gold or silver, since they cannot be kept for any better use than for the attainment of a kingdom." At first (to quote the words of Josephus) the tetrarch "opposed her request, out of the love of ease, and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be king." And at last her importunity prevailed. They started on their journey to Rome with a magnificent retinue. But their rival was beforehand with them. Agrippa sent a messenger with a letter accusing Antipas of treason, and in particular for having stored up arms for seventy thousand men. The tetrarch, who had, after his fashion, acted this time on the counsel implied in our Lord's words, was compelled to admit the fact; and the emperor, not satisfied with his explanations, deprived him of his tetrarchy, and banished him to the same province as that in which Archelaus was dragging on his life of exile. It is the one redeeming feature in the character of the wicked woman who was the author of his fall, that when the emperor offered to pardon her for the sake of her brother, she refused the indulgence which would have separated her from her

husband, and preferred to share his misfortunes as she had before shared his prosperity (Joseph, *ibid.*).

3. St. Luke, here as elsewhere, obviously having had access to information connected with the Herods which the other Evangelists did not possess, reports two facts which brought the tetrarch into contact with Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judæa. "There were present at that season some that told him (our Lord) of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices" (xiii. 1). The history of Josephus, though it does not record a massacre of Galileans as such, relates an incident with which the event mentioned in St. Luke was probably identical. Pilate, with a Roman's instinct for material improvements, undertook the construction of an aqueduct for the water-supply of Jerusalem, and for this purpose, with the assent or acquiescence of the priests, made use of the "corban," or consecrated treasure of the Temple, in which the gifts of pilgrims of all nations were accumulated. The people, however, looked on this as an act of sacrilege: it came into collision with the teaching of the Pharisees as to the sin of applying any dedicated gift (Mark vii. 11—13), and the multitude clamoured vehemently against it. Thousands were gathered together, and Pilate thought it necessary to send in a large number of his troops, in the common dress of the country, and with their arms concealed, and a large number of the defenceless crowd were slaughtered (Joseph., *Antiq.* xviii. 3). It will be observed that there is no mention of the Galileans here. On the other hand, from the days of Judas of Galilee onwards, the people of that province were always the most excitable on questions which affected their religion (cf. *Antiq.* xvii. 10, § 2), and they were not likely to be passive on such an occasion as this. The assumption that one of the incidents of the uproar was the slaughter of some of Herod's subjects is at least probable, and it seems to explain the "enmity" which for some time before the crucifixion had existed between the procurator and the tetrarch. What greater compliment could the Roman magistrate pay to the offended prince than scrupulously to recognise his jurisdiction in any case where a Galilean were concerned? (Luke xxiii. 6, 7.)

4. Three other coincidences connect themselves, with more or less probability, with the same series of events. (1.) The fall of the tower of Sileam (Luke xiii. 4) was manifestly spoken of as a Divine judgment for some supposed crime. If, as is probable, it stood near the pool or conduit of that name, it may have been connected with the structure of the aqueduct just referred to. Assuming this, we can easily understand how the excited feeling of the multitude would see in its fall a proof of the Divine displeasure, and how naturally the mention of a catastrophe on one side would suggest a reference to an equal disaster on the other. The words of the Teacher gain a new force if we think of them as dealing with two cases, each of which was referred to by opposite parties, the one involving the death of those who opposed, the other of those who took part in, the construction of the tower, and proclaiming that in the

order of God's government these things came alike upon the just and the unjust.

(2.) We have seen reason to connect our Lord's reference to the folly of the king who plunges into a war for which he is unprepared, with the local history of the time. I venture to suggest that the parallel instance may have a like reference. Pilate was obliged to abandon his enterprise when the resources on which he relied were cut off, and the unfinished portions of towers and arches must have been the object of a somewhat derisive scorn to all the Jews who gazed on them. What more likely to become a bye-word and a proverb? May we not think of this as the substratum of the parable: "Which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it? Lest haply, after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, and is not able to finish" (Luke xiv. 28—30).

(3.) The incident referred to also affords an explanation (I follow Ewald, the great historian of Israel, in this conjecture) of the strange popularity of Barabbas. It was no common robber, like the two who were led forth to crucifixion, that thus attracted the enthusiasm of the people. His very name, looked at as being a patronymic, like Bartimæus or Barjoudah, implies that he was looked on as the son of one who was regarded as a "father in Israel," priest, it may be, or scribe; and if we receive the reading of some of the most ancient MSS., his own name was identical with that of our Lord. The multitude had to make their choice between Jesus of Nazareth and Jesus Barabbas, between the son of the carpenter and the son of some man of mark at Jerusalem. And we are not without a clue to the motives that determined their choice. Their favourite was a "notable" *i.e.*, an illustrious prisoner; he had been cast into prison "for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder" (Luke xxiii. 19). He "lay bound with them that had made insurrection with him, who had committed murder in the insurrection" (Mark xv. 7). So far as the history of Josephus guides us, there had been no insurrection at Jerusalem of any moment since that the story of which has been told above. The supposition that Barabbas had been a conspicuous leader in that tumult, that he had thus made himself the representative of the excited feelings of the multitude, the Pharisees, and the larger portion of the priests, affords the most natural explanation possible of the choice made by the multitude, whether of Jerusalem or Galilee, when they cried out, "Not this man, but Barabbas"—not he who bids us render to Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, but he who has suffered bravely in the cause we hold so sacred.

5. One or two points remain to be noticed in connection with the tetrarch's administration. It was his policy, we have seen, as it had been that of his father, to court the favour of the emperor, and no form of flattery was found more efficacious than that of founding or rebuilding a city in honour of the emperor himself, or of some member of his family. So a change of nomen-

clature passed over the country precisely at the period with which the Gospel history brings us into contact. What had been the Sea of Gennesaret became the Sea of Tiberias, from the city of that name which Antipas built on its western shore, and of which we still hear the echo in the modern name of the lake, as *Bahr Tubariyeh*. So one of the two Beth-saidas ("House of Fish," "Fish-town" as we might call it), that at the north-eastern extremity of the lake, received in addition the name of Julias, in honour of the daughter of Augustus. Philip, the tetrarch of Ituræa, not to be behind his brother, rebuilt the city near the source of the Jordan, which had first been known as Laish; then, when conquered by a portion of that tribe, as Dan (Judg. xviii. 29); then, after the legends of Greek mythology had overspread the land, as Paneas, from the grotto dedicated to Pan,¹ near which Herod the Great had built a marble temple to Augustus, and gave it the new name of Cæsarea, to which, in order to distinguish it from the city built by his father on the coast, he added the epithet Philippi.

Some traces of this Romanising influence on the customs and speech of the Galilean peasants have been already pointed out. The *denarius*, the *as*, the *quadrans* are the common coins by which the people reckon the wages of a day's labour, and the price of sparrows in the market. "Centurion" becomes a familiar word. Even the demoniac sees in the "legion" the embodiment of resistless force. The napkin that

¹ It is right to add that this identification is disputed by Dean Howson and other eminent geographers.

goes round the neck or loins is known as the *sudarium*. Yet more strikingly is that influence seen in the narrative of the tetrarch's great crime. It was not the custom of the Jews to keep royal birthdays. Festivals, from their point of view, were to be in honour of God only, and they grouped such feasts as that which Herod held, with the *Saturnalia* and other heathen abominations. Herod, however, followed the Roman fashion. The accession and the birthday of the emperor were feast days in the Roman calendar. The feast itself was therefore an offence against the religious feeling of the people. The dance of Salome, the daughter of Herodias, was yet more so. To the Hebrews, dancing was a solemn as well as a joyful thing, the expression in rhythmic motion of the feelings which found utterance also in melody and song. So David and the priests and Levites had danced before the ark; so Miriam had led the women of Israel with timbrels and dances; so, in a later age, those women had welcomed Saul and David on their return from conquest. Men and women danced apart; and the union of both in the same dance would have been an outrage on the Jew's sense of decency. But it was yet more so, that a princely maiden should come by herself, and dance with more or less lascivious pantomime (as girls did at the Caprean banquets of Tiberius) before the gaze of revellers flushed with wine, and thus stimulate the voluptuousness which craved for ever-new excitement. It was perhaps the very novelty of the stimulus that made the sensual prince willing to reward this inventress of a fresh pleasure with even the half of his kingdom, or the head of a righteous victim.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.

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XVII.

IN the last chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles (ver. 23), we have a part of a decree, and in the first chapter of Ezra (vs. 2—4), we have the whole of a decree of Cyrus the Great, king of Persia, which receives a good deal of illustration from the inscriptions set up at Behistun, Persepolis, and elsewhere, by some of this monarch's early successors. The decree is very remarkable, first, from its monotheistic character; secondly, from the fact that it identifies the great god of the Persians with Jehovah, the God of the Jews; and, thirdly, from its claiming for Cyrus that he has a divine mission to re-establish the Jews in their country and to rebuild their Temple at Jerusalem. There are also particular expressions in it which are unusual, and which will be found to resemble expressions in the early Persian inscriptions.

I. The monotheistic character of the decree appears in the phrases, "The Lord God of heaven" (or literally, "Jehovah, the God of heaven"), in ver. 2; and "He

is the God" (*hu ha-Elohim*) in ver. 3. The monotheism is apparently complete. It is not like that of Nebuchadnezzar, who combines a special devotion to one God (who is "his god") with a worship of many other powers, equal or not much inferior—who calls Daniel's God "*a God of gods*," and holds that "there is none other god that can deliver after this sort" (Dan. iii. 29). It is a monotheism in which the One God stands at an inconceivable distance from all other beings, some of whom may perhaps be called "gods," but who are at the best angelic intelligences set by the Supreme Being over different portions of his creation. Now, the inscriptions of the early Persian monarchs show them distinctly to have been monotheists, and not only so, but monotheists of exactly this sort. The monarchs term the Supreme Being Ahura-mazda (Ormazd), "the much-giving" or "much-knowing Spirit."¹ The usual mode in which they speak of him is the following:—

¹ See Brockhaus, *Vendidad-Sade*, pp. 347 and 385. The verb *da* in old Persian had the two meanings of "to know" and "to give." Compare the Greek *δαω*, and *δαδωαι* (Lat. *dare*).

"A great god is Ahura-mazda. He it is that gave (*i.e.*, made) this earth, that gave that heaven, that gave mankind, that gave life (?) to mankind, that made . . . king, both the king of the people and the lawgiver of the people."¹ Ahura-mazda alone they invoke; to Ahura-mazda alone they ascribe their victories and successes. While they mention him perpetually in all their inscriptions, it is only here and there that they admit the existence of any other divine being. Occasionally such beings are glanced at. Ormazd is "the greatest of the gods" (*mathista baganam*).² He is coupled sometimes with the deities that protect the royal house.³ He is united in one instance with the sun-god, Mithra.⁴ But, excepting in half-a-dozen passages, he reigns supreme and alone, the god to whom each monarch addresses his prayers, to whom he attributes his past prosperity, from whom he expects future favours, whom he invokes alike in prayers and in imprecations, whom he is never weary of acknowledging. So near an approach to pure monotheism is very unusual among the nations of antiquity; and it is strongly indicative of the accuracy of the sacred writers that they ascribe such views to exactly the nation which appears by its own records to have cherished them.⁵

II. The identification of Ahura-mazda with Jehovah, the God of the Jews, is very remarkable. In general the Persians felt the utmost contempt towards the gods of alien nations. Their wars were in a great measure religious wars;⁶ it was their great object to show that Ahura-mazda alone was the true God, and that he was infinitely superior to the divinities worshipped by other races. They usually insulted the religion of each conquered nation, and strove to cover it with ridicule. But the decree of Cyrus, and the other Hebrew records of the relations between the Jews and the Persians, distinctly prove that towards the Jews their conduct was wholly different. In this single instance they showed respect for an alien religion, approved it, sympathised with it, and went so far as to accept its God as identical with their own, and to regard Jehovah as another name for Ormazd. Here the inscriptions do not directly confirm the sacred narrative, since they contain no mention of Jehovah or of the Jews; but they are in complete harmony with the Biblical accounts, and so indirectly confirm them. The character of the Persian religion, as represented upon the monuments, is such that we can readily understand the nation sympathising with the Jews. If the Persian conception of Ahura-mazda is not, as it is not, "*perfectly identical* with the notion of Elohim, or Jehovah, which we find in the books of the Old Testament,"⁷ it

is, at any rate, so near to it that, when the two peoples came to understand each other's views, the resemblance could not but have been recognised, and a sympathy could not but have arisen. Thus the Scriptural narrative of what actually happened is the natural outcome of the quasi-identity of religious belief which the inscriptions, compared with the Jewish Scriptures, indicate.

III. The determination of Cyrus to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, and especially his declaration that "Jehovah, the God of heaven, had *charged* him to build the house" (Ezra i. 2), have been thought surprising, owing to the statement of Herodotus and others that "the Persians had no images of the gods, *no temples* nor altars, and considered the use of them a sign of folly."⁸ It is, indeed, admitted that the later Persians had temples;⁹ but their use is supposed to be an innovation, the produce of corrupt times, and a departure from the purer practice of antiquity. Here the inscriptions come in, and completely remove the supposed difficulty by showing us that the Greeks were mistaken on the point, and that the Persians of the purest times worshipped Ormazd in temples, and regarded them as rightful, if not necessary, buildings. Darius Hystaspis, the restorer of pure Zoroastrianism, tells us that when he had dethroned Gomates, the Magian, it was his first care to "*rebuild the temples*," which that usurper had destroyed,¹⁰ and which, consequently, must have existed under Cambyses, and almost certainly had existed under Cyrus. With regard to the special *mission* of Cyrus to rebuild the Jewish temple, we cannot explain it from the inscriptions; but it would seem to be not improbable that, on his capture of Babylon, his attention was called to the prophecy of Isaiah (xliv. 28—"That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundations shall be laid"), and that he accepted this prophecy as a Divine command, which it was his duty to obey.

IV. The expression, "the God of heaven," which occurs both in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23 and in Ezra i. 2, is one almost absent from the earlier Scriptures, and, with one exception,¹¹ may perhaps be said to be first brought before us by the edict of Cyrus. It should, therefore, be a Persian phrase. Now, though the inscriptions do not absolutely contain it, they throw light on it. They show us that the *formula usitata* with respect to Ormazd—occurring in the inscriptions of almost every king—put prominently forward the idea that he was

257). It has been combated by Professor Pusey (*Daniel the Prophet*, pp. 530—532).

¹ Herod. i. 131. Compare Strab. xv. p. 732.

² Creuzer, *Symbol.*, vol. i., p. 651; Bähr ad Herod. i. 131. Compare Polyb. v. 10, § 8; x. 27, § 12, &c.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 273, 319, and 334.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 275. Compare p. 324.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

⁶ See further, on this subject, the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii., pp. 96—99.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 339, 390, 452, &c.

⁸ This is the position maintained by Dr. Martin Haug (*Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees*, p.

11 The one clear exception is Jonah i. 9. Daniel also uses the phrase (ii. 18, 19, 37, 44); but it is not certain that this chapter was written before the decree of Cyrus.

the "maker of heaven." The formula has been already given (see page 86).

It is usual for a Persian monarch to commence a document with an acknowledgment that he derives his royal authority from Ormazd. The opening clause of the edict of Cyrus, "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth," runs parallel with such an initial sentence as the following, "The great god Ormazd, who is the chief of the gods, he established Darius as king; he granted him the empire; by the grace of Ormazd is Darius king."¹ It may be

objected that in this formula, and others similar to it, no such violent exaggeration is used as that of the edict, "The Lord God hath given me *all the kingdoms of the earth.*" Darius, however, and Xerxes continually speak of themselves as "supporters of this great world,"² and both Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Oelus call themselves expressly "kings of *this earth.*"³ Thus the exaggeration, which is quite in the Oriental style, is one not unknown to Persian monarchs.

¹ See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i., p. 273.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 287, 292, 320, 324, &c.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 342; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 372.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRELECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

BABYLON (*continued*).

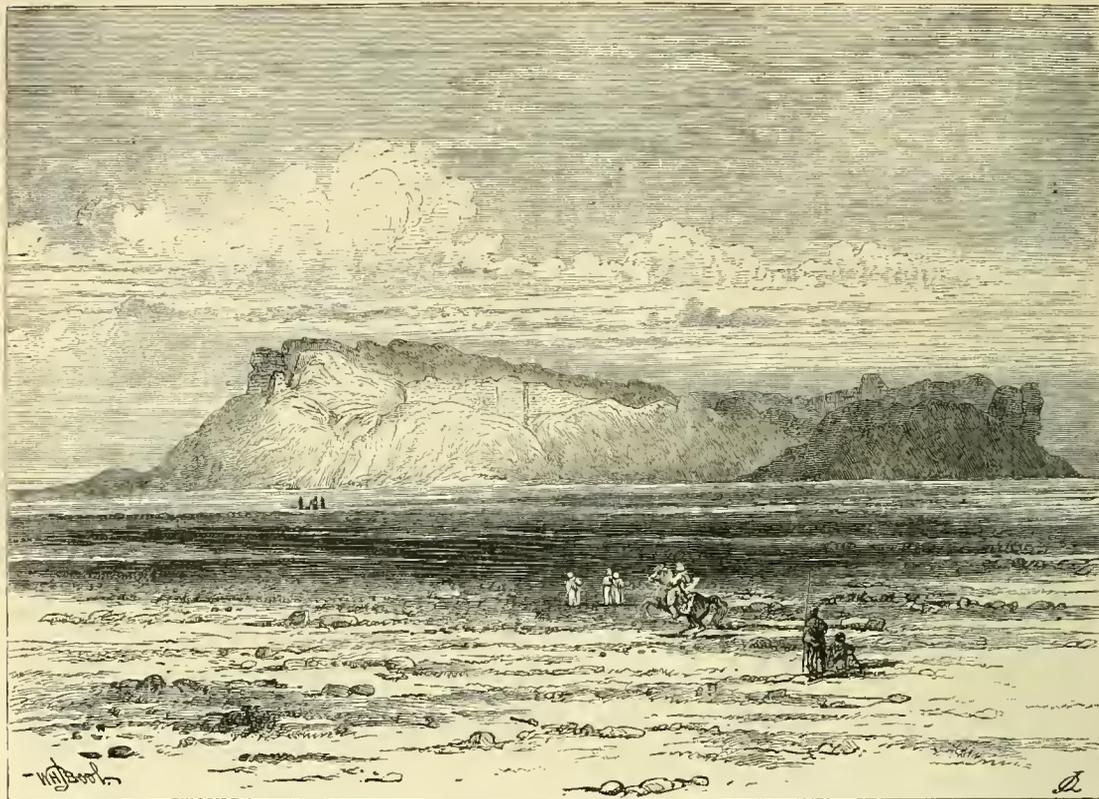
BUT it is on the eastern side of the river, a short distance above Hillah, that the principal remains of the great city are apparent. Most travellers who have described the ruins have approached them from Baghdad, on the Tigris, which place lies between fifty and sixty miles to the north-east of the city which it may be said to have succeeded, if not in magnitude, yet in comparative importance. The space between the rivers is naturally a level plain, intersected by numerous canals, most of them now dry, but attesting by their remains the skill and industry of past generations and the neglect of those who have come after. It is strewn, also, in every direction with mounds and heaps of drifted soil, covering the walls and foundations of ruined buildings.

Near the village of *Mahowill*, about ten miles north of Hillah, a canal is crossed which still conveys water to distant gardens, and on its southern bank is a line of earthen ramparts believed to be the most northern remains of Babylon. Five miles further to the south, rising squarely above the plain, about 950 yards from the Euphrates, which here winds its course for some miles between fringes of palm-trees, is a huge mound, in form and size resembling a natural hill rather than the work of men's hands; but on nearer approach its table-like though uneven top and perpendicular sides, rising abruptly from the plain, reveal its artificial construction. This is the *Mujelibé*, i.e., "the overturned," or, as the Arabs call it, *Babil*, for the former of these terms is applied to more than one of the ruined heaps of Babylon. It is the most imposing of the three great masses of ruin which lie in succession from north to south, between Mahowill and Hillah, and is marked a upon plan No. 1 (page 90). The *Mujelibé* is about 200 yards long on the north side, about 218 on the south, 182 on the east, and 136 on the west. It is about 141 feet in height, and is composed of sun-dried bricks inscribed with Nebuchadnezzar's name; it has the appearance of a platform on which other buildings

once stood, and from it the best view of the other ruins is obtained. The interior is full of holes and ravines, the haunt of wild animals, the "satyrs" and "dragons" of which prophecy had said that after its destruction the houses and "pleasant palaces" of Babylon should be full (Isa. xiii. 21, 22; Jer. l. 39). Many coffins also have been found there, and many remains of glass and earthenware vessels, but none of very ancient date. The angles of the structure, as was observed by Pietro della Valle, point nearly to the principal quarters of the compass. The bricks are firmly cemented together, and the reeds laid between the courses so strong and fresh as to offer a firm resistance to force when used to detach them. Though Babil stands pre-eminent above the plain, on all sides shapeless heaps of rubbish bestrew its surface, and masses of marble, fragments of pottery and glass are mingled with that peculiar nitrous and blanched soil, which, bred from the remains of ancient habitations, checks or destroys vegetation, and renders the site of Babylon a naked and hideous waste. Besides the jackals and other "doleful creatures" mentioned above, owls, sometimes in flocks of one hundred in number, are seen to start from the low shrubs and scanty thickets among the ruins.

Southward of Babil, for nearly three miles, extends an almost uninterrupted line of mounds, the ruins of vast edifices, enclosed by earthen ramparts, the remains of a line of walls which stretched inwards, as seen in the plan (page 90), to a distance of about two miles from the bed of the Euphrates, and there nearly converging from the apex of a sort of triangle of which the river itself is the base. That base may be estimated at about 2 miles 200 yards in length, while the perpendicular, so to call it, of the triangle is about 2 miles 600 yards long.

About half a mile to the south of Babil, close to the river, is the second mass of ruin called by the Arabs *El-Kasr*, "the palace," marked B on the plan. This also is sometimes called *Mujelibé*: it consists of a square of about 700 yards each way, and its structure is much more elaborate than that of any of the other buildings. The bricks are of the finest kind.

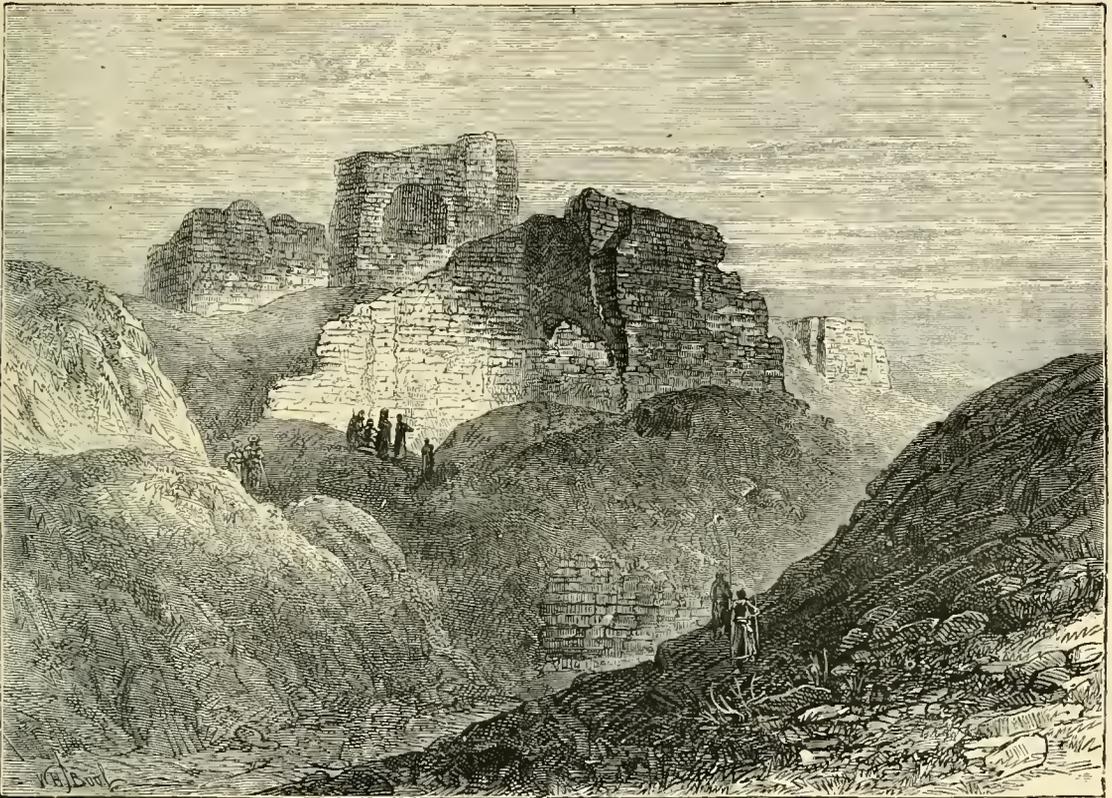


THE MUJELIBÉ.

baked, not in the sun but in the fire, each bearing on its lower side an inscription of the name Nebuchadnezzar. The principal part of the mound consists of loose bricks, tiles, and fragments of stone, but nearly in the centre is a solid mass of masonry, still entire, and retaining traces of architectural ornament. Piers, buttresses, and pilasters may be traced, but the work of destruction is too complete to decide whether they belonged to the interior or the exterior of a palace. This wonderful piece of masonry is so perfect and fresh in colour, that, notwithstanding its great antiquity, and the rude treatment it has received, it seems but the work of yesterday. Many of the bricks are coloured in red, yellow, blue, white, and black hues, and covered with a thick enamel or glaze, on which the traces of figures and ornaments are clearly visible, a circumstance which agrees with the statements of ancient writers, that the walls of ancient Babylon were painted with figures of men and animals. Amid the ruins is the sculptured figure of a lion standing over a man, roughly executed in black basalt, nine feet long and six in height. The mound on which the Kasr stands is full of holes, which, as elsewhere in this land of ruins, are haunted by jackals. A single tree, of the tamarisk kind, stands on the northern edge, dying, if not now dead, which, tradition says, was saved at the destruc-

tion of the city from the famous hanging gardens by divine interposition, in order that Ali, the fourth caliph, might tie his horse to it after the destruction of his enemies in the great battle of Hillah. Some shoots from this tree have been planted in the garden of the British Resident at Baghdad, and also in the British cemetery there. From the ruins Mr. Layard was able to excavate a fragment of limestone on which were portions of two figures, of a character resembling that of the Assyrian so familiar to us in the monuments of Nineveh.

About half a mile south of the Kasr is the third of the three great masses of ruin (marked c in the plan, page 90), which goes by the name of the Tell-Amram, or Hill of Amram, so called from the name of a Mohammedan saint whose tomb stands upon it. It is of a triangular form, about 100 feet high, and larger than the Kasr, but, except the modern tomb just mentioned, has no distinct building upon it. It is a shapeless mass of bricks, mortar, and cement, broken into deep ravines and long winding furrows. Within it were discovered by Mr. Layard some interesting remains relating to the Jewish Captivity, bearing inscriptions in the Chaldee language which were evidently intended to be charms against evil spirits, and whose use recalls to our mind some of the machinery of the Book of Tobit. They



THE KASR.

are now in the British Museum, but the description of them does not belong to our present subject.

The three masses of ruin which we have described are the principal ones of the Babylonian remains which appear to represent definite structures within the city, but besides there are some very remarkable ridges or mounds, of which mention has already been made, and which may well be supposed to have formed part of its original defences, exterior and interior. Besides the lines which seem to represent external walls are two parallel ridges running north and south, of which the one nearest to the river is broken by an opening. They have been thought to be the walls of a great reservoir of water, perhaps the one which Semiramis is said to have made. Outside the triangular space of which we have spoken another line runs in a somewhat curved shape, about two and a half miles in length. There are also detached mounds, most of them, though not all, on the eastern side of the river, which belong to the general mass of ruins, but which it is not necessary to describe separately.

Such are the existing remains, concerning which little or no doubt can be entertained that they belonged to the city of Babylon. They represent to us a city of great size and importance, and if we had no records of Babylon except those which Holy Scripture has left

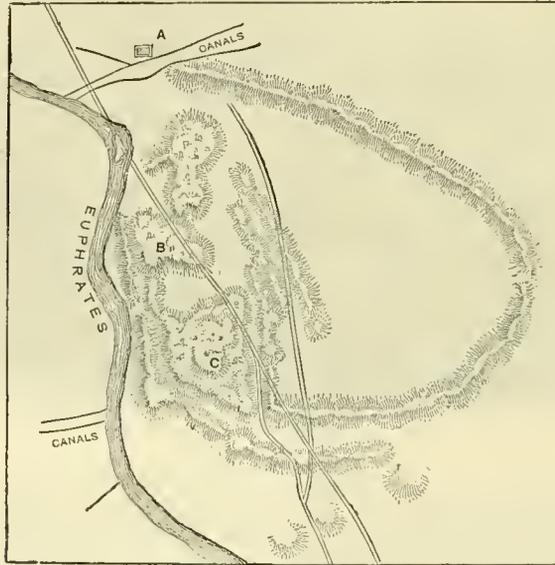
us, both in history and prophecy, we might be content, after due allowance made for the processes of destruction and of natural decay, to believe that they represent to us all that those records comprehend. But when we compare them with the accounts of the city given by other writers, a difficulty arises which it is not easy to resolve. Let us see in what it consists. We possess four accounts which, in some sense at least, may be called contemporary, though they have not all come down to us in their original form; and besides them, a few words from Aristotle, which, though they tell us little, derive importance from his great authority and our knowledge of the sources of his information.

1. The first is the Greek historian Herodotus, who is generally thought to have himself visited Babylon, though the writer of this article is inclined to have considerable doubt upon this point. If so, he probably saw the city about eighty years after its capture by Cyrus, *i.e.*, about B.C. 460, and he describes it and its situation minutely. It was, he says, in the form of a square, each of whose sides was 120 stadia,¹ or rather more than $13\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length, and whose circumference consequently amounted to 480 stadia, or nearly 56 miles. A ditch full of water ran all round, and within the ditch

¹ A stadium was 606 feet 9 inches.

an outer wall 200 royal cubits¹ high and 50 cubits wide, made of bricks dug out of the ditch and baked in kilns. Bitumen, which came from *Is*, now *Hit*, on the Euphrates, was used for mortar, and at certain intervals the courses of bricks were bonded together with reeds. On each of the edges of the summit of the walls there was a line of single-roomed houses, and in the space between them there was room for a four-horse chariot to turn. The river was crossed by a bridge, and lined on each side by quays, and the city was laid out in streets crossing each other at right angles, which were closed at the river-side by gates. Within the outer wall was another, not so wide as the first one, and in each of the two portions of the city there was a fortified space, in one of which spaces was a royal palace, and in the other a temple to Belus, which existed in the

2. Next comes Ctesias, a Greek physician of Cnidus, who was attached to the court of the Persian king, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and was with him in the battle of Cunaxa, B.C. 401; Cunaxa was about forty miles north of Babylon, and there can be little doubt that Ctesias knew the city itself well. Unfortunately, however, our knowledge of his work is derived only from statements founded upon it which are given by Diodorus the Sicilian, who wrote in the first century A.D. On his authority Diodorus tells us that Semiramis, having collected 2,000,000 men for her work, built a city 360 stadia in circumference, and that its walls were 50 fathoms (300 feet) in height. Diodorus, however, adds that in his opinion this height was incredible, and that some later writers gave it as 50 cubits, and broad enough at the top to allow two chariots to pass each



NO. 1.—PLAN OF RUINS OF BABYLON.

REFERENCES TO PLAN.—A. Mujelibé. B. Kasr. C. Tel-Amram.

time of Herodotus, square in form and two stadia in circumference. It was built in eight stages, and was ascended from without. The buildings of Babylon were due to two queens, Semiramis (about 747 B.C.) and Nitocris (about 580 B.C.). He tells us further that the Babylonian country was intersected by canals, and that one connecting the Euphrates with the Tigris was navigable for ships. He mentions the wonderful fertility of the soil, the reed beats covered with skins used to convey goods to Babylon, and tells us how the city was taken by stratagem during a festival, and that owing to its great size the people at one end knew not that the other was in possession of the enemy. This point is noticed by Aristotle, who says that for three days the inhabitants of one part of the city were not aware of the capture of the other parts. (Herod. i. 178—195; Arist., *Pol.* iii. 3, 5. Jer. l. 24; li. 31.)

other. Between the outer walls and the houses there was a space of 200 feet. She also built a bridge, and quays, and two palaces, one on each side of the river, and excavated a lake to receive the waters of inundations, whose flood-gates remained till the time of the Persian dominion. She also built a temple to Belus, which had since fallen down. Near the citadel were the hanging gardens, not the work of Semiramis, but of later date. (Diod. ii. 7.)

3. Our next authority is Berosus, whose statements we know only through the medium of Josephus. He attributes a great part of the fortification of Babylon to Nebuchadnezzar, who employed for that purpose the spoils of Egypt and Palestine. He constructed the famous gardens for the pleasure of his wife, who was a Median princess. Berosus says also that the river defences were built by Nabonnedus, the third sovereign from Nebuchadnezzar, and that in his time Cyrus took Babylon. Nabonnedus retired to Borsippa, but sur-

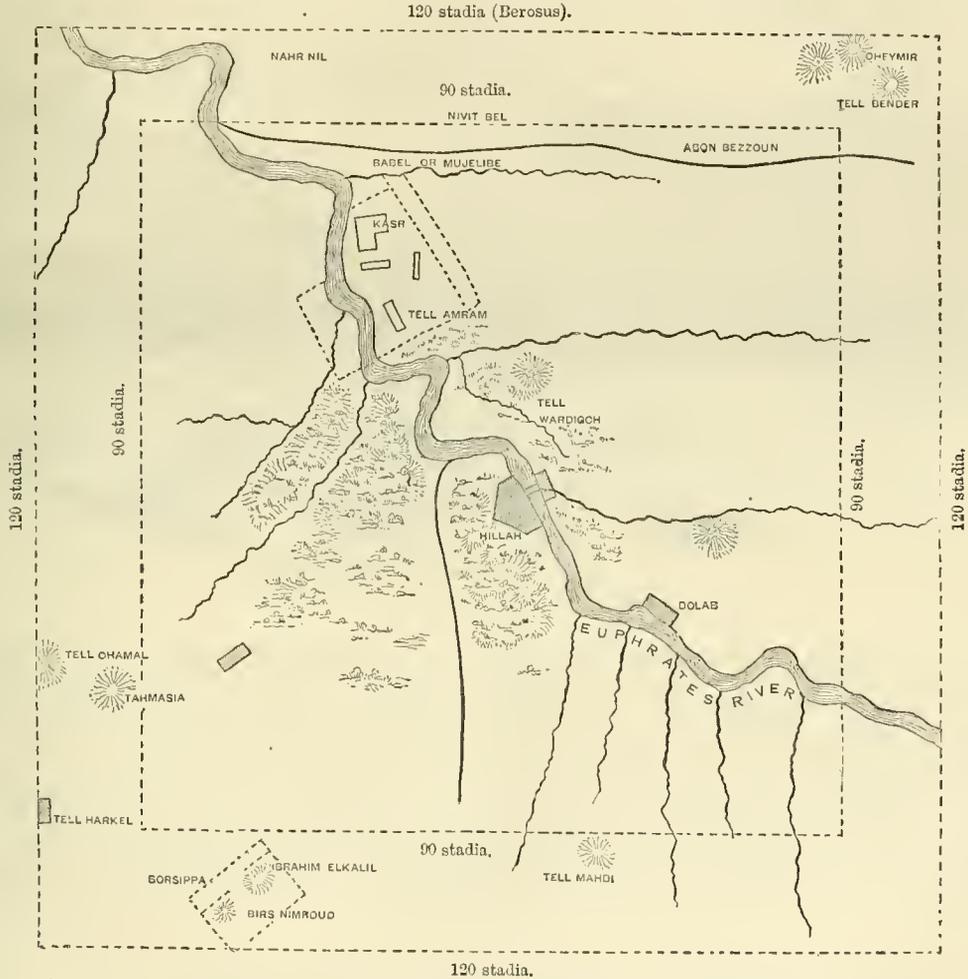
¹ The length of the cubit will be discussed elsewhere.

rendered to Cyrus, and was removed by him to Carmania. (Beros., p. 66; Joseph., *Ant.* x. 11, § 1.)

4. Lastly, we have Xenophon the Athenian, who served in the army of the younger Cyrus, and who, like Ctesias, was present at the battle of Cunaxa. So far as we know, he never saw Babylon, but in his work, the *Expedition of Cyrus*, he describes many of the features of the country; among others the great canal which still exists, and is called *Nahr malcha*, or royal

broad, built of bricks, near which was a stone pyramid, and also to a city called *Mespila*, 18 miles in circumference, having walls 150 feet high and 50 feet wide. (Xen., *Anab.* i. 7; iii. 4, 10; *Cyrop.* vii. 5, 32; viii. 6, 22.)

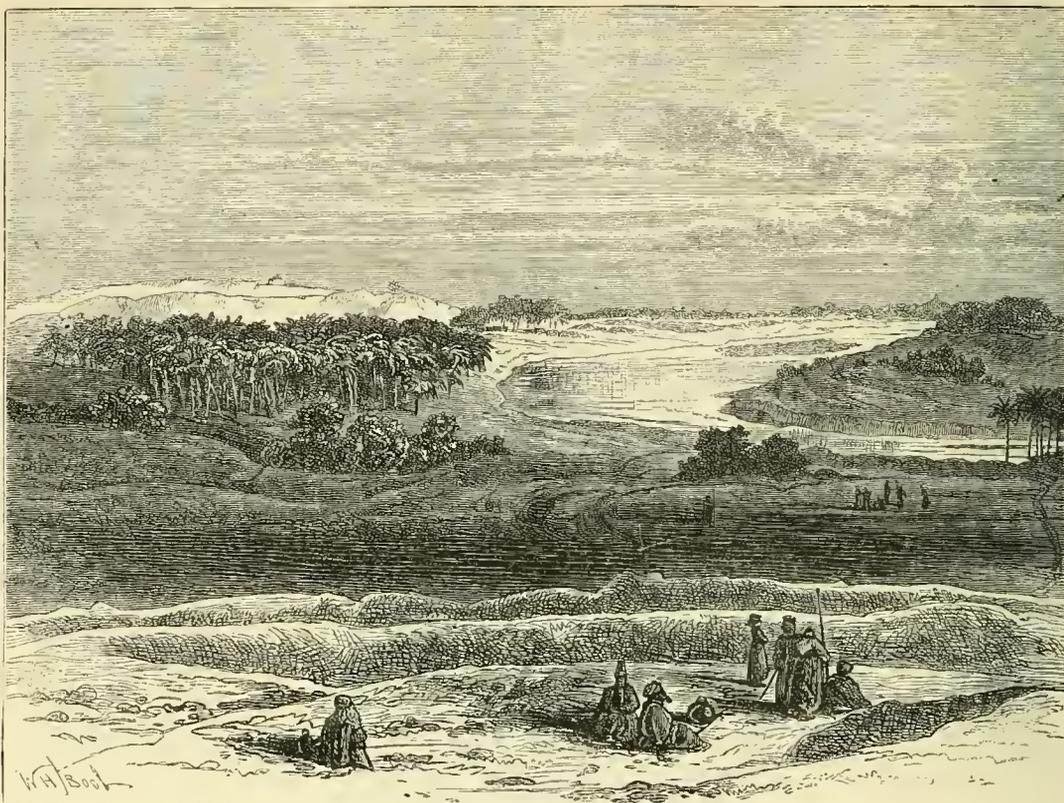
Besides these writers, who may be presumed to have possessed direct, or at least contemporaneous information on the subject, we have later accounts based more or less on their statements. Of these Quintus Curtius,



NO. 2.—PLAN SHOWING THE EXTENT OF BABYLON ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS AND CTESIAS.

river, probably the "river of Chebar" of the prophet Ezekiel. In another work, entitled the *Education of Cyrus*, he describes the capture of Babylon during a festival, and tells us that the impious king, whose name he does not give, was killed in the affray. He also says that after the capture it was Cyrus' custom to reside seven months of every year at Babylon. We may add here that in his *Expedition* he mentions that the Greek army, during their march of retreat after the battle of Cunaxa, came to a deserted city on the Tigris called *Larissa*, which had walls 100 feet high and 25

a Roman writer of the first century A.D., says that Babylon was founded by Belus, whose palaeo is still shown; that the city wall was of baked brick, 100 cubits high and 32 feet wide, so that two chariots could pass each other. The city was 365 stadia in circumference, but the buildings were not close to the walls, but an acre distant from them; nor was the area full of buildings, but that only about 80 stadia were inhabited, and the rest cultivated for food during a siege. He also mentions the citadel and the hanging gardens. (Curt. v. 1, 26.)



ANCIENT BABYLON.

Strabo, also of the first century A.D., says that Nineveh was much larger than Babylon; that Babylon had a circuit of 385 stadia, with walls 32 feet thick, wide enough for two chariots to pass each other. He mentions the temple of Belus which Xerxes overthrew, but which Alexander intended to rebuild. After his death the city went to decay, chiefly through the neglect of the Macedonians, who built Seleucia on the Tigris, which is now, he says, larger than Babylon. (Strabo, xvi. 764.)

Pliny, at the end of the first century A.D., speaks of Babylon as 60 miles in circumference, having walls 200 feet high and 50 feet wide, each foot being three fingers longer than the Roman foot. He says the temple of Belus still exists. (Plin., *H. N.*, vi. 26.)

Lastly Arrian, in the second century A.D., who had access to the works of writers cotemporary with Alexander, speaks of the temple of Belus which Xerxes had thrown down, as built of baked brick cemented with bitumen. (Arr., *Exp. Alex.*, vii.)

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JOEL (*continued*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

FIRST PART (*concluded*).

FROM judgment in general, the poet passes to the special judgment of the time, and enters on a second description of the locust swarms. He calls them "*a great people and a strong*;" just as in chap. i. 6 he had previously called them "*a nation strong and innumerable*;" and he compares their advent to "*the dawn spread upon the mountains*." At first, we are tempted

to pronounce *that* a singularly unhappy comparison, since again and again he tells us that the locusts obscure the whole heaven, insomuch that "*the sun turns dark, and the stars refuse to shine*." How, then, can they resemble the bright dawn of day? Does the prophet simply mean that they spread over the land as swiftly as the dawn sweeps down the mountain slopes? No, he means much more than that; and the comparison, which looks so inexact, is really a very

close and happy one. For the sun's rays reflected from the wings and wing-cases of the locusts produce a yellow glimmering lustre which may fairly be compared to the "unearthly" light of dawn. So marked and characteristic a feature is this lustre that travellers have dwelt upon it with much emphasis. Thus, for example, Francis Alvarez, in his *Journey through Abyssinia*, writes: "The day before the arrival of the locusts we could infer that they were coming, from a yellow reflection in the sky, proceeding from their yellow wings. As soon as this light appeared, no one had the slightest doubt that an enormous swarm of locusts was approaching." More than once he saw this "dawn" upon the Abyssinian mountains, this "light" heralding the locusts' approach. So that Joel's comparison is fully vindicated. The locusts, with this yellow ill-omened lustre preceding them, do come like the dawn which sweeps down the mountains, announcing the advent of day.

But are we to take the closing phrases of this verse as literally true?

"There hath not been its like from all eternity,
Nor shall be after it for ever and ever."

We are accustomed, as we meet with such words in the prophetic or other books of Scripture, to construe them with a literal precision, as if the inspiration of the book in which they are found would be imperilled by any modification of their meaning. We may, however, perhaps be permitted to remember that Joel was a poet, and that, like most poets, when strongly moved, he used strong words—words that conveyed his thought indeed, but which we must not take as literally as though he were a logician arguing the problems of an exact science. It will be well, too, I venture to submit, if, from this poetic use of the terms "eternity" and "for ever and ever," we learn a lesson of caution in interpreting them wherever they occur in the poetical books of the Bible, and refuse to push them too far or too hard. All Joel means by them here is, evidently, that the plague was unparalleled in his experience; that he had never seen or heard, and never expected to see or hear, of locust swarms so numerous and so destructive.

So numerous and destructive were they, that the goodly land, "flowing with milk and honey," the land of pasture and wood, fair and prolific as the Garden of Eden, was turned into "a desolate wilderness;" swarm followed swarm, so that "even that which" seemed to have "escaped them, did not escape;" what the gnawer left, the multiplier ate—what the multiplier left, the licker ate—what the licker left, the devourer ate; the land blackened as they passed, as though a devouring-flame had swept over it (ver. 3).

As the poet strives to depict them, all warlike images rise before his mind. And, first, he seizes on a point of physical resemblance. Theodoret and Jerome long since pointed out the resemblance of a locust's head to that of the horse. The resemblance is very close, as we see the moment we look at the head of the grasshopper, our English locust. To this day the Germans call these insects *heupferde* (hay-horses), and the Italians

cavaletti (little horses). Joel says (ver. 4), "Their aspect is as the aspect of horses, and they rush like chargers."¹

The noise of their wings and legs when they leap resembles that of the ancient war-chariots bounding over the rough hill-roads; it is like the crackling of the flame as it sweeps over a field in stubble; it is like the clashing of arms with which, in antique times, military hosts used to fire themselves for battle (ver. 5). They inspire a terror as universal, as object, as that felt before a conquering and invading army; "before them the nations tremble; all faces go pale" (ver. 6). *That* holds good to this day; it is with a paralysing agony of despair that an Oriental people awaits their approach. At this point, indeed, the comparison of the locusts to an invading host grows marvellously graphic and minute. "They charge like heroes" assailing a fortified city, with a courage that nothing can daunt. In unbroken military array "they scale the wall," "each going forward in his own line." Like David's army, "they know how to keep rank." They do not diverge to the right hand or the left, and therefore they do not "thrust each other," or impede each other in the advance. "The locusts have no king," says Agur, "yet they go forth in orderly hands." And Jerome, who spent many years in Palestine, says, "When the swarms of locusts come and fill the whole atmosphere between earth and sky, they fly in such order . . . that they preserve an exact shape, just like the squares drawn on a tessellated pavement, not diverging on either side by, so to speak, so much as a finger's breadth." They close up as their comrades fall, not breaking rank, whatever havoc the weapons may make among them (vs. 7, 8). And having surmounted the exterior fortifications, "they rush through the city, run up the wall, climb up the houses, creep through the windows," storming and sacking the place (ver. 9). Of course, there is a military image in these verses; nevertheless, they are true to nature. In plain prose Theodoret says pretty much what Joel says in poetic verse: "You may see the locusts, like a hostile army, ascending the walls, and advancing along the streets, not suffering any difficulty to disperse them, but steadily moving forward, as if according to some concerted plan: . . . by creeping along the walls [they] pass through the windows into the houses themselves." All this he affirms that he himself had frequently seen.

The 10th verse looks difficult; for one does not see how "the earth should quake and the heavens tremble" before the locusts, except in the imagination of the appalled sufferers; although

"Sun and moon turn dark,
And the stars refuse to shine,"

might be only a poetical description of the obscurity caused by swarms of locusts filling the whole atmosphere. But the difficulty disappears if we connect it,

¹ The Hebrew word *pārshim* means "steeds," riding horses in general; but here Joel probably had chargers, or cavalry horses, in his mind.

as we should, with ver. 11. For there we have indications that Jehovah, riding on a storm, comes to lead his "great army;" and under the storm the heavens may well tremble and the earth quake. The Arabs say that the tiny cross-lines on the wings of the locust form letters, and compose the legend, "We are the army of the living God!" "Lord of the Locusts," is one of the Divine names in the Mohammedan literature. And, in the same spirit, Joel calls the locusts the "army" and the "camp" of God; and affirms that—

"Jehovah thundereth before his army,"

uttering his commands in thunder, because "his camp is very large," because he intends this day of judgment to be so "great" and "terrible" as that none "can abide it" unmoved.

It is with this vivid and tragic conception in his mind—Jehovah riding on a tempest, beneath which the eternal heavens tremble and the solid earth quakes, and uttering his commands to an innumerable and irresistible host which delights to do his will—that the prophet falls back on that summons to repentance and supplication which we have already heard (chap. ii. 1, and chap. i. 14). Now he blends and expands the two previous calls, teaching the guilty afflicted nation more exactly what it is the Lord their God requires of them; and to give his summons greater weight, he speaks in the name of Jehovah himself (vs. 12—17). *The real meaning of judgment is mercy.* The locusts have come, inflicting so much misery, suggesting portents of such terror, only that men may turn unto the Lord with all their hearts, sincerely repenting them of the sins because of which the judgment has come. This penitence is to be shown in fasting, in tears, in mourning, in amendment. Lest they should content themselves with the outward signs and trappings of woe, the words—

"Read your hearts, and not your garments,"

remind them that God requires the inward grace of spiritual contrition—requires "that within which passeth show." To induce this spiritual and godly sorrow, to suggest its power with God, the prophet recalls the most solemn proclamation of the Divine nature and mercy ever made to their fathers. On Mount Sinai the Lord God had descended in cloud and storm, through a trembling heaven to a quaking earth, that he might pass before Moses, proclaiming his name, "Jehovah, Jehovah El, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, but who will by no means always leave unpunished."¹ It is an echo of that voice from Sinai which sounds in ver. 13:—

"For he is gracious and merciful,
Slow to anger, and of great kindness,
And repenteth him of the evil."

If they return to Him with genuine contrition, may they not hope that He, whose very name suggests a long-suffering grace and mercy, will show his great kindness and forgive their sin. If He repents of the evils they have compelled Him to inflict, may not *they* well repent

of the evils by which they have compelled Him to judge and punish? For himself the prophet has little doubt—no doubt, I suspect, though he will not be too confident, lest they should grow careless. "Who knoweth?" he asks, and the question is equivalent to "peradventure." "Who knoweth? He may return and repent, and leave behind him a blessing," even on this visit of judgment; and such a blessing, such ample stores of corn and wine and oil, that once more there will be "offering and libation," joy and gladness, solemn services and merry feasts, in the house of the Lord.

Once more, therefore, he demands that a time be sanctified (set apart) for a public fast, that "a restraint" from labour be proclaimed, that the whole congregation assemble in the Temple. *Before*, he had been content to say (chap. i. 14), "Gather the elders—all the inhabitants of the land." *Now*, he is more precise, more full. None are to be exempted. The "children," the very "sucklings," are to come, as well as the men and the "elders." Even "the bride" and the "bridegroom," in the first rapture of love, are to cease from their delights, to array themselves in mourning, to fast and weep, to rend their hearts over the sins and miseries of the time; and when all without distinction are gathered in the court of the Lord's House, the ministers and representatives of the people are to "stand between the porch and the altar"—*i.e.*, immediately in front of the holy place in which Jehovah was enshrined, and with tears of penitence are to pour forth the national sorrow, and to utter the supplication of the people. For this solemn occasion the prophet adds a new form to the Hebrew liturgy, prescribing the very words the priests were to utter in the presence and on behalf of the congregation:—

"Spare thy people, O Jehovah,
And deliver not thy heritage to reproach,
That the nations should scoff at them.
Wherefore should men say among the nations,
Where is their God?"

There are those to whom even the Lord's Prayer is wanting in spiritual fervour and evangelical sentiment; and to these, probably, Joel's prayer will not seem a very spiritual outpouring of contrition and desire. But He who reads our hearts in our words, and rather than our words, surely pledged himself to listen to the prayer which He himself inspired. And, after all, this one cry, "Spare thy people, O Lord," coming from the broken heart of a people convinced of sin by judgment, may mean much. "Spare us, not because of our sorrow, nor because we have deserved mercy, but because, despite our sins, we are *thy* people; because the nations know that *Thou* hast chosen us for thyself; because if they should see our barren fields and wasted pastures, our ravaged vineyards and sickening orchards, our mouldering garners and falling barns, they will scoff at Thee as well as at us, deeming Thee to be as one of the gods whose eyes see not, and whose ears hear not, in whose hand is no succour, in whose heart no grace. *For thy name's sake*, spare us, O Lord, even us unworthy!"

That I take to be the gist of the prayer with which the first part of this inspired poem comes to a close.

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JEREMIAH (*continued*).

BY THE VERY REV. E. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

UPON Jehoiakim's death Jeremiah returned to Jerusalem, and renewed his patriotic attempts at saving his country. Nebuchadnezzar had placed upon the throne another son of Josiah, and changed his name from Mattaniah to Zedekiah. He was half-brother to Jehoiakim, but full brother to the Jehoahaz who had been made king upon Josiah's death, and thus probably belonged to the Chaldean party. But as he was but twenty-one years old when the crown was placed upon his head, he could have been but slightly influenced by personal remembrances of his father. He was an amiable and well-meaning man, but weak and irresolute, and so all his time vacillated between Jeremiah, who urged him to be true to Nebuchadnezzar, and the restless princes who were eager for an alliance with Egypt, and a combined attempt at throwing off the Chaldean yoke. Early in Zedekiah's reign we find ambassadors at Jerusalem from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon, and Tyre (chap. xxvii. 3), met probably for the purpose of forming a general confederacy against Babylon, nor did there want prophets who urged this upon king and people as a religious duty (chap. xxviii.), and whom Jeremiah stoutly resisted. We can, however, easily imagine that to a nation used to the idea that they were Jehovah's chosen people, and that he would interfere miraculously in their behalf, the words of these false prophets were more pleasing than the truthful denunciation of their conduct by one who really had the Divine command to speak in Jehovah's name. But the death of Hananiah, in accordance with Jeremiah's prediction, for the present confirmed the feeble king in his obedience to the right, though probably it had but slight effect on the zealots who formed the mass of the people; but apparently in his eighth year the zealots prevailed, and Zedekiah entered into a treaty of alliance with Egypt. To punish this act of overt rebellion, the Chaldean army moved upon Judæa, and rapidly made themselves masters of the whole country. And now the prophet records an act which shows the almost incredible baseness of the Jewish nobility. When all the towns except Lachish and Azekah, two fortresses in the country on the west of the city, had been captured, Jeremiah urged upon the king the wickedness of the people in keeping their brethren in slavery. His words for the time prevailed; a solemn covenant was made with Jehovah, and a crowd of Hebrews, male and female, were set free. But soon afterwards the news arrived that an Egyptian army was moving onwards to the rescue of Jerusalem. The threatened siege for the time was raised, and the one use which these wretched princes and wealthy men made of the respite granted them was to force all these unhappy persons, whom lately they had set free, to

return to slavery. When one reads in Lamentations (iv. 5), "They that did feed delicately are desolate in the streets: they that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills," hoping to find there some garbage with which to maintain life, one's pity is checked by the thought of the baseness with which they had treated the poor wretches whom poverty had compelled to become their slaves.

Armies in those days moved but slowly, and probably many months were occupied by the Chaldeans in their march upon the plain of Philistia, where Josephus tells us they utterly defeated the Egyptian host. Surely, however, if slowly, they moved again upon Jerusalem; on the tenth day of the tenth month of Zedekiah's ninth year—about the middle of July—its walls were again invested, and for sixteen months the unhappy people had to endure the horrors of a blockade. During this time the position of Jeremiah was wretched in the extreme. His counsel was to discontinue all resistance, which he asserted would be in vain; to accept whatever terms Nebuchadnezzar offered, and which even to the last would have saved the city from destruction: and all this the princes regarded as rank treason (chap. xxxviii. 4), and therefore threw the prophet into prison, and even tried to put him to a miserable death, from which he was rescued only by the intervention of a negro eunuch of the king (chap. xxxviii. 7—13).

At length the catastrophe came. On the ninth day of the fourth month the Chaldeans effected a breach in the strong walls of the city. The moon, nine days old, had sunk, as Josephus tells us, behind the western hills, when the besiegers, silently entering the sleeping city in the darkness, seized the Temple and posted themselves there on the high vantage-ground. And quickly the alarm spread far and wide, and Zedekiah, with the poor remains of his army, fled through the opposite gate towards Jericho, hoping to find safety on the other side of the Jordan. But deserters brought tidings of his flight to the Chaldeans, and though he had several hours' start, they overtook him before he had reached the town, though not twenty miles from Jerusalem, and carried him to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, a place in the Lebanon thirty-five miles beyond Baalbec, and about ten days' march from Jerusalem; and there, with a refinement of cruelty, Nebuchadnezzar first slew his sons before his face, and then put out the eyes of the unhappy father, loaded him with fetters of brass, and sent him prisoner to Babylon (chap. xxxix. 6, 7).

During these miserable eleven years of Zedekiah's reign, the prophet had consistently declared that not the king and the nobles and people of Jerusalem were God's true Israel, but the exiles carried captive to Babylon with Jeconiah. In chap. xxiv. he compares these to a basket of very good figs, like those first ripe,

while Zedekiah and his people were but the refuse, "very naughty figs, which could not be eaten, they were so bad." I need not say how irritating such a method of treatment would be to both king and nobles; but at Babylon it had a different effect. Jeremiah, though not without opposition (chap. xxix. 20—32), became the great authority there. He wrote the exiles also a letter (chap. xxix.), directing them to settle quietly at Babylon, and build houses, and plant gardens, and take wives, and in all things prepare for a lengthened sojourn of seventy years. They were even "to seek the peace of Babylon," and settle down as loyal and industrious citizens. And then God would grant them a return to their land; in them the fortunes of Israel would revive; for they were Jehovah's people, the possessors of the promise, and not Zedekiah and his court, and the dwellers at Jerusalem, for whom Jeremiah predicts nothing but evil and misery, and again contemptuously calls them "vile figs, too bad to be eaten" (chap. xxix. 17).

As time rolled on, and the destruction of Jerusalem confirmed the truth of the prophet's words, his prediction of a restoration after seventy years became the great solace of the exiles. They read with pleasure how God had chosen them as the depositories of the promise, even while Jerusalem was still standing; they saw that that promise was not bound up so much with places and things as with true and believing hearts. And gradually a change passed over them. No doubt among the exiles were many men whose characters had been formed by Jeremiah, and who wrought heartily for the same ends. The children of the men who had stood by Josiah in his reforms were these who were dominant at Babylon. And there they prevailed. Instead of the old longing for idolatry, a passionate devotion to the one true spiritual God became inwrought deeply into their hearts. And Jeremiah they felt to be, as in truth he was, the deliverer of their nation. The man who in life had been branded as a traitor and falsehearted, became the object of their fervent love. Legend even surrounded him with a halo of romance. When Jerusalem was burnt, he had hid, they said, tabernacle and ark in a cave (2 Macc. ii. 1—8). He was not dead, but resting somewhere in a trance, and at the appointed time would waken up, to restore temple and kingdom to their old magnificence. Even in their dreams they saw him as a "man with gray hairs, and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty," and who gave unto Judas Maccabeus a sword of gold, by which he wrought his victories (2 Macc. xv. 13—16).

Far different in real life were the actual fortunes of the prophet. To the last it was his lot to speak the words of truth, only to be disbelieved. When the Chaldeans had destroyed the city, and carried the miserable remnants of the people into captivity, Nebuchadnezzar appointed Gedaliah governor over the depopulated land. He was son of Jeremiah's old protector Ahikam, and belonged to a family famous for its fidelity to Jehovah, and consistent in its opposition to

the Egyptian policy of those who, even from the days of Isaiah (Isa. xxx. 1—3), had looked for national safety, not in abiding firmly by the principles of the theocracy, but in political alliances. Recognised at Ramah by Nebuzar-adan among the captives, he had been freed from his chains, and the choice given him either to dwell in honour at Babylon, or to remain with Gedaliah. Nobly he chose the latter, that he might still labour for his country's good.

Gradually the people gathered round Gedaliah, and a sense of security now began to return. Many of the captains, too, and men of war gave in their allegiance to him; but danger was at hand. Ishmael, a member of the royal family, who had taken refuge at the court of Baalis, king of the Ammonites, was bent upon his murder. He grudged, probably, to see one not of the seed royal set as governor over the land, and with the king's daughters given into his charge. As one, too, who had always opposed the Egyptian alliance, and advised submission to the Chaldees, he counted him as a traitor; and, indifferent to the ruin he was bringing upon the land, set out with ten men to slay him. In vain had Gedaliah been warned. Johanan, one of his captains, cognisant of Ishmael's intentions, had proposed to put him quietly out of the way, but Gedaliah was too honourable to consent to such a purpose. And even when this base conspirator came to him at Mizpah, he took no precautions for his safety, and Ishmael foully murdered him, and all the men of war with him, and carried the residue away with him as captives, and among them probably Jeremiah himself.

When the evil news got abroad, the captains pursued after Ishmael and recovered the prisoners, but the murderer himself escaped. And now they were in great fear. A nation so cruel as the Chaldees would, they thought, ruthlessly avenge the murder of the governor whom they had appointed over the land. And so at a hospice or caravanserai for travellers (chap. xli. 17) erected near Bethlehem by Chimham, son of the aged Barzillai, who so hospitably entertained David, they took counsel as to their future course. Should they seek a refuge in Egypt, or should they remain in Judæa?

Solemnly they asked Jeremiah's counsel, and after ten days, spent probably in prayer, the word of Jehovah came to him. They were not to go down to Egypt; if they did, the sword and famine and pestilence would follow them thither. It would be Nebuchadnezzar's next conquest, and they would only be mixing themselves up in new miseries; whereas if they abode in the land, they would have peace and prosperity. Gedaliah's murder would not be visited upon them; and they would be doing good service in maintaining some sort of order and show of government among the scanty remnant of the people who still survived. The one chance for Judæa was their remaining in it: what made it so miserable a waste till the exiles returned from Babylon was this general flight into Egypt.

But Johanan and the captains did as men usually do. They asked for advice with a great show of deference;

if the advice had agreed with their own wishes, they would have received it graciously. It was the reverse, and they rejected it, saying that it was not really the word of Jehovah, but the evil suggestion of Baruch, who had made Jeremiah his tool.

And so they went down into Egypt, in spite of Jeremiah's warnings; and there we have one last record of his eventful life. At Tahpanhes, the Daphnæ of Herodotus, a town on the eastern border of Egypt, great numbers of Jews were settled, having been kindly received by Pharaoh-hophra, their ally. But chastisement had taught them nothing. Unlike the exiles at Babylon, they were rank idolators. As of old at Jerusalem (chap. vii. 18), so now, they burnt incense to the queen of heaven, the moon-goddess, answering to the Roman Diana, and ascribed to her whatever prosperity they enjoyed. In vain Jeremiah rebuked them for their sin. In vain he took stones, and in the sight of the men of Judah hid them in the clay of the brick-kiln close by the palace of Pharaoh-hophra, at Tahpanhes, and predicted that upon them Nebuchadnezzar would set up his throne as the conqueror of Egypt, and hold solemn inquest there, delivering such as were for death to death, and such as were for captivity to captivity. Small mercy would there be then for fugitive Jews, whom the king would count as implacable enemies, whose resistance nothing could tame.

And now Jeremiah's history suddenly ceases. What was his end we know not, but an old tradition, recorded by Tertullian and Jerome, avers that the exiles at Tahpanhes finally stoned him in a sudden outburst of fury at his constant rebukes. We can quite understand that the Jews would carefully conceal a fact so discreditable to them, especially when so shortly afterwards Jeremiah became the chief of the prophets in their eyes. Still there is no actual evidence for it; but nothing is more probable than that he did end his troubled days about this time by a violent death, without ever enjoying a period of repose: and certainly his whole life was one worthy of the martyr's crown.

What makes such an end probable is the utter confusion in which Jeremiah's works have come down to us. Unlike those of Isaiah, so arranged as that first there come general subjects, then the great prophecies called out by the invasions of Pekah and Sennacherib, then "burdens," then "woes," and so on; unlike those of Ezekiel, which follow one another in strict chronological order, Jeremiah's works are mixed up in hopeless disarray, and with the headings sometimes manifestly wrong, as where, for instance, in chap. xxvii. the first year of Jehoiakim is put for the first year of Zedekiah. And yet the title (chap. i. 1—4) shows that some sort of arrangement had once been attempted, as far at least as regards the early prophecies; and then when verse 3 was inserted—for the title is one that plainly has been altered and added to—no doubt it was intended to publish a collection of all that the prophet had spoken, down to the capture of the city. Of the first collection distinct traces may be recognised, but none of the second.

Probably the design was never carried out; for though several prophecies were written in the early part of the siege, yet, as time wore on, Jeremiah was in no position to attend to literary matters. When simply in prison, Baruch may have received many instructions at his mouth, but things grew from bad to worse, and at last he was in constant danger of death. And when Jerusalem fell, we find him at Ramah, included in a gang of captives chained to one another to prevent the possibility of escape. Under such circumstances it is impossible to suppose that he could have had any personal baggage with him. But being at length recognised and set free, doubtless he returned to Jerusalem, which was but five miles distant, and made search for all such property and documents as in the pillage of the city had been spared. Or it is even possible that Baruch, his scribe, who accompanied him into Egypt (chap. xliii. 6), may have been the means of saving these precious memorials.

While under Gedaliah's protection, Jeremiah may have made preparations for publishing his prophecies, and for this purpose have written the narrative of the events which occurred in Zedekiah's later years (chaps. xxxvii.—xxxix.), and also have altered the title to suit his present purpose. But then came the murder of Gedaliah, and the forced march into Egypt, and the struggle with the Jews at Tahpanhes, and soon afterwards his death. Then possibly Baruch, his faithful companion, gathered all his writings together, but apparently did not venture to alter the order in which he found them. Possibly he never exactly published them, but copies of the documents in his possession were made as occasion required, and no arrangement attempted, and so the order is an accidental one. Curiously enough, but confirmatory of this view, we find placed last of all (chap. li.) the letter sent by the hands of Baruch's own brother Seraiah to the exiles at Babylon in the fourth year of Zedekiah, and of which he probably obtained the copy from Seraiah himself. At the end of it some later hand has added the note, "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah." It is an instance of the perverseness of commentators that many, nevertheless, ascribe chap. lii. to the prophet, though it brings down the history to a time when Jeremiah would have been nearly a hundred years of age. Probably this chapter was added as an historical appendix by Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue, who carefully, however, warned the reader that the words were no longer Jeremiah's words.

It is remarkable that the Septuagint translation was evidently made from a text different from that in our Bibles, both in many details, and after chap. xxv. in substituting a completely dissimilar arrangement. And this, again, is in accordance with what has gone before. Had Jeremiah himself arranged and published his own prophecies, no person would have dared to interfere with it. But even our text, though probably put forth by Baruch, shows no signs of any attempt at a systematic arrangement on his part. As the prophet's scribe, the manuscripts were in his keeping, and as Jeremiah's

reputation grew, copies of them would be made and multiplied for the exiles at Babylon, and so what at first was merely accidental became their fixed order. In Egypt his fame also grew, though more slowly, and copies were doubtless made of such of his prophecies as were found there, while the rest were brought piecemeal, perhaps, from Babylon and elsewhere, and so, at length, an Egyptian edition grew into shape, and, naturally, the translators of the Septuagint, working at Alexandria, made their version from the text current among themselves. This twofold edition has a most important bearing upon Biblical criticism, and gives us firm standing-ground for the defence, not merely of the genuineness of the writings of Jeremiah, but of the whole collection of prophetic books.

A few words must be added about Baruch. The office of servant to a prophet was a high one, and often, as in the case of Elisha, led to his being invested with prophetic powers. To such an elevation Baruch probably looked forward, especially as he was a man of high birth and dignity, his grandfather, Maaseiah, having been governor of the city in Josiah's time (2 Chron. xxxiv. 8), and his brother, Seraiah, King Zedekiah's chamberlain. But disappointment was to be his lot, and Jeremiah, in a prophecy (chap. xlv.) addressed to him in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, warned him of it, bidding him not to "seek high things for himself," but comforting him under this trial, and giving him the promise of personal safety in the coming storm. It is curious that many Oriental legends represent Baruch as so vexed at this disappointment that he apostatised, they say, from the faith, and, under the name of Zoroaster, introduced the Magian religion. How little truth there is in these stories we gather from the Bible narrative, which tells us that he was with Jeremiah in Egypt, faithful and devoted as ever, nineteen or twenty years after the date of the prophecy addressed to him. But that he had hoped to be invested with prophetic

powers, and was greatly distressed when he found that such was not to be the case, is the most probable explanation of the expression, "Seekest thou high things for thyself?" in chap. xlv. 5.

It remains only to say that Jeremiah was by birth a priest, and that many suppose that his father, Hilkiah, was the good high priest of that name in Josiah's days. His home was at Anathoth, a priestly city in the tribe of Benjamin, where, too, he had landed property. In the early years of his office he dwelt there, but the people fully shared the general indignation at his seeming want of patriotism, and tried to murder him (chap. xi. 21). He then moved to Jerusalem, and when, years afterwards, he was shut up in prison, he bought his uncle's estate at Anathoth, just as the Romans bought and sold the land on which Hannibal's camp was pitched, in token that "houses and lands and vineyards should be possessed again in the land" (chap. xxxii. 15).

On calmly reviewing the life of Jeremiah, we cannot wonder that many of the Fathers saw in him a type of Christ. His bodily and mental agonies; his entire subjection to the will of God, though the prophet had to overpower the revoltings of his human will; his lamentations over the coming troubles of his country, the general opposition to his teaching, and the union of priest and people in seeking his death, all form an interesting parallel; and the idea was naturally suggested by his describing himself as "a lamb or an ox that is brought to the slaughter" (chap. xi. 19). No doubt he was emphatically "a man of sorrows." But the comparison must not be pressed too far. Still, this we may say, that of all the prophets, none rises to a higher or more spiritual elevation than Jeremiah, and none is more worthy of such a comparison; and yet even more true would it be to say that he is an exemplification of the Gospel principle that "God's grace is sufficient" for a man, because God's "strength is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. xii. 9).

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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GOATS, WILD GOATS.

NEXT in importance and value to oxen and sheep come goats, in the estimation of the ancient Hebrews. Numerous are the allusions in the Bible to the domestic animal, while references to the wild goat, as inhabiting the rocks and the high hills of Palestine, occasionally occur. As several Hebrew words for the goat, expressing either sex or age, are found in the Bible, it will be well to notice briefly these names at once. They are as follow:—*éz*, *'attúd*, *tsáphír*, *sá'ír*, *tayísh*, and *gedí*.

Ez (עז) occurs several times, and generally, if not always, means "a she-goat;" the name is distinguished from *gedí* (גדי), "a kid," being applied to an animal from one to three years old; compare Gen. xv. 9, "Take

me a she-goat (*éz*) of three years old;" and Numb. xv. 27, "a she-goat (*éz*) of the first year." The word is probably derived from *ázaz*, "to become strong," denoting an animal that has already acquired some strength, in contradistinction to a young kid not long born or "cast out" (*gádáh*) of the body. In Exod. xxxv. 26, *'izzím* (lit., "goats") is used for goats'-hair, of which coverings for cushions or bolsters were made; see 1 Sam. xix. 13-16, in which passage occurs a very curious rendering by the Septuagint. In our version, which is correctly translated, we read (ver. 13), "And Michal took an image, and laid it in the bed, and put a pillow of goats' hair for his bolster (Heb. *mevaashótáiv*; lit., 'at his head'), and covered it with a cloth," where in the LXX. we read, "And Melchol took images and laid

them on the bed, and she put the liver of a goat by his head, and covered them with clothes." Josephus (*Antiq.* vi. 11, § 4), who also reads "liver," tells us of its use on this occasion. When Saul, Michal's father, sent messengers to seize David, his wife "showed them the bed covered, and made them believe, by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was asthmatic" (!)—the Hebrew word *kebir* (כביר), "a covering," or "pillow," being read as קבר (*kābēl*), "the liver."

Attūd (אַטוּד) denotes a "he-goat," from a root meaning "to make ready," "prepare," from the idea of a he-goat taking the lead of the flock ready for action. "Remove out of the midst of Babylon, and go forth out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be as the he-goats before the flocks" (*Jer.* 1. 8). The word occurs in a figurative sense in *Zech.* x. 3, as princes leading the people—"Mine anger was kindled against the shepherds, and I punished the he-goats;" and in *Isa.* xiv. 9, "It stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones (lit., 'he-goats') of the earth."

Tsāphir (צפיר), "a he-goat," is a word of uncertain origin; it appears to be a late Hebrew or Chaldaic form of the word *sā'ir*, "a rough one" or "he-goat" (a term of constant occurrence in *Leviticus*), though *tsāphir* occurs with *sā'ir* in *Dan.* viii. 21: "And the goat, the rough one, is the king of Javan" (A. V., "Grecia").

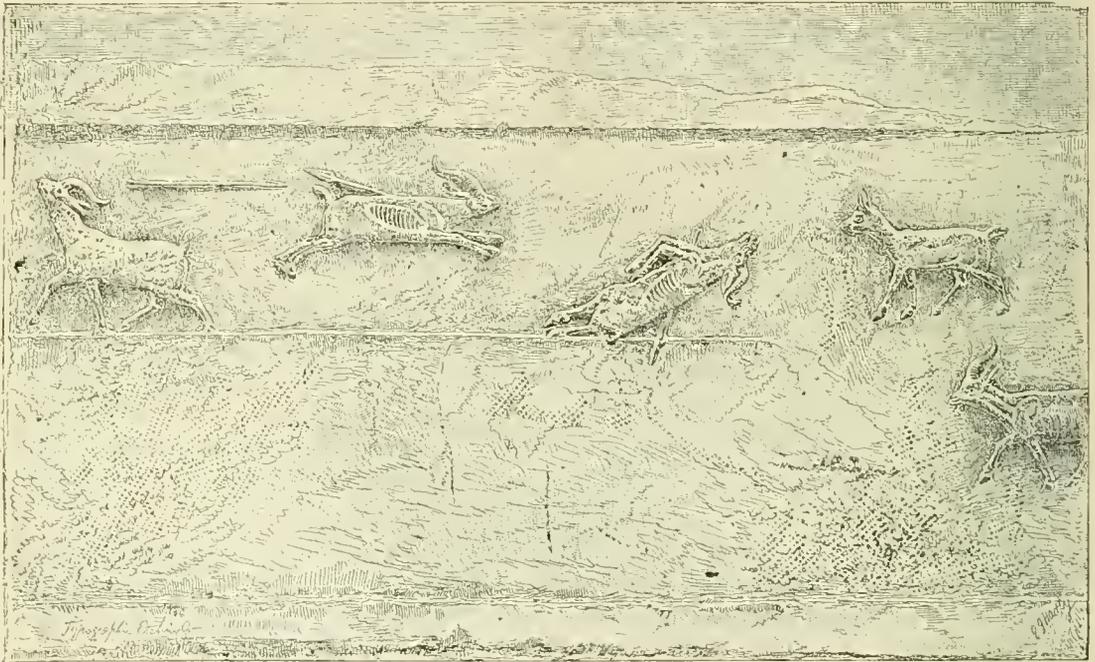
Sā'ir (ספיר) literally means "rough" or "hairy," and is the word which Jacob applied to his brother Esau: "Behold, my brother is an hairy man" (*ish sā'ir*); hence the term was used of "a goat," especially of "a he-goat;" precisely similar is the Latin *hircus*, "a he-goat," from *hircus* or *hirsutus*, "hairy." The word *sā'ir* occurs frequently in the books of *Numbers* and *Leviticus* as the goat of the sin-offering. "Take ye a kid of the goats for a sin-offering" (*Lev.* ix. 3, 15; x. 16; see also *Numb.* xv. 24, 27; xxix. 11, &c.). The Hebrew name occurs in *Isaiah* to denote some kind of mythological creatures, goat-like in form, supposed to inhabit desolate places in company with *lilith*, the night fairy, that was supposed to lay wait for children. *Lilith* will be considered under the article "Owl." The prophet, speaking of Babylon says, "It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation.

But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs (*se'irim*) shall dance there" (*Isa.* xiii. 21). "As Rich heard in Bagdad, the ruins [of Babylon] are still regarded as a rendezvous for ghosts: *sā'ir* when contrasted with *attūd* signifies the full-grown shaggy buck-goat; but here (*Isa.* xiii. 21) *se'irim* is applied to demons in the shape of goats, as in chap. xxxiv. 14. According to the Scriptures, the desert is the abode of unclean spirits, and such unclean spirits as the popular belief or mythology pictured to itself were *se'irim*. Virgil, like *Isaiah*, calls them *saltantes satyros*. It is remarkable that Wolf, the traveller or missionary to Bokhara, saw pilgrims of the sect of *Yezidis* (or devil-worshippers) upon the ruins of Babylon, who performed strange and horrid

rites by moonlight, and danced extraordinary dances with singular gestures and sounds. On seeing these ghost-like, howling, moonlight pilgrims he very naturally recalled to mind the dancing *se'irim* of prophecy" (*Delitzsch's Isaiah*). A similar picture of desolation is drawn by the same prophet concerning Edom. "Thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof: and it shall be an habitation of dragons (jackals), and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow, *lilith* also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest" (xxxiv. 13, 14). That the word designates some demon of goat-like form, and is rightly translated "satyrs" in our version, is evident from the fact that the Israelites had been in the habit of worshipping such demons. "And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils" (*se'irim*) (*Lev.* xvii. 7). "They provoked him to jealousy with strange gods, with abominations provoked they him to anger. They sacrificed unto destroying demons [A. V., 'devils,' *shēdim*], that were not God; to gods whom they knew not, to new gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not" (*Deut.* xxxii. 16, 17). "They served their idols, which were a snare unto them; yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils" (*shēdim*) (see *Ps.* cvi. 37). It seems very probable that the *shēdim* in these two last passages denote the *se'irim* of *Leviticus* in the passage quoted. That some malignant demon is intended by *shēdim* appears from *Ps.* xci. 6, where pestilence is spoken of as "causing destruction" (*shūd* = *shādad*, "to be violent," "to destroy"); but in 2 *Chron.* xi. 15, the *se'irim* are again definitely spoken of as idols. Jeroboam "ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils (*se'irim*, 'goat idols'), and for the calves which he had made." From this it would appear that the king of the revolting tribes set up images of the goat as well as of the calf. The superstition of worshipping a goat, a sort of Pan with a goat's head and feet, was probably a relic of Egyptian idolatry. Those who maintain that the Book of *Leviticus* does not date earlier than the Persian period, are of opinion that in this goat-worship we have a combination of both Persian and Egyptian ideas. "There can be no doubt," says Kalisch, "that after their return from Babylon, the Jews of Palestine maintained an active intercourse with the Eastern Empire and with Egypt, and were familiar with the institutions of both; thus notions borrowed from the Persian creed were combined with Egyptian conceptions. Of this amalgamation we have a remarkable instance in the Book of *Job*, which was written about the same period, and which on the one hand introduces the Persian Satan and council of angels, and on the other describes the hippopotamus and the crocodile in a manner as they can only be described by one who personally observed them in their native Egypt. Therefore, while we believe that the 'he-goats' of our text, like Azazel, who periodically received a sin-laden goat, are chiefly meant for Persian demons or satyrs, wildly dancing and yelling in deserts

and on ruins, they also include the goats which were held sacred among the Egyptians, and which were by the Hebrews understood as pagan symbols" (*Comment. on Levit. xvii.*). Some writers have thought that the *se'irim* of Isaiah signify some kind of monkey, *Macacus* or *Cynocephalus*. Dr. Tristram has figured the *Cynocephalus mormon*, the mandrill, an animal found only in Guinea, West Africa, as the *C. hamadryas* of Arabia and Abyssinia. According to the old versions and nearly all the commentators, the *se'irim* denote demons of desert places, half men, half goats; and our Authorised Version of "satyrs" must retain its place. Not so, however, with the *'azazel* (see margin) of Lev. xvi. 8, 10, 26, wrongly rendered by "scape-goat" in our version.

sent away into the wilderness, and which in the Hebrew language is named Azazel, was none other than this," i.e., "the destroying angel, the devil" (see Origen, *Contra Cels.*, vi. cap. 43). This view is generally adopted by modern scholars. The author of the notes in the *Speaker's Commentary* makes the following remarks, which are well worthy of our attention:—"Taking then Azazel as the evil one, the important question remains, in what capacity was the goat dismissed to him? Was he sent as a sacrifice to bribe or mollify him? (Spencer, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, &c.) Against this it is justly argued that the two goats formed together one sin-offering, and, as such, had been presented to Jehovah: and also that anything like the worship and sacrifice of



HUNTING WILD GOATS. (ASSYRIAN.)

The Hebrew word *'azazel* (אֲזָאֵזֶל) occurs only in the passages in Leviticus referred to above. "Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats (*al-shenei hasser'im*); one lot for Jehovah, and one lot for Azazel" (ver. 8). "But the goat (*hassô'ir*) on which Azazel's lot fell shall be presented alive before Jehovah, to make an atonement for it, and to send it to Azazel into the wilderness" (*leshallach ot'ho la'azazel hammidbarâh*, ver. 10). "And he that takes away the goat for Azazel shall wash his clothes and bathe his body" (ver. 26). There cannot be the slightest doubt that Azazel is a personal being—an evil demon in direct opposition to Jehovah, the God of goodness. Some of the Rabbins identified Azazel with Samael, the angel of death, chief of devils; and early Christian writers, as Origen, considered Azazel to be the devil. "Moreover, the goat which in the Book of Leviticus is

an evil spirit was forbidden by the whole spirit of the Law. Or is the strange notion to be entertained that the goat was sent out with his symbolical burden of sin as if to vex the devil, to deride and to triumph over him in his own dominion? (Witsius, Hengstenberg, Kntz.) May not the matter be rather put in this way? . . . It is evident that the goat sent away could not stand in the same relation to Azazel as the other did to Jehovah. Having been presented to Jehovah before the lots were cast, each goat stood in a sacrificial relation to Him. The casting of lots was an appeal to the decision of Jehovah (cf. Josh. vii. 16, 17; xiv. 2; Prov. xvi. 33; Acts i. 26, &c.); it was therefore His act to choose one of the goats for His service in the way of ordinary sacrifice, the other for His service in carrying off the sins to Azazel. The idea to be set before the Israelites

was the absolute annihilation by the atoning sacrifice of sin as a separation between Jehovah and his people; the complete setting free of their consciences. This was expressed in later times by the Psalmist: 'As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us' (ciii. 12); and by the prophet, 'He will subdue our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea' (Micah vii. 19). By this expressive outward sign the sins were sent back to the author of sin itself, 'the entirely separate one,' who was banished from the realm of grace." There is considerable force in these remarks; we will only add that evil demons were generally supposed to dwell in desolate regions, in company with howling jackals and screeching owls; hence Jesus went into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil, and "was with the wild beasts" (Mark i. 13); that the "waste howling wilderness" would be supposed to be the proper place to banish all offences which marred the beauty of holiness.

As to the etymology of Azazel, various conjectures have been made. It has been derived from *āzal*, "to remove," and is supposed to be a kind of reduplicated form, implying great remoteness, the demon who dwelleth afar off in the wilderness. The root occurs in Arabic, but not in Hebrew. Freytag, in his Lexicon, merely explains 'azazel by "antiquum nomen diaboli." In the apocryphal Book of Enoch, Azazel is enumerated as one of the chiefs of the two hundred angels, the sons of heaven, who became enamoured with the beautiful daughters of men (see Gen. vi. 1, "the sons of God and the daughters of men"), and descended upon the top of Mount Armon, and cohabiting with the women became the parents of giants (Gen. vi. 4), three hundred cubits high, which devoured all that men produced, when, other food failing, they began to devour men. Azazel, however, seems to have been of some use, for he taught men to make swords, knives, shields, breastplates, and how to be able to see behind them (mirrors), workmanship of bracelets and ornaments, the use of paint, &c. &c. According to the story in the Book of Enoch, Azazel was bound hand and foot by Raphael, at the command of the Lord, and cast into the desert, which is Dudael, there to remain till the great day of judgment, when he was to be cast into the fire (see Laurence's *Book of Enoch the Prophet*, chaps. vii. and x., pp. 6, 7).

Tayish (טַיִשׁ), probably from *tūsh*, "to push with the horns," "to butt," occurs only in Gen. xxx. 35; xxxii. 14; Prov. xxx. 31; 2 Chron. xvii. 11, where it denotes "a he-goat." In Proverbs the *tayish* is mentioned as one of the four things which "are comely in going," in allusion probably to the stately march of the leader of the flock, which was always associated in the minds of the Hebrews with the notion of dignity. Compare the expression in Isa. xiv. 9, "all the chief ones (margin, 'great goats') of the earth." *Gedi* (גֵּדִי) is used for a young "kid," and is often joined to 'izzim, "kid of the goats;" it gave the name to En-gedi, a town on the western shore of the Dead Sea, signifying "the fountain of the kid." *Tayish* appears in the modern Arabic

tays, the ordinary name for the he-goat. "The stately march of the he-goat before the herd, and his haughty bearing, as well as the dauntless stare with which he scrutinises a stranger, are well known by all familiar with the East; and the he-goat is still commonly applied by the Arabs as a simile for dignity of manner and bearing" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 88).

Goats were used as offerings in the sacrifices; their milk was, and is still, an important item of food: "Thou shalt have goats' milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household, and for the maintenance of thy maidens" (Prov. xxvii. 27). The milk is used both in a fresh and curdled state, and is made into butter and cheese. Goats' hair was employed as a woven material for the curtains of the tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 7; xxxvi. 14), and, as we have seen, for a covering for a bolster, or, as some think, for a counterpane. Their flesh, especially that of the kid, was highly prized as food. "Go now to the flock," Rebekah said to Jacob, "and fetch me from thence two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth" (Gen. xxvii. 9). "Gideon went in and made ready a kid," on the occasion of an angel's visit (Judg. vi. 19); and Manoah said to the angel that appeared to him, "I pray thee, let us detain thee until we shall have made ready a kid for thee" (xiii. 15). A kid is still common food in Palestine. "Whenever," says Dr. Tristram, "in the wilder parts of Palestine, the traveller halts at an Arab camp, or pays his visit to a village sheikh, he is pressed to stay until the kid can be killed and made ready; and he has an opportunity of seeing in front of the tent the kid caught and prepared for the cooking, which is carried on by the women out of sight in the inner compartment. Unless he is pressed by a necessity which the host cannot refuse to accept as a reasonable excuse, he must wait, if he regards his reputation for good manners, until the feast is prepared. The freshly-killed kid is extremely tender and good, as is all meat if cooked as soon as slaughtered, and the most fastidious palate cannot detect the difference between kid and lamb." The older goats, we are told, do not furnish as good meat, though eaten for mutton in most parts of Palestine. Lambs are not so often killed for food as kids; they are kept for the sake of the wool, while calves were considered too expensive a luxury except on some festive occasion. Hence we see the full force of the complaint which the prodigal's elder brother made to his father: "Thou never gavest me (even) a *kid*, that I might make merry with my friends: but as soon as this thy son was come . . . thou hast killed for him the fatted *calf*" (Luke xv. 29, 30). The ancient Jews kept large quantities of goats as well as sheep, and the present inhabitants of Palestine still rear a great number in some districts. "Goats are only adapted for hilly countries or pastures where there is much brushwood; and in such districts they supersede in Palestine the horned cattle of the plains. For the downs and short herbage of Arabia they are not so well adapted as sheep; but on reaching the southern wilderness, where many dwarf shrubs vary the herbage, goats are to be

seen in large flocks. To the thirsty plateaux of Arabia they are unsuited, and are not mentioned among the possessions of Job. In the rich maritime plains the herbage is too succulent for their taste. The hilly district which extends from Hebron, up the centre of Western Palestine to the Lebanon, is of all others that most adapted for goats; and in this country they have been largely reared from the earliest times. The sheep and goats are here always seen together under the same shepherd and in company, yet they never trespass on the domain of each other. The sheep as they traverse the hill-side graze closely the tender herbage and the grass which carpets the soil; the goats generally filing in long lines a little above them, skip from rock to rock, and browse the tender twigs and the foliage of the thymes and dwarf shrubs. . . . Yet though the goats thus mingle with the sheep there is no disposition on either side for more intimate acquaintance; when folded together at night they may always be seen gathered in distinct groups, and so round the wells they appear instinctively to classify themselves apart, as they wait for the troughs to be filled" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 88). The goat of Syria is a well-marked variety of the common *Hircus aegyrus*, with long thick pendent ears, often a foot long. The prophet Amos (iii. 12) speaks of a shepherd "taking out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear." It has been supposed by some—by Harmer, in his interesting *Observations*, nearly 100 years ago, for instance—that Amos is here speaking of this long-eared goat. The Syrian goat (*Capra Mambrica*, Linn.) is larger than the common goat, and has long black hair, thick recurved horns; but there is another variety, which is seen only in the north of Palestine, the mohair goat (*Capra Angorensis*, Linn.), which has long silky hair. The varieties of the breeds of goats are perhaps as numerous as those of sheep, and may be almost infinitely multiplied by selection in crossing.

The skin of the goat supplies material out of which, in the East, bottles, or vessels for carrying water, milk, or other fluid, are made. These skins were similarly employed by the ancient Hebrews, who had various names for these skin bottles, such as *šb* (שֵׁב), from a root meaning "to be hollow;" *bakbuk* (בַּכּוּב), so called from the sounds it makes when being emptied, an onomatopoeic word, like our English *bubble*, according to Gesenius, from *bākak*, "to pour out;" but Fürst derives it from a root, *būk*, to which he gives the sense of "being hollow;" *chemeth* (חֵמֶת), probably from root meaning "to enclose;" *nōd* (נֹד), from the idea of being "hollow." There is another word, *nēbel* (נֵבֶל), sometimes used for skin-bottles, which is also applied to any vessels made of earthenware; see Isa. xxx. 14: "He shall break it as the breaking of a potter's pitcher that is broken in pieces."

These goat-skin or sheep-skin bottles will help us to understand such Biblical expressions as the following: "I am become like a bottle in the smoke" (*kenōd bekītor*), "yet do I not forget thy commandments;" i.e., "I am become like a shrivelled old wine-skin,

black and dirty;" a very apt figure to denote the Psalmist's affliction. It is often said that it was the custom of the ancient Jews to hang up in the smoke their goat-skins for keeping wine (see Gesenius and Fürst, s. v. נֹד *nōd*); but they would hardly have done this purposely, for the skins would not thereby be improved. Probably the old wine-skin refers to one that had been carelessly left about, and had become wrinkled and black from smoke and dirt. Rosenmüller (Ps. cxix. 83) refers to the custom among the Greeks and Romans of hanging wine-skins full of new wine in the smoke, in order to mature the wine, but there is no proof that the Hebrews did so. Mr. Perowne says, "In this case the figure would denote the mellowing and ripening of the character by affliction," which seems a strained notion. Moreover, Rosenmüller ends his note with these words: "Cum tali igitur utre plane exsiccatō vates Hebræus sese comparans hoc dicit: etiāsi maximis conficiar miseris, tamen non desinent mihi curæ esso præcepta tua." (The Hebrew poet, then, comparing himself with such a dried-up wine-skin, says, "Even if I am worn out by the greatest troubles, still thy commandments shall never cease to be my care.") Rosenmüller, therefore, it appears, supposed that the Hebrews mellowed their wine in the smoke, and sometimes left the empty bottles there. The *blackness* which the skin-bottle would contract from the smoke and dust is an apt illustration of the *gloominess* of the Psalmist's mind. Blackness is an emblem of sorrow, trouble, and despair; whiteness, of joy and prosperity. Hence we can understand the verse in the 68th Psalm—

"When the Almighty scatters kings,
It is the same as when there is snow in (dark) Zalmon."

When Jehovah scatters our kingly enemies, the brightness of prosperity illumines the darkened land, just as black Zalmon becomes white when covered with snow.

We read in Joshua (ix. 4) how that the Gibeonites "went and made as if they had been ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and wine-bottles, old, and rent, and bound up;" these last, of course, would be the same goat-skins of which we have been speaking; and Dr. Tristram tells us that they are "frequently patched and mended with skin and pitch." The expression of our Lord about "now wine bursting old bottles" is thus readily intelligible, for the fermentation of the new wine would burst old skins. There is one more passage where the goat-skin bottle is mentioned, which requires a few words of comment. The Psalmist (Ps. lvi. 8) complains to Jehovah, "Thou knowest my restless wanderings: put thou my tears into thy bottle." Some have supposed that reference is here made to *lachrymatories*, like the small glass or earthen phials, with a long neck, found in the sepulchres of the ancient Romans. These vessels were supposed to have contained tears shed by the surviving friends of the deceased, and to have been placed in the sepulchres as memorials of affection. This idea was first held by Chifflet, a French physician who lived in the early part

of the seventeenth century, and adopted by several antiquaries. At last it was combated by Schoepflin, a German professor at Strasburg, who died there in 1771. He maintained that these vessels were not intended for tears, but for perfumes and balms, destined to moisten the funeral pile or the ashes of the dead. It must be confessed that Chifflet's idea was pure conjecture, there being no trace of such a custom in ancient records or on monuments. The word *lachrymatorium* does not exist at all in classical Latin, or in mediæval Latin, with such a signification. The Roman *urna* into which the burnt ashes of the deceased were placed sometimes had a small hole at the top, which by some has been supposed to be for the admittance of tear-drops, but there is no proof that it was so used. The expression, therefore, made use of by the Psalmist, "Put thou my tears into thy bottle," simply means, "Be mindful of my calamities; collect all the tears I have shed; treasure them, as it were, in thy bottle."

Dr. Tristram witnessed the manufacture of these goat-skin bottles, which, he says, is very simple. "The animal is skinned from the neck, by simply cutting off the head and legs, and then drawing the skin back, without making any slit in the belly. The apertures for the legs and tail are at once sewn and tied very tightly up, and the skin in this state, with the hair on, is steeped in tannin, and filled with a decoction of bark for a few weeks. There are large tanneries in different towns, where the process is carried on on an extensive scale, especially at Hebron, where bottle-making, both of glass and leather, is the staple of the place. The skins are there partially tanned, then sewn up at the neck and filled with water, the sutures being carefully pitched. They are then exposed to the sun on the ground for several days, covered with a strong decoction of tannin and water pumped into them from time to time to keep them on the stretch till sufficiently saturated" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 92).

We have before us, as we write, a representation of a fishing scene, taken from one of the slabs in the Assyrian department of the British Museum. Here are to be seen two men riding cross-legged on these inflated prepared skins, in the form of the animal itself, without head, tail, and a portion of the legs, exactly answering to Dr. Tristram's description of the mode of stripping the goat of its skin as seen by him in Palestine. The men are riding these inflated skins quite at ease, and drawing fishing lines with fish that have just hooked themselves. We hope to give this interesting illustration when we come to treat of "Fish and Fishing."

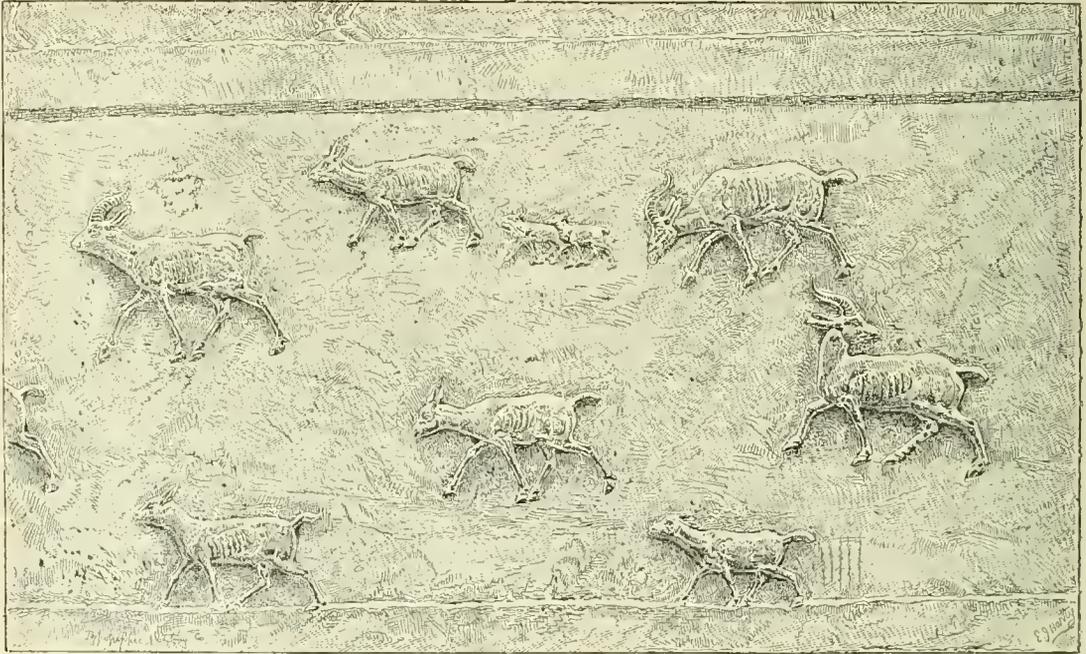
According to the Levitical law it was deemed an offence "to seethe a kid in his mother's milk." Three times is this command given, in Exod. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26; and in Deut. xiv. 21. Various explanations have been given as to the reason for the prohibition. The Jewish doctors considered it as one of those *recondite* "statutes" or "mysteries," which, like the law of the red heifer (Numb. xix. 2) and of Azazel's goat, should not be submitted to human investigation; it will be revealed and explained by God himself when the

Messiah comes. The precept occurs in connection with the produce of the land, in the two passages in Exodus, "The first of the first-fruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk;" but in Deuteronomy the precept stands in no such connection; there it simply forms a part of a series of commands on lawful and unlawful food. "Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself: thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto an alien: for thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk." Does the precept relate to diet simply or to humane feelings? or, as in the case of the prohibition to eat swine's flesh, was it designed to wean the Israelites from any heathen superstitions? This last-named opinion has met with some support, being held by Abarbanel, Bochart, John Gregory, Grotius, Knobel, &c. Indeed, it is partly sanctioned by the Samaritan text, which in Exod. xxiii. 19 has the following gloss: "For whosoever deeth this is as one who sacrifices an abomination [or $\gamma\omega$, 'a reptile'], and this is an insult to the God of Jacob" (see Dr. Davidson's *Hebrew Text Revised*, p. 17). A similar addition is found in some copies of the Septuagint:—"For he who does this acts as if he sacrificed a lizard, which is a pollution to the God of Jacob." There is evidence for the existence of a certain heathen custom of boiling a young kid in its mother's milk, and sprinkling the broth over fields, fruit-trees, and gardens, as a charm to secure plentiful crops in the ensuing year. This operation, which was done after harvest, is spoken of by Abarbanel and by Cudworth (*On the True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, p. 36). The latter quotes from an anonymous manuscript work of a Karaite Jew, who mentions this magical practice (see Kalisch's *Comm. on Levit.*, part ii., p. 29, note). "Can it be surprising, then," asks Dr. Kalisch, "that the Hebrew writer, who taught that fruitfulness and sterility are in the hands of God alone, and that he sends the one and the other according to his decrees and the deserts of men, should have looked with severe disapproval upon a heathen usage that attributed reality and effect to vain superstitions?" This is all quite true, and a very probable explanation of the prohibition; but we entirely agree with Kalisch, when he says, the "aspect of the question is totally altered if we consider the context in which the precept is introduced for the third time in Deuteronomy. . . . Here it is obviously treated as a law of diet." We believe that the precept originated from humane feelings, and that characteristic sentiment amongst the Jews as to the peculiar fitness and propriety of things: thus they did not like the idea of, and forbade by a positive enactment, the killing of a cow and its calf, of a ewe and a lamb, the same day; they might take birds' nests, but not the old bird with the young. "If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way in any tree, or on the ground, whether they be young ones, or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young, or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the

dam with the young: but thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, and take the young to thee; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days" (Dent. xxii. 6, 7). They might not plough with an ox and an ass yoked together: such things savoured of cruelty, of opposition to the unity and harmony of nature, "as a perversion of the eternal order of things, and as a culpable contempt of the relation that God ordained to exist between the mother and her young." That this sentiment was firmly grounded in the Jewish mind is evident, not only from the various enactments relating to kind treatment of animals, but from the especial words of Philo on this very subject (see Philo, *De Humanitate*, cap. xviii.).

by the Arabs, who say proverbially of a beautiful woman, "She is more lovely than an ibex." It is the *Capra Ibez* (Baedon) of Forskal, *Capra Nubiana* of P. Cuvier, the *Capra Sinaitica* of Ehrenberg.

The ibex is common in Arabia Petraea. The Rev. F. W. Holland writes: "They are frequently shot by the Bedouins, who charge about 6s. for a full-grown one, and from 1s. 6d. to 2s. for a live young one; but they are very difficult to rear. I had three, but they all died, and one of the monks told me that the year before he had twenty, but had lost them all. The Bedouin, being very shy and wary, keeping to the mountains, and also from their colour very difficult to be seen, are not often detected by travellers, and have



WILD GOATS AND YOUNG. (ASSYRIAN.)

We have only space to give a short account of the wild goats mentioned in three places in the Bible. Saul and three thousand men "went to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats" (*tsurei hayye'elim*) (see 1 Sam. xxiv. 2); "Knowest thou where the wild goats bring forth?" (Job xxxix. 1); "The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the conies (*hyrax*)" (Ps. civ. 18). It will be noticed that the animal in question is always associated with rocks and hills. The Hebrew word (*yâ'el*, plural *ye'elim*) is derived from a root meaning "to climb," "to ascend," and fitly describes the ibex, or wild goat, which is found in the Peninsula of Sinai and in Palestine. This animal, which is a relative of the Swiss ibex or steinbock, is now called the *Beden*, or *Jaala*; the former being the specific Arabic name, the latter the Hebrew, though the latter word is also used

therefore been supposed to be much more scarce than they really are. The kids, before they are able to accompany the old ones, are concealed by the mother under some rock, and apparently are only visited at night. I once caught a little one which ran out from under a rock as I was climbing a mountain. The poor little creature had evidently heard me coming, and ran out thinking I was its mother. The Arab who was with me was very anxious to wait near it till evening to shoot the old one, and he said there must be another kid close by, as two were always dropped at a birth, but we failed to find a second. Their warning cry is a shrill kind of whistle."

According to Dr. Tristram, the *Beden* is not so rare in Palestine as has been supposed. "In the neighbourhood of Engedi, while encamped by the Dead Sea shore, we obtained several fine specimens, and very



ASSYRIAN DEITY HOLDING A GOAT AND AN EAR OF CORN. (NORTH-WESTERN PALACE OF NIMROUD.)

interesting it was to find this graceful creature by the very fountain to which it gave name (Engedi, *i.e.*, 'fountain of the kid'), and in the spot where it roamed of old, while David wandered to escape the persecutions

of Saul. When clambering on the heights above Engedi I often, by the help of my glass, saw the ibex at a distance, and once, when near Marsaba, only a few miles from Jerusalem, started one at a distance of

400 yards. At the south end of the Dead Sea they were common, and I have picked up a horn both near Jericho on the hills, and also on the hills of Moab on the eastern side. At Jericho, too, I obtained a young one, which I hoped to rear, but which died after I had had it for ten days, owing, I believe, to the milk with which it was fed being sour. Further north and west we did not find it, though I have reason to believe that a few linger on the mountains between Samaria and the Jordan, and perhaps also on some of the spurs of Lebanon. We found its teeth in the breccia of bone caverns in the Lebanon, proving its former abundance there. The wild goat has one, or more generally two, young at a birth, and the horns of the female are much smaller than those of the male, which in fine specimens are three feet long, with large round rings or ridges on the front face. The flesh of the Beden is excellent venison, far superior to the dry meat of the gazelle, and is probably the venison which Esau went to hunt for his father in the wilderness of Judæa.¹ The horns of the ibex are in much request at Jerusalem for knife-handles and other manufactures" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, pp. 96, 97). Another Hebrew word, *akkô*, occurs in Dent. xiv. 5, as one of the animals allowed for food; it is rendered "wild goat" in our version, but what this name denotes is pure conjecture.

Figures of the ibex are common on the Assyrian monuments, where they are represented as being hunted and shot with bows and arrows, and sometimes in the hands of some Assyrian deity.

In the inscription of the broken obelisk, which gives an account of the wild animals hunted (killed or cap-

tured alive) by Assur-natsir-pal, mention is made of *arni*, *turâchi*, *nâli*, and *yaeli*. What the three first-named animals denote is matter of conjecture, but the Assyrian word *ya-e-li* closely resembles the Hebrew, and very probably denotes "ibexes" (see Rawlinson's *West Asia Inscriptions*, vol. i., pl. 28, line 20; and Norris's *Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. ii., p. 453).

CHAMOIS.

The rendering of the Hebrew *zemer* occurs only in the list of animals allowed for food (Deut. xiv. 5). The Septuagint and the Vulgate give "camel-leopard" as the animal intended. It certainly is not the camel-leopard, an animal of South and Central Africa, for though representations of the giraffe occur in the Egyptian monuments, as tribute from Ethiopia, it is not possible that it should have been named as lawful food for the Israelites, whether in Palestine or the Sinaitic peninsula.

The word is derived from a root meaning "to spring," "to jump," and this is the only clue, which, as it would apply to wild goats, sheep, deer, or antelopes, is obviously too vague even to form a conjecture from. It is probably not the chamois, which does not now occur in Palestine; it may have occurred at one time, though there is no evidence of its former existence in that country. The chamois is said to be found in all the high mountain chains of Western Asia. *Zemer* has been supposed by some to denote the *aoudad* or *kebsch* (*Anmotragus tragelaphus*, Gray) of North Africa and Arabia Petraea. This goat-like animal is really a wild sheep, very active, an inhabitant of high and inaccessible places, with strong horns of great size curving backwards. Its figure occurs on the Egyptian monuments, and it is quite possible the animal itself was known to the ancient Jews; but it is impossible to do more than form conjectures.

¹ This is extremely uncertain; the Hebrew word *tsayid* or *tsaydah* denotes "what is taken in hunting," "game of any kind," "food." We suspect the gazelle would have been more easily killed than the ibex, which is one of the most wary of all animals.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

ORDERS XII.—XIV. CARYOPHYLLÆE, FRANKENIACEÆ, PARONYCHIACEÆ, AND MOLLUGINÆE.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE plants of the four orders here grouped together, while they exhibit many important points of difference, are yet related to each other by so many essential characters, that they naturally arrange themselves in one great family. The position of the stamens, and the presence or absence of the corolla, which generally supply valuable characters for classification, are of importance here only in relation to the minor groups in which the plants are arranged.

The Pink family (*Caryophyllæe*) consist of rather more than a thousand species of, for the most part, inconspicuous annual or perennial herbs, found in the temperate and frigid regions of the world, chiefly in the northern hemisphere. *Dianthus caryophyllus* (Linn.)

is the source of the innumerable varieties of cloves and carnations found in our gardens. Many species of *Dianthus* and *Silene* have handsome flowers, and the abundant star-like blossoms of some stitch-worts whiten our hedge-banks in early summer; but the majority of the plants of the order are small, and have inconspicuous flowers.

The British flora contains nearly sixty species, some being the most common weeds in cultivated grounds and waste places, and by the waysides, such as the chick-weeds, catch-flies, spurrys, and stitch-worts. Boissier records eighty-five species from Palestine, the principal portion of which are found only on the high mountains of the north; a few are desert weeds which occur in the Dead Sea region, and the remainder are met with

in stony places and cultivated fields over Palestine. Among these common plants are many that are familiar to us in Britain, such as the common chickweed (*Stellaria media*, Linn.), mouse-ear (*Cerastium glomeratum*, Thuil.), and soapwort (*Saponaria officinalis*, Linn.).

The translators of the Authorised Version have introduced into the text the name of a plant belonging to the Pink family—the cockle—as their interpretation of the Hebrew עֲשָׂה (baeshah) in Job xxxi. 40: “Let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley.” Various attempts have been made to connect this word with a special plant. The Seventy in their translation rendered it by βάρως, the “bramble bush;” the Vulgate, Syriac, and some other early versions have translated it vaguely as “thorn.” Celsius considers it to be the aconite, while the hemlock and the nightshade have each been advocated by others. Lady Calcott sees no reason for giving up the authorised translation, and consequently considers that our pink-flowered cockle, a very troublesome weed to English farmers, or one of its varieties, is the plant intended. Our British plant is indeed found within the Palestine area, but only as an advanced member of the northern flora, and it is not met with further south than the mountain ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and consequently not in the corn-fields of the country.

The Hebrew word is derived from a root meaning “fetid” or “bad,” and this has induced Tristram to recognise in it a plant not only useless or hurtful, but one that is also offensive to the smell. He accordingly suggests that a diseased condition of the barley itself may be meant, in which the starch of the grain is replaced by a minute black dust, consisting of the spores of a fungus (*Tilletia caries*, Tul.), that have a very offensive odour, like that of decayed fish. The stinking Arums which are not infrequent in Palestine might also, he thinks, suit the derivation of the word.

It seems, however, more probable that “noisome weeds,” the marginal reading in our English Bible, is as precise an interpretation as can be given to this word. And this is confirmed by the use of what is generally considered to be the plural form עֲשָׂה (beushim) in Isa. v. 2 and 4, where it is translated “wild grapes.” “My well-beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill: and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine-press therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes.”

Hasselquist believed that the prophet here referred to the hoary nightshade (*Solanum sanctum*, Linn.), which he found to be a common plant in Egypt, Palestine, and the East. It may be said to resemble the vine in having a shrubby stem, and received the Arabian name of Aneb-el-dil, or “wolf’s grapes,” no doubt from its bunches of tempting luscious-looking, but really poisonous berries that are not unlike in general appear-

ance a cluster of grapes. He found this pernicious plant springing up as a noxious weed in the vineyards, and saw in it a singular fitness for the figure in the prophet’s parable. Jerome rendered it *labruscæ*, the small dark-red grapes of the wild vine (not the *Vitis labrusca*, Linn., which is a North American plant), which are very sour and useless. In this he was followed by the translators of our Authorised Version, by Rosenmüller and others.

It will be observed, however, that the narrative of the parable requires not the fruit of an intruding pernicious or worthless plant, but the obnoxious fruit borne by a carefully selected and precious vine. The vineyard is planted with the vine of Sorek, a famous variety, and it is well cared for by the husbandman. To its lord, however, it yields not the fruit which the quality of the plant led him to expect, but worthless and obnoxious grapes. So the lord threatens to throw down the walls, and only when thus unprotected do the briars and thorns spring up where only precious vines were found before. With this agrees also the exposition of the parable as given in a succeeding verse: “The vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant: and he looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry.”

It accords then better with the context, in both passages where the word is used, to consider it as an adjective, with its substantive understood: in the one passage the singular feminine expresses a worthless weed in opposition to the nutritious barley; in the other, the plural masculine expresses the obnoxious grapes instead of the grapes of Sorek.

The Sea-heath family (*Frankeniaceæ*) contains some thirty species of small plants chiefly found on the coasts of temperate or warm countries. They probably belong to a single genus. In our British flora the family is represented by one species, a small plant spreading close on the ground, with wiry stems, numerous tufted leaves and inconspicuous rose-coloured flowers, found chiefly in the salt marshes on the south-eastern coast of England. Two species of similar-looking plants are found in Palestine, on the shores of the Levant.

The Whitlow-worts (*Paronychiaceæ*) are a larger family, consisting of somewhat over one hundred species of humble tufted plants with small leaves and minute flowers, occurring generally in sandy places. Six species are found in Britain, and about the same number in the sandy fields of Palestine. The family is more numerous represented in the Sinai region, and in the deserts to the south of the Holy Land.

The Carpet-weeds (*Molluginæ*) are a similar group of small inconspicuous weeds found in the warmer regions of the world, without a representative in Britain, and having but one species in Palestine—a glaucous plant, with small white flowers, found in the northern parts of the country.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JOEL (*continued*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

SECOND PART.

CHAP. II. 18—III. 21.

NOT in vain did Joel plead with the alarmed and conscience-stricken people of Jerusalem and Judæa. They listened to his voice; they accepted correction; they put their trust in Jehovah; they drew near to their God. At the prophet's command they turned unto the Lord with fasting, and with mourning, and with weeping. A fast was sanctified, a restraint proclaimed; all the inhabitants of the land, from the elder to the suckling, were assembled in the Temple; bride and bridegroom exchanged their festive garments for sackcloth, their joy for mourning; and the priests, standing between the porch and the altar, wept out the prayer,

"Spare thy people, O Jehovah."

and, as the prophet had foretold, the Lord hearkened and heard, and repented Him of the evil, and returned and left behind Him a blessing. Jealous for their fair repute among the nations (chap. ii. 18), "He had compassion on his people," and answered their prayer; promising that they should no more be a "reproach among the nations," who were so ready to "seoff at" them; that men should not ask in derision, "Where is their God?" since the land should once more be covered with a waving wealth of corn, and He would send them bread and wine and oil till they were satisfied therewith. In short, the answer of ver. 19 is a simple and exact response to the prayer of ver. 17.

And in the succeeding verses of the chapter this promise of good is defined and expanded. The Divine Voice lingers on the details of the coming benediction, as though in his mercy God were patiently seeking to comfort the weary and despondent hearts of his people, to meet and remove every suggestion of despair, to recover them to the strength of hope. First of all, He promises to deliver them from that pest of locusts, that great army before which all faces had gone pale. But the promise is couched in terms which have given rise to much controversy (ver. 20).

"I send the northerner far away from you,
And drive him into the land of drought and desert,
His van toward the Eastern Sea,
And his rear toward the Western Sea;
And his stench shall rise up,
And his ill savour ascend."

Who is this "northerner?" The locusts, as Jerome and all the commentators tell us, commonly came from the south, not from the north of Judæa; whereas the Assyrian was frequently designated "the Northerner," or "him of the north," by the Hebrew prophets. Must not Joel have been thinking of the Assyrian army when he wrote this verse, and not of a flight of locusts? It is not safe to dogmatise on the question; but on the

whole, the probabilities are, I think, that it was the locusts he had in his mind, not the Assyrians.

There are at least four reasons for this conclusion. (1.) All other indications of time point, as we have seen, to the reign of Joash as the date of Joel's prophetic activity, and the Assyrians did not begin their career of conquest till after Joash had been long gathered to his fathers. To permit these other indications, some of which are tolerably plain, to be overruled by a single hint, and this hint so obscure as that suggested by the verse before us, would be to violate one of the simplest and most reasonable canons of interpretation. (2.) The entire prophecy seems to be a description of the consequences, physical and moral, of a plague of locusts unparalleled in the history of man: it does not contain a solitary clear allusion to an invasion by the Assyrians or by any other hostile race. (3.) Even to this verse the Assyrian hypothesis is a lamentably insufficient key. It explains only the first line, and makes mere nonsense of the lines that follow. For when was the main body of an Assyrian army driven—*i.e.* blown—into the Arabian desert, its van into the Dead Sea, and its rear into the Mediterranean, and left to rot till its stench went up and its ill savour ascended to poison the air? And (4.) the fact that, as Jerome says, "the swarms of locusts are *more generally* brought by the south winds than the north," implies that they did sometimes come from the north. And, indeed, more recent travellers assure us that in Palestine "locusts come and go with *all* winds," and that swarms of them are often found in the Syrian desert on the north of Galilee. On all these grounds we shall do well, I think, to conclude that "the northerner" is here a prophetic designation of locust swarms that fell on Judæa from the northern deserts, and that the comparative infrequency of such an event lent a new accent of terror to the tones in which men spoke of it, and led them to recognise it more clearly as a judgment from Heaven.

That which came from the north is to be driven away by the north wind, or rather, by a wind which veers through all the northern points of the compass—north, north-west, and north-east; so that while the main body of locusts are blown into the southern deserts of Arabia to perish in the arid burning wastes, their van is to be blown into the Salt or Dead Sea on the east, and their rear into the blue waters of the Mediterranean on the west. Commenting on this verse, St. Jerome says, "Even in our own time we have seen the land of Judæa covered by swarms of locusts, which, so soon as the wind rose, were precipitated into" the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. "And when the shores of both were filled with heaps of dead locusts, which the waters had thrown up, their corruption and stench became so noxious, that even the atmosphere was polluted, and

both men and beasts suffered from the consequent pestilence."

In the last line of this verse, Joel assigns as a reason for the doom on the locust flight, "*He doeth great things.*" It is worth while to mark this phrase, and to compare it with the closing line of the next verse (ver. 21), "*for Jehovah doeth great things,*" since we thus get a capital instance of the necessity of reading prophecy as poetry, and of mixing a little imagination with common sense as we read it. A very prosaic person, if he deigned to notice the identity of phrase in these two lines, could not fail to be puzzled by it. He would say, "The locusts have done great things, and therefore they are doomed to destruction; Jehovah has done great things, and therefore the Jews are to trust and praise Him! Can a fountain send out of the same jet sweet water and bitter? How can it be both wrong and right to do great things? How can it both provoke doom and deserve praise?" But if, remembering that Joel was a poet, we put a little imagination at his service—and so much we are bound to do for every poet—we shall easily understand that, to the poet's eye, the eagerness with which the locusts pounced on every green thing would seem like a cruel exultation in the ruin they wrought, as if they were boasting themselves in their might; and that with a somewhat rueful irony he would say of them, "They do great things! A mighty achievement this of theirs!" We shall easily understand that when, with a sudden revulsion of mood, he turned to contemplate the Divine deliverance, and saw the land rejoicing in its recovered beauty and fruitfulness, he would use the very same words to express his pride in the power and mercy of God, and say, "Jehovah in very deed doeth great things! He breathes on the locusts, and they are gone! He smiles on the wasted blackened land; and, lo! the pastures are green with springing verdure, the fields yellow with corn, the hillsides purple with loaded vines."

"Jehovah was jealous for his *land*," we are told (ver. 18), "and had compassion on his *people*;" and now He addresses words of encouragement to the land, and to the beasts that roamed over it, and to the men who tilled it. The whole land had "lamented" under its wasted fields and withered harvest and sickening orchards, under crumbling garners and barns falling to decay (chap. i. 10—12, 17); and now, to the mourning land, there comes the message—

"Fear not, O *land*, rejoice and be glad."

The cattle had "groaned," the herds of oxen had been "bewildered," because they could find no pastures, and because the water-courses were dried up; the flocks of sheep had "mourned the guilt" which had provoked a judgment so terrible (chap. i. 12); and to them there now comes the message—

"Fear not, ye *beasts of the field*,
For the pastures of the wilderness grow green,
For the tree heareth its fruit,
Fig-tree and vine do yield their strength."

All the inhabitants of the land had trembled; the husbandmen had "bleached," the vine-dressers "wailed,"

the ministers of the altar had "wept" (chap. i. 11—13); and to them now comes the message—

"And ye, ye *sons of Zion*, rejoice and be glad in Jehovah your God."

The blessing is to be as wide as the judgment had been, the joy as the sorrow: as land and beasts and men had lamented and cried unto the Lord, so land and beasts and men were to be glad and to rejoice in Him (chap. ii. 21—23).

The Divine blessing was to assume two forms. There was to be a down-pour of rain; there was also to be an outpouring of the Spirit: happier times were coming, so also was a character more pure, and lofty, and spiritual in its tone (vs. 23—32). "Drought never yet brought dearth to England;" but under the fervid sun of the East, dearth is almost always a consequence of drought. If the early rain—that is, the autumn rain, the rain of sowing-time—is withheld, or the latter rain—that is, the spring rain, which fills the ears before harvest—the corn is commonly burned up from the roots, the pastures turn brown, man and beast are exposed to famine; and only too frequently the famine is made more deadly by pestilence. The plague of locusts had been accompanied by a plague of drought, and between them they had reduced the land, goodly and fertile as "the garden of Eden," to a desolate wilderness. The only hope of recovery lay in copious and abundant rain. And in the East the effects of rain are as rapid and marvellous as the effects of drought. In a few days the streaming showers transform the face of the land as by enchantment; the bare parched earth clothes itself in robes of living green; the trees rustle with foliage; the lovely wild flowers clothe the grass with beauty and fill the air with fragrance; and the despondent husbandmen and vine-dressers glow with renewed activity and hope. Such a transformation was now to pass over the land which the drought had parched and the locusts stripped. *Rain* is promised, with an iteration which would be most grateful to an Oriental ear.

"Ye sons of Zion, rejoice and be glad in your God,
For He giveth you the early rain when it is due,¹
And causeth copious rains to come down on you,
Early and latter rain—this, first of all."

¹ By a little violence done to the Hebrew, the phrase rendered "He giveth you the early rain when it is due," may be rendered, "He giveth you the teacher of righteousness." Some of the commentators prefer the latter rendering, although they differ widely in their interpretations of it. Abarhanel explains "the teacher of righteousness" thus: "He is the King Messiah, who should teach them the way in which they should walk, and the works that they should do." Others understand Joel to be "the teacher;" others find in this title "the ideal teacher, or the collective body of messengers from God." Delitzsch even includes all these explanations in his interpretation of the term. But not to insist on the difficulties of such a construction of the Hebrew, it seems to me that two reasons are fatal to this rendering. (1) The word *moreh*, which does at times mean "teacher," is used twice in the verse; and on the second occasion, as all scholars are agreed, it means "rain." Unless there were very strong reasons to the contrary, it would not be wise, if it were lawful, to read the same word in the same sentence and construction in two widely different senses. And (2) there is surely a strong reason for taking it in the sense of "rain." The whole tone of the passage implies that Joel is about to set forth one blessing first (mark the force of "*this, first of all*," in ver. 23, as compared with "*afterward*," in ver. 28); and that afterward he is about to describe a second blessing—viz., the outpouring of the Spirit and the consequent exaltation of the national character. To

So seasonable and so abundant are the rains to be that the land is to take fertility again, "the barns" are to "grow full of grain," "the vats" are to "run over with new wine and with oil," "the years which the locust hath eaten"—a fine and boldly picturesque figure for the produce of the years—are to be "made good," and every trace of the great ruin wrought by the great "camp" of God is to disappear (vs. 23—25).

This is the first blessing—the blessing of happier outward conditions. But there is a second, and far greater, blessing to come. The showers of rain are but a prelude to the outpouring of the Spirit, and the recovered beauty and fertility of the land are but a type of the heightened spiritual character, vigour, and fruitfulness of the redeemed people. The description of this second benediction commences in verse 28, but in verses 26, 27 we have an artistic and most graceful transition from the lower to the higher theme, from the first to the second blessing. It is just one of these touches which we should admire in any but an inspired poet. Why should we not also admire it in a poet inspired from above? The first blessing, seasonable and copious rain, is to bring an abundance of grain, oil, and wine; and the people are to eat their food with gladness and simplicity of heart, praising and blessing God. It was to induce this devout and thankful recognition of the Divine presence that the judgment had been sent. Dulled by routine, blinded by use and wont, the Jews had come to regard the succession of the seasons and the bounty of the year in a hard mechanical way, as though Nature were a mere engine or machine—a vast mill, grinding out certain very convenient supplies, but with no Divine power in it, no Divine Person to control and regulate it. Harvests were a matter of course. You sowed so much seed; the rains fell, the sun shone, "and there you were." It was all a question of human toil and natural law. God might indeed have made men and ordained laws ages ago; but He had nothing to do with the results of these laws as manipulated by human skill and labour month by month and year by year. It was to convince them of a Divine Presence immanent in Nature, to make them pure and strong and happy by drawing their hearts to Himself, that God interrupted the usual sequence of events—first, by disasters over which they had no control; by *plagues* (literally, "blows"), which they understood as judgments; and then, by acts of grace and goodwill, which they understood as signs of His returning favour. This gracious design, we are now told, was, or was to be, accomplished. Terrified by disasters over which they had no power, attracted by blessings which they could not secure, which at least seemed to them to be answers to repentance and supplication, as they "ate and were satisfied," the people "*praised the name of Jehovah their God, who had dealt wondrously with them;*" they felt, they acknowledged, that "He was in the midst of them," in their fields and in their vine-

yards as well as in the Temple, and that He, "Jehovah, was their God and none else," since only He could send them rain and fruitful seasons and fill their hearts with gladness.

By this natural and graceful transition, Joel rises from the temporal to the spiritual blessing, from the showers of rain to the descent of the Spirit. He had seen in the plague an emphatic call to repentance; and he had taught the people to see and to obey it. In the restored fertility of the land he sees a proof that corn and oil and wine are the immediate gifts of God; and he teaches the people to see this also, and to give God thanks for his bounty. Redeemed from the chain of custom, awakened from their dull reliance on use and wont to a vivid recognition of the Divine presence and activity, they are in just that condition, in that mood of the soul, in which they can receive larger spiritual gifts and be raised to a higher spiritual level. Joel foresees and predicts this crisis in the spiritual history of the nation. He affirms that there is to be an effusion of spiritual energy, an outpouring of spiritual influence, such as had never been known before, as unparalleled as the plague which preceded it; and that even this great blessing would be a judgment, a test, by which the spirits of men would be tried—full of terror for those who set themselves against the new tide of influence, full of life and promise for those who took it at the flood, sailing with it and welcoming it.

But if we would clearly understand verses 28—32, in which the second and greater blessing is foretold, we must a little consider some of the terms which the prophet employs, and the suggestions they would carry to the ears of an Hebrew audience. For instance, under the Mosaic dispensation, the leading and most authoritative form of Divine revelation was the *prophetic form*; the power of seeing and speaking forth the truths of God as they bore on the facts of human life, whether in the past, the present, or the future.

From the days of Moses until Joel, the prophet was the highest spiritual authority, the man most directly and obviously inspired of God. If, therefore, there was to be a notable and unparalleled outpouring of Divine energy, Joel would naturally anticipate that this energy would come in its highest known form, that is, in the prophetic form. This prophetic gift or power, again, had two leading phases or aspects—visions and dreams. "If there is a prophet of Jehovah among you, I make myself known to him *in a vision*, I speak to him *in a dream*."¹ So that we can easily apprehend why, when foretelling an unexampled effusion of the Divine Spirit, Joel would say—

"Your sons and your daughters will prophesy,
Your old men will dream dreams,
Your young men will see visions."

Moreover, up to this period the Divine gift had been limited to a select few, to the more finely natured and eminent men through whom God spake to the nation at large. But a time was now approaching in which the Spirit of Jehovah would come down like a copious rainfall, sweeping over all barriers, quickening the vivid

read "teacher of righteousness" in ver. 23, therefore, where we may read "early rain when it is due," appears to be a sin against the tone and order of the prophet's thought, the gratuitous introduction of an obscurity into a passage which in itself is clear.

¹ Numb. xii. 6.

energies of life in all classes—in children and old men, in young men and maidens. No slave had as yet received the prophetic impulse and gift; but in the new time that was coming, “even the bondsmen and the bondswomen,” as the prophet marks with natural surprise, are to share in the power of the Holy Ghost. Nay, the Spirit is not to be confined to one race, it is to extend to all races; it is not to be confined to the pious and devout, it is to seize upon those who had hitherto been deemed incapable of spiritual life. The words

“I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh”

have a history. They point us back even to the times before the Flood. Then, when men had become “evil, only evil, and that continually,” God had said, “My spirit shall not rule in the human race (*bâddâm*), because it has become *flesh* (*bâsâr*).”¹ Now He says, “My Spirit shall be poured out on all flesh” (*kol bâsâr*). This word “flesh” (*bâsâr*), as contrasted with “the Spirit,” denotes human nature so sunk in bondage to its lower elements as to be incapable of spiritual life. But, according to Joel, even this impenetrable “flesh” is to be penetrated by the Divine Spirit; even the “natural man” is to be transformed into a “spiritual man;” even the incorrigible are to be recovered to obedience. When God thus descends in the fulness of his power, shall there not be wonders in the heavens above and in the earth beneath? Joel foresees that there will be wonders like those which of old attended his steps when He came to redeem Israel from the bondage of Egypt, and when He gave them the law on Sinai; on the earth, “blood and fire, and columns of smoke;” in the heavens, a darkened sun, a bloody and portentous moon; such wonders, in short, as men have always held to be omens and heralds of approaching change.

These prodigies, however, will have no terror for those who “invoke the name of Jehovah,” who make Him their sanctuary, who find in Him the sacred and august reality of which “Mount Zion” was a type to the Jew; and even among those who had not yet taken sanctuary in Him “there would be those whom Jehovah will call” from their sins to find security and peace in Him. So large a promise naturally awakens inquiry. We ask, “When was it, or will it be fulfilled?” Joel expected, and I suppose saw, a fulfilment of it in his day. Peter saw a fulfilment of it on the Day of Pentecost. We are still straining forward through the ages, and looking for a distant day of judgment and redemption on which the promise will be finally and exhaustively fulfilled. If any ask, “To which of these fulfilments does Joel, or the Spirit which spake by Joel, refer?” we reply, “Why should He not refer to *all* these days, and to many more?” Every true prophecy *must* have many fulfilments. For what is a prophecy? It is a Divine reading of human facts; it is a declaration of the results which the Divine laws are sure to work out from any given set of conditions, any sequence of events. Here is a man, or a race, in certain circumstances, of a certain moral temper, with this or that sin heavily pressing upon

them. And the prophet says, “In your circumstances, with your character, the Divine laws will infallibly produce such and such results from your repentance and amendment.” As the Divine laws are eternal and know no change, whenever the same facts recur in the life of a man or of a race, the same results are sure to follow; whenever similar facts recur, similar results will follow. And since men walk very much in a narrow round of custom and action, the facts and conditions of human life must constantly repeat themselves; and every prophecy, therefore, must have many fulfilments.

In Joel’s time the Hebrew people went up to the Temple to worship, but they had forgotten what their worship meant: they gave their first-fruits to God, but not the harvest; they saw Him in the Sanctuary and the ordinances of the Sanctuary, but not in the fields and in the laws of Nature. And therefore the regular order, the beneficent order of Nature was broken, or seemed to them to be broken, by unexpected calamities, by adverse forces before which they were helpless. This interruption of the usual sequence of events they took as a judgment on their sins, as a call to repentance. They did repent, they learned that God was “in the midst of them;” for a time they lived in a constant and thankful recognition of His presence, His bounty. Their hearts were quickened to a new life; there was what we call “a reformation of religion.” It is at such periods that the Spirit of God descends on men with unaccustomed power, when, viz., their hearts are quick and tender. And as a rule, it is the humble and meek to whom, at such times, there is given “greater insight into the past, greater foresight of that which is to come,” the power to see visions, and dream dreams, and declare the will of the Lord. To the proud and disobedient such times are times of testing and judgment; they oppose themselves to the new movement of thought, to the better spirit of the age; they adjudge themselves unworthy of the life which has been quickened in the hearts of their neighbours.

This was the sequence of results which Joel saw and foresaid; *this* was how he read the facts of his time, and the bearing of the Divine laws upon them. Were not the same conditions repeated in St. Peter’s time with the like results? Was there not, therefore, good ground for his finding in the Pentecostal facts a fulfilment of Joel’s prophecy? Then, once more, the Jewish people came up to the Temple to worship, but failed to recognise the God, and the duty to God, to which their worship bore witness. When “God made manifest in the flesh” stood before them, they did not recognise Him as God, neither were thankful. Judgment came upon them. They were permitted to lay “lawless hands” on Him who was both their Lord and Christ. They awoke to the consciousness of their sin when they saw the humble Galileans quickened to new life and power. They repented and turned unto the Lord. And the Spirit came upon them. They too saw visions, and dreamed dreams, and prophesied in the name of the Lord. And this new accession of spiritual life was a judgment to the men of that untoward generation—

¹ Gen. vi. 3.

trying what manner of spirit they were of, revealing how evil was the spirit by which *they* were animated who still opposed themselves to the power and grace of God.

St. Peter might well say, "This is that which is spoken by the prophet Joel."¹ And none the less may we say it at every new crisis of the religious life, whether

¹ Acts ii. 16-21.

in a man, or in a race, or in the world. In all ages the same sequence recurs—sin, judgment, repentance, a new spirit, and in this new spirit a new test and criterion to which men are brought, and by which they are either approved or condemned. But the genesis and significance of this prediction of Joel's will be still further developed in a brief *excursus* which it now becomes desirable and even necessary to make on "What Joel learned from Moses."

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

I. SACRED SEASONS (*continued*).

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THE third and last of the great Jewish Feasts was that of Tabernacles, or, as it should rather be called, of booths; while in various passages of the Old Testament it receives the name also of the Feast of Ingathering at the year's end (Exod. xxxiv. 22; xxiii. 16). It was celebrated in the seventh month, corresponding with the end of September and beginning of October in this country, when all the labours of the field for the year had closed, when the harvest—not of grain only, but of fruits and oil and wine—had been gathered in, and when the toils of agriculture in providing for the next season's crop had not yet begun. Again, as in the month Nisan, the first days of Tisri, the seventh month, were the days of the crescent moon. Again, as at both the previous festivals of which we have already spoken, groups of pilgrims gathered to Jerusalem, often, perhaps, taking advantage of the increasing moonlight to wend their way, by night as well as day, over the hills and through the valleys of Palestine to the holy city. And again, when they arrived there at the beginning of the feast, and had, owing to the overcrowding of the city, to pitch their tents without the walls, they could do so beneath the brilliance of an Eastern full moon. For, on the fifteenth day of the month, the moon would be at the full, and on that day the festival began.

Seven days (in this respect it corresponded with the feast of Unleavened Bread) were allotted to its more peculiar services (Lev. xxiii. 41). Of these the first was a day of "holy convocation," when religious meetings were held and no servile work might be done. But it was a peculiarity of the Feast of Tabernacles that to the seven days an eighth was added, which was once more a day of "holy convocation," and which, at least in later times, came to be considered "the great day of the feast" (John vii. 37). All, however, that was peculiarly distinctive of the festival had ceased the day before, and the eighth day was probably added simply that, in its holy rest and convocation, it might form a solemn close to the whole festival season of the year, and a point of transition to the more ordinary period now to begin. The arrangements connected with the seven days were in a high degree marked and

interesting. "Ye shall take you," it is said, "on the first day the fruit of beautiful trees, branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook. Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths" (Lev. xxiii. 40-42). These booths were very different from what is generally understood to be meant by tabernacles or tents. They were constructed not with skins or cloths of goats' hair like the latter, but with branches of trees, and were of the most temporary and fragile character; so frail and open that Jonah, when he made him a booth over against Nineveh, and sat under it in the shadow, was yet exceeding glad of the gourd which God prepared, because it afforded him a shelter that the booth itself was unable to supply (Jonah iv. 5, 6). Such booths were, during the Feast of Tabernacles, to be the habitations of Israel. On all the open places of the city—in the courts, in the streets, in the squares, on the flat roofs of the houses, in the fore-court of the Temple itself they were erected; and there, in that warm and genial clime, before the autumn rains or the cold of winter had begun, under leafy boughs and branches of fruit-trees from which the fruit yet hung, the people took up their abode.

But it was not only the dwelling in such booths that marked the feast before us. The sacrifices of the time also merit our attention. We have already seen what these were at the earlier festivals of the year. At the Feast of Tabernacles they were greatly increased in number. On each of the first seven days there were offered two rams and fourteen lambs of the first year, with their appropriate meat and drink offerings for a burnt-offering, and in addition throughout the seven days, seventy bullocks in all. The bullocks, indeed, were not like the rams and the lambs, equally distributed over the several days of the feast, ten to each day. The remarkable provision existed, that on the first day there should be offered thirteen, on the second twelve, on the third eleven, and so on, diminishing each day one until the seventh day, when there were offered only seven. But the number seventy in all, ten multiplied by the sacred number seven, was thus made up. That, in addition to these, peace-offerings were

also presented can hardly admit of doubt. No express mention, indeed, seems to be made of them in the law, but the words of Deut. xvi. 14, 15, compared with xii. 18, "And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite, the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy gates. Seven days shalt thou keep a solemn feast unto the Lord thy God in the place where he shall choose," must be understood to have reference to the sacrificial meal which was connected with them alone. At the same time, if, as seems almost certain from a comparison of I Kings viii. 2 and 2 Chron. vii. 8—10, the dedication of the Temple took place at the Feast of Tabernacles, peace-offerings in extraordinary profusion are spoken of in connection with that event (I Kings viii. 63). It is somewhat singular that we find in the law no distinct provision, such as existed in connection with the second day of Unleavened Bread and Pentecost, for the offering of first-fruits at this feast. Yet we may certainly conclude that they would be offered, because we know that the feast was one of "ingathering at the end of the year," and that it was, amongst its other characteristics, a thanksgiving for a completed harvest. The absence of any specific regulations upon the point must, however, be regarded as a proof that this aspect of the feast was subordinate to that under which it either commemorated Israel's past or shadowed forth its future.

Such were the provisions of the Mosaic law with regard to the Feast of Tabernacles, but various other ceremonies were added by the Jews of later times, and, as two of these appear to be recognised in the New Testament, it will be well to notice them. They are closely associated with that fulfilment of the feast of which we are more particularly in search. The first was the ceremony with the water of Siloam. On each of the seven days of the feast it was the practice to repair to the Temple at the time of the morning sacrifice, when all who could be admitted within its court marched in procession round the altar of burnt-offering, carrying garlands of the palm, the myrtle, and the willow, known by the name of *lulabs*, in their hands. Prayers and singing accompanied the act, and whenever the word *Hosannah* occurred the people shook their *lulabs*. At the same time a priest descended to the pool of Siloam in the vicinity of the Temple, drew water in a golden urn, and entering again by the water-gate, which seems to have received its name from this circumstance, brought it amidst incense and the sound of trumpets into the court. It was there received by another priest singing with loud voice, in which the assembled multitude joined, the words of Isa. xii. 3: "With joy shall ye draw water out of wells of salvation." The priest last spoken of then bore the water to the altar, which he passed round from left to right; poured a small portion of it into the wine destined for the drink-offering; then mixed the whole together in a silver basin; and finally discharged it by a pipe which, communicating with the altar, carried it down to the

Kidron. During the whole ceremony the great Hallel, Ps. cxiii.—cxviii., was sung. On the seventh day the ceremony was heightened. It was the culminating point of the festival. All the glories of their past, all the expectations of their future, swelled the breasts of Israel at that moment; and the burst of praise and prayer went up to heaven in one loud acclaim: "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, because his mercy endureth for ever;" "Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity;" "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever." On the eighth day it seems most probable, although there is some doubt upon the point, that this bringing of water from Siloam did not take place.

The second ceremony we have alluded to took place at night. At the close of the first day of the feast, golden candlesticks of great height, or candelabra with golden arms, were set up in the court of the women, and were lighted by four sons of priests. The illumination was repeated each night of the festival, and it was the boast of the Jews that a light was thrown over the city as clear as that of day.

It is vain to inquire whence these arrangements proceeded, or at what particular time they took their rise. They had become, like many additions to the Passover, constituent parts of the festival in the days of Christ, and they were referred to by him as points of connection for truths he had come to unfold, if not as actually symbolical of his mission. It remains for us to inquire into the meaning and fulfilment of them all.

First, as to the commemoration of historical circumstances in the life of Israel, it was not so much the trials of the wilderness that the feast brought to view as the covenant care of God for his people amidst these trials, the time when their "shoes" were "iron and brass," and when their strength was made equal to their day (Deut. xxxiii. 25). That journeying in the wilderness had not been a season of affliction only. It had rather been one of triumph over affliction, when the people were "persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed." God himself was in the midst of them. His tabernacle was in their camp. The pillar of cloud went before them by day, and the pillar of fire by night. The free air of the desert blew around them. Liberty, not bondage, was their portion. Their old enemies had been destroyed in the Red Sea; they had beheld them sink as "lead in the mighty waters." There was no time in all their history when the Almighty showed more clearly that his favour compassed them as a shield. The feast, therefore, commemorated not burdens alone, but burdens borne away; not want, but want replaced by marvellous supplies; not sorrow, but sorrow turned into joy. If the first of the three annual feasts was a proclamation on the part of Israel's King, "Ye shall be my people," the last of the three proclaimed not less loudly, "I will be your God."

With this the second aspect of the feast before us, as a thanksgiving festival for a completed harvest, beauti-

fully harmonised. We have already seen that Unleavened Bread and Pentecost had such a reference, and with a similar reference Tabernacles now came into the festal scale. The first was a thanksgiving for the corn as corn; the second for that corn as turned into bread and applied to the sustenance of life; the third for fruits, and oil, and wine, the last productions of the year. The last, yet not only the last but also the most joyful: "oil to make man's face to shine," "wine that strengtheneth man's heart," the two growths of the soil which are always in Scripture the symbols of God's best and highest gifts, not only supporting but brightening our existence. Their first-fruits must therefore be also laid upon the altar. Hence also, in all probability, the reason why the sacrifices were so greatly multiplied at the Feast of Tabernacles. The year was crowned with God's goodness. His paths dropped fatness. All the promises of his covenant were sealed. A far larger than ordinary profusion of gifts became the time. In the same light, if our remarks upon the peace-offerings of this season were correct, we see the ground upon which they were presented as they were. At Unleavened Bread there seems to have been no peace-offering. At Pentecost there was, but the two lambs then thus offered fell wholly to the priests, and there was no sacrificial meal on the part of the offerer and his friends. At the Feast of Tabernacles, however, the whole ceremonial of peace-offerings appears to have been completed, and Israel rejoiced before the Lord, he and his son, and his daughter, and his maidservant, and the Levite that was within his gates, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow (Deut. xvi. 13, 14). The gifts of God were not only bestowed by Him and appropriated by His people; they were also distributed by them to others.

Still further, there is a third aspect of this feast, in its prospective rather than its retrospective reference, which has for it the clear authority of the Word of God. In two parts of its ceremonial it was typical of the work of Christ. The first of these is set before us by St. John when he says, "In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified" (John vii. 37—39). It is true that on the eighth day of the feast the pouring out of the water from Siloam does not appear to have taken place, but the moment was thereby rendered only the more appropriate for the Saviour's words. For seven days previous the multitude had collected in the Temple to witness the ceremony, and on the last day they were gathered once more together, excited by the high solemnities through which they had been passing, and longing, as their whole ritual taught them to long, for the fulness that had been only shadowed forth. They were gathered together, but there was no water drawn, no sounding of the trumpets, no singing of the

Hallel. The peculiar services of the time were over. The festal booths had been taken down. "Where," we can imagine the assembled multitude looking each other anxiously in the face and saying, "where is the fulness that we have been looking for, where the substance that these rites have been teaching us to expect?" At that instant Jesus stood in the Temple and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink; he that believeth on Me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." And then the Evangelist adds in explanation, "This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive." Assuming, as with every commentator on the passage we are entitled to assume, that in these words of our Lord there is a reference to the ceremony with the waters of Siloam, we have in them a distinct allusion to a gift of the Spirit which these waters typified. The allusion, too, was natural and intelligible. It is found in the Old Testament when the prophet says, "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring" (Isa. xlv. 3); and Lightfoot tells us that "in the Jerusalem Talmud it is expounded that they draw the Holy Spirit, for a divine breathing is upon the man through joy" (on John vii. 38). With this idea then the Saviour connected his invitation and promise; and, bidding as it were the assembled Israelites mark how quickly the waters drawn for them for seven days in succession had disappeared, he calls them to "come" to him. With him were the true streams of refreshing, streams of living water, not flowing only in a trifling rill, but in rivers, the fulness of the Spirit and of spiritual blessings bestowed along with it. Yet we are carefully to observe that it is not the appropriation, it is the *diffusion* of the Spirit that is here referred to, "out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." A second part of the ceremonial was also typical; for it is almost impossible not to interpret in this manner the words of Jesus in John viii. 12, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." The words were spoken when the minds of the people were still full of the proud and joyful recollections of the splendour of that illumination which each night of the feast had witnessed, and when they were perhaps dwelling mournfully on the thought that it was over. No brilliant radiance from the Temple height should again at that time send its rays over Jerusalem. The moon, too, was upon the wane; and with sunset a darkness which none of the last eight days had seen would settle upon the holy city. But just as Jesus had promised rivers of living water to those who were looking in vain for the waters of Siloam, so now he promises the light of life to those who were thinking sadly of the coming gloom.

Thus, then, we are prepared to mark the fulfilment of the Feast of Tabernacles. Like the Feasts of Unleavened Bread and Pentecost, it is fulfilled first of all in Christ himself. His was a life upheld amidst all its

sufferings by his Heavenly Father's care. He dwelt in God and God in him. He conquered the sorrows of the world, and death, and hell. He left nothing that He had undedicated to his Father's glory, and, notwithstanding his trials, He could so speak of "my peace," "my joy," as to show that his path, even in this wilderness, was a path of triumph. With Him, too, was the residue of the Spirit, and He was, and is, the Light of life. Nor are the Spirit and the light his only that He may himself enjoy them. They are his for the good of man. To bestow the Spirit, to shed light into a dark world, was the great purpose of his mission, and is now his reward, "Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, He hath shed forth this, which ye see and hear;" and again, "Wherefore He saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men;" and once more, "To as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God" (Acts ii. 33; Eph. iv. 8; John i. 12).

But the feast is fulfilled also in his people, in that Church which is "his body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." For, whatever be the Church's trials in the wilderness, she is "more than conqueror through Him that loved her." As she has dedicated herself wholly to Him, so He has accepted the dedication, and has betrothed her to himself in righteousness. He makes "his grace sufficient" for her, He makes his "strength perfect in weakness, so that she rather glories in her infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon her. Therefore she takes pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake; for when she is weak then she is strong" (2 Cor. xii. 9, 10). "The tabernacle of the Lord," too, "is again with her," and the Lord has created "upon every dwelling-place of Mount Zion, and upon all her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night," so that her path is made straight before her, and she rejoices even in sorrow.

Nor is even this all. For, as in her Pentecost she receives the Spirit, so in her Tabernacles she diffuses it. The Spirit is given her, not only to quench her own thirst, to relieve her own wants, but to flow forth from her to others. The Church is the temple of the Lord, every believer is a lively stone in it; and from the temple as a whole, from each lively stone in part, flows forth that water which, instead of disappearing in a moment like the water brought from Siloam in the urn, proves a living and everywhere life-giving river. The picture will be still more complete if, as seems not improbable, we may connect the Church's diffusion of the

Spirit with one of the most striking visions of Ezekiel. "Afterward," says the prophet, "he brought me again unto the door of the house; and, behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward: for the forefront of the house stood toward the east, and the waters came down from under from the right side of the house, at the south side of the altar. Then brought he me out of the way of the gate northward, and led me about the way without unto the utter gate by the way that looketh eastward; and, behold, there ran out waters on the right side. And when the man that had the line in his hand went forth eastward, he measured a thousand cubits, and he brought me through the waters; the waters were to the ankles. Again he measured a thousand, and brought me through the waters; the waters were to the knees. Again he measured a thousand, and brought me through; the waters were to the loins. Afterward he measured a thousand, and it was a river that I could not pass over: for the waters were risen, waters to swim in, a river that could not be passed over" (Ezek. xlvi. 1—5). What waters are these thus issuing from under the threshold of the house eastward, coming down from the right side of the house at the south side of the altar? To none can they be with so much probability referred as to the waters poured out beside the altar at the Feast of Tabernacles. If so, not only is that river of the water of life which flows in the Church living and life-giving; it is also a constantly increasing river. It spreads from individual to individual, from family to family, from one people to another; not losing itself in the desert, but deepening, widening as it flows, causing the wilderness to rejoice, and making the valley, whose salt and brimstone soil was the emblem of the curse of God, send up trees "whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed, but the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof for medicine" (Ezek. xlvi. 12). How beautiful the picture of the influences of God's Holy Spirit when, not only appropriated but sent forth by a living Church over the world, they everywhere awaken spiritual life in its vigour and beauty, supply all wants, heal all disorders, change barrenness into fruitfulness, and death itself into life. That is the fulness for which Israel waited in its Feast of Tabernacles.

Finally, the Church of Christ, like her Lord, ought to be, and when faithful is, the light of the world. In communion and fellowship with Jesus that light which He has kindled in his people. They "have the light of life." They themselves illuminate, themselves are a source of light to others. Christ in them and they in Him, there is an abiding illumination upon the Temple mount, and never again, either by day or night, shall there be darkness in Christ's New Jerusalem.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. JOHN.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

THE THREEFOLD WITNESS.

TEXT OF AUTHORISED VERSION
REVISED.

6. This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not in the water only, but in the water and in the blood: and it is the Spirit that is bearing witness, because the Spirit is the truth.

7. For there are three who are bearing witness,

8. The spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.—1 JOHN v. 6, 7, 8.

TEXT OF AUTHORISED VERSION.

6. This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth.

7. For there are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.

8. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.—1 JOHN v. 6, 7, 8.

ABOUT a century and a half ago that learned and devout commentator, Bengel, reluctant to give up what he deemed a powerful and weighty testimony to a great truth, defended with great ingenuity the famous statement contained in the 7th verse of the received text of the passage we are about to discuss—the alleged testimony of the heavenly witnesses—“the three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.” As a critical scholar, it is clear Bengel felt that the words must be expunged, but he surmounted the difficulty by indulging in the hope that as critical investigation into the text of the New Testament—then, comparatively speaking, in its infancy—proceeded, fresh evidence for the disputed words in question might be discovered. Since the great expositor wrote, a vast amount of materials towards the restoration of the true text of the Greek (New) Testament has been brought to light, and investigated by the patient unwearied labours of a few great scholars. But Bengel’s hope as regards this particular verse has been vain.¹

As yet the testimony in favour of the passage relating to the “heavenly witnesses” has been found in no ancient Greek MS. No Greek father has been fairly proved to have cited it. It evidently exists in some of the Latin versions; but even here some of the best and most trustworthy omit it.

The words in question were, no doubt, originally written at a very early date on the margin of some of the Latin translations of the New Testament, probably in North Africa, in some great centre, such as Carthage, and from the fourth century downwards forced their way gradually into the original text of St. John.

The verse in all ages has been considered by many theologians as a most weighty and compendious statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, and this has, no

doubt, favoured its later adoption as an integral part of the text of the chapter in which it appears, although, as we hope to show in our exposition of the whole passage, the disputed words literally destroy the sense, while they give to the whole argument a colouring of unreality. Having cleared the way by expunging words which, though true in themselves, have no place whatever in the argument of St. John, we proceed to inquire what we are to understand by the apparently strange statement that *Jesus Christ came by water and by blood*.

Now the very many interpretations which theologians of different ages have given to the “water” and the “blood” may be divided roughly into two schools:—

The first, which looks upon these expressions as purely symbolical;

The second, which refers the “water and the blood” primarily to circumstances in the life of Christ which are still bearing testimony to his “Messiahship.”

And, first, those expositors who urge the purely symbolical reference, explain water as representing “purity,” “innocence.” So Grotius understood the most pure life of Jesus as signified (comp. Ezek. xxxvi. 25); others, such as Clement of Alexandria, tell us that under the figure of water regeneration and faith are signified. The “blood” is rightly explained by the majority of divines of both schools by a reference to the death of Christ; but the symbolical school of expositors even here understand the *blood* as simply equivalent to “expiation” or “redemption.” Many see the enduring testimony of the water under the sacrament of baptism, the testimony of the blood under the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.

But this school of interpretation, which only can see a symbolical reference in the water and the blood, never gives, after all, a satisfactory sense to this great passage of St. John. While by no means entirely denying the symbolical reference, we must primarily refer the water and the blood, by which Jesus Christ came, to circumstances recorded to have taken place during our Lord’s life on earth, which circumstances, in some way or other, as we shall presently see in verses 7 and 8, must still be witnessing among us to the truth of the Messiahship of Jesus. Without hesitation, then, we explain “water” as signifying *baptism*, which our Lord not only instituted, and carried out during his earthly ministry (John iv. 1, 2), but commanded to be continued among all nations after the resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 19). The practice of the Lord has been followed, and the command obeyed; for during the eighteen Christian centuries it has always been, and still is, the distinguishing mark in all nations of admission into the Christian community. The “blood” points un-

¹ A brief summary of the evidence for and against the integrity of this passage will be found at the end of this paper.

mistakably to the death of Christ—the life-blood poured out on the cross: it is the “blood of sprinkling” (Heb. xii. 24).

The argument then runs:—This is he—Jesus the Messiah—whose distinguishing signs then, as now, were the *water of baptism*, and the *blood poured out on the cross*; and here, with all the awful mystic signification of the latter (the blood) pressing upon him, the apostle repeats, “not with water only”—for the memory of the Baptist, and perhaps of other servants of the Most High before him, whose distinguishing sign had been the water of baptism—“not with water only,” he repeats, but with water *and blood*, thus urging that the sign of the Messiahship of Jesus was not only that sacred purifying water of baptism, but his having undergone that cross-death when he poured out his life-blood for us.

The concluding sentence of the verse proceeds to tell us how the Spirit (that is, the Holy Ghost) is ever bearing witness.

Now the Spirit which bears witness here undoubtedly is the Holy Ghost. Two questions, however, naturally present themselves:—

1. To what is the Spirit bearing witness?
2. The nature of the witness which proceeds from the Spirit?

The first is easy to answer. Witness is being borne to the fact that he that came by water and by blood is *Jesus the Christ, or Messiah* (ver. 6), *the Son of God* (ver. 9). The second is harder at first sight. What is the nature of the witness emanating from the Spirit?

This witness is of two kinds—(a) an outward witness; (b) an inner witness.

(a) The outward witness consists in those manifestations of the Spirit related to us in the sacred writings: for example, the descent of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost, when, after the Spirit had descended on the disciples in the form of cloven tongues of fire, they on whom the gift had been bestowed bore their witness in various languages to the crucified Saviour (see Acts ii. 4); and the descent of the Spirit on Cornelius and his companions (Acts x. 44, 45; xi. 15, 16). Compare also, as an instance of an outward historical manifestation of the Spirit, St. Matt. iii. 16, where the Holy Spirit was visibly present at the Lord’s baptism in Jordan.

(b) An inner witness. Here the Spirit guides men into all truth, leads them to Christ, creates in them a longing for, and then gives them the power to lead a holy life, teaching them that the holy life can only be found in Christ, by those who walk in light, as He is in the light. It is in this work, carried on in the heart of every faithful seeker after Christ, that the Spirit is bearing its perpetual, its daily witness; and St. John adds as the reason why the Spirit is ever bearing this mighty outer and inner witness, “because the Spirit is the truth:” “the truth,” since, as Estius well says, “the Spirit is God, who can neither deceive or be deceived” (quum sit Deus adeoque nec falli possit nec fallere).

So far “the water” and “the blood” have come before us as the distinguishing characteristics in St. John’s mind of the Messiahship of Jesus, and “the Spirit” has been specified as the witness to this great truth. Now, as perpetually witnessing to the Messiahship of Jesus in verse 7, “the water” and “the blood” are associated in their testimony with the Holy Spirit, and the three are set forth as the united witness of God concerning his Son Jesus (see ver. 10).

The argument, then, of verses 7 and 8 is as follows: Not only is the Spirit (the Holy Ghost) bearing its everlasting witness, for (σπi) three are bearing their testimony—viz., that Spirit of which we have already spoken of above as witnessing, and that blood and water of which we have written as elements in that conception of the Messiah which is placed before us in these Epistles. That blood and water, we declare, are ever witnessing to the same eternal truth.

The Spirit naturally occupies the first place in this triad of witnesses. Without it neither the water nor the blood could in any real sense be understood as witnesses. We have discussed above the manner of the Spirit’s witness, and have still to speak very shortly of the witness of the other two—the water and the blood. The water of holy baptism is the outward type of the sinner being born again, becoming the heir of eternal life and the inheritor of Christ’s kingdom. Water is the witness to every Christian man and woman that Jesus Christ is the King of the realm of grace—the kingly, triumphant Messiah of the prophecies of the Old Testament. By the blood the believer daily washes away his sins, daily purges out the stains and defilements he ever and again contracts in his life’s journey. The blood is his witness, telling him that Jesus is Christ, the Lamb of God and his Redeemer.

And in the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord’s Supper, which the Lord ordained, and in which all true believers love to share, John the divine saw then, as we see now, the perpetual witnesses among men to the Sonship and Messiahship of Jesus; while the Holy Spirit, sanctifying the waters of baptism to the mystical washing away of sin—sanctifying, too, the eucharistic elements in the heart of the faithful recipient—completes the triad of witnesses, whose witness, varied though it be, unites in the establishment of the one eternal truth—*Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*.

The considerations which belong to the omission of the famous passage relating to the “three heavenly witnesses” in verse 7 may be roughly divided into—

- a. Exegesis.
- b. Verbal peculiarities.
- c. Textual criticism.

a. *Exegesis*.—Where, now, in the great argument discussed above is there room for the testimony of the heavenly witnesses? In the revised text printed at the head of this paper, the argument, as we have shown, flows on clear and uninterrupted.

First, “the water and the blood” are set forward as distinguishing characteristics of the Messiahship and

Sonship of Jesus, and the Spirit is set before us as testifying to the truth of that Messiahship. Secondly, we are told "the Spirit" is not the only witness, for "the water and the blood," too, associated in the same glorious testimony with "the Spirit," are ever bearing to men on earth their weighty witness.

Now, to insert the words of verse 7 which appear in the *received* text would interrupt this chain of statement and argument, and would introduce a new and here totally irrelevant element—viz., the testimony of the Trinity in heaven to the Messiahship of Jesus; and the new element thus introduced, besides, would interrupt the two steps of the argument.¹ Bengel (compare Alford's note) and certain MSS. of the Vulgate, to avoid this break, place verse 8 before verse 7.

b. Verbal Peculiarities.—St. John in his writings never combines the expressions "the Father" and "the Word," should he have occasion to use the title *Logos*, "Word," in relation to Christ; we find it combined with $\delta \theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$, "God," as in the Gospel of St. John i. 1 and following verses, "In the beginning was *the Word*, and *the Word* was with *God*;" and Rev. xix. 13, "His name is called *the Word of God*."

Again, "the Holy Ghost" (Spirit), $\tau\acute{o} \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\nu \pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$, is not an expression found in the Epistle. We find here "the Spirit" simply without the predicate "Holy," as, for instance, chap. iii. 24, iv. 13, and here in verses 6 and 8.

Lastly, the very difficult and complicated question suggests itself, Is the Spirit ($\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$) bearing witness on earth with the water and the blood (vs. 6—8) identical with the Holy Ghost or Spirit ($\tau\acute{o} \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\nu \pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$) of verse 7 bearing witness in heaven with the Father and the Son?

c. Textual Criticism.—The omitted words of verse 7 are not met with in any of the extant *uncial Greek MSS.* Of the versions, neither the Syriac (the Peshito or Philoxenian), or the Thabaic, Memphitic, Ethiopic, or Arabic contain the disputed clause. No *Greek father* has been proved to have cited it in any form whatever.

It rests alone on certain *Latin authorities.* It is found in most (but not in the best) MSS. of the Vulgate, and in one MS. of the old Latin, containing extracts from the New Testament. This MS. is of the sixth or seventh century, and is a "Speculum" ascribed to St. Augustine, and is in the monastery of Santa Croce at Rome. Attention was called to it by Dr. Wiseman in his famous "Two Letters" defending 1 John v. 7. The African fathers, Vigilinus of Thapsus and Fulgentius of Ruspæ, quote the disputed words as a genuine portion of St. John's first Epistle. It was also used in a confession of faith drawn up by Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage, at the end of the fifth century. But, what is of greater importance than any of these, there is little doubt that Cyprian, before the middle of

the third century, knew of the passage and quoted it as the genuine words of St. John. From the commencement of the sixth century the testimony of the heavenly witnesses was generally received in the *Latin Church.*

Erasmus excluded the passage from his first two editions, but inserted it in his third edition in consequence of a declaration he had made to certain persons who had objected to his having omitted it from his early editions. He undertook, if the famous clause, 1 John v. 7, could be found in *any* Greek MS., he would insert it in his Greek Testament. A curious MS. of the fifteenth century was brought forward containing the words. Erasmus has described it as "Codex Britannicus apud Anglos repertus." There is now little doubt that the MS. in question is identical with the Cod. Monfortianus in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Upon the fifth edition of Erasmus, which contains the words in dispute, R. Stephens seems in great measure to have based his third edition (A.D. 1550) of the New Testament.² This third edition of Stephens is the standard of the *received text* in England (compare Scrivener's *Introduction*, and Lücke, Düsterdieck, and Alford's *Commentaries* on the 1st Epistle of St. John). The interpolated words were probably, as suggested above, originally written by some early writer of the North African Church in the margin of his MS. containing the 1st Epistle of St. John opposite the passage which treats of "the Spirit, and the water, and the blood." In the three bearing their perpetual witness, agreeing in one, he saw a symbol which required no great effort of the imagination to be construed as a symbol of the ever-blessed Trinity. That the Latin Church of North Africa loved to trace such symbolism, and to see these allegorical allusions, we have fair proof in such writings as Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas and in his tract *De Pudicitia*. From the margin the words gradually found their way into the text, and evidently began to be well known in the third century.

It cannot be denied that some devout reverent minds may, perhaps, shrink from the deliberate rejection of this famous text, which has been so often quoted in support of a great doctrine of Christianity. Surely, though, such fears are groundless, for the great doctrines of our faith rest on foundations too massive to be shaken by the rejection of any single text, however weighty and conclusive. The doctrine of the Trinity set forward in this most ancient but clearly interpolated passage rests on no solitary statement of apostle or prophet or evangelist, but on evidence collected from the whole canon of Scripture—evidence, too, interpreted with one mind by the Catholic Church in all lands for well nigh eighteen centuries.

¹ In the *received text*, verse 8 takes up the sequence of thought interrupted by the testimony of the Trinity, and completes the statement begun in verse 6 of the witness of the Spirit, the water, and the blood.

² R. Stephens made also great use of the Complutensian Polyglott of Cardinal Ximenes, published at Alcalá, in Spain, A.D. 1514—1520. The famous verse in this great edition was actually acknowledged to have been translated from the Latin, and not derived from any Greek MS. Stephens also collated, with more or less care, fifteen MSS.; but it has never been shown with the least probability that he found the disputed verse in any Greek uncial MS.

TABLE SHOWING THE MORE IMPORTANT CRITICAL EVIDENCE FOR AND AGAINST THE DISPUTED WORDS IN 1 JOHN v. 7.

MSS.		VERSIONS.	
The words are OMITTED in the undermentioned uncial MSS.		OMITTED in all ancient versions except those mentioned	
CENT.		They are CONTAINED in 1 MS. of the old Latin, the <i>Speculum</i> of St. Aug. spoken of above, and in most though not in the best MSS. of the Vulgate.	
N	Codex Sinaiticus IV.	FATHERS.	
B	„ Vaticanus IV.		
G or L	„ Angelicus } IX.	No Greek Father has ever been shown to have quoted the disputed text.	
	or } Passionel } IX.	Certain Latin fathers have quoted the words.	
K	„ Mosquensis IX.	CENT.	
OMITTED in 188 cursives which have been collated, besides some 60 Lectionaries.		Cyprian III.	
(Comp. Scrivener, <i>Introduction</i> , and <i>Alf., Apparatus Criticus</i> to <i>Vol. IV., Part ii.</i>)		Vigilius of Thapsus } V. (end of)	
They are CONTAINED in the following cursives:—		Eugenius, Bp. of Carthage } V. („)	
Codex Monfortianus XVI.		Fulgentius of Ruspe } VI. („)	
„ { Vaticanus			
„ { Ottobonianus XV.			

It will be seen from this table that the evidence for the text in question is extremely scanty, and entirely from the Latin Church. It is found only in a few cursive MSS. of late date, and is quoted only by Latin fathers.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

BY THE REV. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.

III.—EARLY ATTENDANCE AT THE SANCTUARY BOTH MORNING AND EVENING.

WE have already seen that at the age of thirteen the Hebrew youth is inducted as a member of the congregation of Israel. The early attendance, therefore, at a place of worship, both morning and evening, which constitutes the third of the decade of duties, was considered of paramount importance, inasmuch as thereby he openly professed his faith in the God of his fathers, and acknowledged his responsibility to keep up the organised religious and social life which was to a great extent regulated by the synagogue. Now, among all the Jewish institutions, there is none which furnishes so many interesting illustrations of different passages of the New Testament as the synagogue. Not only was the synagogue the scene where Christ first appeared in public as a teacher (Matt. iv. 23; Mark i. 21; Luke iv. 15); but he continued frequenting it and preaching in it, on the Sabbath day (Matt. ix. 35; xiii. 54; Mark vi. 2; Luke iv. 44; vi. 6; xiii. 10; John vi. 59; viii. 20), healing the sick (Matt. xii. 9, &c.; Mark i. 23; iii. 1; Luke vi. 6), and rebuking the abuses practised in it, both at prayer and in the administration of charity (Matt. vi. 2, 5). He refers to the chief seats coveted by those who seek after distinction (Matt. xxiii. 6; Mark xii. 39; Luke xi. 43; xx. 46), and tells his disciples that for his sake they shall be brought before and scourged in the synagogue (Matt. x. 17; xxiii. 34; Mark xiii. 9; Luke xii. 11; xxi. 12). The apostles, too, delivered many of their discourses and performed many of their deeds in the synagogues. It was to the synagogue of Damascus that Saul obtained letters from the high priest at Jerusalem to persecute “the disciples of the Lord” (Acts ix. 1), and it was in these very synagogues that St. Paul preached his first sermons (*ibid.* ver. 20). Hence, to understand the full force of

many of these allusions, we must examine the origin, structure, and internal arrangement of the synagogue.

Tradition, which is never at a loss to account for anything, solemnly assures us that Shem, the son of Noah, and the progenitor of that branch of the Noachic family from whom the Hebrews descended, founded these houses for contemplation and prayer. It is only when we bear this tradition in mind that we can understand why the passage, “God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem” (Gen. ix. 27), has been paraphrased in the so-called Jerusalem Targum, “God will make beautiful the territory of Japheth, and his sons shall become proselytes, and abide in the houses of contemplation of Shem;” and why the words “and she (Rebekah) went to inquire of the Lord” (Gen. xxv. 22), are translated in the same Targum, “and she went to the house of contemplation of Shem, the elder, to pray for mercy from before the Lord.” It was but natural that if Shem, who was simply the remote head of that branch of the family from which the Jews came, was most obviously for this reason made to build synagogues, Moses, who gave them the very law, the symbol of the Divine manifestation, around which the worshipping Israelites congregated, should pre-eminently be constituted the father of synagogues in Egypt. Hence Josephus tells us that Moses had the Jews “assembled together for the hearing of the law and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice or oftener, but every week” (*Against Apion*, ii. 18). We are therefore not surprised to find Benjamin of Tudela, whose pilgrimage extended from A.D. 1159 to 1173, assure us that “in the outskirts of the city [near the pyramids] is the very ancient synagogue of our great master Moses.”¹

¹ Compare *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, vol. i., p. 153, ed. Asher, London, 1840.

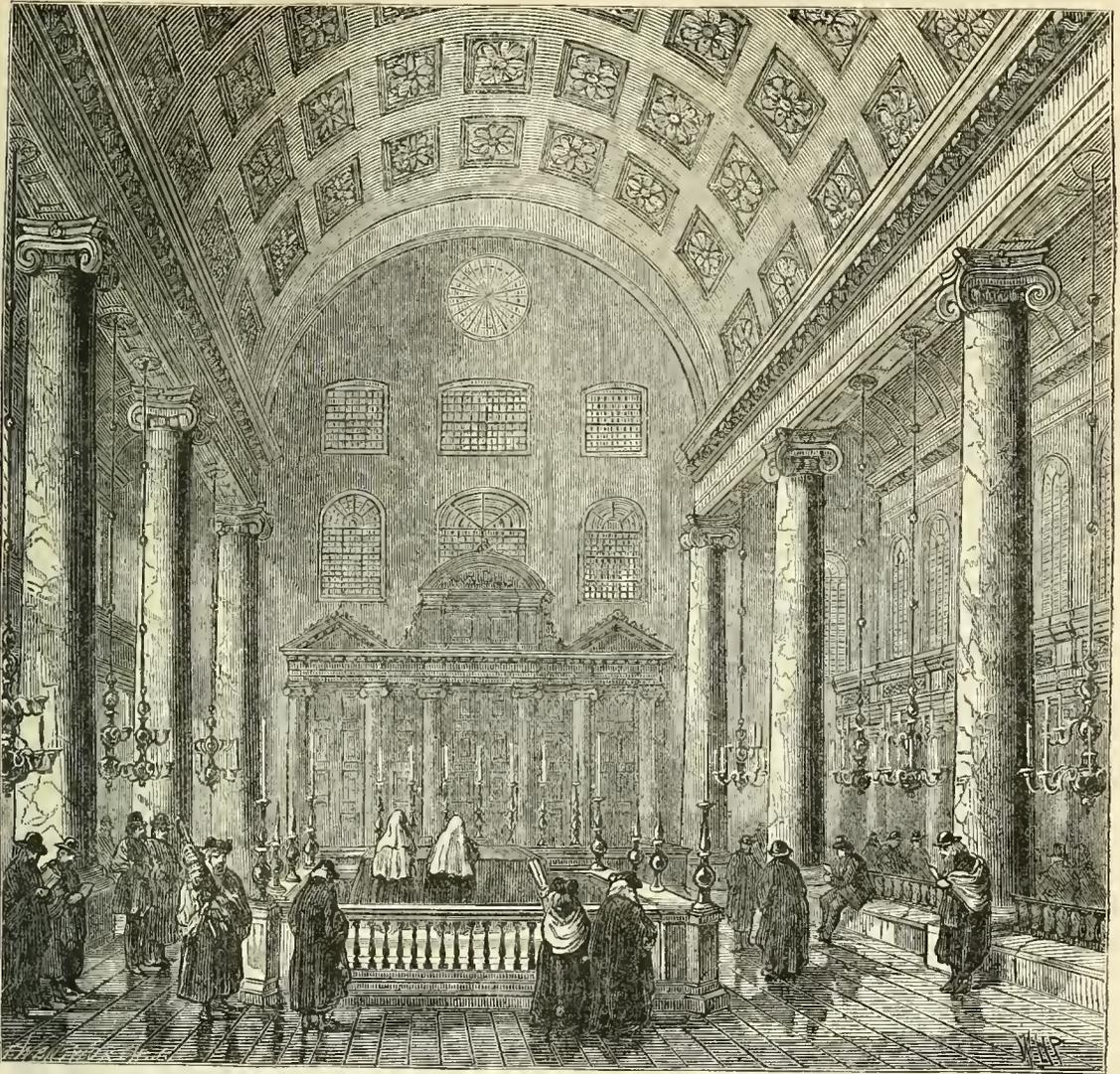
This celebrated traveller also tells us that he saw the synagogues built by David, Obadiah, Nahum, and Ezra. Without attaching any more importance to the statement of Benjamin of Tudela that the synagogue, which still existed in the Middle Ages, in the neighbourhood of Cairo, was the edifice which Moses erected for Divine worship, than to the solemn assurance that the skeleton of the enormous fish, and the house exhibited at Jaffa, are the remains of the veritable whale that swallowed Jonah, and of the abode of Simon the tanner, still the fact that the tradition about the founding of places of worship and instruction by the great lawgiver existed before the time of Christ, explains the remark of St. James, "Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath day" (Acts xv. 21).

Whatever may be the obscurity about the precise date as to when synagogues were first established, there are undoubted traces that, as far back as the days of Elisha, the devout Jews were in the habit of assembling in the abodes of prophets and men of God for instruction and meditation. This is clearly indicated in the question which the husband asked the Shunammite, who wanted a servant and an ass to take her to the man of God. "Wherefore," inquired her husband, "wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither new moon nor Sabbath" (2 Kings iv. 23). This unquestionably shows that on Sabbath days and new moons it was customary for both men and women to resort to the houses of acknowledged authorities for religious exercises. The cause of their assembling at the house of the prophet rather than congregating among themselves, is to be sought in the fact that the reading and the exposition of the law constituted the principal part of the service. A copy of the law, however, at that time was of the greatest rarity. The possession of such a codex was a fortune, and could only be acquired by the very wealthiest of the nation, and by the monarchs. Hence when Jehoshaphat ordered the Levites to go through the different cities of Judea, to instruct the people in the law of God, these teachers were obliged to take a copy with them (2 Chron. xvii. 9), whilst Hilkiah could only find one in the Temple (2 Kings xxii. 8; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14). As the men of God who had acquired a national reputation were those who knew the law by heart, the devout Jews, who on these occasions wanted to hear the law recited and explained, had, therefore, to assemble around the reputed depository of the law. Hence the private house or a secluded spot in the open air belonging to the possessor of the law, either actually or orally, was originally the place of assembly or the synagogue.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Jews, prior to the Babylonish captivity, assembled themselves every Sabbath or new moon, at a particular place set apart for religious worship. Besides the obligation to appear three times a year in the sanctuary at Jerusalem, the Old Testament does not enjoin meeting together in any other place. It left the matter quite optional. If the people felt that they ought to meet together in any locality where the law could be recited, rather than

worship God at home at the head of their respective families, the Old Testament did not forbid it. The increase of places of meeting, therefore, was gradual, and kept pace with the increased demand on the part of the Jews to become more intimately acquainted with the contents of the law, and to hear words of comfort and consolation from those who possessed the gift of prophecy. Hence it was only in later times, when the grinding oppression of foreign powers began to be felt by the Hebrews, that they met more frequently to listen to the recital of those cheering promises made to their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and to learn more accurately the precepts of the law, the neglect of which had brought these sufferings upon them. It is for this reason that systematic meetings on days of humiliation and for instruction became prevalent during the exile, when the Temple worship was in abeyance (Zech. vii. 3, 5; viii. 19; Ezra x. 1—9; Neh. viii. 1—3; ix. 1—3; xiii. 1—3). These "assemblies of God," as the Old Testament calls them, or "houses of assembly," as they are called in post-Biblical Hebrew, in the course of time became both very popular and numerous. Hence the Psalmist, who mourns over the rejection of his people by God, and the general devastation of the country by the enemy, at the time of the Maccabeans, enumerates, amongst other dire calamities, that they have burnt "all the assemblies of God" (Ps. lxxiv. 8). The Authorised Version, therefore, which follows the Geneva Bible (1560), has rightly appreciated the import of this phrase by translating it "the synagogues of God." It is, however, to be borne in mind that this is the only instance in which "synagogue" occurs in King James's version of the Old Testament, and, indeed, the only passage in which it could be justified in the technical sense of the word. The earliest date which we possess of the building of such a house of prayer is *circa* 217—215 B.C., when we are told that the Alexandrian Jews built one at Ptolemais to commemorate their deliverance from the contemplated massacre of their people decreed by Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) (3 Macc. vii. 20).

When synagogues became a permanent institution, and multiplied wherever the Jews resided, before and at the time of Christ, the spiritual guides of the nation found it necessary to enact certain laws to regulate the eligibility of a site, the structure of the building, and the internal arrangements. As it was ordained that wherever ten Jews resided who were of that age when they became responsible members of the congregation of Israel, they were bound to constitute themselves a worshipping body or an *ecclesia* in the technical sense (*Berachoth*, 21 *b*), it stands to reason that their place of assembly or synagogue was of a very humble character. An upper chamber in the house of one of the members where they assembled themselves was the legal synagogue, just as it is to this day, whenever ten Jews happen to sojourn in any town, one of them gives up one of his rooms for the meeting. It was in such an upper chamber in a private house that the eleven disciples, just one above the minimum number legally required to constitute a worshipping congregation, assembled together



INTERIOR OF A MODERN SYNAGOGUE.

for prayer (Acts i. 13, 14). Outside the city, however, it was deemed more desirable to have the house of prayer by the river-side, because the worshippers could have the use of the water for immersions, and because they could more easily engage in the Divine service without distraction. Hence in the decree of the Halicarnasians the Jews were allowed to "make their *proseuchæ* [houses of prayer] at the sea-side, according to the custom of their fathers" (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10, § 23). This explains the remark that St. Paul and his fellow-labourer, when at Philippi, "went on the Sabbath out of the city by a river-side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat down and spoke to the women which resorted thither" (Acts xvi. 13); or as it ought to be translated, "where, according to custom, was a place of

prayer." Like the Temple, these houses of prayer or synagogues were frequently without a roof, which, of course, obtained in those countries where the rain rarely falls and is confined to certain seasons of the year. Hence the remark of Epiphanius, "There were anciently places of prayer without the city, both among the Jews and the Samaritans. . . . There was a place of prayer at Sichem, now called Neapolis, without the city, in the fields, in the form of a theatre, open to the air, and without covering, built by the Samaritans, who in all things imitated the Jews" (*Contr. Hæres.* iii.; *Hæres.* 80).

In the towns, however, where the Jews were both numerous and wealthy, the synagogues were massive and imposing edifices, and were built in accordance with the canons laid down by the spiritual authorities. They

were generally erected on an elevated place or on a summit, since the Temple was so situate, and because, according to the traditional explanation, Prov. i. 21 says that Divine wisdom "crieth on high places," and Ezra ix. 9 declares that God "hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving, to set up [on high] the house of our God." Taking the Mosaic tabernacle and the Solomonic Temple as the prototype, the door of the synagogue was on the east, and the ark containing the scrolls of the law and the windows were in the western wall, so that on entering the Israelites might at once face the front. Hence the people praying in the synagogue, like the worshippers in the tabernacle and in the Temple, stood with their faces to the west. The position of the ark at the west, and the turning of the face at prayer in that direction, we are told, were in opposition to those nations who worshipped the sun. These had the entrance into their temples at the west, and turned their faces to the east where the sun rises.¹ Hence to turn one's face to the east, and thus to turn one's back to the Temple, became in the Bible a description of those who forsook the worship of the true God. Thus Hezekiah, in describing the idolatrous worship of the Jews, says that "they had done evil in the eyes of the Lord our God, and have turned their faces from the habitation of the Lord, and turned their backs to it" (2 Chron. xxix. 6). Still more strikingly and explicitly is this practice described by the prophet Ezekiel (viii. 16), "Behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the

east." This practice gave rise to the phrases "They have turned their back to me and not their face" (Jer. ii. 27; xxxii. 33), "They have cast me behind their back" (Ezek. xxiii. 35), to describe giving up allegiance to the God of their fathers.

It is, however, to be remarked that those synagogues only which were built in the localities east of Jerusalem had the entrances in the east wall. The canon laid down for those who dwell in other parts of the world is that "all the worshippers in Israel are to have their faces turned to that part of the world where Jerusalem, the Temple and the Holy of Holies are" (*Berachoth*, 30 a). Hence those Jews who reside in Europe place the door in the west, and have the ark and the windows in the east wall, whither they turn their faces during prayer.

The practice of the worshippers turning their faces in all parts of the world to the central sanctuary is of extreme antiquity. The Psalmist, already, when praying, "lifted up his hands towards the Holy of Holies" (Ps. xxviii. 2). In the dedication prayer of the Temple, Solomon asks God to hear his people in time of calamity whenever "they spread forth their hands towards the sanctuary" (1 Kings viii. 38). Daniel prayed with his face to Jerusalem (Dan. vi. 10). Any one who enters an orthodox Jewish house in the present day will see a picture with the name *Mizrach* on it hung on the eastern wall, to which every member of the family turns his face when reciting the daily morning and evening prayer. Mohammed, who has borrowed so much from the Jews, has also ordained that the faithful should turn their faces to the temple at Mecca (Koran, *Sura* ii.), which is called *Kibla*, that is, *turning the face*, imitating the very sound of the word used in Daniel (*V'kabel Jerushalayim*).

¹ Comp. Maimonides, *Mora Nebuchim*, iii. 45.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. F. MOULTON, M.A., PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS, WESLEYAN COLLEGE, RICHMOND.



F Tyndale's movements during the first year of his Continental life we have very scanty information. It appears certain that he arrived in Hamburg in May, 1524; that he was in the same city in the early spring of the following year; and that a few months later he was superintending the printing of his New Testament at Cologne. It is very possible that Tyndale remained in Hamburg for a year, engaged in the preparation of his translation: the fact that Hamburg did not then possess a printing press¹ can hardly be regarded as conclusive against this view. On the other hand, we have contemporary evidence that Tyndale visited Luther about this time. Sir Thomas More asserts that "Tyndale, as soon as he got him hence, got him to Luther straight;" that at the time of his translation of the New Testament he was with Luther at Wittemberg;

and that the confederacy between him and Luther was a thing well known. Tyndale, in reply, simply denies the last charge, that he was confederate with Luther. It is needless to quote other statements to the same effect. Clear and definite as they appear to be, they may perhaps be explained away, as suggested by the prevailing tendency to associate all work similar to Luther's with this Reformer himself. On the whole, however, it is safer to accept the evidence of contemporaries, and to assume that either in 1524 or in 1525 Tyndale spent some time at Wittemberg. Another question which has been much discussed is of considerable interest. Was any portion of the New Testament published in the course of this year? There is some reason to believe that Tyndale gave to the world his translation of the first two Gospels before the middle of 1525; but the evidence adduced is somewhat uncertain, and the verdict must be "not proven."

¹ Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, p. 92.

We reach firm ground in the autumn of 1525. Our information is derived from an enemy, who triumphantly records his success in embarrassing and partially frustrating Tyndale's work. In 1525, John Dobenek, better known as Cochlæus, was living in exile at Cologne, engaged in literary labours. Becoming intimate with the printers of Cologne, he heard them boast at times, in their cups, that England would soon become Lutheran. He heard, moreover, that in Cologne were lurking two Englishmen, learned and eloquent men, well skilled in languages; but all his efforts to gain a sight of these strangers were without avail. At last, plying one of the printers with wine, Cochlæus drew from him the secret of the Lutheran design on England. The two Englishmen were apostates¹ who had learnt the German language at Wittenberg, and had rendered Luther's Testament into English. This English Testament they had brought to Cologne, that it might be multiplied by the printers into many thousands, and, concealed among other merchandise, might find a way into England. So great was their confidence that they had sought to have 6,000 copies printed; but through the timidity of the printers only 3,000 were issued from the press. These copies, in quarto, had already been printed as far as the letter K (that is, as far as the tenth sheet, probably a little beyond the end of St. Matthew's Gospel). The expense was met by English merchants, who had also engaged to convey the work secretly into England, and to diffuse it widely in that country. On receiving this information, Cochlæus lost no time in revealing the plot to Hermann Rinek, a nobleman of Cologne, well known to Henry VIII. and to the Emperor Charles V. Having convinced himself of the correctness of the account received, Rinek went to the senate, and obtained an interdict of the work. On this the two Englishmen, carrying off the printed sheets, fled hastily from Cologne, and went up the Rhine to Worms. Their enemies could do no more than send letters to Henry, Wolsey, and Fisher, warning them of the danger at hand.²

Worms was a city in every way suitable for Tyndale's purpose. Cologne was devoted to the Romish faith Worms was all Lutheran: both cities enjoyed considerable intercourse with England. In comparative quiet Tyndale now pursued and completed his work, carrying it farther than he had at first designed. The edition commenced by Quentel, the Cologne printer, was in quarto: at Worms Tyndale not only completed this edition, but also brought out an edition in octavo.³ Of each of these editions, which will be described in detail hereafter, 3,000 copies were printed. No copy that we possess contains the title-page, but we know on

Tyndale's own authority⁴ that the work was issued without the translator's name.

The Testaments reached England probably in the spring of 1526. Cochlæus was not the only one who gave notice of their coming. Lee, the king's almoner (afterwards Archbishop of York), wrote to Henry in December, 1525, that, according to certain information received by him while passing through France, "an Englishman, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whom he is, hath translated the New Testament into English, and within few days intendeth to arrive with the same imprinted in England." There was no lack of willingness on the part of the authorities to take this warning, but we have no record of any public action until the autumn of 1526. We hear then of a meeting of bishops to deliberate on the measures to be adopted. Our account is taken from a poem by Roye, Tyndale's former companion, which contains "A brefe Dialogue betwene two prestes servauntes, named Watkyn and Jeffraye⁵:"—

"*Jef.* But nowe of Standisshes⁶ accusacion
Brefly to make declaracion,
Thus to the Cardinall he spake:
'Pleaseth youre honourable Grace,
Here is chaused a pitious cace,
And to the Church a grett lacke.
The Gospell in oure Englissh tongue,
Of lay men to be red and songe,
Is nowe hidder come to remayne.
Which many heretykes shall make,
Except youre Grace some waye take
By youre authorite hym to restrayne.'

"*Wat.* But what sayde the Cardinall here at?
Jef. He spake the wordes of Pilat,
Sayinge, 'I fynde no fault theria.'
Howe be it, the bisshops assembled,
Amonge theym he examened,
What was best to determyne?
Then answered bisshop Cayphas,⁷
That a grett parte better it was
The Gospell to be condemned;
Lest their vices manyfolde
Shulde be knowne of yonge and olde,
Their estate to be contempned.
The Cardinall then incontinent⁹
Agaynst the Gospell gave judgement,
Sayinge to brenne he deserved.
Wherto all the bisshoppis cryed,
Answerynge, 'It cannot be denyed
He is worthy so to be served.'

"*Jef.* They sett nott by the Gospell a fyre:
Diddest thou nott heare whatt villany
They did vnto the Gospell?
Wat. Why, did they agaynst hym conspyre?
Jef. By my trothe they sett hym a fyre
Openly in London cite.
Wat. Who caused it so to be done?
Jef. In sothe the Bisshope of London,
With the Cardinallis authorite:
Which at Paulis crosse earnestly
Denounced it to be heresy
That the Gospell shuld come to lyght;

¹ The second apostate was William Roye, who for some time acted as Tyndale's amanuensis.

² The letters of Cochlæus in the original Latin, with a translation by Mr. Anderson, are given by Arber, *Facsimile*, pp. 18-24.

³ See Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, pp. 32, 33; Arber, pp. 26, 27, 65, 66. It may now be considered certain that the Worms printer was P. Schoeffer, son of the great printer of that name, who was in partnership with Fust.

⁴ See his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, in his *Works*, vol. i., p. 37 (Parker Society).

⁵ Which "represents at least the popular opinion as to the parts played by the several actors." (Westcott, p. 36.)

⁶ Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph.

⁷ By.

⁸ Tunstall, Bishop of London.

⁹ Immediately.

Callynge them heretikes execrable
 Whiche caused the Gospell venerable
 To come vnto laye mens syght.
 He declared there in his furiousnes,
 That he fownde erroures more and les
 Above thre thousaude in the translacion.
 Howe be it, when all cam to pas,
 I dare saye vnable he was
 Of oue erroure to make prebacion."¹

The utmost efforts were used to prevent the introduction of the forbidden books into England, and to discover and destroy the copies which were already in circulation. Many copies were bought up for large sums of money, which afforded means for reprints and new editions: accordingly as many as three editions were issued by Antwerp printers in 1526 and the two following years. The detailed narratives of search and persecution are full of interest, but they lie beyond the limits of our space.²

In the midst of this turmoil Tyndale quietly pursued his labours. At first he was not recognised in England as the author of the obnoxious translation, which bore no name on the title-page. The secret, however, could not long be kept. Wolsey, connecting Tyndale with the satire published (by Roye) against himself,³ used vigorous efforts to get him into his power. Tyndale now found it necessary to leave Worms. In 1527, probably, he removed to Marburg in Hesse Cassel, where he spent the greater part of the four years following, leaving Marburg for Antwerp early in 1531. At Marburg his principal doctrinal and controversial works were printed, at the press of Hans Luft; as his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528), his *Treatise on the Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), the *Practice of Prelates* (1530). The work of translation, however, was not neglected. After the New Testament, Tyndale devoted himself to the Old, commencing with the Pentateuch. Foxe's statement is as follows: "At what time Tyndale had translated the fifth book of Moses, called Deuteronomy, minding to print the same in Hamburg, he sailed thitherward; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus, having lost by that ship both money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburg, where, at his appointment, Master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five Books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emmerson, A.D. 1529; a great sweating sickness being at the same time in the town. So, having dispatched his business at Hamburg, he returned afterwards to Antwerp again."⁴ It is hard to reconcile every particular of this narrative with what we learn from other sources, and from Foxe himself;

but there is little doubt that it is in the main correct. The Pentateuch appears to have been published at Marburg in 1530 or 1531: a second edition was issued in 1534. The Pentateuch was followed, in 1531, by the Book of Jonah, probably printed at an Antwerp press. At this period Tyndale was involved in active controversy with Sir T. More, who had violently attacked his translation of the New Testament and his other writings. The only part of the controversy with which we are here concerned is that which relates to Tyndale's accuracy as a translator: More's strictures will be noticed presently. The year 1534 is especially memorable for the publication of Tyndale's revised translation of the New Testament, "imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr." The title runs thus: "The newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Wyllyam Tyndale, and fynessed in the yere of oure Lorde God A.M.D. & xxxiiii. in the moneth of Nouember." Besides the New Testament, this volume contained a translation of "the Epistles taken out of the Old Testament, which are read in the Church after the use of Salisbury upon certain days of the year." These "Epistles" include 78 verses from the Pentateuch; 51 from 1 Kings, Proverbs, and the Song of Solomon; 147 from the Prophetical Books (chiefly from Isaiah); and 43 from the Apocrypha (chiefly from Ecclesiasticus).⁵ The work of revision and translation occupied Tyndale's attention to the last. Very shortly before (or perhaps even after) his arrest appeared a third edition of his New Testament, bearing marks of assiduous labour. In a recently discovered letter written during his imprisonment, Tyndale begs that he may be allowed the use of his Hebrew books, Bible, grammar, and dictionary. There is good reason for believing that he left behind him in manuscript a translation of the Books of the Old Testament from Joshua to 2 Chronicles inclusive.

The touching details of Tyndale's treacherous betrayal, while residing in the house of his warm and true friend Thomas Poyntz, of Antwerp, cannot be given here. In May, 1535, he was committed to the castle of Vilvorde, near Brussels. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his friends in England and in the Low Countries to procure for him protection, he was condemned to death. On Friday, October 6th, 1536, he was strangled at the stake, and his body burnt to ashes. His last words were, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes."

"And here to end and conclude this history with a few notes touching his private behaviour in diet, study, and especially his charitable zeal and tender relieving of the poor: First, he was a man very frugal and spare of body, a great student, and earnest labourer, namely [especially] in the setting forth of the Scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his days of pastime, and those days were Monday the first day in the week and Saturday the last day in the week. On the Monday he

¹ Nearly 300 lines of this satire are given by Arber, pp. 29-32.

² One narrative especially we exclude with regret, as too lengthy for quotation. This is the "Story of Thomas Garret, and things done in Oxford, reported by Antony Delaber:" see Foxe, vol. v., pp. 421-427; Arber, pp. 57-63.

³ Demaus, p. 160.

⁴ Foxe, vol. v., p. 120. Compare Demaus, pp. 229, 230.

⁵ Westcott, p. 48.

visited all such poor men and women as were fled out of England by reason of persecution into Antwerp; and those, well understanding their good exercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve; and in like manner provided for the sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday he walked round about the town in Antwerp, seeking out every corner and hole where he suspected any poor person to dwell (as God knoweth there are many); and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet overburdened with children, or

fruitfully, sweetly, and gently from him (much like to the writing of St. John the Evangelist), that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to hear him read the Scriptures: and in like wise after dinner he spent an hour in the aforesaid manner. He was a man without any spot or blemish of rancour or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any kind of sin or crime; albeit his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God, but only upon the blood of Christ and

The xiii. Chapter.

The same daye wentt **J**esus ^{mar. iiii.} ^{ll. uc. viij.} out of the houlfe/and satt by the see syde/and moche people resorted vnto him/so gretly that he wēt and sat in a shypp/and all the people stode on the shore. And he spake many thyngs to them in similitudis/ sayyng: beholde/ the soner went forth to so we / and as he sowēd/ some fell by the wayes syde/ the so wll? ca / and deuoured it uppe. Some fell apon stony grounde where it had nōt moche erth/and anon it spronge uppe/ because it had no depty of erth: and when the son was vppe / hit cauth heet / and for late of rottyng wyddred awaye. Some fell amonge thornes / and the thornes arose / and chooked it. Parte fell in goode grounde / and broght forth good frute: some an hundred fold/ some fysty fold/ some thyrty folde. Whofoeuer hath eares to heare/ let him heare.

¶ And hys disciples cam / and sayde to hym: Why speakest thou to them in parables: he answered and saide vnto them: Hit is geuen vnto you to knowe the secretts of the kyngdome of heven/ but to them it is nōt geuen. For whosomeuer hath/ to him shall hit be geuen: and he shall haue aboundance: But whofoeuer hath nōt: from him shalbe takyn a waye eue that same that he hath. Therefore speake I to them in similitudis: For though they se/ they se nōt: and hearynge they heare not: nether vnderstonde. And in them ys fulfyllles ^{mat. xrv} the prophesy of esay/ which prophesi sayth: with youre eares yeshall heare/ and shall not vnderstode / and with youre eyes yeshall se/ and shall not perceave For this peoples hert ys

The that hath. where the worde of god is vnderstode / they re hit multipliet / z makith the poeple better. where hit is not vnderstode / they eare hit decreasith z makith the poeple worse.

¶ And hys disciples cam / and sayde to hym: Why speakest thou to them in parables: he answered and saide vnto them: Hit is geuen vnto you to knowe the secretts of the kyngdome of heven/ but to them it is nōt geuen. For whosomeuer hath/ to him shall hit be geuen: and he shall haue aboundance: But whofoeuer hath nōt: from him shalbe takyn a waye eue that same that he hath. Therefore speake I to them in similitudis: For though they se/ they se nōt: and hearynge they heare not: nether vnderstonde. And in them ys fulfyllles ^{mat. xrv} the prophesy of esay/ which prophesi sayth: with youre eares yeshall heare/ and shall not vnderstode / and with youre eyes yeshall se/ and shall not perceave For this peoples hert ys

FAC-SIMILE OF ST. MATT. XIII. 1—15 IN TYNDALE'S FIRST TESTAMENT (OCTAVO EDITION).

else were aged or weak, these also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two days of pastime, as he called them. And truly his almshouse [alms] was very large and great; and so it might well be, for his exhibition that he had yearly of the English merchants was very much; and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poor, as aforesaid. The rest of the days in the week he gave him wholly to his book, wherein most diligently he travailed. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchant's chamber or other, whither came many other merchants; and unto them would he read some one parcel of Scripture, either out of the Old Testament or out of the New; the which proceeded so

his faith upon the same, in which faith constantly he died, as is said at Vilvorde, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christ's martyrs blessedly in the Lord, who be blessed in all his saints. Amen."¹

Some recent writers have endeavoured to place his character in a very different light. It may be acknowledged that in controversy Tyndale frequently used language which cannot be defended, especially when (with or without sufficient reason) he suspected an adversary to be actuated by corrupt motives; but those who best know the character of the times in which he

¹ Foxe's *Life of Tyndale*. See Arber, pp. 17, 18.

lived will judge most leniently of this excess. Certainly it is not possible to condemn Tyndale on this charge and absolve his opponents. His fervent zeal for the truth may have led him into extremes, but it was free from any taint of selfish considerations. "I assure you," he says¹ (at a time when overtures were made to him to return to England), "if it would stand with the king's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare text of the Scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the emperor in these parts, and of other Christian princes, be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his

¹ Demaus, p. 308.

Majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same; but immediately to repair into his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his Royal Majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death his Grace will, so that this be obtained." Of the value of his work we shall speak hereafter when we examine it in detail. Whether we look at his work or at his life, it is impossible not to admire and reverence "the worthy virtues and doings of this blessed martyr, who, for his painful travails and singular zeal to his country, may be called an apostle of England."²

² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., p. 129.

BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.



WE have already remarked on the progress of doctrine in Scripture, and that its psychology is always abreast of its theology. With a clear grasp of these two thoughts—first, that inspiration is an organic, not a mechanical whole, with the principle of growth in it; and, secondly, that in this growth there is always a perfect proportion of parts—we shall easily see the contrast between the psychology of the Old and the New Testaments. On this subject we have one decisive text: "Howbeit that was not first which was pneumatical [A. V., spiritual], but that which was psychical [A. V., natural], and afterward that which was pneumatical" (1 Cor. xv. 46). As redemption truths are founded on those of creation, so a basis must be laid for the higher theology of man's becoming partaker of the Divine nature in the elementary facts of his being part of God's handiwork—the last and noblest of all his creatures. In the same way the higher psychology of the indwelling of the Divine Pnuma in the human, a mystery corresponding as it does and growing out of that of the incarnation, must be preceded by those humbler conceptions of man as clay, animated by a breath indeed of the Divine Spirit, but that only resulting in a *nephesh chayah*, or "living soul" (Gen. ii. 7), such as animates all other creatures of God.

Sound views of creationism must thus precede those spiritualist conceptions of God's relation to man which we find in the New Testament. It is a mistake to press on to the higher till we have been well grounded in the lower forms of truth. This is a mistake of our age. Much of what is called the higher Pantheism is only spiritual theology erected on an insufficient basis of creationism. As the Elohist precedes the Jehovist dispensation, so the knowledge of God in Nature (to use the language of the old school) must go before the knowledge of God in grace. The intuitional school in philosophy leans to a Pantheistic conception of the relation of God to the universe. God is in everything, and

everything lives only in God. It is almost as much a mistake to speak of "matter," as to speak of "mind." Language itself must be reconstructed to accommodate itself to this new school of deep thinkers. The old dualistic conceptions of object and subject, thought and things, mind and matter, must disappear in one higher generalisation, call it matter, call it mind. There is but one substance, and that is God; light is his nature, the sun and moon his eyes, and the stars the dust of his chariot-wheels. We unconsciously thus pass into Orientalisms to express a mode of thought which is Oriental, and which is only naturalised in the West, as exotics are, with care and culture. This new school of spiritualism, as it works out a theology of its own, so its psychology is equally advanced. The incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, so far from being a unique, and, as we should say, a supernatural fact, is from their point of view only the highest instance of the continued indwelling of the Divine in the human. Instead of the Word being made flesh, they teach that flesh became the Word. In direct contradiction to the teaching of St. John, that "no man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which was in heaven," the new school approach the subject from an inverted order. They begin where they should end, and their conception of Christ is that of a Man-God, not that of a God-man. The distinction is not a verbal one, as it seems at first sight. Schleiermacher and Rothe, for instance, seem to lay great stress on the incarnation; but tested by the unerring standard of truth, the teaching of John the divine, their teaching is seen to be humanitarian, however disguised in phrases which conceal the real departure from "the faith once delivered to the saints." An incarnation which is not unique, and therefore supernatural, in the strict sense of the word, is not the doctrine of the New Testament with regard to the person of our Lord. On this subject we cannot be too thankful that no phase of opinion can possibly arise which has not arisen and been condemned by the

early Church. The Christian consciousness (to use Neander's phrase) has worked itself clear of those turbid conceptions, which, like the glacier water of the upper Rhone, must flow on for some space before it recovers its original purity. The stream is purest either at the fountain-head or after it has passed through the Lake of Geneva, and there deposited its detritus from the glacier. In the same way with Christology: the catholic conception of Christ is also the truest, and is the most primitive. The Gnostic—of which modern spiritualism is only a new phase—is like that turbid interval between the source of the Rhone in the Alps and its true starting-point as a river after it leaves the Lake of Geneva.

The tap-root of Gnosticism in the early Church was contempt of the Old Testament and a misconception of its teaching as introductory to the New. The God of the Old Testament, the Demiurge of Marcion and others, was degraded, as if by his contact with matter he had soiled the original spirituality of his being. He was a kind of intermediate between thought and things, and some of the baseness supposed to inhere in matter was reflected in him. The remedy for this false spiritualism is a return to the true Old Testament conception of God and of his relation to the world. That relation is transcendental, not immanent, as the modern school teach. There is no disguising the fact that the Deistic account of the relation of God to the world, and not the Pantheistic, is that of the Old Testament. Hence the disparaging view of the Old Testament taken by these modern Gnostics. We may take it or leave it, but we cannot alter or twist it into a meaning to suit our preconceptions. If our philosophy does not square with our theology, and one of the two must give way, it is both more modest and reverent to suppose that the error is with us rather than with a Book which bears many infallible proofs of being from God. Such being the case, we turn to that Book to learn how it approaches the subject of man, and we find, as we might expect, its psychology in admirable harmony with its theology. It is creationist first, and spiritualist only afterwards. The Deistic or transcendent conception of God prepares the way for the mystical or immanent. It is the same with its psychology. In Genesis, and through the Old Testament generally, it speaks of man from the dichotomist point of view corresponding to its creationism. Man is body and soul, with spiritual capacities, however, as yet generally undeveloped; as such he is God's creature, often his servant; once or twice, as Abraham, the friend of God; or as David, the man after his own heart; or as Moses, the one who speaks face to face with God; or as Isaiah, who sees a vision of Jehovah; but he is nowhere as yet the son of God. The expression was too august to be lightly used of any individual man, however favoured. Israel collectively might be a dear son, a pleasant child, but this is only the language of metaphor—a variation of that other metaphor of marriage between Jehovah and his redeemed people.

Thus creationism is the key to the theology of the Old Testament and equally to its psychology. In ac-

cordance with this view, when we turn to the earliest record of all, we find an Elohist and a Jehovist account of the creation of man side by side, or in close conjunction. The Elohist account seems the most dignified of the two, the one which favours most those later and higher intimations of man's destiny as a partaker of the Divine nature. It perplexes us at first to find the Jehovist record, which we might anticipate would be trichotomist, bearing apparently the other way. Man is clay, and the breath of God, or the union point of this, is the *nephech* or "soul" (*psyche*). Thus the psychical life is the prominent fact in the Jehovist record; whereas the Elohist, which is not a covenant but a creationist record, is of the two the most spiritual. It implies a council in the mind of the Deity, "let us make," and the result of that council in the fact that man appears stamped with the Divine image and likeness. This is fairly perplexing: to find spiritualism where we might have looked only for the creationist account of man as the last and noblest of God's works; and, on the other hand, to find creationism in that other record where the covenant name of God implies his covenant relationship to man.

This is perplexing at first sight, but the difficulty disappears when we look at it more closely. Rightly regarded, the contrast between these two records melts away, and we see unity underlying their variety. In the Elohist record man is spoken of, as in the 8th Psalm, not so much as he is in himself as in his official position to the universe. He is a creature, it is true—the work of the sixth day, and has that in common with the higher mammalia, which are the work of the forenoon as he is of the afternoon of the day which precedes the Sabbath. But as God is about to enter on his rest he appoints a viceroy and representative on earth. To lend dignity to that viceroy, he invests him with some of his own attributes; he stamps his image and superscription on him. As Joseph was given Pharaoh's chain and made to ride in Pharaoh's chariot, and thus shown to Egypt as the next to the king in all the land, his deputy and mouthpiece, so with man. This is the meaning of the Elohist record, and explains why it apparently goes out of its way to speak of man's dignity rather than of his dependent nature. Though the last of the mammalia, he is here made a little lower than the angels, and crowned with glory and honour, all the works of God being made subject to him. But when we turn to the Jehovist record, as its purpose is different, so its way of introducing the creation of man is also different. The Jehovist record takes up the ethical side of man as the Elohist does the external. It has to deal with the problem of death and sin, grace and redemption; it must give an account, therefore, of man in himself, not merely of his official relation to the rest of God's creatures. As the purpose differs, so the mode of accounting for man's beginning must also slightly differ. It is only the same difference without disagreement which we see in the Gospels. The Synoptists (the first three) begin with the human, John the divine with the pre-existent glory of Christ. This is why, of the two records, the Jehovist, which is redemptive, gives the most strictly creational

account of the origin of the race. Man is dust of the earth, which prepares us for the sentence that, should he disobey, "dust to dust" must be his punishment. This is highly consistent with the covenant account of God's dealings with man. Any other, such as a pure spiritualist, would be out of place here. Let us imagine the two narratives displaced, and we shall see what misconceptions would arise. Were the Elohist, or creationist, account of man capped with the narrative of the kneading of dust and breath into a "living soul," we might fairly ask, Is this all? is man only the last link of a long chain? In that case could we say that the Sabbath drew on? On the other hand, suppose the Elohist account of man in the image and likeness of God had slipped out of its place into the Jehovist record, and how perplexed we should be; we might then say with Longfellow, that "'dust to dust' was not spoken of the soul." Thus the apparent paradox that the spiritualist side of man appears in the creationist record, and the creationist in the spiritualist, is highly consistent if we look at each from the point of view from which it was written.

Passing over, then, the Elohist record of Gen. i.—not as unimportant, but as irrelevant to psychology proper—we turn to the Jehovist record of Gen. ii. Here we find the true psychology of man, and that from a creationist point of view. Our key to understand it is the word of the Apostle, that the psychical is first, and afterward that which is "spiritual." Following that order, and remembering that the Old Testament keeps to the psychical, though it flashes with intimations of a future spiritual stage, all is consistent and of a piece. In no language of metaphor, but in strict and sober truth, man is said to be of the dust. God took and kneaded clay. The Hebrew word used implies that the workmanship is of pre-existent materials. Man's bodily organism is of matter, which comes from the inorganic world and returns to it again. Made up in equal proportions of gases and earths, his flesh and fibres, bones and blood, are all, as that of the lower animals, of "the earth, earthy." Such is the first Adam. His very name, so called from red earth, with reference, as some etymologists think, to the redness of the blood, Adam, from *dam*, "blood," or, as others, from the ruddiness of the skin, as the Chinese represent man to be kneaded of yellow earth, and the red Indians speak of his being made of red clay—his very name indicates him as "dust of the earth." The derivation of Adam, as if from the Hebrew *demuth*, "the image or likeness of God," is plainly fanciful; the attempt to import into the Jehovist record the Elohist account of man as the lord of creation and the viceroy of Heaven's eternal King is plainly inconsistent and out of place. The intention of the second narrative is to describe man as he is in himself, not in his official relation to the universe in general. Hence we may pass by the first, and confine ourselves almost exclusively to the second. The Elohist account of man is theological, the Jehovist psychological. By that we mean, that if we wish to determine man's place in relation to God and his works,

we may turn to Gen. i.; if we wish to determine what man is in himself, and the purposes which God has in regard to him, we must study Gen. ii. The first is the ideal man, the second the actual. The structure of the narrative itself confirms that view. The singular form of expression, "we will make man," not "let us make man," as if the Deity were rousing himself to an effort, whatever it means—whether a covert reference to the Trinity, as the fathers and schoolmen hold, or an address to Nature as Maimonides thought—"God directly and sovereignly, Nature mediately and obediently through the Divine Word combining in the formation of man"—in either case we have man regarded on the ideal side. It confirms that view to find that the creation of woman is implied, not asserted. "Male and female created he them." If we had the Elohist record only to go by, we should know nothing of the unity of the human race, of the propagation of mankind from a single pair, and we should at once be relieved of many difficulties which science throws in the path of theology, while at the same time we should lose that grand harmony which runs throughout Revelation, and which is brought out by St. Paul in his doctrine of the first and second Adam, Rom. v.; 1 Cor. xv. and elsewhere.

It is clear, then, that the creationist narrative of Gen. i. is not so much the foundation of Scripture psychology as the Jehovist or redemptive record of Gen. ii. Turning to that we find two factors in human nature meeting in the "living soul," the *punctum indifferens* of two lives, one from above, another from beneath. The Hebrew verb is rightly rendered "became," not "was." The German *werden*, "to become," exactly catches the sense of that meeting-point between being and non-being at which the human soul is placed—"Und also ward der Mensch eine lebendige Seele." Luther, who is always vigorous, and who, if he sometimes misses the exact sense, seldom fails to catch the general spirit, throws in *also*. "Consequently in this order and manner man became a living soul." Otherwise the contrast between the "living soul" in man and in other animals would be lost. The *differentia* between him and them is this Divine breath; it is right to mark, then, by an emphatic word that man became a living soul only by the breath of God entering his nostrils in a special way, such as is said of no other living creature. The expression "dust of the earth," suggests its own meaning: man is *χοῦρός* (1 Cor. xv. 47), "of the earth, earthy," as *homo* is derived from *humus*. And as *humus* is not so much earth in general as the earth soil when adapted for cultivation, so Adam is from *adamah*, the soil of cultivation in its paradisaical state—not the mere earth (*aretz*), which is a distinct word. With regard to his body, man is flesh (*basar*); he has this in common with the animal world. "All flesh" is a common Hebraism for the whole world in its mere animal side. When used in reference to man there is a covert reproach in it; we are reminded by it of our sin and shame. Flesh and spirit are contrasted as in that passage: "The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit" (Isa. xxxi. 3). To depend

on man, or to put trust in him, is to depend on an arm of flesh. *Basar*, in this ethical connection, is always used as a term of reproach. It is exactly equivalent to our contrast between sense and spirit. It is no reproach to a man to judge by means of sense-perceptions, for these are the data on which mind must work; but to leave off with these is a reproach. The two adjectives "sensual" and "sensuous" exactly mark these distinctions. Art is sensuous; it raises impressions through the senses; and according as these impressions are degrading or elevating, is it sensual or spiritual. So unconsciously do ethical conceptions glide in and mingle themselves with æsthetic, that the question has been raised whether art should have anything to say to morals or not. The answer is obvious—consciously, no; but unconsciously, yes. What we mean is that art is not to teach professedly—its end and aim is to delight and refine. But in that aim there must be hidden a moral purpose of one kind or the other—hidden as Cleopatra's adder in the basket of fruit; and it is the duty of the moralist to question art as it crosses the threshold, and to refuse admission to it if the serpent be found lurking among its fruits and flowers. In Scripture, where the ethical import is predominant, the bodily side of man's nature is generally referred to as the *fomes peccati*, the fuel of the fire of sin. The tongue in St. James, the eye in St. John, the feet swift to shed blood of the Psalmist, the hands and the heart frequently elsewhere are spoken of as the instruments of sin. The body is thus, to refer to a well-known Rabbinic fable, the partner with the soul in sin, and must be raised up for this reason to receive its separate punishment. It is foreign to the simplicity of the Hebrew mind to dwell on the soul as the exclusive source of good and evil. Luther, in one of his sermons on Gen. ii., rightly remarks that by "living soul" we are to understand living body; and Tertullian, in the same way, in his treatise *De Anima* (cap. vii.), lays stress on the essential corporeity of the soul. Man in Scripture psychology is not a soul in a body. This is the school dichotomy which has entered into our popular theology and somewhat distorted our conceptions of man's place and duty here and hereafter. Man in Scripture is a body or organism which has two poles, *sarx* and *pneuma*, flesh and spirit. According as he inclines to the one pole or the other is he carnal or spiritual. In his fallen state, and as the consequence of the fall, he is carnal, sold under sin. What enhances his misery is that he knows it. He is a "reed who thinks," as Pascal puts it; let us add, a reed who quivers with a sense of his own misery. The purpose of redemption is to remove him from the one pole of sense to the other pole of spirit. That redemption is begun now, but is incomplete until his full adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body. When the body itself, which is now psychical at best, *i.e.*, with the animal and appetitive elements predominant, shall become pneumatical, *i.e.*, with the organs of assimilation and reproduction at rest, and those of apprehension and action elevated and intensified (of which the transformation of insects furnishes a wonderful analogy), then shall be brought to pass the

saying that is written, "Death is swallowed up in victory."

Thus the psychology of the Old Testament is of a piece with that of the New, the only difference being that, as the plan of redemption unfolds itself, the psychical element becomes more pneumatical, and the *sarx*, or flesh, sinks into the background as the part to be mortified or subdued. Man begins in the flesh, rises to psychical conceptions, and is only redeemed and regenerated when the *psyche* becomes subservient to the *pneuma*, as the *sarx* is to the *psyche*. *Psyche* is the centre point where the conflict goes on. In every man there is a choice of Hercules, between soul and flesh. But in the case of the regenerate and redeemed there is a still higher conflict and a yet more decisive choice. They are called on to subdue the desires of the mind as well as of the flesh—to yield their wills and affections up to God as they yield the members of the body up to the guidance of reason. This higher stage of discipline lies out of the range of mere "culture." The moralist as such knows nothing of it, for it lies within the spiritual world, and this lies outside his ken and cognisance. He can only guess at it, as Goethe in his conjectures about a demonic influence, which is not genius or God, but something between the two.

When we speak, then, of the trichotomy of Scripture, and particularly of the Old Testament, we do not mean that man is of three natures joined in one, much less that, after the analogy of the Trinity, there are three substances in one person, instead of three Persons in one substance. The *homo imago Trinitatis* of Augustine is a misleading metaphor, and, what is worse still, it "darkens counsel by words without knowledge." Man is not body *and* soul *and* spirit as the Godhead is Father *and* Son *and* Holy Ghost. Man is strictly only an organism with two tendencies, and in this sense it is as correct to speak of the dichotomy as the trichotomy. These tendencies are flesh and spirit, and hence the account in Gen. ii. is so accurate when the dust of the earth and the breath of lives met in the living soul of man as their uniting point. These tendencies of flesh and spirit were marked in no other creature in the same way. In the animal there is the one factor—the dust of the earth, animated, it is true, by a certain breath of God, for He is the Life of life, as He is the God of gods and Light of lights. But the spiritual factor is not there: in man alone do flesh and spirit join. The *psyche* is the synthesis of which body and spirit are the thesis and antithesis respectively. In this point of view it is as incorrect to speak of man as made up of three parts, as to speak of water as made up of oxygen, hydrogen, and a fluid called water, seeing that water is only the result of the gases uniting in certain definite proportions. Both terms, "dichotomy" and "trichotomy," are therefore, strictly speaking, incorrect, although, in order, to guard ourselves against the phrases "body" and "soul," growing out of the old dualism of mind and matter, we speak of man as a living soul with two natures, an animal and a spiritual. It is in this sense only that man is in the trichotomist phrase made of spirit, soul, and body,

though it would be equally correct to speak of him as made up of an animal frame united to a *psyche-pneuma*. Indeed, as in the earlier stage of infancy body and soul exist together with a dormant or undeveloped spirit, so, during the intermediate state, we find conversely the *psyche-pneuma* existing out of the body.

Further, with regard to the psychology of the Old Testament, we must bear in mind that the language is popular and accommodated to the unscientific conceptions then current. In modern language we speak of the head as the seat of intelligence, and the heart as that of the feelings and affections. It is the head that thinks, the heart that bleeds, or weeps, or rejoices. This arises from our more accurate notions of physiology. The three great discoveries of modern anatomy are the circulation of the blood, the function of the brain as the organ of thought, and of the nervous system as the special organ of feeling and motion. There is no trace of any one of these three fixed truths of modern physiology to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures. The truth, so obvious to us, that the brain, not the heart, is the centre of sentient and rational life, was not suspected until the time of the Ptolemies. Pythagoras, it is true, supposed that the *voûs* (*nous*, or "mind") was seated in the brain, but this was only a guess, unsupported by any anatomical observation. Plato, reasoning in his fanciful way from certain properties of numbers, supposed that the four elements united in man to form a quintessence, which he called the soul, and which was seated in the spinal marrow. He considers the spinal marrow to be the part first formed, and that the marrow covers itself with bones, and these bones with flesh. Aristotle, however, returned to the old conception that the brain is a mere excrescence of the spinal marrow, adapted by its usual coldness and moisture to allay the fire at the heart. This was the reigning opinion until the Alexandrian physicians, Erasistratus and Hierophilus, by dissecting the bodies of criminals given for examination in the medical schools, overturned the old theory that the heart was the seat of intelligence, as the bowels or reins were of the affections and passions. Old Testament psychology falls in with these prevailing notions. It was only so late as the Book of Daniel that we find any intimations of the head as the seat of thought. Delitzsch rightly remarks that Dan. ii. 28; vii. 1, 15, are the earliest passages in which the head is spoken of as the seat of visions, the centre to which spiritual, psychical events are to be referred. In all other places the heart is spoken of as the seat of understanding, as the reins and bowels are of emotion. Inattention to this distinction has led to many uncritical comments on Scripture language. For instance, on the expression, "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness," preachers and popular divines have founded the remark that we have here the distinction between head-knowledge and heart-knowledge pointed out. The only saving belief was that of the heart, *i.e.*, of the affections, not of the head merely, *i.e.*, of the dry intellect. If the Apostle had this distinction then on his mind (a good one in its place, but inapplicable here), he would have

phrased it differently: "With the feelings man believeth unto righteousness."

We must bear this in mind, or we shall fall into mistakes continually on meeting with the Scripture phrase "the heart." When we should speak of sluggish intellects, the Hebrews would have said, "slow of heart." "O fools, and slow of heart to understand," &c. When we should speak of a man taking a thing into his head, they spoke of "laying it to heart." It is worthy of notice that while there are hundreds of passages in which the heart is spoken of as the seat of certain mental acts—of thought and feeling—we have not been able to find a single instance of the head being regarded in Scripture as more than the summit of the body in the external sense only. Eichhorn, as quoted by Delitzsch, rightly remarks on the distinction between the use of the head and the heart in the Old Testament. "The head is to the external appearance what the heart is to the internal agency of the soul, and only on this view is a prominent position given to it in the Biblical point of view." The Scripture contrasts the head with the feet, but not with the heart. From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot the whole body is diseased, according to Isaiah, but the fountain of the disease is in the heart, from whence, as our Lord teaches, proceed evil thoughts. Blessings rest, it is true, upon the head of the just, but this is because the blessings come down from above and fall first on the head. The inference, so obvious to us, that as the chief senses—sight, hearing, smell, taste—are all clustered round the brain, and in close communication with it, the brain, and not the heart, must be the chief organ of thought, does not seem to have occurred to the ancients. Misled by a false analogy between warmth and intelligence, they assumed that the cold white and grey matter of the brain could not be the instrument of thought, and they therefore placed the seat of the soul and the centre of the nervous system in the heart, at the fountain-head of the blood. The blood was the life, and where the blood was warmest there the seat of the soul must be.

But while Hebrew psychology erred in placing the seat of intelligence in the heart instead of the brain, we must not suppose that they materialised the soul as the modern phrenological school do. The soul inhabited the heart as the centre and citadel of the body, but it was not a mere function of the heart, as thought and feeling are functions of the brain among physiologists whose views incline to materialism. The inhabitant of the house was not confounded with the house itself. It would be more correct to say that they held a doctrine of correspondence—the soul inhabited the whole body, and was diffused through every part: one class of mental states corresponded with one class of physical organs, another with another. Speaking roughly, we should say that the diaphragm was the dividing wall between the intellect and the emotions. The phrase "bowels of mercies" is too well known to need any comment. But it is further remarkable that the reins rather than the heart is the seat of what we should call conscience. God tries the reins, chastens the reins,

sends his arrows of conviction into the reins. To sum up, we should say that the Hebrews probably inclined to the opinion of the old dogmatists, that the whole soul was in the whole body, and also wholly in each of the parts. "Anima in toto corpore tota et in singulis simul corporis partibus tota." Their view was probably not unlike that of some of the fathers, notably Tertullian, that soul and body are related as form and essence, and that even out of the body the soul still retained a filmy, shadowy form, corresponding to that with which it was clothed upon when in the body. In this point of view the soul was the formative principle of the body—an opinion which the younger Fichte has revived, and to which Swedenborg also inclined. Bacon and Cudworth too inclined to the view that the soul is a kind of ethereal body. The lines of Spenser express the same thought:—

"For of the soul the body form doth take,
For soul is form, and doth the body make."

This doctrine of correspondence may not be the whole truth on a subject confessedly mysterious and beyond our grasp at present, but it, at least, does not contradict any higher truth. It was a good provisional stand-point for psychology in a revelation of which the resurrection of the body formed no part. If it was not the whole truth, it at least gave no countenance to the two false and one-sided tendencies to which the human mind inclines on this subject—materialism and spiritualism. Like Paul on Mars' Hill, between Stoics and Epicureans, the Old Testament is equally removed from those who say that mind is a function of the body, and so perishes with the body, and from those on the other extreme who teach that mind is an entity in itself, indivisible, and therefore imperishable. It has not one syllable for or against the immortality of the soul in the sense that the

question is argued in the *Phædrus* of Plato. The end of Revelation being practical, not speculative, it left the mourner at the door of the sepulchre: it did not roll away the stone, which was very great. On the other hand, it would not let him quench the lamp of hope, or allow that death was a perpetual sleep. As in other respects, so in regard to psychology, the law made nothing perfect. It only set the inquirer on the right track, and there left him to wait for the dayspring from on high. It is worthy thus of God, who teaches nothing hastily, or beyond the measure and analogy of the faith. When the better covenant was brought in, then the higher teaching of the *pneuma* and the resurrection of the body was given. But the preparation was complete. A Jew, who knew his own Scriptures and nothing else, might have much to learn, but happily nothing to unlearn. If he had not mixed up these conceptions of truth with the philosophies of the East, or of Greece, he might pass at once, as the disciples did, from John to Jesus, without a struggle or a pang. Unfortunately, however this was seldom the case. What with Oriental and Cabalistic notions on the one hand, and Alexandrian and Platonist fancies on the other, the transition was seldom so simple. Philosophical theories of the soul, its connection with matter, and its eternity *à parte ante* or *post*, mixed themselves up with the simple narrative of God's dealings with man; the speculative overbore the practical. But, nevertheless, the Word of God could not be broken. A higher truth superseded one more elementary, as we shall presently see, but it did not contradict it—nay, it confirmed it. There was progression throughout—calm, orderly, and according to a plan: first the earthly Adam, then the heavenly; this is the theological stage of progress: first the psychical, and afterwards the pneumatical; this is the psychological order corresponding to it.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

"It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a bill of divorcement: but I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery."—ST. MATT. v. 31, 32.

THE proper rendering of the first clause of these verses, according to the best MSS., is, "But it was said, Whosoever shall put away his wife," &c. The words thus rendered must clearly be understood in connection with something which has gone before, and are suggestive, as Lightfoot has observed, of "a silent objection." In verses 27, 28, our Lord rehearses the letter, and expounds the meaning of the seventh commandment: "Ye have heard," He says, "that it was said" (*i.e.*, by the mouth of Moses; for the words "by" or "to them of old time" are not found in the best MSS.), "Thou

shalt not commit adultery." By the Jewish system of divorce—a system tolerated under their law, by reason of the hardness of the hearts of the people—the true import of this command was evaded, and in virtue of that system, as explained by many of their most distinguished teachers, a door was opened for the indulgence of their unbridled lusts and passions.

Our Lord, contrasting his own teaching, not, as some would represent, with that of the Mosaic law, but with the unauthorised expositions of that law then current amongst a large section of the Jews, takes occasion to enforce the nature and obligations of the primeval law of marriage, as instituted in Eden, and as renewed in the Decalogue. He meets the objections which arose within the minds of his hearers, though utterance may not have been given to them by their lips, by not only

admitting but affirming the existence of difficulties in the way of salvation, and by asserting, in figurative but most expressive language (deriving much of its force from current forms of Jewish phraseology,¹ and from the local allusion to the Valley of Hinnom), the absolute necessity of incurring any risk, of enduring any suffering, of submitting to any sacrifice, rather than by the indulgence of sensual passions to become liable to eternal perdition. "It is better for thee," He says to his hearers (*i.e.*, it is more to your true and enduring interests), "that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

Those who are aware of the manner in which the subject of divorce has been treated in the Talmud will readily understand how many and how subtle were those evasions of the seventh commandment which would naturally suggest themselves to the minds of those who listened to these words; and it is to these that our Lord seems to make tacit allusion in the verses now under consideration: "But it has been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement."

It has been inferred from these words, and still more from those which occur in Matt. xix. 7, "Why did Moses then *command* to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?" that the Jews, in the days of our Lord, misunderstood or perverted the nature and the design of the Levitical law, as recorded in Deut. xxiv. 1—4, to which allusion is here made.² These words may be translated as follows: "If a man shall take a wife and marry her, it shall come to pass if she find not favour in his eyes because he has found in her some uncleanness, then let him write her [or, as some render the words, 'and he write her'] a bill of divorcement, and put [it] in her hand, and send her away from his house; and when she is departed out of his house she may go and be another man's wife; and if [or, and she depart from his house, and go and become the wife of another; and] the latter husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and put [it] in her hand, and send her away from his house; or if the latter husband who has taken her to him to wife, die; [then] her former husband who sent her away shall not be able to take her again to be his wife, after that she has been defiled, for that is abomination before the Lord."³

This precept, so far from being designed to enjoin, or even to encourage divorce, was evidently framed with a direct view to its restraint. Whatever may be the meaning of the disputed phrase which is rendered in

the Authorised Version "some uncleanness," the permission of divorce is restricted to that single case. The necessity, moreover, of placing in the hands of the rejected wife a written instrument⁴ would, for the most part, involve recourse to the priests or Levites, and thus involve delay, and check action upon sudden impulse. The absolute prohibition, also, of a return to the first husband, after the contraction of a second marriage, would, of itself, operate as a powerful motive against yielding to the influence of momentary passion or prejudice. Nor must the ground of that prohibition be overlooked. It is made to consist in the defilement contracted by the second marriage; and it should be observed that the verb employed is the same which is used to denote the pollution or defilement of adultery and of idolatry (*e.g.* Ezek. xxxiii. 26; xxxvi. 18).

But notwithstanding the check thus interposed upon the multiplication of divorcees, they had become of such common occurrence in the time of our Lord, and they were given upon such slight and insufficient grounds, that we find it maintained by the school of Hillel, a celebrated rabbi who died shortly after the Christian era, that if the wife cook her husband's food badly, she was to be put away;⁵ whilst Rabbi Akibah taught that "if any sees a woman handsomer than his wife, he may put her away; because it is said, 'If she find not favour in his eyes.'⁶ Another school, however, that of Shammai, the colleague of Hillel, maintained that the only ground of divorce under the Jewish law was that which our Lord himself distinctly recognises in the words under consideration—*viz.*, that of incontinence.

It may be urged, indeed, in opposition to this view, that by the law prescribed in Deut. xxii. 22, the adulteress was to be punished by death, and consequently that there was no place left for divorce. On the other hand, it has been thought that provision was thus made for a mitigation of the severity of the law respecting adultery, so that that crime, though punishable with death, if established, need not necessarily be thus visited, whilst, at the same time, provision was made for the relief of the injured husband by the legal severance of the nuptial bond.⁷

Important as the correct determination of the meaning of these words is in their bearing upon the question of the re-marriage of the guilty person, it is one which probably does not admit of determination with any absolute amount of certainty.

And now, returning to the direct consideration of the words of our Lord, it deserves notice that these words

⁴ The copy of a bill of divorce will be found in Lightfoot's Works, vol. xi., p. 123. 1823.

⁵ *Gittin*, c. ix.

⁶ *Mishna*, ult. in *Gittin*, c. ix.

⁷ It is deserving of observation that although under the Jewish law the betrothed virgin was regarded as the wife of him to whom she was betrothed, and the punishment of incontinence was the same as in the case of a married woman (Deut. xxii. 23, 24), it was the intention of Joseph to put away his betrothed wife privily, and not to proceed against her criminally. It must be remembered, however, that the Jews, at the time in question, were undoubtedly subject to the supremacy of Roman law; and it is a question of extreme difficulty to determine to what extent that supremacy interfered with the execution of the Levitical law.

¹ See Lightfoot's *Heb. and Talmud. Exercitations upon St. Matthew*, vol. xi., p. 115. 1823.

² It must be observed, however, that in Mark x. 4 the word used is ἐπέτρεψεν, not ἐπέταλατο, *i.e.*, "permitted," not "commanded." There was no command given by Moses to divorce the wife. The command was that the divorcee should, in every case, be made in accordance with a duly prescribed form.

³ If the apodosis begins, as in the A. V., with the words "then let him write her a bill of divorcement," it becomes necessary to translate the words which follow, as in the A. V., "she may go out," &c. If, on the contrary, the apodosis begins at verse 4, there is no occasion for such a departure from the uniformity of the translation.

are repeated, with some verbal alterations, in the 19th chapter of this Gospel; again in Mark x. 11, 12; and once more in Luke xvi. 18. The variations in these several places are of sufficient importance to make a literal translation of the four passages desirable, with a view to the correct apprehension of the law enforced in all.

The following is, it is believed, a correct rendering of these four passages, according to the reading of the best MSS. :—

(1.) "Every man who putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causes her to become an adulteress (*μοιχευθήναι*), and whosoever shall marry (one) put away, commits adultery." (Matt. v. 32.)

(2.) "Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery, [and he who marrieth (one) put away committeth adultery]." (Matt. xix. 9.)

(3.) "Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another, committeth adultery against her; and if she put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery." (Mark x. 11, 12.)

(4.) "Whosoever putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and he who marrieth (one) put away from (her) husband, committeth adultery." (Luke xvi. 18.)

The following are some of the points which seem to call for observation in the comparison of these passages :

I. Whereas in two of the passages cited, the one and only ground of lawful divorce is mentioned—viz., that of incontinence—in the two last it is omitted. It has been inferred from this omission that divorce, under any circumstances, is only permitted, never enjoined. Whether this inference be or be not fairly drawn from the omission in question, it can scarcely admit of doubt (1) that the words supplied in the two places of St. Matthew's Gospel must be understood as implied in the parallel places of St. Mark and St. Luke;² (2) that those early writers were in error who held that the putting away of a wife, even in the case of adultery, was obligatory; and (3) that those who in early and later times have maintained that marriage is *in all cases indissoluble*, are still further removed from a right apprehension of the law of Christ respecting it.

II. Whereas it was needless, in the case of the Jews, to lay down any regulation respecting the divorce of a husband by a wife, a necessity arose for prescribing the duty of the wife as well as of the husband, in the case of laws pertaining alike to all nations. Moreover, in the law prescribed in Mark x. 11, 12, the wife appears to be placed, in regard to the right of divorce, upon the same footing as the husband; and inasmuch as

the clause of permission of divorce and of re-marriage which is expressed in Matt. v. 32, and xix. 9, with regard to the husband, in the case of adultery, must necessarily be understood in Mark x. 11, and in Luke xvi. 18, every sound canon of interpretation seems to demand that the same permission must be regarded as conceded to the wife which the passages above cited concede to the husband.

III. We have reserved to the last the discussion of the important question, whether the prohibition of the re-marriage of a divorced woman is absolute and universal, or whether that prohibition is restricted to the case of one divorced on insufficient grounds.

In support of the former of these interpretations appeal is made, and perhaps not altogether without reason, to the absence of the article in Matt. v. 32, xix. 9, and Luke xvi. 18, before the word *ἀπολελυμένην* i.e., "put away," or "divorced;" and it is argued that the prohibition applies not only to the woman who has been divorced on insufficient grounds, but also to any woman who has been put away, whether lawfully or unlawfully, from her husband.

It has been argued, further, that the word *ἀπολελυμένην* must be understood as having primary reference not to a woman unlawfully separated from her husband, but to one in whose case the *vinculum matrimonii*—i.e., the marriage bond—has been absolutely broken; and, inasmuch as this bond can be broken only by the act of adultery, that the reference must be primarily to the case of one who has been separated on this ground from her husband.

To this latter argument it seems sufficient to reply that the same word cannot be so interpreted in the former clause of the verses in question; and, consequently, that as the primary subject of the discourse is the putting away of a wife on insufficient grounds, the same word in the latter clause of the verse must, of necessity, be interpreted as susceptible of that meaning which it undoubtedly bears in the former.

It seems, moreover, but reasonable to suppose that this is the primary sense in which the word *ἀπολελυμένην* ought to be understood in this place. For, independently of the consideration already noticed, that divorces on insufficient grounds form the primary subject of discourse, and consequently that it is but reasonable to presume that such divorces must be regarded as primarily contemplated throughout it, there are other grounds for the belief that the re-marriage of a woman divorced on the ground of adultery is not the case immediately contemplated by our Lord in these passages.

In the first place, the adulteress, under the Jewish law, was exposed to the punishment of death by stoning, as has been already observed; and, consequently, it appears improbable that her re-marriage should be the subject of a discourse addressed primarily to the Jews. Again, in that Gospel in which the law of re-marriage is applied generally to other nations—viz., that of St. Mark, and consequently, in which the re-marriage of the divorced woman would be more likely to be contem-

¹ This clause is omitted in many MSS.

² It is somewhat remarkable that Augustine, in his interpretation of this passage, reverses the sound canon which he has elsewhere laid down—viz., that the shorter and more incomplete passage is to receive its interpretation from the longer and fuller; and finds in the parallel passages of St. Mark and St. Luke a limitation of the fuller record of our Lord's words, as contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew. In his "Retractions," however, he confesses his dissatisfaction with what he had previously written, and records his conviction that he had not arrived at a satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

plated—the prohibitory clause in question does not occur. And, once more, when the words under consideration are viewed prospectively in their reference to the Christian Church of all ages, it must be remembered that the sin of adultery would justly expose the offender to exclusion from the pale of her communion; and, consequently, that it is scarcely reasonable to expect directions in such a code of laws as is contained in the Sermon on the Mount for the guidance and direction of those who

should bring themselves, by wilful transgression, into the condition of “heathen men and publicans.”

On these grounds, then, whilst abstaining from the expression of any opinion on the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the re-marriage of one who has been divorced on account of adultery, it seems reasonable to conclude that it formed no part of our blessed Lord’s design, in the words under consideration, to decide this question either affirmatively or negatively.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

HART AND HIND.

THE following are the Scriptural allusions to deer, for which the Hebrew word is *ayyâl*, masc. “hart,” and *ayyâlâh*, fem. “hind.” They were allowed for food, “As the roebuck and the hart is eaten” (Deut. xii. 22); “These are the beasts which ye shall eat, . . . the hart and the roebuck” (Deut. xiv. 4, 5). Harts are mentioned amongst the fat oxen, sheep, and other animals which were daily consumed by those who fed at King Solomon’s royal board (see 1 Kings iv. 23). In Ps. xlii. 1 we have a picture of a deer panting for thirst during a season of drought: “As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God.” Though the authorship and date of this pathetic psalm are uncertain, there can be no doubt as to the place where it was written—namely, the Trans-Jordanic hills, which, as Dean Stanley says, always behold, as they are always beheld from, Western Palestine. “As before the eyes of the exile, the ‘gazelle’ (hart) of the forests of Gilead panted after the fresh streams of water which there descend to the Jordan, so his soul panted after God, from whose outward presence he was shut out. The river with its winding rapids, ‘deep calling to deep,’ lay between him and his home” (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 330). “My beloved is like a roe (gazelle) or a young hart” (Cant. ii. 9); “Be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether” (ver. 17); “Then shall the lame man leap as an hart” (Isa. xxxv. 6); “From the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed; her princes are become like harts that find no pasture, and they are gone without strength before the pursuer” (Lam. i. 6). The image of a hart or hind in a season of drought was often before the minds of the sacred writers (Jer. xiv. 2—5). Other Bible references to deer allude chiefly to their activity and sure-footedness. “He maketh my feet like hinds’ feet, and setteth me upon my high places” (2 Sam. xxii. 34; see also Ps. xviii. 33, and Hab. iii. 19). The gentleness and affectionate disposition of the deer is alluded to in Prov. v. 19, where the hind is compared to a tender wife: “Let her be as the loving hind and pleasant roe.” The deer tribe, or *Cervidae*, often conceal their fawns after birth for a time. This has been noticed

frequently in our own country; both the fallow deer and the red deer conceal their young, the latter more carefully than the former. This habit appears to be referred to in Job xxxix. 1: “Canst thou mark when the hinds do calve? . . . or knowest thou the bearing time of the hinds?” The timidity of the deer in a thunder-storm is mentioned in Ps. xxix, which contains a magnificent description of a storm, poetically called “Jehovah’s Voice” (*Kól Yehovah*): “The voice of Jehovah causeth the hinds to be in travail pains.” All these allusions are simple, and require no explanation; but the passage in Genesis (xlix. 21), “Naphtali is a hind let loose, he giveth goodly words,” is not so clear, and has been commented upon in various ways. The Septuagint, supposing other vowel points, reads, “Naphtali is a spreading tree which giveth beautiful fruit.” This rendering has been followed by Bochart, Lowth, De Wette, Ewald, and others. Some other versions and paraphrases give, “Naphtali is a quick messenger, and like a hind on the mountains hastens to bring good tidings,” which the Targums say refer to Naphtali having first declared to Jacob that Joseph was alive. The literal rendering of the words gives us—

“Naphtali is a hind let loose,
He uttereth words of beauty.”

Or perhaps—

“Naphtali is a graceful hind,
He uttereth words of beauty.”

The word *sheluchâh* may denote “let loose,” “unfettered,” and refer to a hind swiftly bounding; but it may also mean “elegant,” “graceful” (outstretched, tall), and as it corresponds with *shapher*, “beauty,” the parallelism is on the side of this latter translation. Let us now see how the words are applicable to Naphtali.

The tribe of Naphtali distinguished itself in a wonderful manner under Barak and Deborah, when Israel was delivered from the iron yoke of Jabin, king of Canaan—Naphtali and Zebulun “jeopardising their lives unto the death in the high places of the field.” Deborah and Barak were the poets of the tribe: “Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam” that spirited song of triumph over Sisera to which the latter part of the verse refers, “who uttereth words of

beauty." If we interpret the words *ayyáláh shelucháh* to mean "a hind let loose," we must refer them to the martial activity and prowess of Naphtali, so successfully displayed at the river Kishon (Judg. iv. 7; v. 21), it being a common simile in Hebrew poetry to compare achievements of strength and endurance with the swiftness of the stag or antelope. Thus of the three sons of Zeruiah, Asahel was "as light of foot as a wild roe" (2 Sam. ii. 18); see also 1 Chron. xii. 8, which is even more to the point: the Gadites had faces "like the faces of lions, and were as swift as the roes upon the mountains." We prefer, however, for the reason we have given, the translation of "graceful hind," alluding to the beauty and fertility of the territory of Naphtali, expressly mentioned in the benediction of Moses, "Naphtali is satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the Lord" (Deut. xxxiii. 23); while the words "He giveth forth words of beauty" refer to the poetical genius of the tribe as specially displayed in Deborah and Barak's triumphal song. This explanation is adopted by Maurer, and, amongst English authorities, by Kalisch, and C. H. Hamilton Wright in his excellent notes to his *Book of Genesis* (p. 128).

The Hebrew word *ayyál*, "a stag," is evidently connected with *ayil*, "a ram" (from a root signifying "to be strong"), of which it appears to be intensive, "the great ram," as it were; the Jews classifying large animals, whether sheep, deer, or antelopes, in one group. The stag gave name to places in Palestine, just as it did in our own country. The valley of Ajalon (*Ayyálon*), or "place of stags," on the frontier of the two kingdoms—the scene of Joshua's celebrated battle with the five Canaanite kings (Josh. x. 12)—and Aijalon in the country of Zebulun, where Elon was buried (Judg. xii. 12), received their names from the stag. No other Biblical allusion, with the exception, perhaps, of the *Aijelet Sháhar* ("hind of the morning"), which occurs only in the inscription of Psalm xxii., requires notice.¹

Both the red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), or rather perhaps the *Cervus barbarus*, which is only the southern representative of the European stag, and the fallow deer (*Dama vulgaris*), were probably common in Palestine, though at the present time the latter is very seldom seen, and the former is quite extinct. The fallow deer was seen by Hasselquist in Mount Tabor in 1751, and Dr. Tristram was told it was still to be found there as well as in the woods between that mountain and the gorge of the Litany river; he only met with one single animal in an open glade about ten miles west of the Sea of Galilee. Teeth of the *Dama vulgaris* have been found in bone breccia in the Lebanon, where now it does not exist.

Teeth of the red deer, or some closely allied species, were also found by Dr. Tristram in bone breccia of caverns in the Lebanon; but as they were mixed with fossil teeth of the reindeer, as was thought, they pro-

bably belonged to a "period anterior to the advent of man into the country." Figures of the stag occur on the Egyptian monuments, as at Beni Hassan; but, according to Sir G. Wilkiuson, the animal is unknown in the valley of the Nile, but is still seen in the vicinity of the Natron lakes, though not a native of the desert between the river and the Red Sea. Dr. Tristram, however, says that no red deer is now found in Egypt, but that a race very slightly differing from our own still lives in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, where he had several times obtained it.

Horapollo tells us that when the Egyptians wished to symbolise anything of long duration (*πολυχρονιον*) they represented a stag, because it shoots its horns every year (*Hieroglyph.* ii. 21). Inverted stags' heads alternating with hieroglyphics are depicted in judgment scenes; it is probable they have something to do with the idea of eternity: when they would denote a man imprudently quick in his movements, they portray a stag and a viper, for the stag flees at the sight of the viper (*Hieroglyph.* ii. 87). The Coptic word for stag is *cioul*, which appears to be the same as the Hebrew *ayyal*. Mr. A. H. Sayce informs us that the Assyrian word for deer is *álu*, but that he only knows the word as occurring in the Syllabaries; it seems to be related to the Hebrew name.

ANTELOPES.

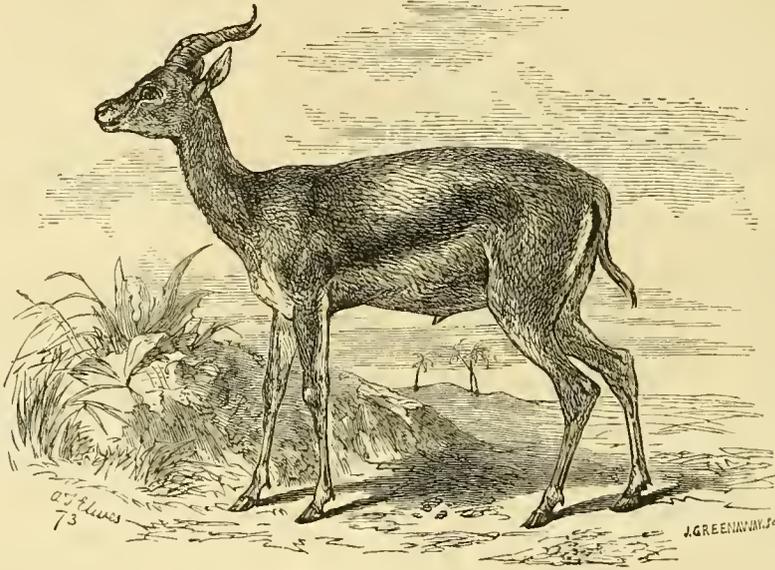
It remains for us to consider the Biblical allusions to the Antelopes, the last family of the *Pecora* division of even-toed Ungulates. Of this group four distinct species at present occur either in Palestine or on the borders of the land; they are the Gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*), Oryx (*Oryx leucoryx*), the Addax (*Addax nasomaculatus*), and the Bubale (*Alcephalus bubalis*). The following names of animals, all of which, it is probable, denote antelopes, occur in the Hebrew Bible:—*Tsebî*, translated in our version always by "roe" or "roebuck;" *tó* or *tëö*, occurring only twice, and translated "wild ox" or "wild bull;" *dishôn*, translated "pygarg" in Deut. xiv. 5, where alone it is named as a clean animal fit for food; and *yaehmûr*, rendered "fallow deer" in the only two places in which it occurs, viz., in Deut. xiv. 5, and 1 Kings iv. 23, where the animal is mentioned as one fit for food, and as part of the provision supplied to King Solomon's table.

We will consider these various names in the order in which we have enumerated them; and first we notice the *tsëbî*. There is no doubt, we think, that the animal denoted is the beautiful little gazelle (*Gazella dorcas* or *G. Arabica*), and not the capreoline deer, the roebuck (which our translators have identified with the *tsëbî*), an animal which at present at least is strictly confined to Europe. The little antelope is several times mentioned in the Bible; it was allowed as food: "The unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the gazelle (A. V., 'roebuck'), and as of the hart" (Deut. xii. 15, 22; xv. 22); see also 1 Kings iv. 23, where it is named as one of the animals provided for Solomon's table—"Harts and gazelles (A. V., 'roebucks') and fallow deer

¹ For this see Vol. I., page 299.

and fatted fowl." The swiftness of the gazelle is alluded to in 2 Sam. ii. 18—Asahel, one of Zeruah's sons, was "as light of foot as a gazelle" (A. V., "wild roe"); and again in 1 Chron. xii. 8. So in the Canticles, "Make haste, my beloved, and be thou like to a gazelle (A. V., 'roe') or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices" (viii. 14; ii. 8). Allusion to its being hunted is made in Isa. xiii. 14; Prov. vi. 5. The loveliness of the gazelle rendered it a favourite term of endearment; this appears all through the Canticles; indeed, its beauty is implied in its Hebrew name, which signifies "beauty," "glory;" thus we have Mount Zion spoken of as "the mountain of holy beauty" (Dan. xi. 45). The Jews, like the Arabs, compared beautiful women to gazelles; the mother of King Joash

the desert and the plains, the gazelle appears at home everywhere. It shares the rocks of Engedi with the wild goats; it dashes over the wild expanse of the desert beyond Beer-sheba; it canters in single file under the monastery of Marsaba. We found it in the glades of Carmel, and it often springs from its leafy covert on the back of Tabor, and screens itself under the thorn-bushes of Gennesaret. Among the grey hills of Galilee it is still 'the roe upon the mountains of Bether;' and I have seen a little troop of gazelles feeding on the Mount of Olives, close to Jerusalem itself. While in the open grounds of the south it is the wildest of game, and can only be approached, unless by chance, at its accustomed drinking-places, and that before the dawn of morning, in the glades of Galilee it is very



THE GAZELLE (*Gazella dorcas*).

was called after a gazelle: her name was *Tsibyáh* (Authorised Version, "Zibiah") (2 Kings xii. 1), *i.e.*, "a female gazelle." See also Acts ix. 35, Tabitha or Dorcas, *i.e.*, "a gazelle." Arabian poets compare beautiful women's eyes to the full black eyes of the gazelle. Thus Byron—

"Her eye's dark charm 'twere vain to tell;
But gaze on that of the gazelle,
It will assist thy fancy well."

"The gazelle," Dr. Tristram informs us, "is by far the most abundant of all the large game in Palestine; indeed, it is the only wild animal of the chase which an ordinary traveller has any chance of seeing. Small herds of gazelles are to be found in every part of the country, and in the south they congregate in herds of near 100 together. One such herd I met with at the southern end of the Jebel Udum, or Salt Mountain, south of the Dead Sea, where they had congregated to drink of the only sweet spring within several miles, Ain Beida. Though generally considered an animal of

easily surprised, and trusts to the concealment of its covert for safety. I have repeatedly startled the gazelle from a brake only a few yards in front of me; and once, when ensconced out of sight in a storax bush, I watched a pair of gazelles with their kid, which the dam was suckling. Ever and anon both the soft-eyed parents would gambol with it as though fawns themselves" (*Natural History of the Bible*, p. 129). The gazelle of which Dr. Tristram gives this interesting account is the *Gazella dorcas* of Ogilby and Gray, the *Antilope dorcas* of Pallas. There is another gazelle (probably only a variety of the former species) which in some parts of Palestine, as in Gilead and in the forest districts especially east and west of Jebel Ajlun, is extremely abundant. This is the *Antilope Arabica* of Hemprich and Ehrenberg, the *A. gazella cora* of Hamilton Smith, the *A. dorcas var.* of Rüppel. Dr. Tristram's party frequently put up small troops of this animal, which is even more beautiful and elegant than the common gazelle. The colouring is pretty much the

same in both these gazelles, but the back of the Arabian animal is a darker fawn colour, and the dark mark along the flanks is deeper and blacker. Gazelles are killed by the Arabs, who lay in wait for them at their well-known watering places, or in the defiles in the rocky districts. "A more wholesale mode is practised in the Hanran by driving a herd into a decoy enclosure with a pitfall on the other side, where they are easily taken." Dr. Tristram has witnessed the chase of the gazelle with falcon and hound. "The birds are first swung off at the gazelle, and make repeated swoops, while the greyhound gains upon it and seizes it. With a well-trained bird the poor beast can rarely escape in this chase, unless he have a long start of the hunter" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, pp. 129, 131).

We now proceed to consider what antelope is probably denoted by the Hebrew word *tô*. Mention of the *tô* or *tôô* occurs twice only—in Dent. xiv. 5, where it is enumerated in the list of clean animals, and is translated "wild ox;" and in Isa. li. 20, "Thy sons have fainted, they lie at the head of all the streets, as a *tô* ['wild bull,' A. V.] in a net: they are full of the fury of the Lord, the rebuke of thy God." From this latter passage it is seen that the *tô* was some wild animal which was occasionally caught in a net. We have already shown that the wild bull is denoted by the Hebrew word *vêém*. Several of the old versions think that the antelope (*Oryx leucoryx*) is the *tô* of the Hebrew Bible; and though there is nothing to prove this, it is very probable. We have seen that there are



THE ADDAX (*Addax nasomaculatus*).

The flesh is considered inferior to wild goat, dry, lean, and insipid. The *Gazella dorcas* is found over all North Africa and upper parts of Arabia; the *Gazella Arabica*, or ariel gazelle, extends eastwards from Syria across Persia to India.

The number of antelopes is very great, Africa containing about five-sixths of the whole; after Africa the Indian district has most species. The family *Antilopeæ* is divided by Dr. Gray into two large groups—(1) the *antelopes of the fields*, and (2) the *antelopes of the desert*, the latter having a covering of thick bristles in the inside nostrils, the other division being free from these intro-nasal hairs. These are again subdivided into other groups.

The four antelopes which are now either in Palestine or in the borders of the land are, as we have seen, the *Gazella*, *Oryx*, *Addax*, and *Alecephalus*, the first three belonging to the antelopes of the field, the last to those of the desert. The first is one of the true antelopes, the second and third belong to the cervine group, the last to the bovine division of the desert antelopes.

four species of antelopes in Palestine or in the neighbourhood; of these the gazelle represents the *tsebî*, the bubale the *yachmûr*, and possibly the addax the *dishôn*.

As the oryx was probably not uncommon in Palestine in Biblical times, and as we know it was and is now common in North Africa, and is frequently represented on the Egyptian monuments, there does not seem to be any other animal that has an equal claim to represent the Hebrew word in question. The name appears to be connected with the verb *tââh*, having the signification of the Arabic word "to outrun," "to be swift." This antelope was hunted by the ancient Egyptians, by whom it was sometimes tamed, and was therefore probably often taken alive and unhurt in a net. The oryx was the only one chosen as an emblem by the people of ancient Egypt; but Sir G. Wilkinson tells us it was not sacred, and that the same city on whose monuments it was represented in sacred subjects was in the habit of killing it for the table.

THE IDOLS OF MOAB.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

THE most frequently-repeated precepts of the written law are those which condemn idolatry. The first two of the Ten Commandments relate to this subject. Five out of the 248 positive precepts contained in the Pentateuch, and 51 out of the 365 negative precepts, prescribe duties opposed to idolatry. It is true that only one, out of the 68 tracts of which the Mishna (or oral law) consists, is expressly devoted to the subject, which thus occupies nearly a tenth part of the prescriptive teaching of the five books of Moses. This tract, which is named the *Aboda Sara*, or "foreign worship," applies the same detailed explanation to the written words of the great legislator, regarding idolatry, that the remaining 67 tracts afford as to other portions of the Law. But the unusual fulness of the books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy on the subject of idolatry is such as to leave little room for the oral supplement. So much was written, once and for all, that but little supplemental precept was required.

Closely connected with an irrevocable condemnation of every form of idolatry, that was thus intertwined with the very heartstrings of the Divine law, was the special character of the legislation that dealt with the seven nations or tribes inhabiting Palestine at the time of the Exodus, and with those people who dwelt on its borders, allies in blood to the Israelites, as being the descendants of the father of Abraham, in two cases, and of Isaac himself in the third—namely, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Edomites. Whether the chief danger of being seduced to join in the worship of these people lay in the vicinity of their dwelling-places, or in the sympathy of kindred blood, it was warded off by the most inflexible barriers.

Certain grades of difference were prescribed, with reference to these different tribes. With regard to the seven peoples of Canaan,¹ the command was absolute to leave not a soul alive. The residence of any idolater on the soil of the Holy Land was forbidden.² No marriages were to be made with idolaters.³ No daughter of Israel was to be given to an Ammonite or a Moabite for ever.⁴ But the descendant of an Idumean,⁵ in the third generation, was not to be held in abomination. The blood of the Egyptians⁶ was regarded in the same light as that of the descendants of Edom; for Israel had been a sojourner in the land of Egypt. As all that was not positively forbidden by distinct precept was held to be permitted, the native of any country, with the exception of those above named, might, on the

1. renunciation of idolatry, be admitted, as a proselyte, to the privileges of Israel. But against the seductive influences of the neighbouring idolaters the door was thus altogether closed, so long as the law of God was obeyed either by the people or by the great council of the Sanhedrim. For the law was not a mere idle threat; it was a rule of life, to be enforced by the sword, the stake, the cord, and the stone, for wilful breach; by stripes and by the pecuniary mulct of the sin-offering for inadvertent trespass.

It is only within the past few months that this tone and temper of the Pentateuch have been made clearly intelligible, by the discovery of what the gods of Ammon and of Moab actually were.

Into a full and minute description of the various idols which are now in course of almost daily discovery in the soil of Eastern Syria we cannot, for obvious reasons, fully enter. From the time when Israel abode in Shittim (Numb. xxv. 1), the rites of the service of Baal-peor have been of a directly licentious character; and the idols before which they were performed are thus of a type and nature which modesty forbids us to delineate, or more distinctly to describe. For those who are bound to study this portion of the subject, and who are aware of the illustrations to be drawn from Greek gems, Roman medals, Egyptian and Indian sculptures, and the terra-cotta of Cyprus, it is enough to say that, while presenting totally new types, this group of the idols of Moab is much what might be anticipated. The other principal aspect of the idolatrous worship is astrological, and into that it may be interesting to enter with some degree of detail.

It is pretty generally known, amongst those who take interest in the Holy Land, that the district east of the deep valley of the Jordan and the chasm filled by the Dead Sea has been hitherto an almost inaccessible country. It is the home of fierce wild tribes, among whom life is far from safe. But within the last few years one traveller after another has contrived to pass the Ghor, or Jordan valley, and to return to tell the tale. Chief among these must be named Canon Tristram, whose charming book, *The Land of Moab*, published in the spring of the present year, throws a light on this primitive country by which much is to be learnt. Nor was Dr. Tristram able to pass without menace, and something that might have been worse. He was made a prisoner in his own camp, within the walls of Kerac; and he was met, on crossing the frontier, by an armed and hostile force of Arabs, stripped, as is their savage custom, totally, for fight.

From this wild and dangerous country, in August, 1868, came tidings of the discovery of a block of basalt, bearing an inscription in very ancient letters. This is now commonly known as the Moabite Stone.

The ruins of Dibon, a great waste of black basaltic

¹ Negative precept 49 (Deut. xx. 16).

² Negative precept 51 (Exod. xxiii. 33).

³ Negative precept 52 (Deut. vii. 3).

⁴ Negative precept 53 (Deut. xxiii. 3).

⁵ Negative precept 54 (Deut. xxiii. 7, 8).

⁶ Negative precept 55 (Deut. xxiii. 7).

stones (resembling some of the pre-historic ruins in our own country, such as the Grey Wethers, near Avebury, in all but colour), may hereafter yield much to the investigator. The existence of one *stèle*, or monumental inscription (a discovery referred to the effect of an earthquake), shows that the ancient people had the habit of inscribing historic accounts, which the nature of the stone employed, and the character of the climate, have preserved to our time. But a thorough exploration of Dibon would be a costly work. The attention which was awakened by the discovery of a basalt monument has led to the discovery of relics of very much greater importance, from their variety and number, although formed of the humbler material of terra-cotta, or baked clay.

Wariness is, unfortunately, needed with regard to asserted discoveries of antique objects. The subject offers a ready field for the skill of the forger. In our own country the flint implements of the drift were supplied in any required number by the notorious "Flint Jack." At Thebes there is a regular manufactory of forged Egyptian relics; at Naples there is a manufactory of lamps and amulets, said to be discovered at Pompeii and Herculaneum; and no traveller, who is only an ordinary collector, comes home from Palestine without finding that he has purchased fictitious coins or forged gems, inscribed with Hebrew or Greek letters, the industry of Nablous or of Gaza.

In the case of the Moabite idols, while every object requires to be tested, there is ample proof of the genuine character of the collection as a whole. The Emperor of Germany has given a thousand pounds for the first series, which consisted of 960 pieces, purchased, one at a time, by Mr. Shapira of Jerusalem, from the Arabs. The chaplain to the Prussian Consulate at Jerusalem, accompanied by Mr. Duisberg, a German resident in that city, visited Moab, and they themselves dug up, at Medeba, pieces of pottery bearing Phœnician letters. The attention of the Oriental Society of Berlin was called to the matter. Pastor Weser was elected an honorary member of the society in recognition of this service. The Emperor, as we before said, gave £1,000 for the collection as it then stood; and the highly-respected names of Hitzig and Rödiger show that men who rank among the leaders of thought in Germany are engaged in the study of this new chapter of ancient history.

The terra-cotta, or burnt clay, of which the objects are formed, differs according to locality. Some is hard, red, and in good preservation; some is grey and crumbling, bearing hardly legible letters; some is red on the outside, but grey and porous within, showing that ashes were mixed with the clay, and that they were only burned to a certain depth from the surface; some are actually black; some, which appear fresh and sharp when dug up, begin to exude moisture after a few hours, and show disposition to decay, unless due care is taken. Greater variety, as well as greater rudeness, than characterise the Assyrian terra-cottas in the British Museum, mark the fossil idolatry of Moab.

Out of upwards of 1,100 specimens, collected up to April, 1873, no two exactly resemble one another. The differences, though slight, are often so subtle, that each object throws light on the other. To give some idea of so large a collection, it may be well to divide the terra-cottas, provisionally, into twelve groups or classes.

First among them is the group which demands the most learned study, both to verify the authenticity of each object, and to exhaust the information that may be derived from it. It consists of vases, jars, and lamps, with incised or projecting letters. It may be remarked, in passing, that the inscriptions, whatever they may be, must necessarily have been made before the vessel was fired. No false inscription can be placed on an old terra-cotta so as to escape detection.

There is, next, a great variety of bird-headed figures, which, no doubt, bear some relation to the hawk-headed and ibis-headed genii to be found in the tombs and on the papyri of Egypt.

Calf-headed figures, and calves, with symbolical marks and planetary symbols—the number seven being indicated either by punctures or by giving prominence to certain features—are connected with the earliest period of sacred history. Many of them are inscribed with letters of the sacred name of God. Some bear the Phœnician vowels that correspond to the alpha and omega of the Greeks. There is every reason to suppose that many of these figures are idolatrous representations of the God of Israel.

Figures with hollows below, or in the abdomen, are connected with sacrificial rites, or with the burning of incense, and are referred to the idol Moloch.

A fifth group consists of figures with cup-shaped protuberances on different parts of the body. These are thought to be amulets, or idols made for local application to the human body, in order to charm away or cure localised disease.

A large figure, with a tail and horns and broken goat's legs, resembles the Greek Pan.

Terminal figures abound, somewhat like the Greek and Roman termini. Some of these have horns, one of them as many as nine. They are called *teraphim* by the German archaeologists.

Figures seated on tripods, and usually with open mouths, were probably regarded as oracles.

Female goddesses, of various sizes, are generally inscribed.

Male gods, or parts of gods, including heads with protruding tongues, refer to the worship of Baal-peor.

Lastly are to be mentioned *bullæ*, or balls of terra-cotta, pierced with seven holes, which were probably worn as amulets; and masks, hands, or limbs, which have not been broken from entire figures, but separately formed and burnt, as distinct objects of veneration.

To this last class of objects we find a distinct reference in the Talmud. In the tract above mentioned, called *Aboda Sarâ*, or *De Cultu Peregrino*, it is written (cap. iii., mis. 2), "If any one finds fragments of images, which the Goim (or idolaters) worship, it is lawful to

make use of them (for firewood, for example). But if any one finds the image of a hand or a foot, this is forbidden; for such objects are made (for offering or consecration in idol temples)." Both Maimonides and Bartenora explain this precept by saying that there may be a doubt as to a broken limb having been a portion of an idol, but that the part which was made as a single object could only have been formed for idolatrous use. One of these objects, now at Jerusalem, is a rude mask, in which, in the place of a mouth, are to be found seven round holes, arranged in a curve. Professor Max Müller speaks of a Phœnician inscription that refers to the goddess Taanith, or *the face of Baal*, which is remarkably illustrated by these masks. The import of the seven holes is distinctly astrological. The planets, which were believed to rule human fortunes, are thus indicated as being the utterance, or voice, of God. The first class of objects which we described are referred to in the following Mishna: "If any one finds vessels on which are sculptured the form of the sun, or the moon, or the dragon, let him cast them into the salt sea."

The limits of this paper will not allow of further extracts from one of the most curious and instructive portions of the literature of the Hebrew race. But in the citations, now for the first time illustrated by actual discovery, may be traced the full appreciation, by the doctors of the Mishna, of some of those particulars of the idolatry of Moab which are among the most novel to our minds.

It is very true that in many Roman Catholic churches in the south of Europe, and notably in those to which pilgrimages are now made from great distances (such as the Cathedral of St. Nicolas at Bari), are to be seen hands, feet, or other parts of the body, made of wax, suspended as votive offerings. These generally commemorate some cure, made at the supposed intercession of the saint to whom they are offered. But their material, wax, is one of those which are constantly brought as offerings. They may be made of wood, in some instances, as more durable; but their fabrication in terra-cotta is, so far as we are aware, unknown in modern times. It would seem from this, and from the words of the Mishna, that the Moab hands and limbs are not memorials, but objects of worship.

It is to be remarked that, hitherto, the type of the fish-god, Dagon, which is so curiously illustrated by the Assyrian terra-cottas in the British Museum, as well as that of the fish-goddess, Derecto, worshipped in the mountain districts of Syria, are absent from the Pantheon of these inland people. Neither have we recognised any symbol of the deity of thunder, Jupiter Summanus, or Thor. On one shapeless idol are found letters that seem to identify it with the name of the mountain Tabor. It is very probable that the ancient geography of the district may be illustrated by the name of the *genii locorum*, and we may soon hope for some light being thrown on the interesting questions that regard the name of the Phœnician deity Illinus or Elyon.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JOEL (*continued*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

WHAT JOEL LEARNED FROM MOSES.

THE prophetic poem of Joel consists of two parts: the first, on the Divine judgment and the call to repentance; the second, on the redemption from judgment, and the promise of blessing. The Jews had forgotten God. He was not in any of their thoughts. As they went about their toils of husbandry, they trusted to the order and laws of Nature; they sowed their seed, looked for rain and sunshine, and reaped their harvest without any sense of a Divine presence and their dependence on a Divine bounty. Even when they went up to the Temple, they failed to reverence the Presence which alone hallowed it—to say their prayers, sing their psalms, offer their sacrifices with the devout emotions which alone could give them worth. Their worship was as hard and mechanical, as mere a routine, as their work. To rouse them from this fatal indifference, God broke in upon the usual course of Nature and worship. He sent them plagues of locusts and drought under which their fields withered, the crops were consumed, sheep and oxen lamented, joy departed from the sons of men. He proclaimed a fast, at which from the suckling to the

elder, from the slave to the priest, they were to come before the Lord, to turn unto Him with all their hearts, with weeping and with mourning, to cry unto Him, to weep and say, "Spare thy people, O Lord, and deliver not thine heritage to reproach." The bounty of Nature destroyed by plagues, the order of worship broken by a fast in which hearts had to be rent instead of garments, they were compelled to remember God and to wait on his will.

The judgment came in mercy, therefore; for it came to revive that consciousness of the Divine presence and care and goodness, to give that sacred beauty to life, and that impressivo reality to worship, without which no nation can be strong and happy and free. And so soon as the merciful purpose of the judgment was reached they were redeemed from judgment; as they returned to Him, God returned to them. The locusts were driven into the desert and the sea; copious rains replenished the fountains and caused the water-courses to overflow; the pastures grew green; the fields laughed with corn; fig-tree and vine yielded their strength; the barns grew full of grain, the vats ran over with oil and wine; and joy, a pure devout joy, returned to the sons

of men. Nay, more; while their hearts were quick and tender, new and larger spiritual blessings were vouchsafed to them. The downfall of rain was but a prelude to the outpouring of the Spirit, the recovered fertility and beauty of the land were but a type of the heightened vigour and fruitfulness of that loftier phase of spiritual life to which they were to be raised: with their happier conditions there was to come a happier character, new energies, purer affections.

But even this blessing, even this extraordinary effusion of the Divine Spirit, this power to see visions and dream dreams, became a new test, a new judgment. For when God descends to earth, even though He come to reveal his grace, wonders and prodigies attend his steps. His advent is terrible even to the good, for, as He draws near, they grow more profoundly sensible of their weakness and guilt. It is still more terrible to the wicked and impenitent; for, so often as the Divine energy reveals itself in new and growing forms, there is a day of doom for them; even if the evil that is in them flee before that Sacred Presence, it torments them before it flees and leaves them half dead; while, too often, the energy of goodness calls forth in them a corresponding energy of evil, and drives them into a more profound and treasonable rebellion against the saving will of God. When He comes clothed in light and majesty, before that intolerable splendour our heaven grows dark, and the earth trembles beneath "the steps of his strength." The day of the Lord is always "a great and a terrible day," even though it be a day of grace and salvation.

With this thought, that even the Divine blessings are Divine judgments; that the outpouring of the Holy Ghost is a supreme test and criterion of human character, the second chapter of Joel closes. It is the main theme of the third chapter; and we have now to mark how it is expanded. But even yet we cannot commence our examination of the third chapter with advantage. We can understand, indeed, how, when men are moved to prophesy in the name of the Lord, much depends on whether their fellows "receive the prophet in the name of a prophet," or reject him because they hate the message that rebukes their sins; and, therefore, we can understand how times of special benediction must also be times of special judgment. But Joel gave this general principle a peculiar Hebrew form, and before we can follow him in this Hebrew application of it, we must approach it in another way, from another point of view.

Science is teaching us to see orderly progress, gradual development, both in the natural world and in the history of man, and in *this* respect at least the Bible is in full accord with modern science. Nothing is more striking in the Old Testament Scriptures, for instance, than the unity that pervades them. As we read them in their historical succession, we find that each founds itself on those which went before it, and carries their contents, the principles and truths they enunciate, a little further onward. There are no cataclysms, no sudden breaks and new beginnings, in the Bible; the traces of

a gradual and orderly development may be found on every page. And here is an illustration and a proof—*Joel founds himself on Moses*.¹ The earliest of the written prophets simply develops germs of thought planted by the first and greatest of the prophets, inasmuch that we cannot comprehend Joel save as we first study Moses. For both in describing the outpouring of the Spirit (in chap. ii.), and in foretelling the judgment which *that* is to be and to involve for Israel and for all the world (in chap. iii.), Joel obviously passes beyond the limits of his own age, though he also speaks of that which took place in his own age. He sees present or proximate events indeed, but, in these events, he also sees outlines and foreshadowings of far greater events in the remote future. And if we attribute this insight and foresight simply to his personal inspiration, we shall be gravely mistaken, we shall commit what science pronounces "the unpardonable sin;" for we shall assume a break in the unity of national life, in the orderly development of human thought; we shall affirm a wholly unnecessary and irrational miracle, which is the one kind of miracle God never works.

Let me not be misunderstood, as though I demurred to Joel's inspiration. He was most truly inspired of God; but he was inspired to interpret and apply, to expand and develop principles which had long since been given by God to Moses, the man of God, and not to disclose principles which had no place in Hebrew thought before he spoke. It was "no new commandment" which he brought to the men of his generation, "but an old commandment" which they had had from the beginning. And again, it was a new commandment, for the threatenings and promises of the old commandment took new force and meaning from his lips, and from the events which illustrated them afresh and brought them home to every man's door. And it will help us, not only in our study of Joel, but in studying any or all of the prophets—it may even give us some glimpses into a *modus operandi* of inspiration, if we mark a little in detail what materials Joel draws from the teaching of Moses, and how he handles these materials and weaves them into new forms.

In his *Grammar of Assent* Dr. Newman has impressively reminded us that, fifteen centuries before it took place, Moses foretold the rejection of the chosen people. Toward the close of his career, the "man of God," pondering the future of the race he loved so wisely and so well, saw a clear alternative rise before his mind. Many paths would open before the children of Abraham, but they all resolved themselves ultimately into two: the path of obedience and the path of disobedience to the Divine commands—the one bathed in the light of heaven, the other darkening into ever deeper shadows of death. Which of these two paths would they choose? Moses seems to have foreseen that they

¹ Another illustration will be found in the comment on chap. iii. 13, 17–21; where it will be seen that just as Joel founds himself on Moses, so St. John founds himself on Joel. If the two be combined, they yield a very striking instance of the unity of the Holy Scriptures and of "the law of development" which pervades them.

would take both; that, for a time, they would walk in the commandments of God, or sufficiently near to them, to secure many blessings; and that, then, they would gradually exchange obedience for disobedience, and come under a growing curse, till they were rejected and destroyed: but that, even in the darkest times, there would be a faithful "remnant" to whom God would be faithful; that, if the tree were cut down, a root would be left, from which it would afterward spring up in nobler proportions; that it would at last grow into the greatest of all trees, sheltering the whole world under its branches, with healing for all nations in its leaves. This train of thought is expressed in two of the noblest passages in the Pentateuch, of which only the bare outlines need be quoted here and a few illustrative phrases.

In Leviticus (chap. xxvi.) Jehovah, speaking by Moses, assures the children of Israel that if they keep the path of obedience, it shall grow thick with flowers, lead them through fields bounteous with harvest, beside a stream of living waters. "If ye walk in my statutes, do my commandments, keep my sabbaths, reverence my sanctuary, then I will give you rain in due season; the land shall yield her increase, the trees of the field their fruit. Your threshing shall reach to the vintage, and the vintage to the sowing; and ye shall eat bread to the full, and dwell in your land in safety. And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid. And I will set my tabernacle among you; . . . and I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people."

"But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not keep my commandments, . . . I will send judgment upon you. Ye shall sow your seed in vain, . . . be slain before your enemies, . . . flee when no man pursueth. I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass. Your land shall not yield her increase, nor the trees their fruit. I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw a sword after you. . . . The sound of a driven leaf shall chase you. Ye shall perish among the heathen, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up. . . . Ye shall pine away in your iniquities." "But if they that are left of you confess your iniquity, . . . if their uncircumcised hearts be humbled, and they accept their punishment, I will remember my covenant with Jacob, with Isaac, and with Abraham; and I will remember the land. I will not cast them away when they be in the land of their enemies, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly."

This passage covers the whole train and circle of thought of which I spoke. It sets forth the blessings of obedience, the judgments of disobedience, and the merciful purpose of these judgments, God's intention to redeem the penitent and faithful remnant of his people by the very calamities poured out on the nation at large. And this circle of thought is re-traversed in the closing chapters of Deuteronomy, from which, however, only a few verses need be cited (from chap. xxviii.), in which the judgments of the disobedient are set forth in some

of the stateliest and most musical phrases our language contains.

"It shall come to pass, that thou wilt not hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his commandments and statutes, . . . cursed shalt thou be in city and field, cursed in basket and store, cursed in the fruit of thy body and in the fruit of thy land. . . . *Thou shalt carry much seed out into the field, and gather but little in; for the locust shall consume it. Thou shalt plant vineyards and dress them, but thou shalt neither drink of the wine nor gather the grapes. Thou shalt have olive-trees in all thy borders, but thou shalt not anoint thyself with oil.* Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but thou shalt not enjoy them. *All the trees and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume.* Because thou servedst not the Lord thy God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, for all thine abundance, thou shalt serve thine enemies in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things. . . . The Lord shall bring upon thee a nation from far, a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not respect the person of the old, nor show favour to the young. He shall eat the fruit of thy cattle and the fruit of thy land, until thou be destroyed; neither shall he leave thee corn, or wine, or oil, or the increase of thy kine or of thy sheep. . . . And he shall besiege all thy gates, and break down all the high fenced walls in which thou hast put thy trust. . . . And it shall come to pass, that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good and to multiply you, so the Lord will rejoice over you to destroy you, and to bring you to nought; and ye shall be plucked out of the land. . . . And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even to the other; and there thou shalt serve other gods which neither thou nor thy fathers have known. And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: but the Lord shall give thee a trembling heart, and failing eyes, and sorrow of spirit; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear day and night, and thou shalt not believe in thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see."

Now the books of Moses were read in the worship of the Temple; their contents were familiar to all thoughtful and devout Jews. The prophets meditated them day and night. In the history of their race they saw a perpetual and growing commentary on the words of Moses and the principles they revealed. Is it not easy, when once we remember these facts and are ourselves familiar with the Pentateuch, to see how the words of Moses must have given form to the forecasting thoughts and visions of a prophet such as Joel? He could see for himself that so long as the Hebrews had walked in God's statutes, done his commandments, kept his sabbaths, revered his sanctuary, the Lord had given them rain in due season, filled their land with plenty, established them in security and peace. He could also

see that so often as they forsook Jehovah and kept not his commandments, they were cursed in city and field, in basket and in store, in the fruit of their body and the fruit of their land. And when he looked round on his own time and the facts of his time, seeking to interpret them, to get at the Divine thought and intention in them, searching what and what manner of thing they signified, he saw the very judgments with which Moses had menaced the disobedient. All the trees and fruit of the land *were* consumed by locusts. The people *had* carried much seed out into the field and brought but little in, for the grain had rotted under the clouds. They had planted vines and dressed them, but had neither gathered the grapes nor drunk the wine; olive-trees were in all their borders, but they did not anoint themselves with oil. The field was laid waste, the ground lamented, the new wine was dried up, the oil languished. The husbandmen bleached over the wheat and over the barley, because the harvest of the field had perished; the vine-dresser wailed because the vine was dried up, and the fig-tree sickened, and the pomegranate, the palm, and the apple-tree withered and blackened beneath the locusts and the drought. *These* were the very miseries which Moses had predicted for the disobedient. How, then, could Joel, or any student and lover of Moses, fail to infer that these miseries were the consequence of disobedience? that they were judgments on the sins of the people? and yet Divine judgments, sent in mercy, to induce repentance and amendment?

But Moses, who had threatened the very series of calamities which Joel saw around him, had also predicted even heavier and more enduring calamities. Beyond the locusts and the drought he had seen a fierce nation, swift as an eagle, flying from afar to besiege all the gates of the land, to assault the strong walls of defence, to bring on the disobedient children of Israel all the horrors of war, siege, famine, and captivity. Must not Joel follow Moses in this also, and predict a conflict as the result of which the people of Israel would be "scattered among the nations," and the land divided among foreign foes, and the captive Jews would be so numerous as that a lad would be given for a harlot's kiss and a girl for a draught of wine (chap. iii. 2, 3)? All this does Joel forecast and predict. Nay, still following Moses, he also foresees that a faithful "remnant" will be left; that "the escaped will be on Mount Zion;" that this holy remnant will multiply and wax strong, until they take their very captors captive, and mete out to them an exact recompense for the miseries they have inflicted (chap. iii. 4—8). Nay, still more, as he broods over the facts around him, and the words of Moses, and the Divine meaning of these facts and words, Joel sees dimly, as though he were gazing on the vague faint shadows of events cast on the trembling curtain which veils the future, that the fate of all nations is bound up with that of the sacred race; that the judgment of the Jews is a type and precursor of the judgment of the

world. The vision is dim and brief; the record of it is hampered with national and local allusions to the slave trade of Phœnicia and the incursions of the Philistines: he sees "all nations" gathering for the final conflict in the little "valley of Jehoshaphat," which would not hold even the inhabitants of Jerusalem. But the scope of his vision constantly swells and rises till it plunges over all these local limitations; what he dimly yet truly sees, that we truly though obscurely feel as we read the closing periods of his prophecy (chap. iii. 9—21): that, at some period undefined and undefinable, there is to be a last conflict of good with evil, the crisis of the world's history, in which the "heroes of God" will gain the victory; a Divine "judgment" in which good and evil are to be separated for ever; a kingdom and reign of God, in which the wilderness and solitary place are to rejoice in verdure, the very mountains are to drop wine, and the hills to flow with milk, and the water-courses to run with perpetual streams, and God will make his tabernacle with men, and dwell among them, and be their God, and they his people. And surely it lends new force and beauty to the words of Joel, thus to trace them to their origin in the words of Moses; to learn that he was inspired, not to utter truths which had no connection with the past, but to imply and interpret truths which had been the possession of Israel for centuries; to develop and expand germs which the "man of God" had planted in the national conscience and heart.

We feel that we stand on solid ground when we thus base ourselves on the connections of human history and thought; we feel that this *must* have been the Divine order and method, this gradual development and application of moral principles, for it is the very order we find in the natural world and in the social and political phases of human life. If prophets, inspired prophets, were to rise among us now—as perhaps they do—our first demand of them would be that they should carry out the principles of the Gospel to their fair results, and teach us how to apply them more closely and more exactly to the want and duties of the time. Were they to make a wholly new start, to lay down new postulates, to assume new moral axioms, and lead us in altogether novel directions, we should need no other proof that they were not of God. And what we should expect of our prophets, that we should also expect, that we may find, in the Hebrew prophets—in Joel. Planting himself on the laws, principles, threatenings, promises of the great lawgiver of his people, he shows how they bear on the current events of his time—how they must bear on the events of all time. Kindling his lamp at the sacred fire which burned on the ancient Mosaic altar, he threw its full light on the age in which he lived, and even sent its rays streaming faintly into the darkness of the future, defining little perhaps, yet giving us hints and glimpses which will not mislead us so long as we follow them with inquiring and faithful hearts.

THE ARK OF THE COVENANT.

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It has been supposed that the statement about the migrations of the ark, in Vol. I., page 80 of THE BIBLE EDUCATOR, was intended as a full account of its wanderings, whereas only those two places, Nob and Gibeon, were mentioned where, as at Shiloh, a tabernacle was set up and the rites of the national religion practised, it has been thought advisable to give a somewhat fuller account of the matter.

At Shiloh, then, in the tribe of Ephraim, the ark was placed by Joshua, and continued there, surrounded by all the accessories of Divine worship, till the time of Eli. Yet even during this period it was not altogether stationary. For in Judg. xx. 18, 26, there is little doubt that instead of "the house of God," the right translation is, "The children of Israel arose, and went up to Bethel, and asked counsel of God." As Bethel was a sacred spot, and situated only six miles from Gibeon, the ark (see verso 27) was probably carried thither, from Shiloh, for the purposes of the war waged by the tribes on Benjamin.

But Shiloh was plainly its usual home (1 Sam. i. 3) till the first battle of Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv.), when the Philistines destroyed it, apparently with such ruthless cruelty, that the very mention of it in after times sufficed to make the hearts of the people thrill with horror. (See Jer. vii. 12; xxvi. 6—9; Ps. lxxviii. 60—64.) It was probably this feeling which prevented Shiloh from being ever chosen again as the national sanctuary; and which made even Jeroboam prefer Bethel, a few miles distant from it, as one of the seats of his idolatry.

The captured ark, after being carried about for some months among the Philistines, was restored to Israel, and after the disasters at Beth-shemesh placed in the house of Abinadab at Kirjath-jearim, where it abode for twenty years (1 Sam. vii. 2). In 2 Sam. vi. 2 we still find the ark at Baale of Judah—*i.e.*, at Kirjath-jearim, in the house of the same Abinadab on the hill (see the margin), but an interval of eighty years separates the two texts. There has been in the meantime the judgeship of Samuel and the reign of Saul, besides nine or ten years of David's own reign. It is noteworthy that though Abinadab must have been long since dead, the house still bears his name.

Now it is in this interval that we find the ark at Nob, not in a private house, but ministered to by the high priest, and with no less than fourscore and five priests in attendance upon it (1 Sam. xxi. 1; xxii. 18). Nob itself was a sacerdotal town in the tribe of Benjamin not far from Jerusalem, and if we look at the dates we shall see that the twenty years during which the ark abode at Kirjath-jearim end about five years before Saul was made king. What can be more plain or more probable than that Samuel, himself brought up at Shiloh, and

with many an affectionate remembrance of his early years, removed the ark to Nob, placed there once again the tabernacle of Moses for its reception, and restored as much as possible of the old ceremonial observed in Eli's days?

But a fate as hard as that of Shiloh also befell Nob. Doeg the Edomite, at Saul's command, not only murdered the priests, but smote the city with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and made it an utter ruin. From this scene of devastation pious hands carried back the ark to its old resting-place, and there apparently it remained even longer than at first. At length, about ten years after Saul's death, and when David had now for three years been king over Israel as well as Judah, he determined to bring up the ark into the city which he had conquered from the Jebusites, and called by his own name. On the way occurred the breach of Uzzah, and the ark was deposited for three months in the house of a Levite, Obed-edom. With more punctual observance of the Levitical law, the king then once again attempted its removal, and it was brought happily into the city of David (2 Sam. vi.).

And now there occurs a remarkable separation between the ark and the tabernacle, which was not described with sufficient care in the previous article. The ark remained in Zion, but the tabernacle of Moses and the brazen altar made by Bezaleel were placed at Gibeon. Gibeon, and not Zion, was the seat of the national worship. To it Joab fled for refuge (1 Kings ii. 28); and to it Solomon went in royal state, and offered in sacrifice a thousand burnt-offerings (1 Kings iii. 4).

But though until the Temple was built Gibeon was the centre of the Levitical worship, yet there was also a service of music before the ark. The priest Zadok and his brethren ministered at Gibeon, and offered there morning and evening the appointed sacrifices. It was about six miles from Jerusalem, whereas Nob lay close to its walls, and many inconveniences must have arisen from the distance. Yet there the priests were stationed with Heman and Jeduthun to conduct the psalmody. But Asaph and his brethren, and Obed-edom with a numerous staff of porters, were in attendance upon the ark in Zion (1 Chron. xvi. 37—42), and it was not till the tenth or eleventh year of Solomon that this strange separation between the ark and tabernacle was put an end to. Then it was that Solomon gathered all the nobles of his realm, and with great joy brought the ark up from the city of David unto Mount Moriah, and placed it in the Holy of Holies in the Temple. From that time not Gibeon but Jerusalem was the national sanctuary, and the ark, though not quite always undisturbed, remained in the place prepared for it by Solomon till Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the Temple, when probably the ark perished with it.

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

THE HERODIAN FAMILY (*concluded*).

BY THE EDITOR.

HEROD AGRIPPA I.

HIS name of this prince meets us for the first time in the history of the New Testament in Acts xii. 1. His previous career, however, presents many points of contact both with it, and with the wider history of the time. His very name reminds us of the policy which led his grandfather and his uncles to court the favour of the Roman emperor. His father, Aristobulus, one of the sons of Herod's favourite wife Mariamne, was put to death in one of the fits of jealous suspicion which marked the close of this tyrant's life, in B.C. 6. The precise date of the birth of Agrippa is not ascertained, but as he was at Rome before the death of Herod the Great (Joseph., *Antiq.* xviii. 6, § 1), we may infer that he was sent there to be out of the reach of his grandfather's cruelty, and must therefore have been born before the death of the great minister of Augustus, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, in B.C. 12; and it is reasonable to assume that the name was bestowed on him as a compliment to the man who was so high in the emperor's favour, and whose support it was so desirable to secure.

His position at Rome brought him into contact with some of the more prominent members of the imperial family. His mother, Bernice (a name which he afterwards bestowed on one of his own daughters, Acts xxv. 13), was on terms of intimate friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus and mother of Germanicus, and the youth of Agrippa was passed in companionship with Caius, the son of Germanicus, better known afterwards as the Emperor Caligula. We trace his remembrance of the family in the name Drusilla, which he gave to another of his daughters (Acts xxiv. 24).¹ His friendship with Caligula exercised a marked influence over both his fortunes and his character. Without following those fortunes in their successive stages, the spendthrift life at Rome, the heavy debts which made him return to Judæa to escape his creditors, his marriage with Kypros his cousin, we come to the time in which he comes into contact with the two members of the family who appear so prominently in the Gospel history. At first (this was after the death of Archelaus, and probably about the time when John the Baptist began his ministry) Herodias, who, it will be remembered, was his sister, received him kindly, and, under her influence, the tetrarch made him ruler of Tiberias, and assigned him a salary. The good-will was not of long continuance. The tetrarch reproached his brother-in-law with his poverty and dependence, and the latter, resigning his post, but still embarrassed with many difficulties, made his way to Italy. The memory of his unpaid

debts weighed against him with the Emperor Tiberius, but the tact and winning manners which always distinguished him enabled him to ingratiate himself with all the imperial family. He was the guest of Tiberius at Capreæ, borrowed 300,000 drachmæ of Claudius, the future emperor, was appointed as a sort of tutor over the emperor's grandson (Tiberius, the son of Drusus, who died young), and continued to be the boon companion of Caligula. Soon, however, all this glitter and pomp were changed for the confinement of a prison. As the two friends were riding in a chariot, Agrippa gave utterance to the wish that the emperor might soon die, and that Caius might succeed him. The incautious words were overheard by the chariot-driver, a freedman of Agrippa's, and reported by him to others. They came at last to the ears of Tiberius. The emperor was still at Capreæ. Agrippa was summoned to defend himself, and was at once, clothed in purple as he was, bound with iron chains, and thrown into prison. During his confinement there happened, according to Josephus, whose sources of information at this stage of his history seem to have been singularly full, a striking incident which, from the historian's point of view, was connected with the strange and startling manner of Agrippa's death. It chanced that one day, while Agrippa and other prisoners were taking their scanty measure of exercise before the imperial palace, he leant, in utter despondency, upon the trunk of a tree. An owl sat upon its branches. One of his fellow-prisoners, a German, asked who he was, and on learning his history, came to him with words of comfort, told him that the presence of the bird was an augury of good, that within a short time he would rise to the highest prosperity, but warned him that should he ever see the self-same bird again it would come as a messenger of death, and that within five days after it his end would come. As Josephus tells the story of his death, it was in the midst of the pomp and pageantry of the scene at Cæsarea that he saw the bird of evil omen perched over his head, and as the sudden stroke of agony fell on him, told his friends that he knew that the hour of his death was not far off (Joseph., *Antiq.* xviii. 6, and xix. 8).

For the time, however, the omen was fulfilled for good. The rigours of imprisonment were mitigated at the intercession of Antonia. Friends were allowed free access, and were permitted to bring the garments and food which belonged to the prisoner's rank. After a few months of expectation, one of those friends, Marsyas, probably a Jew, rushed into his prison, and cried out in Hebrew that "the lion was dead."² Caligula,

² The phrase has a special interest as illustrating St. Paul's language in 2 Tim. iv. 17, "I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion." It not only justifies us in interpreting that language of St. Paul's trial before Nero, but shows that this way of speaking

¹ A son who died young bore the name of Drusus.

designated by the emperor's will, was received as his successor, and Agrippa soon reaped the fruits of his favour, was released from prison, appointed to the tetrarchy of Iturea that had been held by Philip, but with the title of king, and afterwards to Abilene, that of Lysanias (Luke iii. 1). As a complimentary memorial of what he had undergone on the emperor's account, he received a chain of gold of the same weight as the iron one he had worn in his prison.

The jealousy which was excited in the minds of his sister Herodias and her husband when Agrippa reappeared in Palestine with his new title has been already dwelt on. It ended, as has been seen, in the downfall of Herod Antipas, and the power of Agrippa was increased by the addition of the tetrarchy of Galilee, and the private estates both of the tetrarch and of Herodias. He seemed to be in a fair way to equal his grandfather both in wealth and temporal power as well as name.

The power gained under Caligula was, however, but the stepping-stone to a yet higher position. Agrippa remained at Rome after the incidents thus narrated, and was there when the emperor's mad career was terminated by the dagger of Cherea. It was his strange destiny to be the first to pay funeral honours to the body of the dead emperor, and to persuade Claudius not to lose the opportunity thus offered him of succeeding to the purple. The result was that the new emperor treated him with special honour, added Judæa and Samaria to the territory over which he previously ruled, and so, superseding for a time by this restored monarchy the functions of the Roman procurator of Judæa, brought Agrippa for the first time into direct contact with the new society which we know as the Church of Christ, but which to him, doubtless, presented itself as the sect of the Nazarenes. In many respects he used the power thus gained in a just and beneficent spirit, and sought in particular (and here we come to that which connects itself with the history of Acts xii.) to conciliate the religious feelings of the people, which had been so constantly outraged by his grandfather and Antipas. The golden chain was dedicated as a thank-offering in the Temple. At the Feast of Pentecost he appeared among the multitude, bringing his own basket of first-fruit offerings. When the law was read at the Feast of Tabernacles, and he heard the words from Deut. xvii. 15, "One from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee; thou shalt not set a stranger over thee," he burst into tears at the thought of his own Idumean descent, till the people, whose affection he had gained, met his grief with the cry, "Trouble not thyself, Agrippa; thou also art our brother." A striking instance of his desire to gain over the more devout

among his subjects to his side was seen in the fact that when Caligula, in one of his fits of insane vanity, issued the command that his statue should be set up in the Temple of Jerusalem, and there worshipped, and the people dared only oppose by a passive martyr-like resistance, Agrippa, who had returned to Rome and taken up his abode there, had the courage, when Caligula offered to bestow on him any gift that he might choose to ask, to pray, not for fresh territory or increased treasures, but that the emperor would recede from his frantic outrage on the religion of his countrymen, and succeeded in averting the dreaded evil.

With a real or affected zeal, when he returned to his kingdom, he adopted precisely the same means for conciliating the devotees of Jerusalem as those which were afterwards practised by St. Paul, and associated himself with those who had taken on themselves the vow of Nazarites, and apparently "was at charges with them that they might shave their heads" (Acts xxi. 24). Josephus, who represents the not over-zealous type of Pharisee which was likely to be soothed with this external conformity, speaks of him in terms of the highest praise: "Agrippa's temper was mild and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberality. He was in like manner of a gentle and compassionate temper. He loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure, nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice" (*Antiq.* xix. 7. § 3).

Such was the prince who was now brought face to face with the disciples of Jesus. A German Jewish historian¹ has ventured on the strength of these facts to suggest that the narrative in Acts xii., which ascribes to him a systematic policy of persecution, is unintelligible, and therefore incredible. The statement is, I believe, the very reverse of the truth. Those who sit loose to the religious zeal are quite as likely to adopt a policy of persecution, when they wish to gain the favour of a persecuting party, as men who are themselves in earnest. Assuming that the devotion of which Josephus speaks so highly was not altogether fictitious, its character was precisely that which takes its tone from the atmosphere in which it lives. It was well, we may believe, for the Christian Church that it had time to strike its roots into the ground and spread out its branches while Judæa was still under the government of a Roman procurator. When Agrippa arrived he must have found all the religious parties into which his subjects were divided—Pharisees, Sadducees, Zealots, whatever remained of the old Herodians—watching the growth of the new society with fear and suspicion. What more ready way of gaining their favour was there than to make himself the representative of their zeal, and to crush the innovators? Coming as he did from Rome, where, there is reason to believe, the faith of Christ had already made such progress that Claudius but a few years afterwards was led to banish all the Jews, in

of the tyrants who disgraced the purple was already established, and that there is no need to adopt M. Renan's somewhat fantastic hypothesis (*L'Antechrist*, p. 179), that Nero became "the beast" of the Apocalypse because he appeared on the arena of the amphitheatre in the disguise of a lion. The imagery of the Apocalypse was indeed ready at hand in the visions of Ezekiel (ix. 1, 9) and Daniel (vii. 8). The language of Marsyas and St. Paul shows how easy and natural it was to reproduce it with this application.

¹ Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, i., p. 421.

order to stop the disturbances which were continually occurring between the believing and the non-believing portions of the population of the Jewish quarter,¹ it is probable enough, indeed, that he came with a temper already adverse to the disciples of Jesus, and disposed to look on them as dangerous. It was in every way natural that James, the son of Zebedeo, should be the first victim, not only as one of the four whose names always stand first in the list of the Apostles, but from the antecedents of his personal history. To one who had lived and ruled at Tiberias, the names of the two "Sons of Thunder" could hardly have been unknown, and James, as in all likelihood the elder of the two, would attract his first notice rather than the younger and more contemplative John. That there was no real humanity in his nature to restrain him from such action may be inferred from the fact that he introduced into his kingdom the most detestable of all the forms of the brutal indifference to life which characterised the empire, and sent condemned criminals, to the number of fourteen hundred in one batch, to butcher each other, as gladiators and convicts did at Rome, in the amphitheatre which he had built at Berytus (Joseph., *Antiq.* xix. 7, § 5). The execution of the guards who had been set to keep watch over Peter, though not more rigorous than usage might justify, is, at least, a sufficient indication of severity.

The death of Agrippa, three years after Judæa had been added to his dominions, put a stop to the persecution, and gave the churches of Judæa time to breathe freely. The circumstances of that death, as told both by St. Luke and Josephus, were eminently characteristic. Agrippa, we are told by the former, was on the very verge of war, and full of hostile purposes, with the neighbouring cities of Tyre and Sidon. They, with their crowded population and but a narrow and unproductive coast-land, were largely dependent on the plains of Samaria and Galilee for their daily supplies of food, as they had been in the days of Solomon, when in exchange for the timber which the ships of Tyre brought from Lebanon he gave Hiram "twenty thousand measures of wheat for food for his household, and twenty measures of oil, year by year" (1 Kings v. 11); and in those of Ezekiel, when the merchant city traded with "Judah and the land of Israel" for "wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm" (Ezek. xxvii. 17). The features which Josephus adds to the picture are not less striking. The legates of Tyre and Sidon had apparently selected what seemed a favourable opportunity for their request. Agrippa was celebrating games in honour of the emperor, accompanied with special prayers for his safety. After the fashion which prevailed at Rome, where Caligula displayed himself, even when he personated Hercules, in gold-embroidered dresses, the king appeared before the people in a robe of silver (the royal or imperial apparel of Acts xii. 21), which glittered in the morning sun, and made an oration to the people. The servile

crowd, accustomed to the extravagant homage paid to the emperors, and not sharing the horror of the more rigorous zealots of Jerusalem at the apotheosis of a living Caligula, raised the cry, "It is the voice of a god, and not of a man." They begged him as a god to be merciful to them, and protect them. And he "gave not God the glory." The blasphemous praise fell on pleased and willing ears. That had been granted to him which had been refused to Caligula. He accepted the honour against which he had then protested. As Josephus tells the story, he saw the owl, which reminded him of the old augury, sitting over his head, knew that his end was come, had sense enough to reprove his flatterers, and to prepare for death, congratulating himself, as Augustus had done, that he had played his part in the drama of life well, and surrounded by the pageantry and pomp of sovereignty. No sooner, however, had the curtain fallen on that drama, than those who seemed to be such admiring and applauding spectators gave vent to the hatred and scorn which lay beneath the surface, kept high festival in exultation at his death, hurled the vilest reproaches on his memory, and insulted to the utmost of their power the children whom he had left behind.

HEROD AGRIPPA II. AND BERNICE.

Of the four children who were thus left fatherless, three—Agrippa II., Bernice, and Drusilla—come before us as brought into contact with the history of the Apostolic Church. The son, who was only seventeen at the time of his father's death, had been brought up in the court of Claudius, and was there at the time. The emperor thought him too young to be entrusted with power, and was probably glad to use the opportunity of once more placing Judæa under the direct control of a Roman procurator. On the death of Herod, King of Chaleis, a brother of Agrippa I., however, Claudius assigned his territory, with the title of king, to the young prince, and afterwards added the two tetrarchies which at the commencement of our Lord's ministry were under Philip and Lysanias. Over Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa he exercised no authority, and was therefore, as compared with his father, little more than a titular monarch. It is remarkable that when he appears in the Acts it is in company with Bernice, as though she shared his power, and though his sister and not his wife, was recognised as queen. So she appears in Josephus (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16, § 3) as with her brother at Jerusalem, standing by his side, joining her tears with his, so as to soothe the agitation of the people, and again as obtaining by her intercession the life of a condemned criminal (*Life*, § 65). There were not wanting those who surmised that the taint of the vices of Caligula had infected the children of his friend, and that this ostentatious display implied the existence of an incestuous passion between the two. She, like Herodias, had begun by being the wife of an uncle, the King of Chaleis, just mentioned. After his death she married, chiefly in order to give the lie to the dark rumours of her guilt, Polemon, a king of Cilicia, who

¹ "Coincidences of Scripture," Vol. I., p. 151.

for her sake became a proselyte, and submitted to circumcision. The marriage was not a happy one, and her return to her brother increased the suspicions which were floating in men's minds, so that even Roman historians and satirists took the guilt as proven. The fascination of her beauty, and probably also of her ability, was strong enough to win the love of the Emperor Titus, and the last glimpse of the life of the Herodian princess is that which displays her as living with him at Rome in the imperial palace as his mistress. He was for a time spell-bound by her, as Cæsar and Antony had been by Cleopatra. The amount of public feeling, however, was as strong against the influence of the foreign, the "barbarian" mistress then, as it had been in the earlier case, and Titus, characteristically placing his public duties above his private affections, withdrew from her society. "Dimisit invitum invitam" is the touching comment of the historian Suetonius.¹

For one memorable day the young king was brought into contact with the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and the circumstances, as recorded by St. Luke, present many striking coincidences with what we know of the man, and of his character, from external sources. He came on a visit of compliment to Festus, and the history of Josephus shows us that the two had already been on terms of intimacy at Jerusalem. Agrippa had thrown out a banqueting-hall from the old palace of the Asmonæan kings, from the portico of which he could command a view of the courts of the Temple. The priests and people, knowing something, it may be, of the character of Agrippa and his guests, resented this, as exposing the services of the sanctuary to the gaze of profane eyes, and ran up a high wall which entirely blocked out the view. The king, in his turn, *backed by the authority of Festus*, commanded the wall to be pulled down, and would have succeeded in demolishing it, had not the Jews sent an embassy to Nero, and partly on the plea that the wall was part of the Temple, partly through the influence of Poppæa, after her strange fashion a proselyte to Judaism, obtained an order that the wall should be left as it was. It was not strange that in the interval between the two stages of this transaction, the two men should be found meeting on terms of reciprocated courtesies. We may note, finally, that the "great pomp" of Agrippa was in exact keeping with his character.

The tone of St. Paul's address to Agrippa is one of marked respect throughout. This was, we may believe, only part and parcel of the demeanour that characterised the great Apostle. But there is obviously a special stress laid on one aspect of his character. St. Paul welcomes the opportunity of speaking before him, as one who is "expert in all customs and questions which

are among the Jews." He knows that in the question, "Believest thou the prophets?" he can, without risk of error, assume the answer, "I know that thou believest" (Acts xxvi. 2, 26). There are not a few intimations in Josephus that this character was one which Agrippa especially affected.

At his intercession, the Emperor Claudius conceded to the Jews the right of keeping the sacred vestments under their own custody (*Antiq.* xx. 1, § 2), instead of that of the Roman procurator. The care of the Temple was specially committed to him by the same emperor. When the Levites, who formed the choir of the Temple, were anxious to secure the honour of wearing the same linen garments as the priests, it was to Agrippa they applied; and he accordingly convened a meeting of the Sanhedrim, urged their claim, and so obtained for them the concession on which they had set their hearts. He had displayed just the kind of interest in matters affecting the religion of his subjects which justified the language of St. Paul.

The memorable words which, as rendered in our version, have so often furnished preachers with a text, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian" (Acts xxvi. 28), are now acknowledged by all competent scholars to have no such meaning. Rightly interpreted, as meaning "With a little, *sc.*, with but scanty measure of proof, thou persuadest me to be a Christian," the words are far more strikingly characteristic. He uses for the name of the new sect that which was essentially Latin in its form, and which had probably by this time passed into common currency at Rome. And he speaks altogether in the tone of sceptical sarcasm which we might expect to find in one who had been the friend of Nero. It wanted something more than an incredible story, as he must have deemed it, of visions and revelations of the Lord, such as the experienced governor looked upon as a sign of madness, to induce him to cast in his lot with the strange sect who bore the new name.

Nothing in the king's after life indicates that the words of the Apostle made the slightest impression on him. When the Jewish war broke out, after vainly endeavouring to dissuade the people from their insane resistance, he unreservedly took the side of the Romans, found an asylum in Rome, corresponded with Josephus, assisted him in compiling his history of the revolt of Judæa and the destruction of Jerusalem, and at last died, A.D. 100, in the early years of the reign of Trajan.

DRUSILLA.

One more member of the Herodian family remains to be noticed, as connected with the history of the New Testament. When Paul stood before Felix, the procurator who preceded Festus, and "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," the procurator had come, we are told, to Cæsarea, accompanied by his wife "Drusilla, who was a Jewess" (Acts xxiv. 24), and she was with him when he sent for the Apostle and heard him. Here, also, as in the case of Bernice, there was a beauty of singular attractiveness, and there

¹ The late Dean Alford, in the article "Bernice," in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, speaks of her as having been successively the mistress both of Vespasian and of his son Titus. There is nothing, however, in the passage of Tacitus to which he refers (*Hist.* ii. 81) to lead us to impute to her so shameless a guilt. His words, which state that she won the father's favour by the liberality of her gifts ("Seni quoque Vespasiano munificentiâ munerum grata"), imply, indeed, the very reverse.

had been a strange career of adventures. During her father's lifetime she had been betrothed to an Eastern prince, Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus of Commagene, on condition of his becoming a proselyte to Judaism. On the death of the elder Agrippa, that prince refused to fulfil the condition, and her brother gave her in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, who was willing to comply with it. Then Felix appeared on the stage, brother of Pallas, the favoured freedman of the Emperor Claudius, already conspicuous as having married two princesses, and through the agency of a Cyprian sorcerer named Simon (whom some have identified with

Simon Magus of Acts viii.), prevailed on her to leave her husband, and to live with him. It was not strange that one whose life had been a strange combination of the cruelty of a tyrant with the subserviency of a slave, should have trembled, as the burning words of the Apostle fell on his startled ear. They had, however, no permanent effect. The extortionate greed of gain, which was his dominant characteristic, asserted itself immediately in his treatment of the Apostle. He continued to live with her, and a son who bore the family name of Agrippa perished in the great eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

JOSHUA (*continued*).

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRECENTOR OF LINCOLN.

THE Jordan had now been crossed. The covenant had been renewed. The feet of Israel were at last treading the land promised to their forefathers. The work for which Joshua had been specially commissioned was opening before him. And this work was likely to be long and difficult. Canaan was in the possession of a powerful and warlike people, prepared to resist to the uttermost the attempts of the invaders to dislodge them. Every part of the land bristled with fortresses, "cities high and fenced up to heaven." One of the chief of these fortresses, the strong and opulent city of Jericho, now confronted Joshua. Its walls and towers were seen rising above the palm-tree groves, from which it took its distinctive name, "the city of palm-trees" (Deut. xxxiv. 3). The formidable strength of its fortifications might well awaken anxiety even in the mind of so dauntless a leader. How could his nomad tribe, fresh from desert life, utterly unprovided with engines of war, and destitute of the knowledge and skill necessary for the storming of a walled town, hope to take this impregnable fortress? Still, what he could do, Joshua did, and did at once. If he could not storm Jericho, he might starve it into submission. So he beleaguered the city, and commenced a strict blockade, and "Jericho was straitly shut up because of the children of Israel: none went out, and none came in" (Josh. vi. 1).

But this siege must necessarily occupy a long time, and all seemed to depend on Israel striking a sudden and decisive blow. While the Israelites were lingering here, might not the other kings of the Canaanites gather their armies and come down upon them with irresistible might, and crush the invasion at the outset? And then, as ever, just when it is most needed, came the renewed assurance of the presence and protection of the Most High. As Joshua was "by Jericho" (Josh. v. 13—15), having left the camp it should seem alone, and unaccompanied, to reconnoitre the fortress, and devise means of assault, he was

suddenly conscious of the presence "over against him" of an armed warrior, "with his sword drawn in his hand." With characteristic courage he challenged the formidable stranger, and demanded whether he came as friend or foe: "Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?" The unexpected answer, that it was as "captain of the host of the Lord,"¹ "the Prince of angels," that he had come, and the command, the same given to his great master in Horeb, to "loose his shoe from off his foot" before he trod ground consecrated by the Divine Presence, revealed the true nature of this mysterious stranger. Ave-stricken, he fell on his face and worshipped, and heard from Jehovah the assurance which would at once dispel his fears, and remind him that "the battle was the Lord's," not Israel's—that he had "given into his hand Jericho, its king, and its mighty men of valour" (Josh. vi. 2), and received the instructions for the capture of the city.

In compliance with the Divine command, Joshua marshalled his host, not for assault, but for orderly march. For six days—careless of the derisive taunts that may have reached them from the fighting men on the walls of Jericho, strong in faith that, however unlikely the means employed, God would be true to His promise—did the strange procession circle the doomed city. First marched the warriors, picked men, probably as representatives of each tribe; then, blowing the cornets

¹ That "the captain of the host of the Lord" was not a created angel is evident from (1) Joshua receiving from him the same command, to remove his shoes, given to Moses by Jehovah; (2) his being called Jehovah (vi. 2); and (3) his attributing to himself the delivery of Jericho into Joshua's hand: "See, I have given into thy hand Jericho." That we have here a manifestation of the Divine Word, the Second Person of the Trinity, was the opinion of the early Jewish Church, and has been held by many of the Christian fathers—*e.g.*, Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and Origen. The real import of this passage has been obscured by the unfortunate division of chaps. v., vi. These chapters should have been run on without a break, the first verse of chap. vi. being merely parenthetical, and the words, "And the Lord said unto Joshua, &c." (vi. 2), following in sense "and Joshua did so," at the end of chap. v.

of jubilee,¹ came the seven priests, preceding the ark, that sacred symbol and seat of Jehovah's presence, borne on the Levites' shoulders, and guarded by "the rearward," an armed detachment which closed the long line. No sound but that of the priestly trumpets broke the solemn stillness of the array. The host marched in silence. The circuit completed, as it must have seemed, without purpose and without result, the army returned to their tents. The ark of God was replaced in its tabernacle. On the seventh day the mocking gazers from the wall became cognisant of a changed procedure. To secure time for the great events which that day was to witness, the procession began at day-break. The first circuit was succeeded by a second; the second by a third, a fourth, a fifth, a sixth. What was the meaning of this change? Was some mighty event at hand, for which all that preceded was the preparation? They had not long to wait for the issue. At the completion of the seventh circuit, the blast of the trumpets, which had been suspended for an interval, was renewed. This was the signal for a shout from the entire host. At once the whole circumference of the walls was laid prostrate, and, the barrier removed, "the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city" (vi. 20). As the first-fruits of the guilty land, the whole city with all that was in it was "devoted" as a sacrifice to the Lord. The whole population was put to the sword, with every living thing the city contained, "both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass." Only the faithful harlot, Rahab, with her household was spared, according to the promise of the spies. The city itself was burnt; the houses, with all their furniture and goods, rich draperies, and costly garments forming a vast funeral pyre for the corpses of the slain. The indestructible booty, "the silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron," was consecrated to the service of the sanctuary. The very site was placed under a ban. A curse was pronounced on any one who should presumptuously dare to rebuild the walls which Jehovah had overthrown (vi. 21—26). Nothing was omitted that could enforce on the Israelites the truth that they were fighting not for themselves, but for Him; not for wealth or self-aggrandisement, but for Jehovah's glory.

The same lesson was taught them by the alarming reverse that attended Joshua's next military operation. Among the confused ravines that run up westwards from the valley of the Jordan, not very far from Bethel—its exact position is lost—stood the small town of Ai, already known to us in Abraham's history.² On the report of the reconnoitring party sent by Joshua, that a small force would suffice, as the inhabitants were

"but few," a detachment of some 3,000 men was dispatched to take the place. They reached the gate unmolested. But the men of Ai making a sudden sortie, a panic fell on the Israelite forces, who fled precipitately down the steep descent, without waiting for actual conflict. "They chased them from before the gate, . . . and smote them in the going down" (Josh. vii. 5). The loss was small in amount—only thirty-six men—but its disheartening effect was most serious; "the hearts of the people melted, and became as water." Even Joshua himself was carried away by the tide of dismay. Only on this one occasion we find his courage, usually so unshaken, giving place to deepest despondency. This was the first time that the Israelites had met the Canaanites in actual warfare, and if, almost before a blow was struck, they fled before the warriors of a small town, what would be the issue of the more formidable engagements which were before them? Overwhelmed with shame and apprehension, he "rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the Lord until the eventide, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads" (Josh. vii. 6). With the same holy boldness that characterised the appeals of Moses in like distress, he expostulated with God, pleading with Him what He had done for His people in former times, and the disgrace that would redound to the cause of the living God if He permitted His servants to fall before the heathen: "What wilt Thou do for Thy great name?" The answer of the Most High recalls His words to Moses in a like emergency (Exod. xiv. 15). It was a time for action, not for passionate appeal. Israel had sinned in the person of one of its members, and that sin must be searched out, discovered, and put away, before the presence and the help of Jehovah could be again expected: "I will not be with you any more, except ye destroy the accursed from among you" (vii. 13). The sin was not theft merely, but sacrilege. That which was to have been wholly devoted to the Lord had been appropriated by one of those whom God had appointed to execute his will; "they," the whole nation being compromised by the guilty deed of one, "have even taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have also put it among their own stuff." The lot was to be resorted to, to determine the guilty party. Once more, with that characteristic promptitude we have so often occasion to remark in him, Joshua "rose up early in the morning," and gathered all Israel together "by their tribes," for the solemn decision. Gradually the circle narrowed. First the tribe; then the family; then the household; then the man was taken; and "Achan, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah," was declared as "the troubler of Israel." In answer to the solemn adjuration of Joshua, as the father of the nation, to acknowledge the truth,³ the unhappy man makes frank

¹ The rendering in the English Bible "trumpets of rams' horns," is probably incorrect. It is derived from a statement of Rabbi Akiba that *jobel* in Arabic means "a ram," which Bochart stigmatises as "a mere Rabbinical fable," no such word, according to the best scholars, existing in the language. *Jobel*, from which comes "jubilee," is probably a word formed to express the sound.

² Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3. The identity of the places is obscured by a capricious variation in the spelling—one of the blots of our Authorised Version. "Hai" and "Ai" both represent the same Hebrew word.

³ Joshua's appeal to Achan to "give glory to the Lord" by confessing the truth, shows the real meaning of the much misunderstood passage, "give God the praise" (literally, "glory") (John ix. 24). The object of the Pharisees was not to lead the blind man to give God, not Jesus, the glory of his cure; but by

and full confession of his crime. A richly embroidered robe from the plain of Shinar, two hundred shekels of silver, and an ingot of gold among the spoils, had proved an irresistible temptation. He had seen, he had coveted, he had taken them. "Behold, they were hidden in the earth in the midst of his tent." Messengers run with all speed, remove the earth at the spot indicated, "and behold, it was hid in the tent, and the silver under it." Sentence and its execution follow immediately. Joshua, with the grim humour of which the Oriental mind is so fond, playing on the similarity of the word *achar*, "to trouble," and the name Achan, said, "Why hast thou troubled us? the Lord shall trouble thee this day." The whole nation had shared in the imputation of guilt and its disastrous consequences, and therefore the whole nation, through its representatives, must now take part in its expiation. "Joshua and all Israel took Achan, and stoned him with stones." To mark more deeply God's detestation of his crime, and its spreading, clinging taint, his children, who may probably have been the accomplices of his crime, his cattle, and all that he had, share in his doom. The corpses are consumed with fire, together with his tent, and the accursed things it had once vainly sought to hide. A great heap of stones, after the manner of primitive peoples, was raised over the spot, which took the name of the Valley of Achor,¹ i.e. "trouble." And the guilt being thus put away by sacrifice, "the Lord turned from the fierceness of his anger" (vii. 26).

defaming our Lord's character, "we know that this man is a sinner," to frighten him into confessing that he was a made-up tale, and that he had never been blind at all. "Make confession unto the Lord" (Ezra x. 11) is literally, "Give praise to Jehovah." Indeed, the Hebrew verb *judah*, "to praise," signifies also, in one of its moods, "to confess."

¹ How deeply the memory of this transaction was imprinted on the national mind is evidenced by the references in the Prophets to "the valley of Achor," as proverbial for a place of trouble. "I will give her the valley of Achor for a door of hope" (Hos. ii. 15); "The valley of Achor shall be a place for herds to lie down in" (Isa. lxx. 10).

The renewal of the attack on Ai was not long deferred. But Joshua would seem to have needed an express command from God, and an assurance of the success of his enterprise, before he could shake off the discouragement of the late calamities, and prepare himself for action. "Fear not," said the Lord to Joshua, "neither be thou dismayed; arise, go up to Ai: see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai and his people, and his city and his land" (viii. 1). The plan of the engagement was to be changed. All the men of war—not, as before, a mere detachment—were to join in the expedition. Instead of the whole booty being burnt, as at Jericho, the soldiers were to be rewarded with the ordinary spoils of victory. The former disaster rendered the most careful generalship necessary. Stratagem was to be employed. A body of soldiers, dispatched overnight, was placed in ambush in a ravine to the rear of the city. Early the following morning Joshua followed with his troops to the neighbourhood of Ai. Arrived there, he posted the main body of the army among the hills to the north, and descended himself by night with some picked men to the valley immediately below the walls. Deserted with the first dawn, they were promptly attacked by the king of Ai. Their feigned flight promised again an easy victory. Then Joshua detaching himself from the fugitives as they hastened down the valley, climbed a height from which he would be readily visible to the various portions of the divided forces, and at God's command, gave the appointed signal by stretching out his spear. The ambush rushed down on the city, and pouring in through its open gates, set it on fire. The retreating party turned round and faced the disconcerted foe; the main body issued from their place of concealment, and the whole population of Ai were hemmed in and cut to pieces. The city was pillaged and burnt. Its king, who had fallen alive into Joshua's hands, was "hanged on a tree"—probably crucified—and a huge cairn piled over his grave (viii. 10—29).

THE PERFUMES OF THE BIBLE.

BY GEORGE C. M. BIRDWOOD, M.D. EDIN., INDIA MUSEUM.



ALBANUM, in Hebrew *ehelbenah* (Exod. xxx. 34).—Galbanum is yielded by at least two plants of the Umbelliferae, *Ophoidia galbanifera*, Don, of Khorassan, and *Galbanum officinale*, Don, of Syria. The passage in Exodus probably refers to the product of the Syrian species, as Dioscorides says that *χαλβάνη* is the *μετώπιον* growing in Syria, the *παύλας ἐν Συρία* of Theophrastus.

MYRRH, in Hebrew *môr* (Exod. xxx. 23; Ps. xlv. 8; Prov. vii. 17; Song of Songs i. 13; v. 5; Esth. ii. 12; Matt. ii. 11; John xix. 39; Mark xv. 23), and *lôt* (Gen. xxxvii. 25; xliii. 11). True *myrrh*, i.e., *môr*, the Greeks called *σάμψρα* and *μύρρα* (Æolie), and Dioscorides observes that the Troglodytic was esteemed the

best. Vaughan distinctly states that myrrh is produced in Arabia, and that in the Somali country, besides the true myrrh, a kind which the Arabs call *baisabol* and the Somalis *hebbakhade* is obtained. The Bombay inferior myrrh is called *baisabol*. Ehrenberg discovered it to be the product of the plant named *Balsanodendron myrrha* by Nees von Esenbeck. Our positive information on the question has been admirably stated recently by Hanbury, the greatest living authority on the bibliography and historical identity of drugs, and of their botany, in a short paper on the "Botanical Origin and Country of Myrrh," in the *Pharmaceutical Journal* for April 19th, 1873, and reprinted from *Ocean Highways* of the same month. The *myrrh*, i.e., *lôt* of Gen.

xxxvii. 25 and xliii. 11, is *ladanum*, in Arabic *ladan*, the resinous exudation of *Cistus creticus*, *C. ladaniferus*, and other species of rock roses, which have been identified with the "rose of Sharon."

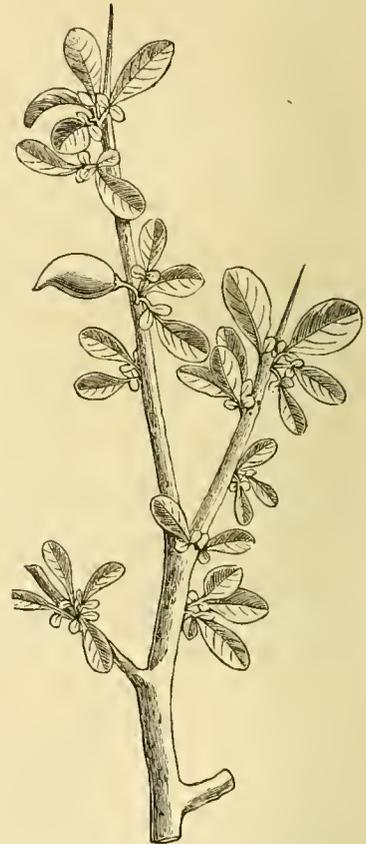
ONYCHA, in Hebrew *shecheleth* (Exod. xxx. 34), and translated by the LXX. ὄνυξ, "a nail," is the celebrated "odoriferous shell" of the ancients, the operculum of a species of *Strombus*. I once saw a large quantity of it

as quoted by Salmasius in his *Pliniane Exercitationes*. Another Hebrew word, *shôham*, is translated "onyx stone" in Gen. ii. 12; Exod. xxviii. 9, 20; 1 Chron. xxix. 2; Job xxviii. 16; and Ezek. xxviii. 13.

SAFFRON, in Hebrew *karkôm* (Song of Songs iv. 14), the *karkum* and *zafran* of the Arabs, Sanscrit *kunkuma*, and κρόκος of Homer and the Greeks. A native of Cashmere, the Hindu-Kush, and the Caucasus, the



Liquidambar Altingia, Blume.



Balsamodendron Myrrha, Nees von Esenbeck.

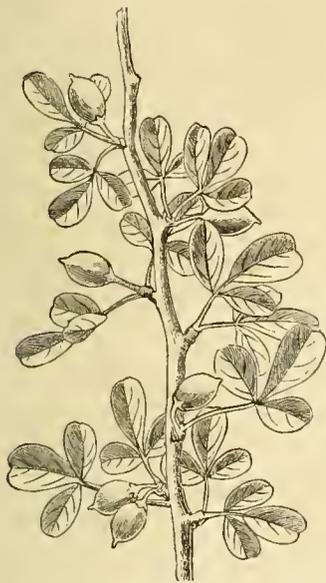
weighed out of the Custom House scales in Bombay, and under a native name signifying finger "nails," but never in fourteen years could get any of it again. It was not perceptibly aromatic, and was probably rather used to bring out in burning the fragrance of other perfumes than on account of its own odoriferous quality. Pliny says of Bactrian *bdellium* that it "is shining and dry, and covered with numerous white spots, resembling the finger nails." And a βδέλλα ὄνυξ is described by Damocritus, an obscure medical writer quoted by Saracenus in his *Scholia in Dioscoridis*, and by Galen,

saffron crocus has been associated with the earliest history of man, and has followed his migration everywhere throughout temperate Europe. Crocus, as Lempriere tells us, was a beautiful youth, enamoured of a beautiful nymph, and turned into this beautiful flower.

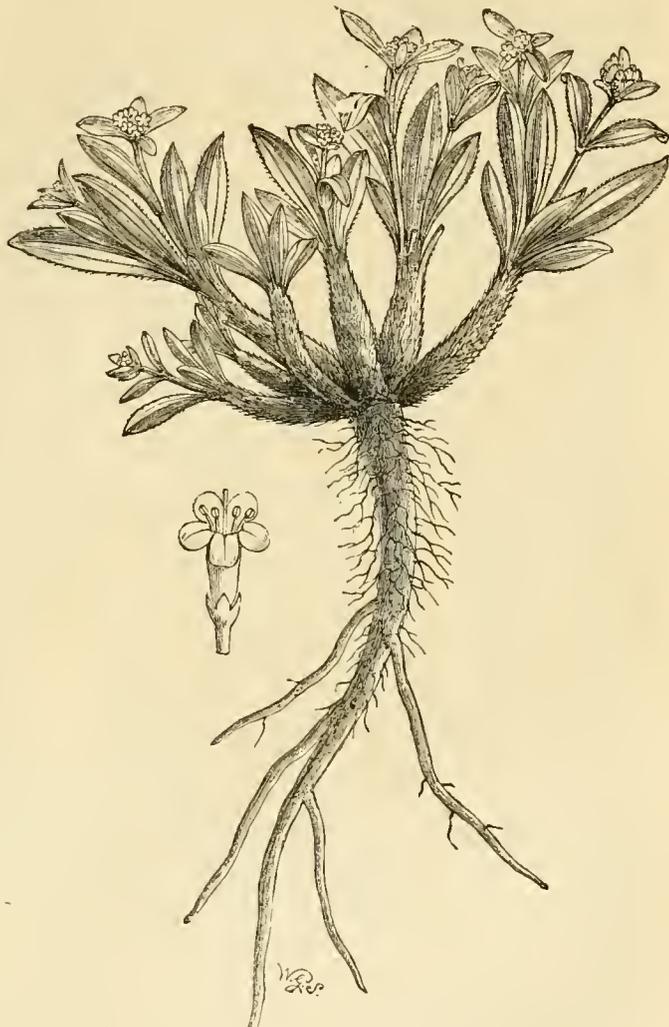
SPIKENARD, in Hebrew *nerd* (Song of Songs i. 12, and iv. 13, 14), the *vâpδος* of the New Testament (Mark xiv. 3, and John xii. 3). Spikenard, quasi *spica nardi*, is the root of the *Nardostachys Jatamansi*, De C., a valerian wort, and a native of Nepal and Bootan, at great elevations. There can be no doubt that the

nard or *nerd* of the Song of Songs, and St. Mark also, in writing *νάρδον πιστικῆς πολυτέλους* ("nardi spicati pretiosi," Vulgate), refer to the *Jatamansi* or *Sumbul* root of the Hindoos, which Sir William Jones was the first to identify with spikenard. Dioscorides unequivocally specifies *Jatamansi* *νάρδος Ἰνδική*, called also, as he states, "Gangetic, from the river Ganges."

νάρδος Ἰνδική; (2) *sumbul-italioon*, or *uklete* (i.e., *κελτικῆ*); (3) *sumbul-jiballee* (*δρεινῆ*); and (4) *sumbul-farsee* (i.e., *Συριακῆ*). The synonyms of *sumbul-hindee* they give as *narden*, Greek; *nardoom*, Latin; and *jatamansi*, Indian: and, moreover, the *φοῦ* of Dioscorides (*Valeriana Dioscoridis*, Sibthorp), they call *Bekih-i-sumbul*—i.e., *sumbul root*. This should early have afforded a



Balsamodendron Ehrenbergianum, Berz.
(See Hanbury's Paper cited in text)



Nardostachys Jatamansi, De C.

He also mentions *νάρδος κελτικῆ*, *νάρδος δρεινῆ*, and *νάρδος Συριακῆ*, the last a variety of the Indian. But there can be no doubt that the ancients used the word *nard* for any Indian perfume, as the *átar* of roses. The word *nard* Sir William Jones proved to be Persian, and the Persians, as the carriers of spikenard, must have communicated the name to Hebrews (*nerd*), Greeks (*νάρδος*), and Romans (*nardum*). Avicenna used the word *sumbul* as the synonym of *νάρδος*, and Persian works describe four kinds—(1) *Sumbul-hindee* (i.e.,

elue to the identification of *jatamansi* with spikenard, but every writer on the subject thought that spikenard must be gramineous, until Sir William Jones clearly established it to be the root of *Nardostachys Jatamansi*, De C. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv.), in reply to Dr. Sir G. Blanc's arguments in favour of *Andropogon Iwarancusa*.

STACTE, in Hebrew *nátáf* (Exod. xxx. 34), in Greek *στακτῆ* and *στύραξ*, generally referred to the *Styrax officinale*, Linn., of the Levant, Greece, Palestine, and

Syria. But, as Hanbury has conclusively shown, there is no *storax* or *stacte* found in modern commerce derived from *Styrax officinale*. All of it now comes from *Liquidambar orientale*, Miller, a native of Cyprus and Anatolia. *Liquidambar Altingia*, Blume., of Java, produces the *Rasamala* of the Javanese (*Rose-mallows* of the Anglo-Indian tariffs, the word being formed just as *jackass-copal* is formed from *shakasi*—*i.e.*, the tree copal), the most exquisite and powerful of all balsams, not excepting benzoin. It is remarkable that Sprengel, in 1807, writing of the *miah* of Avicenna, states, “*Hæc est arbor rasamala quæ storacem liquidam largitur e rimis corticis emanantem.*” May not, then, the ancients have included *rose-mallows* under their *stacte* or *storax*? There is also a *Balsamiferos liquidambar*, native of the southern United States of America.

It must throw some doubt, even on the most satisfactory identifications of the Bible names of perfumes with the perfumes known in modern commerce, when it is found that none of them include such famous Old World aromata as *costus* and *sandalwood*, *gum-benjamin*, *rose-mallows*, and *camphor*, *cardamoms*, *cloves*, and *nutmeg*. The highest authorities, indeed, say that, excepting *costus*, none of these fragrant substances were known to the ancient world—that fractional portion, that is, of the wide world known to the Jews, and Greeks, and Romans. But the more reasonable conclusion from the fact that we cannot trace any of them in the descriptions of Theophrastus, Pliny, and Dioscorides, would be a confirmed misgiving of our best and soundest identifications, and to start, in the examination of these authorities, with the assumption that they must have known them. They knew black pepper familiarly, and is it conceivable that they did not know *cardamoms*, a yet more striking product of the same region? Of *camphor* there really would appear not to be a trace in Pliny and Dioscorides, but in favour of their knowledge of *cloves*, *nutmegs*, and *sandalwood*, many an ambiguous text might fairly be quoted. *Gum-benjamin*, I am satisfied, they included under *frankincense*, and *rose-mallows* under *stacte*. *Costus*, very familiar to the profane writers of the ancient nations of the Mediterranean basin, I believe to be the “*calamus*,” “*sweet calamus*,” and “*sweet cane from a far country*” (Jer. vi. 20) of the Bible. *Saffron*, *spikenard*, and *costus* would seem to have been the earliest known aromata, and all are natives of the same region—the classical Caucasus—*costus* having been identified by Falconer, as the root of *Aucklandia costus*, Falc. (*Aplotaxis auriculata*, De C.),

a native of Cashmere, at the highest elevations. On the other hand, *sugar* is a famous Old World product which was certainly absolutely unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans.

In this connection a very common popular error may be pointed out—*viz.*, the acceptance of American plants and products, now widely known in the Old World, as having been known to the ancients. Year after year we see in the Royal Academy, and other similar exhibitions, the cactus and aloe, or the castor oil and maize introduced into pictures of ancient Old World life, although these plants were introduced, with potatoes, chilies, and tobacco, into the Old World only after the discovery of the New. The works of the Danish botanist, Schow, which have, however, been translated into English, may well have been overlooked by English artists, but they are without excuse not to be familiar with Mr. Hermann Merivale’s delightful essay on the *Landscape of Ancient Italy as delineated in the Pompeian Paintings*, a good example of the charm which a true scholar can impart to the exact correctness of a scientific treatise. The creation of the world is in ceaseless operation, and the changes in the flora of countries makes it almost a vain thing to attempt to identify the plant-names of the ancients with modern plants, unless by means of the economic products which they may yield, and then only with any satisfaction when these are of strongly marked character. The persistence of the ancient names of plants and products in the East is, however, very remarkable. In Bombay, and in the most outland village bazaars of India, we still find—

Scolopendrium as *Iskoolikundrioon*.

Dryopteris as *Doonditarus*.

Pteris as *Surkhus* and *Bitarus*.

Polypodium as *Bulookinboon*.

Polytrichum as *Bulootingen*.

Parescoshun is also, evidently, a corrupted Greek word. *Fiturasulioon* (πετροσέλινον) has been transferred from *parsley* to the fruit of *Pangros pabularia*, a plant circumscribed in *habitat* to *Draz*. Sometimes in the case of products having two Latin or Greek names, one is corrupted, and the other translated. When I first began to study the contents of the druggists’ (*atarees*) shops, I was much puzzled by a root they called *Lal-buhman*—*i.e.*, red Brahmin. But when, after some months, I accidentally came across *Suffuid-Buhman* (*i.e.*, white Brahmin), it at once reminded me of *Behen rubrum* and *Behen album*. Every day the student of an Eastern bazaar is gratified by such surprises.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS,
AND INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

XVIII.

WE read in the fourth chapter of the Book of Ezra, that in the reign of the next monarch but one after Cyrus, a monarch who is called Artaxerxes,¹ and is represented as the immediate predecessor of Darius (Hystaspes), the Samaritan adversaries of the Jews addressed a letter to him, calling his attention to the fact that Jerusalem was being rebuilt by the Jews, and suggesting that a stop should be put to their proceedings. The monarch addressed responded favourably, and issued an order that the work should cease—an order which he never revoked, for “the work ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius, king of Persia” (Ezra iv. 24).

This stoppage of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and re-establishment of the Jews as a nation, by one of the early Persian kings, is the more remarkable, because, though similar attempts to check and thwart the Israelites were made by their adversaries in the reigns of all the other early kings, in every other case they failed, in this case only were they successful. The Samaritans “hired counsellors against the Jews, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus, king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius” (iv. 5). They “wrote an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem,” and sent it to the Court, in the reign of the successor of Cyrus² (iv. 6). They addressed a long complaint to Darius himself (chap. v. 6—17), and sought to induce him to discontinue the work, in the course of his second year. But, so far as appears from Ezra, with one monarch only did their representations prove effectual. No king forbade the building but the second monarch after Cyrus. This monarch issued an edict against the Jews (chap. iv. 17—22), and brought the building of Jerusalem to a stand.

Now, both profane writers³ and the inscriptions show us that the next king but one after Cyrus held a peculiar position. He was, as Darius himself tells us, a Magian, quite unconnected with the Persian royal family. He personated a deceased son of Cyrus, named Smerdis, and was allowed to reign on the supposition that he was really the prince whose name he assumed. He held the throne no more than seven

months, but still he reigned long enough to effect a religious revolution in Persia. He put down Zoroastrianism, destroyed the Zoroastrian temples, and put a stop to the Zoroastrian worship, substituting Magianism in its place.⁴ Now, Magianism was the worship of the elements; it disdained temples, and denied a personal God.⁵ It is clearly most natural, probable, and readily intelligible that a monarch of this stamp should run counter to all the real Achæmenian princes on a religious matter; that, as a Magian, he should interfere to check the building of a magnificent temple, and, as a Pantheist, should disallow the worship of Jehovah. Had we been told that any other of the early Persian kings set himself in opposition to the Jews, reversed the policy of Cyrus, and forbade the building of the Temple, we should have found ourselves confronted by a difficulty. The fact that it is the monarch who holds the place of the pseudo-Smerdis,⁶ that takes a peculiar line, one opposed to the policy of the Achæmenians generally, turns the difficulty into an evidence. As the religious views of this monarch were wholly opposed to those of both his predecessors and successors, he would be almost certain to treat the Jews differently. If they, as Zoroastrians, sympathised with the people of Israel, he, as an anti-Zoroastrian, would dislike and suspect them. It may be added that his letter, being totally devoid of any religious sentiment, is characteristic, and contrasts remarkably with the decrees of Cyrus and Darius (Ezra i. 2—4; vi. 6—12), and with the letter of Artaxerxes (vii. 12—26).

⁴ The following are the principal statements of Darius with respect to the pseudo-Smerdis:—“After the death of the real Smerdis at the hands of his brother, Cambyses,” he says, “a certain Magian, named Gomates, arose. He said falsely to the State, ‘I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses.’ Then the whole state became rebellious; from Cambyses it went over to him, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces: he seized the empire. Afterwards Cambyses, willing his own death, died. Then Gomates the Magian became king. There was not a man, Persian or Mede, or member of the royal family, who dared to dispossess that Gomates, the Magian, of the crown until I arrived. I prayed to Ormuzd, and Ormuzd brought help to me. On the tenth day of the month Bagayadish, with my faithful men, I slew that Gomates the Magian; in the fort named Sietchotes in the district of Media, called Nisea, there it was I slew him. I dispossessed him of the empire; by the grace of Ormuzd I became king; Ormuzd granted me the sceptre. Thus I recovered the empire which had been taken away from my family; I established it in its place, as it was before; I made it. *The temples which Gomates, the Magian, had destroyed, I rebuilt; the sacred offices of the state, both the religious chants and the worship, whereof Gomates the Magian had deprived the people, I restored to them.*” (*Behist. Inscr.*, col. i., par. 10—14).

⁵ Herod. i. 131.

⁶ As the immediate predecessor of Darius, and the next but one in succession to Cyrus.

¹ Ezra iv. 7. Persian kings seem often to have had more names than one. The prince in question is called Smerdis by Herodotus, Tanyoxarces by Ctesias.

² Called “Ahasuerus” (i.e. Xerxes) in Ezra, but probably the son and successor of Cyrus, commonly known as Cambyses.

³ Herod. iii. 61—78; Æschyl., *Pers.* 770; Ctes., *Exc. Pers.*, § 10.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JOEL (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

SECOND PART.

THE Jews had sinned in that, both in their daily life and their religious worship, they had forgotten Him whose presence alone gives sweetness to life and sanctity to worship. The dearth and misery inflicted by the devouring locusts were the Divine judgment and rebuke of their sin; they were intended to recall them to the service and enjoyment of the God they had forgotten. So soon as they repented of their sin and turned unto the Lord, the Lord had compassion on his people, drove the locusts into the sea, and sent them corn, wine, and oil in such copious abundance that He made good to them "the years" which the locusts had eaten. Times of refreshing came upon them from the presence of the Lord; his Spirit was poured out on all flesh; old and young, bond and free, dreamed prophetic dreams and saw prophetic visions.

Even this great benediction, however, was itself a judgment. This wide and deep revival of spiritual life was itself a test by which the hearts of men were tried; those who resisted its influence being hardened in their iniquity. As Joel pondered the blessing which came for "the fall" as well as for "the rising" of many, he found in it a type of the Divine dealings with men in all ages. He projected his thoughts into the future. Taught by Moses, the "master" of the Hebrew prophets, he foresaw that ever new judgments would come on the chosen race, on all races—foresaw even that all these judgments would culminate in a final act of judgment in which the destiny of the whole world will be decided.

It is this final strife of good with evil, this ultimate triumph of good over evil, which now occupies his thoughts. In depicting it he avails himself, as was natural and indeed inevitable, of Hebrew memories, traditions, prophecies; for he could only use the language that was familiar to him; he could only hope to bring "the day of judgment" home to the men of his generation as he appealed to words and facts with which they were familiar. But the very language which most clearly conveyed his thought to his contemporaries veils it from us; for what do we know of the local and political allusions which would be most impressive to the Jews of Jerusalem nearly thirty centuries ago? If an English statesman of the present day were to write a brief treatise in which he traced out the probable future of the English race, he would inevitably employ the facts and terms of this age; and we should understand him all the better for his use of political facts, names, and terms with which we are familiar. But a student of an alien race, lighting on that treatise three thousand years hence, when the whole face of the world was changed, and many of the best known names and facts of to-day were clean forgotten, would have painfully to

recover the meaning of its historical and political allusions; and, after all, could not hope to get at more than the broad general scope of the treatise. As he to the English statesman, so we stand to Joel. What made him plain and clear to the Jews of his time renders him obscure to us. It is only with extreme difficulty that we follow his local and political allusions; and, when all is done, we can only hope to gain the general sense and scope of his prophetic poem.

Our best clue, as I believe, to his meaning in chap. iii. is the conviction, firmly held, that he is speaking of the final conflict of good and evil, the final judgment in which God will give *his* verdict on the combatants in this great conflict of the ages. He *may* see that judgment "as through a glass, darkly;" he *may* depict it in forms and terms borrowed from the past history of the Jews; but I see no room to doubt that it *is* this final judgment, this ultimate triumph of the good over evil, which he labours to set before us. If we hold this clue stedfastly, and follow it fearlessly, I believe we shall find the whole chapter take new clearness and force.

Mark how it opens: "*In those days, and at that time*" (when the Spirit is poured out on all flesh, when the earth has been made fruitful with showers, and the men who inhabit it have been raised to a loftier spiritual life), "*when I turn the captivity of Judah*" as of old I turned the captivity of Job (Job xlii. 10)—when the men of Judah are delivered out of all their calamities and distresses—"I will gather all the nations together, and bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat; and I will contend with them there, for my people and for Israel mine inheritance." Here the fate of all nations is obviously bound up with that of Israel, and is to depend on the relations they have sustained to the people of God. But here, too, there occurs one of those disturbing local allusions which seem to call away our thoughts from the world-wide conflict of good and evil to a mere incident in Hebrew story. All nations are to be gathered before God, but they are to be gathered *in the valley of Jehoshaphat*. This valley of Jehoshaphat is a glen on the eastern side of Jerusalem, through which runs the brook Kedron. It would have been impossible to crowd even the inhabitants of Jerusalem into it; how then can it be the arena in which "all nations" are to contend while Jehovah sits as judge or umpire of the conflict? With their usual literalism, the Jews assume that this little valley or glen will be the scene of the resurrection and final judgment; and because they would fain be on the spot when the trumpet sounds, it is crowded with their tombs; myriads of them dare all dangers, and go to all costs, that they may lay their bones in it. The Mohammedans, no less literal and carnal than the Jews, have left a massive block jutting out from the eastern walls of Jerusalem for the accommodation of their prophet,

who, as they insist, is to sit here and to judge the whole world gathered in the valley beneath his feet. Though we smile at these literal readings of Joel's words, we may learn at least this much from them, that both the sons of Isaac and the sons of Ishmael understand the prophet as referring, not to any obscure event in the past history of the seed of Abraham, but to that great final conflict and judgment which is to determine the fate of all the families of the earth.

And if we ask how came the prophet to select "the valley of Jehoshaphat" as the scene of the final conflict and judgment, the answer is simple and most instructive. In the days of Joel, *valleys* were the usual "fields" of battle, mountainous and wooded country being unfavourable to the movements, tactics, and strategical combinations of military art. Naturally, therefore, the prophet would select some *valley* as the arena of the final conflict. But *this* conflict was also to be a judgment. Was it possible to select a valley whose very name should convey the idea of judgment, and of a Divine judgment? Yes; close outside the eastern wall of Jerusalem lay a valley known as "the valley of Jehoshaphat." Jehoshaphat means "Jehovah judges." Here, ready to his hand, was the very symbol the prophet required. The scene of the final conflict and the final judgment would be *the valley in which Jehovah judgeth* and will judge. That it was simply for the omen in the name that Joel selected this valley is, I think, put beyond doubt by the fact that, in chap. iii. 14, he twice calls it simply "the valley of judgment," or "the valley of doom."

Here, in this symbolic valley, God will "contend" with all nations—*i.e.*, He will plead his suit against them, assert his right to "an inheritance" of which they have despoiled Him. They have "scattered" his people "among the nations" with a lavish prodigality. The Israelite slaves have been so numerous as to be well-nigh valueless. They have been died for, gambled for by their captors. A lad has been given as the price of a harlot's caress, and a girl for a draught of wine (chap. iii. 2, 3). The Phœnicians, the great maritime and slave-trading race of Joel's day; and the Philistines of the five "coasts" or districts they still held in Palestine—Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath, who probably furnished their Phœnician cousins of Tyre and Sidon with Hebrew slaves taken in their constant wars—these, the Philistines and the Phœnicians, Jehovah scornfully challenges to contend with Him. He demands what "recompense" they can make Him for the injuries they have inflicted on Him. He charges them with having carried away his "silver and gold" into their palaces, and with having sold his servants to "the Ionians" (the Asiatic Greeks whose galleys now began to rival Tyre), in order that, removed to so great a distance, "the sons of Judah and the sons of Jerusalem" might give up all hope of return. He threatens these piratical slave-dealers with the vengeance of their captives, whom He will redeem; and forewarns them that they, in their turn, will become the slaves of those they once held in bondage, that their

sons and daughters will be sold to "the Sabeans, to a people afar off," in Arabia Felix.

On these verses (3—8) commentators have expended great pains. They have laboured to show how and when the sons of Judah and Jerusalem were seized as captives by the Philistines and Phœnicians, and sold by their captors to the Ionians, or squandered for an embrace or a carouse; how and when the captors were themselves taken captive, and sold by the Jews to the distant Sabeans. And, in a somewhat dubious way, it is quite possible to vindicate every turn of Joel's language, to find some historical incident which more or less exactly corresponds to every feature of his prediction. But while I heartily believe every word of the prophet to be true, and have no sort of doubt that the minutest facts to which he adverts were facts, and facts very familiar to those to whom he spoke, I should hold it to be but a waste of time to search curiously into the records of antiquity to see if I could not discover some definite instance in which a Hebrew lad was given for a harlot's kiss, a Hebrew girl exchanged for a cup of wine, a gang of Hebrew slaves sold to the Asiatic Greeks, or a gang of Phœnician slaves sold by Jews to the Sabeans. Such vindications of prophecy are unworthy of *the poet* whose words we read, and still more unworthy of *the prophet*. The temper which requires and delights in them is at the very farthest remove from the genius of Oriental speech, and, above all, of prophetic speech. We really must receive the prophet in a spirit somewhat more akin to his own, if we are to take his meaning; and as for vindicating him, we may very safely leave him to vindicate himself, if we can but reach the true meaning of his words and feel their power.

And surely we shall at least get nearer to that meaning if we approach them thus. Joel is looking forward to a day on which the Spirit of God will be poured out on all flesh—to a day, therefore, which will be a day of judgment to all nations and all men, since, when the Spirit of God comes to them, they will either resist or yield to it, and according as they yield or resist will determine their fate. He wants to bring this day of the Spirit, this day of judgment, this conflict of the spirit with the flesh, the good with the evil in man, home to the hearts of Jews—to the hearts of Jews who lived eight or nine centuries before Christ. How is he to do it? He does it, or attempts it, by using facts with which they are familiar, but by using them in a way so profound, so full of a mystical and spiritual wisdom, that, dimly at least, they did see the high meaning he put into them, and looked onward to the end of the world, the last judgment, the victory of good over evil. Moreover, he is a poet, and therefore he must dramatise, must clothe his thoughts in definite and impressive forms, must give them a local habitation and a name. Hence he places the great conflict of time in the valley of Jehoshaphat, "the valley in which Jehovah judges." Here is the scene: who are to be the actors in it? Who shall represent the champions of righteousness and truth? Naturally the poet selects for this the best men he knew—the sons of Judah and Jerusalem. Who shall stand

for the champions of ruffing violence, of the wickedness that thrives at least for a time, and flaunts its triumphs in the eyes of dejected virtue? Naturally, the poet selects for this part the worst men he knew—the Philistines and Phœnicians, engaged in what to a Hebrew was the vilest of acts—viz., selling men as slaves into a land hopelessly removed from their own. How could he more effectually portray to the men of his time the great conflict between good and evil than by arraying it, in these local habits and colours, than by showing them good Hebrews plundered by inhuman and impious Phœnicians? How could he more vividly impress on them the exact and awful retributions of Divine justice, than by depicting these cruel and arrogant Phœnicians as themselves condemned to the very miseries and degradations they had inflicted on other and better men than themselves? Taking them thus, we get a meaning worthy of a great poet from Joel's words—worthy of even an inspired prophet. Nor do I see how we are to read the opening verses of this chapter otherwise, if we are to read its closing verses at all; for in these closing verses the language grows far too large for any private or local interpretation. The prophet passionately invokes (vs. 9—13) "all nations" to proclaim a holy war, a crusade, to come down into the valley of Jehoshaphat. So urgent, so universal, is the summons, that the very weakling is to cry, "A hero am I!" and the coulters and pruning-hooks of the husbandman are to be forged into swords and spears, that there may be arms for as many as are willing to wield them. But the prophet passionately invokes God also; He is to summon his "heroes" to the supreme conflict: all who love goodness are to come—perhaps the very angels out of heaven as well as the righteous men who adorn the earth.

To this passionate invocation of heaven and earth, God consents, and responds, saying—

"Let the nations rise up,
And come into the valley of Jehoshaphat,
For there will I sit to judge all the nations round about."

Nay, turning to his heroes, Jehovah bids them "put in the sickle" and reap the harvest. He bids them "tread the winepress" till the wine run out, since the wickedness of man is great, and the day of judgment, the day of division and separation, has come. The grain must be gathered into the garner, and the wine into the vats, while the worthless chaff and grapeskins are to be consumed with fire. How St. John read this verse of Joel's (ver. 13)—how therefore we should read it—may be seen in Rev. xiv. 14—18. To him the vision has grown clearer and fuller than it was to Joel, though he still retains Joel's figures of the harvest and the vintage. He sees a white cloud, and one like unto the Son of man sitting in the cloud, having on his head a golden crown, and a sharp sickle in his hand. To Him an angel, issuing out of the heavenly temple, cries, "*Put forth thy sickle, and reap; for the time of the harvest is come; for the harvest of the earth is ripe.*"¹ Another

angel comes out of the temple, he also having a sharp sickle in his hand, and to him comes the command from the altar, "*Put forth thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth, for her grapes are fully ripe.*"²

This was more than Joel saw, or could see; yet even he beheld a wondrous and terrible spectacle as the Divine command went forth for reaping, for judgment. As one who gazes with starting eyeballs on a scene of well-nigh unendurable terror, the prophet exclaims—

"Multitudes, multitudes,
In the valley of Doom!
For the day of Jehovah is near
In the valley of Doom!"

The heavens above the countless multitudes, who surge and contend in the valley of Doom, darken beneath the frown of Jehovah; the hills which enclose the valley echo with the thunder of his indignation:

"Sun and moon turn dark,
And the stars refuse to shine;
For Jehovah thundereth out of Zion,
And uttereth his voice from Jerusalem,
And heaven and earth quake!"

We cannot doubt what scene it is that thus shakes the prophet. It is no wasting calamity, it is no bloody conflict, in the annals of a single race. It is the august and most terrible scene in which the great tragedy of Time is to culminate. It is the final catastrophe in the history of the world (vs. 13—16).

The scene which follows it (vs. 17—21) lies beyond the coasts and bounds of time. To the terrors of judgment, to the quaking heaven and earth, there succeeds the kingdom that cannot be shaken, the fruitful and peaceful splendours of the new heaven and the new earth, though even these are shadowed forth in the historic forms of time. The Lord, who thunders wrathfully against the wicked, is "a refuge for his people" in that great and terrible day, "a stronghold for the sons of Israel." And that day, darkened by storms of fate, ushers in an era of concord, abundance, joy. God dwells with his people. Zion becomes a holy mountain, Jerusalem a sanctuary, no more profaned by alien and unrighteous feet. The mountains, often so barren, drop with new wine; the hills flow with milk; "all the watercourses," now so often dry, run for ever with pure living water. Nay, a fountain springs up in the house of the Lord, which flows down the barren "Valley of Acacias"—the valley trending down from Jerusalem to the Salt Sea, the valley in which heretofore only the sand-loving acacia could thrive—causing it to take fertility again. Egypt and Edom—Egypt, the open enemy of Israel; and Edom, the false treacherous kinsman of Israel—these two, the symbols of all that exalts itself against God, are smitten with an eternal barrenness and desolation for the sins they have committed against the chosen people; while Judah and Jerusalem, the *divine* kingdom and the *holy* city, abide for ever, God purging from them all taints of evil not

¹ Compare with these Joel's words, "*Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe.*"

² Compare with these Joel's words, "*Come, tread; for the winepress is full, the vats run over; for the wickedness is great*" (chap. iii. 13).

hitherto removed, that He may dwell in them through all generations.

Our best comment on this passage is St. John's vision of the new heaven and the new earth.¹ As the rapt apostle gazed into futurity, looking for "the end of the Lord," he saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God. A river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeded out of the throne of God, and "ran forth from the house of Jehovah;" and on either side of the river grew the tree of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits, and yielding its fruit every month. He saw the city which had the glory of God, and could never

¹ Rev. xxi. 1-4; xxii. 1, 2.

be moved, into which nothing could enter that defiled. And as he gazed he heard a great voice from the throne proclaiming, "*Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and He shall be God with them, their God.*"

In fine, the closing chapter of Joel's prophecy is a brief apocalypse, cast in the forms of Hebrew thought and story indeed, and only dimly bodied out, yet setting forth, in language which even the Jews could not and did not mistake, the terrors of the last judgment, the issue of the time-long struggle of good with evil, and the golden age of peace and fruitful service which is to succeed to the conflicts and storms of time.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF BIBLICAL POETRY (*continued*).

§ 4.—SOLOMON TO HEZEKIAH.

THAS been said of David's political position that he stands at the meeting-point of two eras. His relations as a poet to the times preceding and following him are equally important and interesting.

On the one hand his poetry crowns the imperfect and fragmentary efforts of previous ages. In the inspired strains of prayer and praise in which he poured out his great heart to God,

"Bearing a tribute to the Almighty's throne,"

the genuine aim of the true spirit of Hebrew poetry found its fulfilment. From the very beginning the Israelite sought in poetry a worthy utterance for the religious aspirations of his soul. In David the deepest religious sense was combined with the highest poetical faculty. His rich and powerful imagination, his true and delicate feeling for nature, his sympathy with all phases of human life, acquired in those strange vicissitudes through which he passed from the sheepfolds of Bethlehem to the splendour of a throne, all brought under the sway of a genius consecrated to the holiest service, fitted him to express in corresponding song all the loftiest thought of his age. For this the ancient form of the national poetry—the purely lyric—was, as yet, sufficient, and in lyric poetry David stands pre-eminent and unsurpassed. Greater excellence could be attained in succeeding times only in other directions.

But the fact that these new efforts now appear, marks the beginning of a new epoch. The influence of the great Psalmist did not indeed die. We trace it in the new paths on which poetry enters. It kept the national song from deserting the old. His spirit breathes through all the melodies of Israel's later history. It is David's harp that sounds, though other hands sweep the strings. But between his time and that immediately succeeding him there is a striking contrast. We feel it as we turn from the Book of Psalms to the Book

of Proverbs, or the Song of Songs. We are sensible that a new period of literary life has begun for Israel. We see marks of intellectual activity asserted in new directions. The fair tree, which we have watched growing, like the stem of some tall palm, now breaks into numerous branches, and displays signs of a rich maturity. It is the age of culture, and poetry becomes for the first time an art.

It has already been remarked that the lyric contains within it the germs of all forms of poetry. No age could have been more favourable for the conscious release of these elements than that of Solomon. His name, Shélómoh, "the Peaceful," distinguishes his reign from the warlike times of David. The friendly relations on which the nation now entered with foreign countries, opened up on every side new and wide fields of knowledge and stimulated general inquiry. Literary efforts of every kind were encouraged by the example and patronage of the magnificent monarch who, to a mind highly poetical and profoundly immersed in all the wisdom of the time, added the taste and skill of an artist. Poets and men of letters would be welcome at the court of such a king. There is evidence that collections of the older songs of the nation were begun in this reign. The Book of Jasher, or "the Righteous," from which the author of the Second Book of Samuel quotes David's noble elegy on Saul and Jonathan, was probably a compilation of this date. David's own poetical remains were also in great probability collected and circulated in writing by the filial piety of Solomon.¹ But it was to the creative power of the mind of the monarch himself that the chief impulse came which produced the great works remaining to us from this period.

All nations that have attained any eminence in poetry have employed it for a didactic purpose. The gathered experience and wisdom of life may be expressed in a

¹ Ewald, *History*, iii. 282.

pleasing form in verse, which is thus made useful, as well as pleasant to the ear.¹ The didactic poetry of the Bible, from its extent and variety, ranks next in importance to the lyric. A large number of the Psalms fall under it, as well as many parts of the prophetic books. It claims, therefore, a separate treatment. But a few words on one distinct form assumed by it are necessary here to show its place in the history of Hebrew poetry.

Solomon spoke three thousand proverbs (1 Kings iv. 32). Of these enough have certainly been preserved in the book ascribed to him to show us their true character.² In Prov. i. 6 we read that it was considered a part of wisdom "to understand a *proverb*, and the *interpretation*" (margin, "an eloquent speech"), "the words of the wise and their *dark sayings*." The Hebrew equivalents for the words in italics are *māshāl*, *melitsah*, and *chidah*. Of these, *māshāl* has a very extended use. It is the title given to the prophetic utterance of Balaam, and to the eloquent speeches of Job, and is there translated "parable." The Greek equivalents *παροιμία* and *παραβολή* are both used in the New Testament for the parables of our Lord. Bishop Lowth takes *māshāl* to be properly expressive of the Hebrew poetical style, including three forms or modes of speech—the sententious, the figurative, and the sublime. The reason of this extended use lies in the root-meaning of the word, which is "similitude." First applied to these short sententious sayings which imply, if they do not express, a likeness or contrast, and which are native to the genius of the Hebrew language, and therefore form the foundation of the poetical style, it gradually gained the wider use. There are portions of the Book of Proverbs which demand this larger meaning. The two passages especially in which wisdom is described (iii. 13—20; viii. 22—31), rise to a strain which is poetical in the highest degree. But the greater part of the Proverbs are of the strictly sententious kind—short, pointed, pregnant sayings—single or grouped together without any essential coherence, but such as to give simple and truthful expression to the wisdom of the time.³ The experience of ages condensed into a sentence, and made imperishable by some striking figure—such are the Proverbs. They are not, of course, to be compared with the Psalms. Their poetry is not of a passionate or highly imaginative kind. But their style is elevated and pure, and the rhythmic character is preserved throughout. They have, therefore, always been included in the poetical books.

The tendency in Hebrew lyric to develop into the more artificial dramatic form has been already noticed. This tendency was encouraged in the period of culture on which the nation entered under Solomon. If, how-

ever, any perfect dramas were produced, they have perished. Those that have been preserved, though dramatic both in spirit and form, are yet in many particulars, which we usually expect in this kind of composition, deficient. One of these, the Book of Job, though its date will possibly always remain a fruitful subject of controversy, according to the most eminent of modern critics, belongs to some period in the three centuries between Solomon and Hezekiah. It is a work which, for the grandeur of its conception and the sublimity of its poetry, surpasses everything else in literature. It is didactic in its object, but is cast in the form of a drama furnished both with prologue and epilogue, and conducted throughout with consummate art. The other, the Song of Songs, which must belong to Solomon's time, or a period not very far removed from it, claims by its name (*Shir shîrim*), and the exquisite music of its verse, to be ranked with lyric poetry. It tells the story of faithful shepherd-love, and has been regarded as a string of beautiful pastoral idylls. It consists in reality of a succession of dramatic scenes, arranged with charming effect around a chorus and three actors. Ewald calls it "an undeniable Hebrew opera,"⁴ and conjectures that many others of the same kind may have been produced at this time, but have perished because they had less direct concern with lofty interests than other Hebrew literature.

The causes which made the age of Solomon so favourable to general culture, to higher art, and wider knowledge, were not without elements of danger to the sacred song which was Israel's peculiar gift. The very eagerness for inquiry, the thirst for knowledge of all kinds, the pursuit of wisdom, so commended in the Book of Proverbs, might, if uncontrolled by strict moral purpose and loyalty to the truth of religion, gradually weaken or corrupt the ancient faith. The delight in outward visible forms of beauty which runs through the Canticles might be divorced from purity and become the more perilous in proportion to its grace and charm. The poetry inspired by it would not certainly be pitched in the tone of the Psalms. Solomon's Songs, "which were a thousand and five," may perhaps have been of this sensuous kind. If any religious poems came from his pen and found their way into the Psalter, they are but few. Tradition only assigns two to him (Ps. lxxii. and cxxvii.). The latter of these is far later than his time. The former may with more probability be assigned to a contemporary poet than to the monarch himself. It reflects the condition of the empire under Solomon. The geographic range of view, the richness of the images drawn from nature, the general tone of contented happiness suit the time when there was "abundance of peace," and "Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his own vine and under his own fig-tree" (1 Kings iv. 25).

In order to trace, even in outline, the history of psalm composition, it is necessary to touch on the difficult

¹ "Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci Lectorem delectando pariterque moeando." (Hor., *Ars Poetica*.)

² The Book of Proverbs is plainly composed of various collections, two of which are in the text assigned to other authors than Solomon. The germ of the work appears to be the second part (x. 1—xxii. 16), which are mostly from the pen of Solomon, or collected by him.

³ Ewald, *History*, iii. 280.

⁴ *History*, iii. 281. It would be out of place to enter here on the question of the meaning of Canticles.

question of the probable origin and formation of the Psalter. If we could have the one hundred and fifty hymns of which it is composed arranged in certain chronological order, the history of Hebrew lyric poetry would be easy. But although there are traces of some attempts to make such an arrangement in their present order, the result is by no means satisfactory.

The Psalter has generally been considered to consist of five books. Book I. contains Ps. i.—xli.; Book II., Ps. xlii.—lxxii.; Book III., Ps. lxxiii.—lxxxix.; Book IV., Ps. xc.—cvi.; Book V., Ps. cvii.—cl. The only ground for this arrangement is the doxology¹ with which each of these divisions is concluded, in accordance probably with a custom common in the Temple service, where the call to praise Jehovah would be used like the *Gloria Patri* in the Christian Church. But it is generally agreed² that there are three distinct collections, Ps. i.—xli.; Ps. xlii.—lxxxix.; Ps. xc.—cl., which were arranged at different times, the collectors availing themselves of previously existing hymn-books or groups of Psalms. Of these, the Hebrew text assigns seventy-three to David, twenty-four to David's singers (Asaph, Heman, Ethan or Jeduthun, and the sons of Korah), two to Solomon, one to Moses, while fifty are anonymous. But the superscriptions cannot be relied on. They are sometimes genuine, and represent the most ancient tradition. At other times they proceed from conjecture or are mere inventions. "They are not of any necessary authority, and their value must be weighed and tested by the usual critical processes."³ The few points connected with the growth of the Psalter, which stand out with tolerable certainty, after all investigations, may be set down here. The first collection (Ps. i.—xli.) contains more Davidian psalms than the others. A collection to preserve these was made about Solomon's time. The hymn-book thus formed was employed by later collectors, who added to it some psalms which are unquestionably much later than David's time. There is reason to connect one of these later compilations with Hezekiah. We are told in 2 Chron. xxix. 30, that this king, when he kept that great Passover which filled all Jerusalem with joy, appointed the Levites "to praise Jehovah in the words of David, and of Asaph the seer." The second collection (Ps. xlii.—lxxxix.) contains psalms attributed to Asaph and the sons of Korah, who were David's singers, as well as some to David himself. We may reasonably conclude that some collection of songs connected with these names was made at this time either as an addition to Solomon's book or as a separate compilation. The later collection, as well as the form in which the earlier ones have come down, and even

some of their contents, must be referred to the period succeeding the exile.

According to this theory, we should seek between Ps. xlii. and xc. for the compositions of the period on which we are at present engaged. The subjects of some of the psalms in that collection fall into harmony with what we know from the historical books. Two kings of Judah, after Solomon, took a deep interest in literature, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah, who both made meritorious efforts for the promotion and cultivation of learning. Jehoshaphat appointed public instructors to teach throughout his dominions (2 Chron. xvii. 7); "Hezekiah established a society of learned men whose duty it was to provide for the collection and preservation of all the scattered remains of earlier literature" (Prov. xxv. 1). Many psalms may thus have been preserved. The circumstances of their reigns were in other respects favourable for the encouragement of psalmody. "Both monarchs exerted themselves to restore the Temple worship and to provide for the musical celebration of its services." Both experienced those perils and deliverances which call forth hymns of praise and thanksgiving. One of them was himself a poet. The plaintive strain composed by Hezekiah on his recovery from sickness, which has been preserved in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, is almost worthy a place amid the hymns of David himself (Isa. xxxviii. 9—20).

"How far any of the Psalms in our existing collection can be placed in the time of Jehoshaphat, is doubtful; on this point critics are divided; but there can be no doubt that several are rightly assigned to the reign of Hezekiah. Amongst these are a number of beautiful poems by the Korahite singers." Conjecture fixes on the Assyrian captivity for the date of Ps. xlii. (and xliii.) and lxxxiv. They are supposed to have been written by a captive priest or Levite as he sadly gazed back from the ridge of the eastern hills on the land of his birth and affection. "As before the eyes of the exile the gazelle of the forests of Gilead panted after the fresh streams of water which there descend to the Jordan, so his soul panted after God from whose outward presence he was shut out. The river with its winding rapids, 'deep calling to deep,' lay between him and his home. All that he could now do was to remember the past as he stood 'in the land of Jordan,' as he saw the peaks of 'Hermon,' as he found himself on the eastern heights of Mizar, which reminded him of his banishment and his solitude."⁴ But another group of odes (Ps. xlvi., xlvii., xlviii.) may with much more certainty be referred to this period. The striking coincidences of thought and expression with the prophecies of Isaiah which belong to the same event, leave little room for doubt of the date of these exquisite lyrics, which are among the noblest productions of the poetic spirit of the Hebrews. They are short, but full of art, and in the refinement and elegance of their style they show an advance on the older triumphal odes, while neither in fire and passion nor in grandeur of conception do they fall

¹ The use of the different Divine names lends a characteristic feature to some of the books.

² The student will find a good summary of the conclusion of Ewald and other scholars on the history of the Psalter in the appendix to the *Golden Treasury Psalter*, or student's edition of *The Psalms Chronologically Arranged by Four Friends*.

³ This criticism must of course be partly linguistic, and we can do no more than accept the verdict of the best scholars; but historical arguments can be appreciated by everybody: a Psalm mentioning the captivity could not have been written by David. (See Ps. xiv.)

⁴ Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, viii., § 6.

below them. The 46th Psalm is given here from the *Golden Treasury Psalter*. The reader will notice the regular stanzas marked by the grand refrain, which has been inserted after verse 3 according to Ewald's conjecture.

PS. XLVI.

i. *God a refuge in storm and tempest.*

"God is our refuge and strength,
A very present help in trouble;
Therefore will we not fear, though the earth do quake,
Though the mountains totter in the midst of the sea,
Though the waters thereof rage and swell,
And though the mountains shake at the tempest of the same.
Jehovah, Lord of Hosts is with us,
The God of Jacob is our tower of strength."

ii. *As the stream of Siloam so hath been his presence to the besieged.*

"There is a stream the waters whereof make glad the city of God,
The holy places of the tabernacle of the Most Highest;
God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved;
God will help her, the morning draweth nigh,
The nations raged, the kingdoms were moved,
At the voice of his thunder the earth melteth.
Jehovah, Lord of Hosts, is with us,
The God of Jacob is our tower of strength."

iii. *His wonders in destroying the Assyrians.*

"Come hither and behold the work of Jehovah,
What wonders He hath wrought upon the earth;
He maketh wars to cease in all the world,
He breaketh the bow and knappeth the spear in sunder, and
burneth the chariots in the fire.
Be still then, and know that I am God,
I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.
Jehovah, Lord of Hosts, is with us,
The God of Jacob is our tower of strength."

"To the same period of the Assyrian invasion may be referred Ps. lxxv. and lxxvi., and possibly also lxxv."¹

There is one feature of the lyric poetry of this period which prepares the attention for those prophetic voices which, before this period closes, break loud and clear on the ear. Not only do the psalms belonging to this time form a noble and truthful form of expression for the blended sentiments of religion and patriotism which at all times possessed the hearts of Hebrews, but they begin now more and more to interpret those prophetic thoughts

¹ Perowne, *Psalms*, vol. i., introduction, from which much of the above is taken.

which, as the splendour of David and Solomon receded into the past, took more powerful hold on the people. David's poetry gives sign of the prophetic gift, but it is now that we hear in one song after another the loud and stirring announcement that God has declared his will to Israel, denouncing injustice and sin, and promising life and salvation to the upright. Henceforth the "golden thread of prophecy" is never lost. Clearer and larger grows the national hope, and more distinct and powerful the voices of those in whom it burnt with Divine flame, and from whom it shone through the mighty gift of prophetic song. Ps. xxxix., lxi., lvi., lvii. are noble examples. Their authors were prophets, but unknown to us. There have survived, however, in the writings of those who now in the eighth century begin to follow one another so fast in the prophetic ranks, many hymns and odes which might under other circumstances have found their place in the *Psalter*. Such is the thanksgiving hymn in the Book of *Jonah*. The many points of resemblance between this hymn and some of the existing psalms have led some scholars to pronounce it a mere compilation. It is thought to be moulded on that great Hymn of Praise which David has left us in Ps. xviii. But its vigorous tone and singularly vivid touches proclaim it to be an original ode. What could surpass the beauty and power of this description, in which we are made to feel the reality of being drowned?

"The waters compassed me about to the soul,
The depth closed me round about,
The weeds were wrapt about my head,
I went down to the bottom of the mountains;
The earth with her bars was about me for ever,
Yet hast thou brought up my life from the pit, O Lord my God."

The concluding chapter of the prophet *Habakkuk* contains a magnificent psalm which displays almost every excellence of Hebrew poetry; and amid the sublime prophecies of *Isaiah* are scattered numerous lyric pieces of wonderful force and beauty. These, though belonging to the history of lyrical poetry, may be left till the prophetic books are noticed.²

² For the Ode of *Habakkuk* see Vol. I., page 245 sq.

BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

WE have stated beforehand that we must wait for the New Testament dispensation to find the full and true psychology of man, as spirit, soul, and body, stand out in all its distinctness. Earlier revelations never contradict the later, they lead up to it and confirm it; but we must not look for the same explicit statements in the one as in the other. Vain attempts have been made by cabalists and others to extract a kind of trichotomy out of the *nephesh*, *ruach*, and *neshamah* of the Old Testament, as if they corresponded to the soul, spirit, and Divine Spirit of the New Testament respectively.

But this is fanciful; *nephesh* is only the animating principle. The *psyche* of Aristotle, the life which is common to all, and which is vegetative only in plants, is animate in sentient creatures, and in man becomes rational as well. *Ruach* is the spirit which is breathed into every *nephesh*, and *neshamah* is simply the act of breathing. It is the *ruach*, the breath of God (which, when we personify under New Testament teaching, we describe as God the Holy Spirit), that breathes a breath, or *neshamah*, into the human *nephesh*, or vital self (for *seele*, soul, is only another name for self; see Grimm, s. v.). This is very far from the trichotomy of the New

Testament. The Old Testament is, strictly speaking, neither dichotomist nor trichotomist. Man is the monad, and the monad, as Lange very well remarks, "resolves itself first of all into a duality of flesh and spirit, and then into a triad of body, soul, and spirit." It is at the second of these three stages that the Old Testament leaves off. The last word which it teaches on the subject is that of Eccles. xii., "when the body returns to the dust, and the spirit to God that gave it." The passages which some psychologists adduce as intimations of the trichotomy before the Holy Spirit was given are not in point, such as the words of the Magnificat, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." We have only here a common Hebrew parallelism; the soul, or *nephesh*, and the spirit, or *ruach*, are identical, or nearly so. Soul in Hebrew is identical with *self*, and therefore "my soul" means only, "Myself and my spirit magnify the Lord." If this were all, the dichotomy would be as Scriptural as the trichotomy, and it is the uncritical way in which passages like these are produced which rather weakens than supports the argument for the trichotomy. It is a well-known rule in law that it is dangerous to overload an allegation; witnesses who do not strengthen the testimony with some fresh point of evidence rather weaken it, for they create the suspicion that they may be primed, and encourage the other side to set up counter testimony of the same kind, and so weaken the case.

We must be on our guard, then, on this subject. The proof passages of the trichotomy amount to three or four at most, but they are quite decisive. We shall turn to them in order, but we must first clear the ground by remarking on the truth already noticed, that the psychology of Scripture and its theology reflect and throw light on each other. Under a carnal dispensation, such as the Old Testament, the psychical part in man was prominent; under a spiritual, such as the New Testament, the pneumatic comes into the foreground. Man as related to the eternal and divine is spirit; as related to the conscience, he is soul; as related to the earth and other living creatures in it, he is body. All these three relations are implied of course in Old Testament teaching, and to that extent it is trichotomist and not dichotomist only. But, inasmuch as man's relation to God was not fully brought out until God was distinctly revealed as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, for this reason the deeper psychological truths of Scripture were in shadow, in the same way that its theology was. The revelation of the one waited for that of the other. The distinct personality of the Divine Spirit was the condition of our consciousness of the existence of the spirit as a distinct faculty in man.

With these preliminaries, which explain and account for the comparative silence of the Old Testament on this important subject, we turn to those texts of the New Testament which may be regarded as proof passages of the trichotomy. In Heb. iv. 12 we read that "the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing to the dividing asunder

of soul and spirit, as if of *both* joints and marrow." The apposition is this—that, as a sword passes through the joints into the marrow, so the word of God pierces the *psyche* and enters into the *pneuma*, which is the very marrow of our being. Dean Alford, objecting to the anti-climax implied in this placing of the literal after the figurative, goes so far as to understand the expression "joints and marrow" in a figurative or spiritual sense, as if the *psyche* and *pneuma* were the joints and marrow respectively of the hidden man of the heart. This may be correct; we do not think it is of much importance either way, the essential element in the thought being that the word of God is a two-edged sword, that it pierces so as to penetrate, not as if dividing asunder soul from spirit (this is not the force of *μερισμοῦ*), but the dividing of both soul and spirit. The word of God reaches the psychical nature, and, as we should say, cuts to the bone. This it does in all cases; in the case of Paul preaching before Felix and Festus, as well as to the Philippian jailor, or to Lydia, "whose heart the Lord opened." But in those cases where it is quick and powerful, it goes much deeper than the psychical, it reaches the marrow itself, it becomes a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. This is the true criterion of spiritual work. The emotions and the understanding belong to the psychical part of man's nature. It is comparatively easy to reach them. The law can always do that; we all know what is right, and we all instinctively feel the beauty of goodness. Thus far our understandings may be convinced and our emotions stirred. But real conversion is a deeper as well as a more lasting work than this. Felix trembled, yet he bade Paul go his way. Festus heard him gladly as long as he sat with Agrippa on the judgment-seat and listened to a skilled advocate arguing for certain Jewish customs and peculiarities. But the spirit was not reached in either case, as with the Philippian jailor and Lydia. The difference was this—that there is an element in man underlying alike the emotions and the understanding. What that element is, this passage by itself does not teach us, but the hints of Scripture elsewhere, as well as our own experience, easily explain. It is the will or conscience, for the two terms connote the same idea. When the will is exercised only on its own acts, and on the will of God with regard to those acts, we describe it as conscience. When again the conscience becomes active, and determines what those acts shall be, we describe it as the will. Nothing can be more misleading than the old controversies about a free and a constrained will. Luther, in his treatise *De seruo arbitrio*, goes too far. He holds that the will is enslaved after as much as before conversion; the only difference being a change of masters. But this is to misunderstand what freedom means. The will is enslaved, and inactive when we are the servants of sin. But it is truly enfranchised when the conscience is stirred and we begin to act out our convictions. Conscience gives us the knowledge of what is right and wrong, the will enables us to act on that knowledge. Accepting Reid's distinction between the intellectual

and active power in man, we should say that conscience belongs rather to the intellectual, and the will to the active powers. But if will and conscience are not identical faculties, they are inseparable. Wanting conscience, or the moral sense, it is inconceivable how the will could act at all, or what it could exercise itself upon. Wanting the will, the moral sense would be a useless perception of certain moral qualities in actions, to which no corresponding motive for action was attached on our part. The relation of will to conscience is very well described in the Collect where we pray that "we may not only perceive and know what we ought to do" (the conscience), "but also may have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same" (the will).

The distinction of *psyche* and *pneuma* is thus indicated by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as the work of the presence of the Divine Word in the soul or self; for we use the word "soul" in its etymological exactness as equivalent to self. The entrance of God's word gives understanding to the simple. As soon as it enters effectually it pierces through the *psyche*, the seat of the intellect and emotions; it penetrates into the *pneuma*, the seat of the conscience and will.

Scripture asserts and experience confirms the distinction between deep and shallow religious impressions. The parable of the sower, not to multiply instances, brings out this distinction in a lively way. There are three classes of psychical religionists—those on the highway, the lowest of all; next, those on the stony ground; and, lastly, those on the thorny ground, who are the nearest of all to the truth. But this mark of grace is wanting in all—the ground of an honest and good heart. In other words, neither the intellect nor the emotions is the seat of saving convictions. A man may be intelligently persuaded of the truth of the Gospel, and sometimes deeply stirred with the beauty of holiness, but his moral nature is not yet reached. The true, and the beautiful, and the good are like the three graces:

"Nec diversa tamen qualis decet esse sororum."

But the good is like charity, she is the greatest of the three. It is possible to cultivate the true and the beautiful without going on fully to love the good. The stirring of the moral sense is something deep and peculiar, and is quite distinguishable from our perceptions either of its truth or beauty. We may describe our sense of moral goodness by illustrations taken from our sense of the true and the beautiful, but it is never the result of the latter. To attempt, as some moralists have done, to resolve goodness into a variety of truth or beauty, a kind of mixed product of the two others, is to destroy its essential character. On this subject we need not repeat the arguments of Bishop Butler. His Sermons on Human Nature have never been replied to. It is impossible not to see with him that we do violence to language, which is always a reflection of mind, when we do not distinguish between injury and hurt, between duty and interest, between our desires and the governing principle, which, so far from being the sum total of those desires as the utilitarian thinks it to be,

is often directly opposed to them. These arguments for the reality of conscience, which we only refer to here, confirm our distinction between *psyche* and *pneuma*. The *pneuma* is the seat of the conscience, and thus the word of God, when it enters there, pierces to the dividing asunder of joints and marrow, *i.e.* between the intellectual perceptions and the moral convictions. As the marrow lies inside the bone, and the joints or museles outside, so the *pneuma* is related to the *psyche*; it is the innermost of all nearest the *ego*, or will; it is indeed the will in essence. Thus the word of God, when it effectually enters man's nature, becomes a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. It discovers the man to himself, lays bare all the evasions and deceptions of self-love, follows the heart into all its labyrinths and windings of self-pleasing and deceit, and ends at last by dragging the conscience, culprit-like, out of its hiding-place, where, like Adam, it hides itself among the trees of the garden from the voice of the Lord God. Nothing is naked or hidden from that God with whom we have to do, and when He sends his sharp two-edged sword of the word into the soul it cuts deeper than into the mere psychical or natural life, it enters the *pneuma* and startles the conscience out of its slumber with a voice which will not be silenced or smothered.

We collect then from this passage that true pneumatical life can only arise from the action of the word on the conscience. Wanting either of these two factors of the spiritual life, the conscience continues dead and evil. Hence the importance of linking together faith and a good conscience, as the Apostle Paul shows in more than one passage (1 Tim. i. 19; iii. 9). To put away a good conscience is to make shipwreck as concerning the faith. In the case where the conscience is seared or cauterised, as with a hot iron, there the apostacy from the faith is final. It may take different shapes in different ages, but the condition and cause is the same everywhere. It is the conscience or *pneuma* which is diseased, and when this case is complete we have then the state of second death. Then not only is there the death of the first Adam, but the death in trespasses and sins, which is the normal condition of man in his present fallen state. The second death arises from the loss of that germinal principle of the second Adam, by which we become partakers of the divine nature, "having escaped the corruptions which are in the world through lust." Scripture abounds with warning on this subject. Certain vices are not only heinous in themselves, but have also this additional evil, that they deaden the slumbering *pneuma* or conscience. If, on the one hand, there is a light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, on the other hand, that light which is in us may become darkness. How great then is that darkness! It is the state when even the mind and conscience is defiled; the state which is marked out in the concluding verses of the Epistle to the Romans, when men led away by passion, not only did those things, but also had pleasure in them that did them; when they put good for evil, and evil for good; put sweet for bitter, and bitter for sweet.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

JOSHUA (*continued*).

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THE next town the Israelitish host would have attacked in regular succession was Gibeon. This city, connected in after years with deeds of bloodshed¹ overshadowing the magnificent and touching memories of the opening days of Solomon's reign (1 Kings iii. 4—14; 2 Chron. i. 3—13), was the head of a small confederacy of Hivites (Josh. xi. 19). It is described (x. 2) as "a great city, as one of the royal cities." Panic-stricken at the fall of Jericho and Ai, and hopeless of resistance, they resolved to employ craft, that at least they might save their lives. So they presented themselves to Joshua, who had returned to the entrenched camp at Gilgal, and pretending that they were ambassadors dispatched from a very far country, to which the fame of the military exploits of the Israelites on the eastern side of Jordan had penetrated, to make a league with the invaders, they exhibited their frayed sacks, and torn wine-skins, and patched shoes, and mouldy bread, as an evidence of the truth of their tale. With culpable negligence, of which it is impossible entirely to acquit Joshua, the leaders of Israel credited the story at once, and concluded a league with the new-comers without seeking God's guidance. "The men took of their victuals," that sacred token of friendship in the East, "and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord" (ix. 14). Three days after the league had been ratified with the solemnity of an oath, the mortifying truth was discovered. "They heard that they were their neighbours, and that they dwelt among them" (ix. 16). The people's indignation at the deception which had been practised on them was exasperated when on the third day they reached the Gibeonite cities, and discovered how rich the spoil was of which the rash credulity of their rulers had deprived them. But, notwithstanding their murmurings, the Lord's oath, though procured by fraud, must not be broken. "We have sworn to them by the Lord God of Israel: now, therefore, we may not touch them" (ver. 19). Yet, to punish their treachery, Joshua condemned them and their descendants to the service of the tabernacle, to be employed in the menial labour of hewing the wood and drawing the water required for the sacrifices. Thankful to escape massacre on any terms, the Gibeonites submissively accepted the degrading sentence, and undertook the tributary service imposed upon them without remonstrance. "Now, behold, we are in thine hand: as it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do. And so did Joshua unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the children of Israel, that they slew them not" (ix. 23—26).

The consequences of this league with the Gibeonites were most momentous. The petty kings or chieftains of Southern Palestine, the king of Jebus, or Jerusalem, being their recognised leader, alarmed at the fall of Jericho and Ai, which had opened up the approaches to their own territory, had already concerted measures for a joint attack on the invaders, when the gravity of the crisis was increased by the news of the defection of the important city of Gibeon. Not a moment was to be lost in punishing this perilous treachery. Their forces were gathered with the utmost dispatch and the siege opened. But before the city was entirely invested the Gibeonites found time to send tidings of their peril to Joshua, who had again returned to his head-quarters at Gilgal. The extreme urgency of their situation is expressed in the message—"Slack not thy hand from thy servants; come up to us quickly, and save us, and help us: for all the kings of the Amorites that dwell on the mountains are gathered together against us" (x. 6). The greatness of the peril—imminent not to Gibeon alone, but to Israel also—is at once apparent to Joshua. If Canaan is to be conquered, Gibeon must be relieved, and that instantly. So he starts without a moment's delay, travels all night, and, by a forced march, accomplishes in a few hours a distance which had previously taken three days. In the early morning, before the besiegers could have heard of his having left his camp by the Jordan, Joshua and his soldiers, strong in the assurance given by God that "not a man of them should stand before him" (x. 8), burst on the unsuspecting enemy and discomfit them utterly. The huge host—the largest Joshua had yet encountered—is driven before him up the rocky ascent to the mountain village of Beth-horon the Upper. They cross the ridge, and, in headlong flight, rush down the slippery rocks of the precipitous descent that leads to the lower village of the same name—Beth-horon the Nether.² There a fierce tempest, partial as the sudden storms of mountain regions usually are, for the pursuers were unharmed by it, accompanied with hail-stones of prodigious size, bursts on the fugitives, and completes their discomfiture. As afterwards against Sisera, "the stars in their courses fought against them," and, stricken down by the hand of God, "they were more which died with hailstones

¹ The bloody encounter between the men of David and the men of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. ii. 12—17); the murder of Amasa by Joab (2 Sam. xx. 4—13); and the execution of Joab by order of Solomon (1 Kings ii. 23—34).

² Between the two Beth-horons is a steep pass, still very rocky and rough, though the rock has been cut away in many places, and the path formed into steps. The main road from Jerusalem and the Jordan valley to the sea-coast lay through the pass of Beth-horon, and accordingly both the Beth-horons were secured by Solomon with strong fortifications (2 Chron. viii. 5). It was in this pass that Judas Maccabeus fell suddenly on the Syrians and routed them. Here, too, the Roman army, under Cestius Gallus, after being driven from its position before Gibeon by an impetuous attack of the Jews from Jerusalem, sustained severe losses in men and baggage from the insurgents. (Espín, *Speaker's Commentary*, in loc.)

than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword" (x. 11).

And then, while the vanquished Amorites were rushing in wild confusion down the mountain pass, eager to reach their strongholds or to find refuge in the rocky fastnesses with which the district abounds,¹ Joshua, gazing down on them from the summit of the pass, and apprehensive lest the day should prove too short for the accomplishment of his work, uttered that bold apostrophe, that magnificent venture of faith, quoted from the Book of Jasher,² in which the servant of the true God called on the heavenly bodies, as His ministers, to stand still and aid the overthrow of their idolatrous worshippers: "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon." How this prayer was answered—by what precise miraculous agency the light of the day was extended over that district to enable Israel to complete the extermination of their enemies before nightfall, we cannot say, for God has not thought fit to record it. But that it was answered is certain.³ Before the prolonged day closed in, and the shadows of evening fell on "the Valley of Gazelles,"⁴ God's promise had been fulfilled to the letter. Not a man of the enemies had stood before Joshua; all had been delivered into his hand. Long and deservedly did the marvels of that day—a day which, at one sudden blow, secured the possession of the Land of Promise to Israel—remain engraven on the memory of the nation. "There was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the Lord fought for Israel" (x. 14).

The host was overthrown, but the five chieftains had escaped and lay concealed in a well-known cave,⁵ overshadowed with a grove of trees, at Makkedah. Joshua, to secure his prey, gave orders that the mouth of the cave should be blocked by huge stones until the return of the army from the pursuit of the enemy afforded opportunity for a public execution. Then the cave was

opened, and the five kings were dragged from its recesses. Israel saw these mighty monarchs, whose names had inspired such dread, grovelling in the dust before the conqueror. The chief warriors were bidden to approach, and, as a token of complete overthrow, plant their feet on the necks of the prostrate kings. "As these captive kings lay powerless before them, trodden beneath their feet, so would all their enemies who should make war upon them be laid prostrate by the Lord."⁶ They were then put to death, and their bodies hung, each on its own tree, till the evening, when they were taken down and "cast into the cave wherein they had been hid," the door of which was once more closed by the same huge stones. The kings' prison-house became their sepulchre.

With characteristic promptitude Joshua pursued his success. City after city fell, tribe after tribe was exterminated in rapid succession. Of Makkedah, Libmah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, the brief and stern record is the same: "He left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded. All these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because the Lord God fought for Israel" (x. 40—42). Southern Palestine was now conquered, the work immediately before Joshua was completed, and once more Joshua and all Israel returned to the camp at Gilgal.

The turn of Northern Palestine was now to come. "With impolitic indifference the northern chieftains had looked on during the subjugation of the south. They now saw the tide of conquest roll back on themselves, and, too late, began to prepare for their defence."⁷ A powerful confederacy was formed, embracing all the tribes that had not yet fallen before Joshua, of which Jabin, the king of Hazor,⁸ was the head. An enormous army, "even as the sand that is on the seashore in multitude,"⁹ was mustered and encamped at the waters of Merom.⁹ For the first time in these wars mention is made of horses and chariots "very many." The host was formidable, both in numbers and military preparation. But Joshua is forbidden to fear. Their defeat should be immediate and total. At that selfsame hour on the morrow the Lord would have "delivered them up all slain before Israel." He should hough their horses,¹⁰ and burn, as an accursed thing, "their chariots with fire" (xi. 6). As before on so many occasions, Joshua's prompt decisiveness secured him the victory. Almost before the kings could have learnt that he had left Gilgal, he and his soldiers burst upon

¹ Beth-horon signifies "house of caves."

² We have one other passage quoted from the Book of Jasher, namely, the elegy over Saul and Jonathan, entitled "the Bow" (2 Sam. i. 18—27). We should probably not be wrong in inferring from these two quotations that this book was a collection of historical odes celebrating the exploits of the chief heroes of the theocracy. Jasher, connected etymologically with "Jeshurun," the poetical designation of Israel, signifies "upright" (cf. Numb. xxiii. 10, "Let me die the death of the righteous," *reshârim*).

³ The only legitimate interpretation of this passage, including not only the poetical quotation from the Book of Jasher (vs. 12, 13, beginning), but also the prose comment (vs. 13, 14), in which the fact is distinctly reasserted, is that, by some miraculous agency, the daylight was prolonged over the district in a way enabling Joshua to finish the overthrow of his enemies. The miracle was distinctly local, confined to the neighbourhood of Gibeon and Ajalon, and we may therefore safely rid ourselves of the notion of the suspension of the earth's rotation on its axis, which has been a stumbling-block to the intelligent believer, as well as a fertile source of objection to the sceptic. An extension of the daylight by natural causes—increased refraction, or the like—satisfies all the reasonable requirements of the passage, when we bear in mind that the language is certainly poetical and figurative, and no more intended to be accepted literally than the analogous expressions Judg. v. 20; Ps. xviii. 9, 15; cxiv. 4; Isa. xlii. 10.

⁴ "The Valley of Ajalon." Ajalon = "hinds," or "gazelles."

⁵ "The cave" it is in the Hebrew (Josh. x. 16, 17).

⁶ Keil on Josh. x. 25.

⁷ Milman, *History of the Jews*, book v.

⁸ Hazor signifies "enclosed," or "fortified." It is described by Josephus as overlooking the lake of Merom.

⁹ "The waters of Merom" have been usually identified with the uppermost of the three lakes in the higher part of the Jordan valley, taking its name Merom, or "the high lake," from its upland situation. It is described as half morass, half tarn, about seven miles long and six broad at its greatest width, surrounded by an almost impenetrable jungle of reeds abounding in wild fowl. (Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 390.)

¹⁰ Or "hamstring;" i. e., cut the sinews of the back part of the thighs, which would lame the horses immediately.

them. Taken thus by surprise, their immense numbers only increased the confusion of the Canaanites, which the horses and chariots would render more inextricable. The rout was complete. The Canaanites were chased westward to Zidon and eastward to the valley of Mizpeh. The conqueror returned to finish the action by the capture of Hazor. This city, like Ai and Jericho, was burnt. The rest of the cities taken in this campaign were simply pillaged, and left standing "each on its own hill" (xi. 13).

The conciseness of the narrative forbids our pursuing Joshua's subjugation of Canaan in detail. We are

told no more than that the war with the kings lasted "a long time" (xi. 18). Five years, at least—according to another reckoning, seven years—were employed in the complete reduction of the land. By this time the seven nations of the Canaanites properly so called had been entirely vanquished. Thirty-one kings had fallen by the sword. Every city, except those of the Gibeonites, had been sacked and its inhabitants put to death. Joshua had taken "the whole land, according to all that the Lord had said to Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land rested from war" (xi. 23).

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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ANTELOPES (*concluded*).

HE Oryx has been referred to by various writers under various names; it is the *Antelope leucoryx* of Pallas; the *Antelope algazella* of Rüppell; the milk-white antelope of Pennant; the white antelope of Shaw; the abn-hard, jaehmur and yazmur of the Arabs (though they also apply this name to the bubalo). It inhabits North and West Africa, Nubia, Senaar, and Senegal. Dr. Tristram tells us that "the oryx is still found on the confines of the Holy Land, though strictly an inhabitant of the desert;" that though he did not obtain any specimen, he approached quite near enough to be able to identify it by the shape of its horns. These horns, which are enormously long, are frequently to be purchased in the bazaars of Damascus. From the general white colour of its body, this antelope received the Greek name *leucoryx*, i.e., "the white oryx." The animal figured is drawn from a specimen in the British Museum. The *Oryx gazella*, or gems-boc (the representative of the *O. leucoryx*), is found in South Africa; it has long straight horns, which, like its relative in North Africa and Syria, it can use with deadly effect.

Another species of antelope seems to be mentioned in the Hebrew Bible under the name of *dishôn*, rendered "pygarg" in our version. It occurs only in Dent. xiv. 5, as one of the names of animals allowed as food. The Septuagint and Vulgate versions give *πύργαρος* and *pygargus* as the representative of the Hebrew word, implying that the animal in question is a deer or antelope, "having a white rump." This character belongs to several antelopes. Nothing can be gathered from the Hebrew term *dishôn* beyond the fact that it probably signifies "a leaper." There seems to be no doubt that the *Addax* antelope is identical with the *strepsiceros* mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* xi. 37), for when this species was, after many years, at length re-discovered by Hemprich and Rüppell, it was found to be called by its Arabic name of *akas* or *adas*, the very name which Pliny gives as the local one of his *strepsiceros*. The *Addax nasomaculatus* may be the *dishôn* of the

Hebrew Bible; at any rate there is no other animal that has a better claim to represent the word; and although at present it is not found in Palestine, it may have occurred there formerly, for it is now known to inhabit Egypt and the Sahara, Nubia and Arabia.

There is much less uncertainty as to what antelope is intended by the Hebrew word *yachmûr*, occurring only in Dent. xiv. 5, as the name of one of the animals allowed by the Levitical law for food, and in 1 Kings iv. 23, as forming part of the provision for Solomon's table. The Greek and Latin versions here give *βούβαλος* and *bubalus* as the representatives of the Hebrew term, while our English version renders it by "fallow deer." Now there is no doubt that the Greek word *βούβαλος* or *βούβαλις*, the Latin *bubalus*, denotes the bovine antelope, *Alcephalus bubalis*. Herodotus (iv. 192), Aristotle (*H. A.* iii. 6), Diodorus (ii. 51), Oppian (*Cyng.* ii. 300), Polybius (xii. 3, 5), speak of this antelope as an inhabitant of North and East Africa. In a fragment of Æschylus the Greek poet mentions "the freshly-eaght bubalis food for a lion;" while Oppian describes the bubale at some length.

Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii. 15) says that the common people in their ignorance sometimes gave the name of *bubalus* to the bison and the *urus*; but the animal properly so called, he adds, is found in Africa, and bears a resemblance to the calf and stag; in other words, the animal is one of the bovine antelopes. The evidence, then, that the *bubalus* of the Greek and Latin writers denotes the *Alcephalus bubalis* of modern zoologists is complete, but how shall we identify the bubale with the *yachmûr* of the Hebrew Scriptures? Here again is very good evidence. *Yachmûr* is one of the Arabic names for the bubale, which by the Arabs of North Africa is now generally known by the name of *bekker-el-wash*, i.e., wild cattle. Freytag, in his Arabic Lexicon, under the word *yachmûr*, has the following: "*Yachmûr*, ruber; animal ad genus pertinens enim est apud Arabes nomen *bekker-el-wash*." *Yachmûr* is from a root meaning "to be red;" this antelope varies in colour from red to pale brown. There is then every reason, we think,

to conclude that the animal denoted by the Hebrew word *yachmûr* is the bovine antelope, *Alcephalus bubalis*.

ELEPHANT.

Of the natural order PROBOSCIDA, represented only by the two species of elephant, we have no distinct mention in the canonical books, if we except 1 Kings x. 22 and 2 Chron. ix. 21, where our translators for "ivory" in the text read "elephants' teeth" in the margin. Frequent mention of elephants, however, is made in the apocryphal books of the Maccabees, where we read that Lysias, who had been entrusted with the government of Southern Syria by Antiochus Epiphanes, employed many of these animals in his wars against the Jews. At the celebrated siege of Bethsura, on the Idumean frontier, the royal force under the command

midst of the battle, slaying on the right hand and on the left, so that they were divided from him on both sides. Which done, he crept under the elephant, and thrust him under, and slow him: whereupon the elephant fell down upon him, and there he died" (1 Macc. vi. 43—46). We also read that Antiochus Epiphanes, the father of Antiochus Eupator, "entered Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy, and made war against Ptolemeo, king of Egypt" (1 Macc. i. 17, 18). Elephants are also mentioned in other passages in the books of the Maccabees. Though the name of the elephant is not found in the text of our English version, the Hebrew—or rather Hebraized form of the Sanskrit—name occurs in 1 Kings x. 22, and 2 Chron. ix. 21. King Solomon "had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram: once in



DEER-HUNTING: ATTENDANTS WITH NETS ON THE BORDERS OF FOREST. (ASSYRIAN.)

of Lysias, in the temporary reign of Antiochus Eupator, consisted of "an hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and two and thirty elephants exercised in battle. These went through Idumea and pitched against Bethsura (*Beth-tsûr*, 'house of rock'), which they assaulted many days, making engines of war; but they of Bethsura came out, and burned them with fire, and fought valiantly. Upon this Judas removed from the tower, and pitched in Bathzacharias, over against the king's camp. Then the king rising very early marched fiercely with his host towards Bathzacharias, where his armies made them ready for battle, and sounded the trumpets. And to the end they might provoke the elephants to fight, they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries" (1 Macc. vi. 30—34). It was on this occasion that Eleazar, "perceiving that one of the beasts, armed with royal harness, was higher than all the rest, and supposing that the king was upon him, put himself in jeopardy, to the end he might deliver his people, and get him a perpetual name: wherefore he ran upon him courageously through the

three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory (*shen-habbim*), apes, and peacocks;" the Hebrew word literally meaning "teeth of elephants," as in the marginal reading. Ivory, the valued product of the elephant, is frequently mentioned in the Bible, and to this we will turn our attention. The Hebrew word, which, excepting in the two passages quoted above, is always translated "ivory," is *shên*, "a tooth." It is, indeed, the name of the twenty-first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, ש , from its tooth-like form. The first notice of ivory occurs in the passages which speak of its introduction into Palestine from Ophir together with apes, gold, and peacocks, and almond-trees in the time of Solomon. As all these products are Indian, and the Hebrew words almost certainly Hebraized forms of Sanskrit names, there can be no doubt that the ivory was imported from some part of Hindostan or Ceylon. As Solomon was the first Jewish king to introduce ivory into Judea, so he was the first to use it. In 2 Chron. ix. 17, we are told that King Solomon "made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it

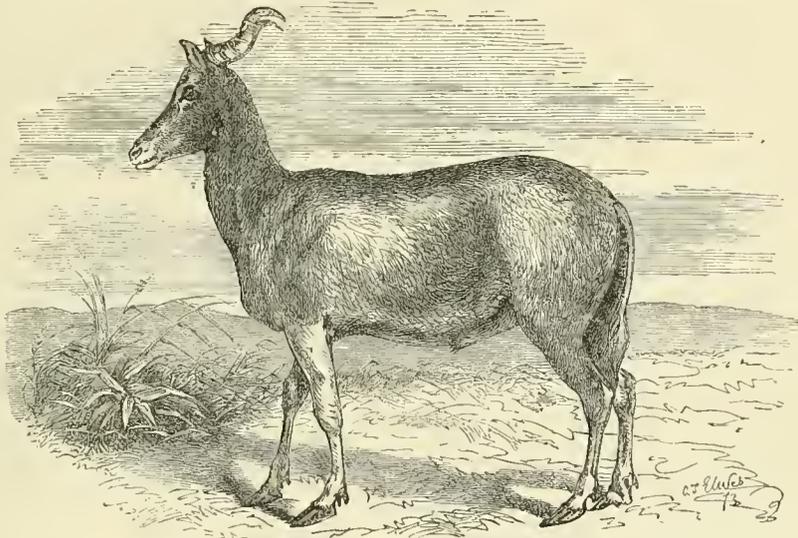
with pure gold." Later on Ahab made for himself "a house of ivory" (1 Kings xxii. 39); it must not be supposed that the king's palace was actually made of ivory, but that ivory panelling and carving adorned the walls, roofs, and rooms. Such was the palace of Menelaus, described by Homer.

"View'st thou unmoved, O ever honoured most!
These prodigies of art, and wondrous cost!
Above, beneath, around the palace shines
The sunless treasure of exhausted mines;
The spoils of elephants the roofs inlay,
And studded amber darts a golden ray."
(Pope's *Odys.*, iv. 83-88.)

(See also *Od.* xix. 564; Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 896.) "Ivory palaces" are mentioned in Ps. xlv. 8: "All thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes, and cassia: out of

country. Diodorus speaks of the balsam and cassia, myrrh, balm, sweet calamus and cinnamon, and other odoriferous spices in glowing terms, and especially mentions the houses of the Minœi, adorned with gold, silver, ivory, "precious stones, and other things which men esteem of great value" (Diodor. Sic., lib. iii., cap. 47). It has been already stated that these Minœi lived in Spicy Arabia, and that Diodorus makes special mention of the aromatics of the country; when this is coupled with what the same author says about ivory-adorned houses, we have every reason for believing that the *minni* of the 45th Psalm refers to the people of that name. The words would then be thus rendered:—

"Myrrh, aloes, and cassia are all thy garments;
From the ivory palaces of the Minni have they made thee glad."



THE BUBALE (*Alcephalus bubalis*).

the ivory palaces whereby they have made thee glad"—a very obscure passage, for which various explanations have been proposed. Mr. Perowne reads the passage thus—

"Myrrh, and aloes, and cassia are all thy garments;
Out of ivory palaces hath music made thee glad."
(*The Psalms*, vol. i., p. 219.)

This makes very good sense. The difficult word is *minni* (מִנִּי), which may be taken as an abridged form of the plural *minnim* (מִנִּים), "stringed instruments." But *minni* may be the land of the Minni (see Jer. li. 27), a portion of Armenia, the *Mannai* and *Mannas* of the Assyrian inscriptions: we would then read, "From palaces adorned with Armenian ivory they make thee glad." (See Fürst, *Lex.*, s. v. מִנִּי.) But we do not know that Armenia was celebrated for its ivory. With far greater probability may the Minni (מִנִּי) be referred to the people of Northern Arabia, one of the four great nations mentioned by Strabo as situated nearly at the extremity of the peninsula. These people, a division of the Sabæans, dwelt in the frankincense

The 45th Psalm is evidently a marriage song celebrating the nuptials of a Jewish monarch, and describing the magnificence of an Oriental court.

The luxurious Phœnicians ornamented the benches of their ships with ivory. "Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory brought out of the isles of Chittim" (Ezek. xxvii. 6). Although, as we shall see just now, the Assyrians carried on a great traffic in ivory, it is generally agreed by scholars that the introduction of their name in the verse just quoted is a mistake. The latter part of the verse is better translated thus:—"Thy benches have they made of boxwood inlaid with ivory, from the isles of Chittim;" the literal rendering of the Hebrew is, "Thy benches have they made of ivory, daughters of box-trees" (or "cedar-trees," for there is some doubt as to the wood denoted). Such expressions are not uncommon in Hebrew poetry; compare, for instance, Ps. xvii. 8, "Keep me as the pupil, the daughter of the eye," as being that which gives beauty and brightness to the eye; so Lam. iii. 13,

"the arrows of the quiver" are "the sons of the quiver," because the quiver encloses them; similarly the ivory is the daughter of the wood into which it is set. The ex-

pression in the Canticles (vii. 4), "Thy neck is as a tower of ivory," doubtless refers only to the white colour of the neck; so whiteness alone is intended in Cant. v. 14.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

I. SACRED SEASONS (*continued*).

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WE have spoken of the three great annual feasts of Israel individually; but, before bringing our consideration of them to a close, we have still to make one or two observations upon them as a whole.

1. All were intimately related to one another as parts of one religious system, and expressive of similar religious truths. In this respect the Passover lies at the foundation of them all. It is not a part of the Feast of Unleavened Bread; it is an introduction to the whole sacred year. The propriety of assigning this position to it is vindicated by the arguments formerly adduced, and not needing to be repeated. On the Passover the entire year rests. Out of it spring all the sacred services to follow. It is as redeemed from its house of bondage, and called into covenant with God, that Israel is prepared alike for the duties and the privileges of its future course.

When we turn to the feasts themselves, however, it is obvious in the first place that that of Unleavened Bread has something in common with that of Tabernacles in which Pentecost has no share. Both derive their leading characteristics from the historical associations connected with them, and it is by the greatness of the historical truths which they commemorate that they are elevated into seven days' festivals. Mere harvest ideas fail to explain this fact. When it is said by a recent distinguished commentator on the Old Testament, that "Passover is the commencement of harvest; seven weeks ensue, which by their number are marked as holy; then follows the day of conclusion or Pentecost, which, as the culminating point of harvest, can possibly only last one day, and not seven days like the two corresponding festivals;"¹ no sufficient reason is assigned for the exaltation of the two and the depression of the one. The conclusion and not the beginning of harvest ought rather in this light to have been marked as the seven days' feast, for it is then that the joy of harvest is greatest, and that the labours of the year are safe. Besides this, it is impossible to dissociate harvest thanksgiving from the Feast of Tabernacles. We have seen that it is expressly designated "the feast of ingathering at the year's end" (Exod. xxxiv. 22; xxiii. 16); and if thanksgiving spread itself over all the seven days during which the people dwelt in booths, such an arrangement receives its best explanation from the fact that the whole produce of the season had now been gathered in,

that fruits and oil and wine, as well as corn, had now been stored. Not Pentecost, therefore, but Tabernacles is "the conclusion of harvest," and it is in something else than harvest-thoughts that we must seek the ideas which enlarged the latter along with Unleavened Bread into a seven days' feast, while Pentecost lasted only for a day. Historical associations, great religious truths, supply the key. The one feast symbolises the spirit in which Israel starts upon its way to Zion, the other the protection and care with which the Almighty watches over Israel in its pilgrimage. In the one the nature of the people's covenant-life finds expression: in the other, God's covenant love to his elect ones. Nor is either of these two thoughts to be looked upon as confined to the moment when it obtains special utterance. The first stretches forward to the second. The second stretches backward to the first. Taken together the two overshadow the whole year. Israel is reminded by them alone, without in this respect taking note of Pentecost, that it is to be a faithful people under a faithful God.²

But if in one sense Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles thus stand alone, there are other aspects of the three feasts under which Pentecost takes its place in the series, and constitutes the fitting middle term between the other two.

It was so first in relation to the harvest, and that dedication of it which Israel was to make to God. Here the Feast of Unleavened Bread embraced a thanksgiving for the grain as grain; and the sheaf of barley, the first ripened corn, expressed the dedication not of the barley alone, but of the whole grain crop to Jehovah. The Feast of Pentecost followed as a thanksgiving for the grain not only grown and reaped, but gathered in and appropriated to the use of man; and the two leavened loaves expressed the dedication of the crop as turned into food for the following year. Finally, the Feast of Tabernacles embodied a thanksgiving for fruits and oil and wine, the last productions of the season; and its first-fruits expressed the dedication to Him from whom they came of the joys rather than the necessaries of life. In this respect, therefore, all the three feasts were united together by a bond of similarity and of sympathy.

² In the representation now given is probably to be found the explanation of the fact that when the prophet Ezekiel represents, under figures taken from these feasts, the better times in store for the Church of God, he speaks only of the first and last feasts, and omits all mention of Pentecost (xlv. 21-25).

¹ Kalisch on Exod. xxiii. 15-17.

It was so, secondly, in relation to religious ideas to which they severally referred. Under this point of view they all shadowed forth certain great truths respecting the covenant life with God; the first its nature, the second its strength, the third its work. Unleavened Bread was a call to repentance and a demand for holiness. Leaven, the symbol of sin, was to be put away. The "unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" was alone to be found in the heart, in the family, in the nation. Pentecost told of the gift and appropriation of the Spirit; of that Spirit in whose strength we walk with God. Lastly, Tabernacles spoke of the diffusion of the Spirit; that they who truly walk with God live not for themselves but for others, that having freely received they freely give. Translated into New Testament language, the three feasts thus gave utterance to the three great truths of all religious life: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" "Behold, the kingdom of God is within you;" "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."

2. While thus intimately related to one another, it is farther to be observed that this relation was a relation of climax. There was progress in the series of feasts. Each was followed by one expressing something higher and greater than itself. We see this in their relation to the harvest. Each was a harvest thanksgiving, and was accompanied by the presentation of first-fruits. But the thanksgiving grew more lively, the dedication larger, as the year rolled on. The one sheaf of Unleavened Bread was followed by the two leavened loaves of Pentecost and the multiplied offerings accompanying them. These, again, were followed by the still more numerous gifts and sacrifices of Tabernacles. While, too, the worshipper made his constantly increasing offerings, he at the same time entered into a communion with God growing constantly closer. At the first feast of the year there was only a burnt-offering; at the second a peace-offering was added, yet without the meal; at the third we have seen reason to believe that the peace-offerings were numerous, and that the meal followed their presentation. But the peace-offering was higher and more expressive of realised communion with God than the burnt-offering, and the sacrificial meal was its culminating point. Thus, therefore, as the year passed away, a deeper sense of God's mercy found utterance at each successive stage of its progress; and in the sense of that mercy the believing Israelite approached God in an ever more endearing fellowship.

It is almost unnecessary to point out that in the typical aspect of these feasts the same idea of progress is to be noted. Repentance, the appropriation of the Spirit, the diffusion of the Spirit, present an obvious climax. No part is indeed entirely distinct from the others, just as we have seen that the idea of each feast stretched its influence over the whole year, and not over the week or the day only during which the feast lasted. Repentance is the work of the Spirit, and it belongs to the latest as well as the earliest stages of the walk with God. The Spirit is no sooner really appropriated than it is diffused in some corresponding measure, and fresh

appropriations of it are necessary to the very close of life. But still the three ideas are distinct, and the further we advance in a divine fellowship, the more does each of them in succession become prominent within us. "The path of the just is as the shining light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

3. A third characteristic of the feasts of Israel as a whole is to be traced in the joyful emotions by which they were all pervaded. The name by which they are most frequently designated in the Old Testament is derived from a word signifying to revel, or feast, or dance; and although there is no reason to believe that any gaiety by which they were marked was inconsistent with the sacredness of the time, or with the reverence due to Him before whom they were held, yet neither can there be any doubt that all the days devoted to them were days of cheerfulness and joy. "Thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God," "Thou shalt rejoice in thy feast," "Therefore thou shalt surely rejoice," are the commandments expressly given in connection with them (Deut. xvi. 11—15); and fasting was carefully avoided by the pious as inconsistent with the spirit of the time (Judith viii. 6). All the arrangements, too, connected with them were calculated to promote joy. They all took place in the summer half of the year. They were all associated with the abundance and the joy of harvest. In so far as they commemorated historical events they brought to view truths of the most elevated and inspiring character. Even the circumstance that the two most important, those of Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles, always began when the moon was at the full, and when, therefore, under the clear sky of Palestine, the brilliancy of night would have even a greater charm than the glare of day, must have constituted no unimportant element of their power to awaken gladness. This characteristic of its festival seasons was fully realised by Israel. At the great Passover in Hezekiah's time "the children of Israel that were present at Jerusalem kept the feast of Unleavened Bread seven days with great gladness; and the Levites and the priests praised the Lord day by day, singing with loud instruments unto the Lord" (2 Chron. xxx. 21). It was the same at the Feast of Tabernacles in Nehemiah's time: "And they found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by Moses that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month; and that they should publish and proclaim in all their cities and in Jerusalem, saying, Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees to make booths as it is written. So the people went forth and brought them, and made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the street of the water gate, and in the street of the gate of Ephraim. And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and sat under the booths; for since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun

unto that day had not the children of Israel done so. And there was very great gladness" (Neh. viii. 14—17). The proverbs in common circulation among the people bear witness to the same fact, as when of the Feast of Tabernacles it used to be said, "Whosoever hath not seen the rejoicing that was upon the drawing of this water hath never seen any rejoicing at all."¹ All of them indeed were seasons of the liveliest joy, and singing, sounding of trumpets, and feasting were their ordinary accompaniments. A deep interest attaches to this characteristic of these festivals. The gloom so often associated with the thought of Israel's worship has no real place in it. That worship did not culminate in fastings and penance. The more terrible attributes of the Almighty were not the only ones with which the people were familiarised. The world was not veiled in darkness to the pious eye, nor were the sweets of life denied to him who would walk with God. That Judaism pointed onward to better things is true; and so far it awoke aspirations, longings, desires, which it was unable fully to satisfy. But God was always, even under it, the Redeemer of His people. His people were redeemed. Their highest solemnities spoke of the light and the freedom of redemption. Fasting was only preparatory to feasting. "The joy of the Lord" was Israel's "strength."

4. A fourth characteristic of the feasts of which we speak was the sanctifying influence shed by them, while they lasted, upon everything. For their joy was not a worldly but a sacred joy. It may have often been misdirected, just as in the Christian Church itself, but a short period passed before in Corinth her holiest and most joyful solemnity was changed by many into a scene of gluttony and drunkenness (I Cor. xi. 21). But in its intention it was certainly religious. The whole time during which the feast continued was set apart for God. The putting away of leaven, the ablutions, the cleansings, the rest from labour, the solemn assemblies, the greatly increased offerings of each day, all testified to the fact that throughout the feast God was felt to be peculiarly near. The house or the booth became a sacred dwelling, the family a sacred family, the meal a sacred meal, every vessel even employed in the household a sacred vessel; and hence it is that when the prophet Zechariah looks onward to the time when the enemies of Jerusalem shall go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of Hosts, and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles, he immediately adds, "In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD: yea, every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness unto the Lord of Hosts" (Zech. xiv. 20, 21). The importance of such a lesson to a people, so many of whose ordinances of worship might seem rather likely to suggest the idea of a much more limited sacredness, might seem rather likely to confine than to expand the circle of holy places and persons and times and things, to a people not yet taught the exalted lesson of the New Testament, "Whether there-

fore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God," it is impossible to over-estimate. Each of these festival seasons carried the sacredness of the Sabbath, to a certain extent at least, into the days of the week which it embraced. Each, therefore, formed a bright spot in the desert, a little patch of green verdure redeemed from the wilderness of secular days amidst which it stood, and containing in it the foreshadowing of a greener and brighter future.

5. It has to be noticed that all the three great feasts were national festivals celebrated by Israel as one whole, and intended especially to impress the people with the feeling that, however great the number of their tribes, these tribes were one. On no point of His arrangements in connection with them does the Almighty seem to have bestowed greater care. It was at the sanctuary alone that they could be celebrated, at the great centre of national unity, in Jerusalem, the city in which all were equally interested, and where He who was equally the God of all had taken up his special abode. "Thou mayest not sacrifice the Passover within any of thy gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee; but at the place which the Lord thy God shall choose to place his name in, there thou shalt sacrifice the Passover" (Deut. xvi. 5, 6); and the command is given in similar terms with reference to Pentecost and Tabernacles (Deut. xvi. 11—15). For the same reason it was that all the males of Israel were commanded to appear three times in a year before the Lord "in the place which He should choose" (Deut. xvi. 16). Even the more subordinate arrangements of the festivals tended to deepen the same thought. The one sheaf of Easter, the two loaves of Pentecost, were waved in the name of the nation and not of individuals. The harvest acknowledged and dedicated was the harvest of Israel as a whole, and not that of the individual proprietors of the soil. Everything contributed to remind the people that they were one.

That this end was actually attained by them is evident throughout the whole history of Israel. The Psalms of the Pilgrimages already spoken of, and proceeding from the very heart of the people, give striking evidence of the fact; and when the gathering pilgrims, beholding the city that was compact together, saluted it with the joyful cry, "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces," it was because they saw in it the city to which "the tribes" of the Lord went up, it was "for their brethren and companions' sakes" that they said, "Peace be within thee" (Ps. exxii.). Of all the ordinances of Israel, in short, none exercised a more powerful effect than the three great yearly feasts in attaching the different tribes to one God, one sanctuary, and one national bond of unity.

6. It remains for us only to observe that the more general aspects of the feasts of Israel now spoken of find, like the more particular ones already referred to in previous papers, their fulfilment in Christ and in His people. The great principle to be borne in mind is that we are not to seek this fulfilment in any outward

¹ Lightfoot on John vii. 33.

ordinances or institutions of the Christian Church. That Church may express her feelings in such seasons if she choose; experience teaches us that she has always done it; human nature, that she must always do it. But her institutions must flow from her own free spirit; they must not be looked on as consummations of Jewish shadows; and they must be used only as means for helping her to preserve that spirit which is higher than them all. It is in spiritual and abiding realities alone, first in the life and spirit of Christ, secondly in the life and spirit of His people, the members of that one body of which He is head, that the feasts of Israel find their fulfilment now.

Life in Christ is a life lived under the power of two great truths, first, "We are not our own;" secondly, "All things shall work together for our good." Again, it is one in which, cleansing ourselves by the help of Divine grace from all sin, we receive the gift of the Spirit, and dispense it to all around us who are faint and weary. Still further, it is a life of progress, although of progress not so much in kind as in degree. The same influences are at work from the beginning, but each experience of them becomes a ground upon which they who are partakers of the Christian life ask for more, and, having obtained more, apply it more fully and more faithfully, till from them, as from the temple of God, there rushes forth that stream of life which widens and deepens as it flows, making the solitary places to be glad for it, and the wilderness to rejoice and blossom. Nor is this all; for, as the three annual feasts of Israel were seasons of the liveliest joy, so is that Christian life in which they are fulfilled to be marked by a joy that is abiding. Each Christian, indeed, may not be able always to rejoice. There come in the experience of the individual times of sorrow as well as of gladness, when it would be unnatural not to weep. But the Church of Christ as a whole ought

ever to have on her wedding garment, ought ever to be celebrating her feast. For her, too, all things are sanctified. The sanctifying influences of the feasts of old are fulfilled in the hearts of Christians, and "out of the heart are the issues of life." To the Christian nothing is common. Joy and sorrow, earth and sky, solitary hours and the social table, all are sacred, because in the deep recesses of his heart he is keeping his festival and singing its songs. Finally, in the fulfilled Christian life all the followers of Christ are one. Redeemed by one sacrifice, called to the same holiness, enjoying the same Divine protection, partakers of the same Spirit wherewith to renew themselves and to convert the world, they ought to be in constant unity with one another. Not in outward denominations but in Christ they are one. Their unity is a "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Never until these characteristics of the old feasts of Israel are thus fulfilled in Christian men are they taking into their lives the influences of the blessed dispensation under which they live, as the Israelite took into his the influences of the Passover, followed by the feasts of Unleavened Bread, of Pentecost, and of Tabernacles. But when they are fulfilled, then we shall see the fulfilment of all that brought up the people of God under the earlier dispensation three times in the year to Jerusalem. Then shall the followers of Jesus be always in the sacred city and at the joyful feast. They shall not only be "the chosen generation, the royal priesthood, the holy nation, the peculiar people," but they shall be that people in the moment of their highest and most heart-stirring solemnities. They shall sing a constant hallelujah. Their palms and myrtles shall be ever green. They shall reap and dedicate a constant harvest, where they shall have not only all that is needed to sustain life, but all that can elevate and cheer and brighten it, world without end.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

ORDER XVI.—TAMARISCINÆ.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE Tamarisks are shrubs or trees with erect slender branches, densely covered with very small scale-like leaves. They have somewhat the appearance of the cypress, and are often mistaken by hasty observers for coniferous plants. The numerous small flowers are borne in catkin-like spikes at or near the tips of the branches, and cover the plant, when the flowers are open, with a mass of white or rose colour, which almost hides from view the bright green of the foliage. The plants of the order are exclusively confined to the temperate and warm countries of the northern hemisphere, and usually grow by the sea-side, but are also met with on the margins of rivers and in arid plains. The basin of the Mediterranean is their head-quarters.

The indigenous vegetation of England has no representative of the order, but one species (*Tamarix gallica*, Linn.) has so thoroughly established itself on our southern shores, that it grows there as if it were wild. It has, however, in all cases been introduced, having been planted as an ornamental shrub or as a hedge. Four species of Tamarisk occur in Palestine; two of them often attain a considerable size as trees. In some localities they exist in such abundance as to give a marked character to the landscape. A small shrub (*Reaumuria Palestina*, Boiss.), belonging to the same order, is found on the borders of the Dead Sea; it is very different from the tamarisk in appearance, and especially in having large solitary flowers.

The tamarisk and its products were much valued by

the Arabs; their great physician, Avicenna, in his *System of Medicine*, repeatedly dilates upon it, and recommends its different parts, as well as the astringent galls which are often found on it, as valuable medicines. The wood is much esteemed for making vessels, because of its compactness and durability; and the charcoal produced from it is so much prized that in some districts the Arabs have almost if not entirely extirpated the tree in order to convert its wood into charcoal. The young leaves are a favourite food of camels and sheep.

Although no reference is made in our English Bibles to the tamarisk, it is generally believed that *eshel* (אֶשֶׁל), which occurs in three passages in Scripture, refers to this tree. In one place it is rendered "grove." Abraham, desiring to leave a permanent record of the covenant which he made with Abimelech, selecting this hardy evergreen, "planted a grove (a tamarisk-tree) in Beer-sheba" (Gen. xxi. 33). In the two other passages, the translators employ the general term "tree." When Saul was seeking the life of David, whom he had driven into exile, he had his warriors and counsellors with him under a tamarisk-tree in a place near his native town, where he probably administered justice, as Deborah did long before under a palm-tree in the same district (see Judg. iv. 5). "Saul abode in Gibeah under a (tamarisk) tree in Ramah, having a spear in his hand, and all his servants were standing about him" (1 Sam. xxii. 6). Ramah was not far from Gibeah, but it is probable that, as in another passage, the word should be here translated, and not treated as a proper name. It would thus read that "Saul abode in Gibeah under the tamarisk on the high place," having chosen this suitable position for his tent. When, after the disastrous, and to Saul fatal, battle with the Philistines on the plain of Esdraelon, the men of Jabesh-gilead valiantly carried off the bodies of Saul and his three sons from the walls of Beth-shan, and burnt them at Gilead, "they took the bones and buried them under a tree at Jabesh;" or rather "under the tamarisk," referring to a particular tree still standing and well known at the time when the history was written (1 Sam. xxxi. 13).

The identification of the Hebrew *eshel* with the tamarisk rests chiefly on the resemblance between that word and the Arabic name (*athle* or *asul*) for the tree. This is confirmed by the consideration that the tree is suited to the context in the three passages referred to. Recent travellers have noticed the abundance of the tamarisk at Beer-sheba, where Abraham planted one, as well as the fitness of the tree to that arid desert region.

The tamarisk has still greater interest to the Bible student, because of the connection which many maintain it had with the manna on which God fed the Jews during their wanderings in the desert. Six days after leaving Egypt they arrived at the Wilderness of Sin; here they murmured against Moses for bringing them from Egypt to die of hunger in the wilderness. God, through Moses, promised to rain bread from heaven for their use; and until they ate of the old corn at Gilgal forty years afterwards, the wilderness around their camp

was covered each morning, except that of the Sabbath, with this bread which the Lord gave them.

When the morning sun had dispelled the dew, the Israelites found a substance on the ground, small as the hoar-frost, round like coriander-seed, and white like bdellium. Its taste was like that of oil newly expressed from the olive, or of wafers made with honey. It was gathered in the morning, for when the sun waxed hot it melted; an omer (about three English quarts) was taken for each individual, but on the morning of the sixth day two omers were collected, and what remained over till the seventh day was good, while any that might have been kept over on the other days of the week bred worms and putrefied in the morning. It was treated like corn, being ground in mills or pounded in the mortar, and was boiled, baked in pans, or made into cakes. When the Israelites first saw it they called it *man* (מָן), rendered "manna" in our Authorised Version. The difficulties experienced by the translators in dealing with this word are shown by their giving three different interpretations of it. These three readings still represent the different opinions entertained regarding the nature of the word. The marginal reading, "they said, It is a portion," is that adopted by Buxtorf and others who derive the word from the verb *mānāh* (מָנָה), meaning "to appoint or prepare." They adduce in support of this view a passage from the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon, where the author, in speaking of the manna, says, God did "send them from heaven bread prepared without their labour." The second marginal reading, "They said, What is this?" represents the oldest and most generally accepted view of the origin of the name. According to this view, the first syllable of "manna" is supposed to be the word *man*, the neuter form of the pronoun *what*, and the second syllable is a corruption of *hu*, the pronoun *this*, the whole word being the inquiry, "What is this?" This interpretation is that of the Septuagint, where the verse is rendered, "But the children of Israel, seeing it, said one to another, What is this? (τί ἐστι τοῦτο), for they knew not what it was." The Vulgate has the same rendering, including in the text the Hebrew words as well as their meaning. Thus, "They said, Man hu, which means, What is this?" Josephus also, in referring to the manna, gives this as the etymology of the word. This ancient opinion is that generally accepted, and it obviously gives a natural explanation of the exclamation of the Jews on seeing for the first time the bread of heaven. Nevertheless, the third reading, which the translators of our Authorised Version preferring, placed in the text, appears from recent discovery to be correct, although it seems as if a plain contradiction were introduced by making the Israelites give a name to a substance which was unknown to them. Raskin suggested that the word *man* was probably of Egyptian origin; and this suggestion has been established by Brugsch discovering the word in a list of articles contained in a basket of oblations at Apollonopolis. The other objects are either vegetables or vegetable products. The portion referring to the manna has

been translated for me by my colleague, Dr. Birch, the Egyptologist, and is as follows:—"There is white manna, it is considered a balsam; amacheri-tree is its name; its colour is like crystal." This short description may refer to carefully-collected specimens of tarfa manna, as Brugsch suggests, notwithstanding it is called a balsam, for Dr. Birch informs me that balsam included sweet-tasting as well as sweet-smelling substances. This Egyptian word is obviously identical with the Hebrew *man* and the Arabic *mann*, and whether the Egyptian manna was the produce of the tamarisk or not, the Israelites recognised in this material covering the wilderness a resemblance to it, and exclaimed one to another, This is the manna (of Egypt), for they knew not what it was; but Moses corrected the error into which they fell, telling them that it was not Egyptian manna, but the bread which the Lord had given them, which neither they nor their fathers knew anything of (Deut. viii. 3).

The substance now called manna is the saccharine juice of different plants which exudes through the bark when injured, and is produced generally in greatest abundance in very warm weather. In some cases the sweet juice escapes through a natural rupture in the bark of the plant, in others its production is induced by the punctures of an insect, while in others it flows through incisions made in the bark for the purpose of obtaining it. The manna of the shops is obtained by the last method from the flowering or manna ash, a tree belonging to the Mediterranean region, and cultivated in Calabria for the production of this substance. The common larch, an Oriental oak, an Australian gum-tree, the camel's thorn, the tamarisk, and some other plants produce similar sweet juices which are also called mannas. Some of these substances consist wholly of mucilaginous uncrystallisable sugar, while others, like that of the flowering ash, contain besides a considerable proportion of a crystallisable sugar called mannite. From their composition it is obvious that all the mannas must melt under heat and dissolve in water. They are employed either as condiments or as medicines, from the possession of slight medicinal qualities.

The conditions under which "the bread of heaven" was found and the properties it possessed were very different from those of any of the known mannas. It was found covering the surface of the wilderness wherever the Israelites went, as soon as the heavy night dews disappeared, and not on or under the two manna-producing plants of the wilderness, the tamarisk-tree or the camel's thorn. It was supplied, not in small quantities, but in inexhaustible profusion. It was found every morning all the year round for forty years, except on the morning of each seventh day, when the supply was completely suspended. It was prepared for use by processes which could not be applied to saccharine substances, being ground in a mill and afterwards boiled or baked. It was not used as a condiment, but formed the food of the hosts of Israel all through the wilderness. Mannas are preserved without difficulty, but this substance very speedily decayed, putrefying and

breeding worms if kept more than twenty-four hours; and yet this property was suspended once every week in respect of the Sabbath supply. Every day, when the sun waxed hot, it melted and evaporated, leaving the face of the wilderness without any indication of its recent presence; but mannas do not evaporate.

As long as the superstition regarding manna prevailed, there was some justification for seeing in one or other of them the very material on which the children of Israel subsisted in the wilderness. These superstitions, which even recently passed for science, were obviously drawn more from the Bible narrative, from tradition, or from the imagination of the travellers, than from observation. Avicenna thus describes it: "Manna is a dew which falls on stones and vegetables, has a sweet taste, is either of the consistence of honey or hardened into grains." Rosenmüller, in his *Botany of the Bible*, quotes Pliny's account that at the season when the Pleiades rise, honey falls from the air about daybreak, bedewing the leaves of the trees, and covering the clothes and hair of any one who is out at an early hour with unctuous matter, and then adds, "This is substantially confirmed by modern observers. Fabri mentions, that in his journey through Arabia Petraea, he found the dew quite sweet. Shaw remarks that, as he was riding one night in Palestine, his saddle and bridle were covered with a clammy dew. Forskål was told by the monks of Tor that manna falls on the roof of their convent. Breitenbach says it falls in the district of Sinai in August and September, resembles when fresh the hoar-frost and dew, and hangs in drops on the leaves, twigs, and stems. When it is gathered, it runs together like pitch, but melts over the fire and in the heat of the sun; its taste is like that of honey, and when eaten, it adheres to the teeth" (Engl. Edition, p. 329).

The progress of scientific discovery, and the more careful observations of recent travellers, have established that these stories are almost entirely erroneous. Nevertheless, the notion that the desert food of the Israelites was some accommodation of a vegetable substance common in the wilderness, has still its advocates. But in attempting in this way to explain by natural means the heaven-sent supply, these critics introduce greater difficulties than any suggested in the simple narrative of the miracle by which the chosen people of God were preserved in their long journey through the desert. Apart from the difficulties suggested by the consideration of the changes required to be wrought in the nature and properties of the natural manna, it is simply impossible to conceive of the actual existence of forests of tamarisk or camel's thorn sufficiently extensive to provide so immense a supply of manna as 2,150,000 pounds a day, the quantity required to give an omer to each Jew, and to provide this quantity daily for forty years. The whole annual produce of the tamarisks of the Sinaitic peninsula is not more than 600 or 700 pounds even in the most favourable years; so that the quantity collected in one day by the Israelites is more than the Arabs could have collected in the 3,300 years that have passed since

the Exodus, even at the rate of the most favourable annual production.

Three sources have been suggested by different authors as yielding a natural supply of manna for the Israelites. 1. A species of lichen (*Lecanora esculenta*), found in Eastern deserts and mountains, and which supplies the nomadic tribes of the Asiatic steppes in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus with a certain amount of food, although it is insipid and not very nutritious. They call it manna, and consider that it comes to them from heaven. These small plants are, according to Pallas, unattached to the ground throughout their whole life. Great quantities of them are sometimes taken up by the wind, and when they fall, often at a distance from where they grew, they cover the ground with small greyish or whitish irregularly-shaped lumps from the size of a pea to that of a hazel-nut. Parrot says that these "rains of manna" have been known to cover the ground in some districts in Persia to the depth of five or six inches. They are occasionally seen in all the countries around the Mediterranean from Algiers to Turkey; and as the *tripe de roche*, a lichen of northern regions, has sometimes preserved for weeks or months the lives of companies of Arctic explorers led by Franklin and others, so this plant has added to the scanty food-supplies of the inhabitants of these desert regions. 2. The sweet taste ascribed to the

"bread from heaven" has led authors to refer it to the manna of either the camel's thorn or the tamarisk. The camel's thorn is a spiny shrub with clusters of pea-like



Tamarix mannifera, Ehrenb. The tamarisk of the Sinaitic peninsula (Gen. xii. 33). A branch, with many clusters of flowers, the natural size.

flowers, common in the wilderness to the south of Palestine. The sugary exudation from its leaves and branches is called Persian manna. So satisfied was Don that this was the plant which produced the manna of the Israelites, that he proposed to alter the technical name of the plant from *Alhagi Maurorum* to *Manna Hebraica*. 3. The tamarisk or tarfa bush of the Arabs is an evergreen shrub or tree with slender branches clothed with minute leaves. In many places it forms the chief vegetation of the desert. Josephus first suggested that this plant was the source of the manna. Ehrenberg has distinguished the plant of the Sinai peninsula as a distinct species, and given to it the name of *Tamarix mannifera*. The tarfa manna is collected by the Arabs in May and June. They roughly cleanse it from impurities in collecting it; it is afterwards dissolved in hot water, strained through a coarse cloth, and boiled down till it forms a thick syrup. It is used as a condiment, being spread like honey on bread; it is sweet with a slight aromatic flavour.

Wherever the manna is referred to in Scripture, it is invariably regarded as a miraculous food sent directly from God. The Lord Jesus, when he accepted the manna as a type of himself—the living bread which came down from heaven—corrects the error of those who, in seeking a sign from him, insinuated that the bread from heaven given by Moses, by which he secured the con-

fidence of their fathers, was a greater miracle than the feeding of the five thousand, and says that it was the gift of God and not of Moses. We are led to the same

conclusion by comparing its properties and amount, and the manner of its occurrence with what is known of the natural manna, and we must regret all attempts to identify the "corn of heaven" with any of them. Yet we have no doubt that this wilderness-food so closely resembled in general appearance the Egyptian manna as to justify the name given to it by those who first saw it. In the same way emigrants apply names of familiar home plants to the strange trees and plants they meet with, because of some observed resemblance, though they are widely removed from each other in scientific characters. The adopting a manna-like appearance for the miraculous food is in accordance with the general plan of God's miracles, as recorded in his Word. For example, the Lord Jesus did not bring bread from heaven to feed the hungering multitudes on the green slopes of the Sea of Galilee, but employed the loaves and fishes which were the common food of the country, and by miracu-

lously increasing the small supply found in the possession of one in the company, made it sufficient for all. So when His people hungered for flesh in the desert, God sent them quails, migrating birds which occasionally passed in flocks over the wilderness; and when they wanted bread, in full keeping also with the locality, God gave them "manna," as if He were only multiplying the natural product of the wilderness.

An omer of manna was taken by Aaron in accordance with Divine instruction, and placed in a golden pot, to be preserved as an abiding memorial of God's care of his people. The pot was placed with Aaron's rod inside the ark, which held the tables of the law (Heb. ix. 4). It would seem, however, that when Solomon removed the ark of the covenant from Zion to the Temple, the pot of manna had been lost, for it is particularly specified that then there was nothing within the ark but the two tables of stone (1 Kings viii. 9).

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

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BABYLON (*continued*).

WHETHER, in considering the ancient accounts of Babylon, we adopt the larger or the smaller dimensions given by them to denote extent, the size of the city, and the magnitude of its fortifications, in either case they represent both of them as being enormous: are they altogether incredible? I. As to the number of men employed in the building. 1. Diodorus, from Ctesias, has told us that 2,000,000 persons were collected for the building. Assuming these figures to be not far from the truth, can we quote any case of parallel or approximate numbers? 2. Herodotus, in his account of the great Pyramid of Egypt, says that 100,000 men were employed on it and the works connected with it during twenty years. Diodorus gives the number so employed at 360,000 (Hered. ii. 124; Diod. i. 63). 3. We read in the Book of Kings that Solomon employed 150,000 men in his great architectural works besides 3,300 overlookers (1 Kings v. 14, 16). In statements of numbers derived from ancient MSS. exact accuracy cannot always be relied on; but the evidence furnished indirectly by the figures on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, as well as that which is supplied on a smaller scale by the operations of Eastern travellers in removing statues and stone slabs, informs us of the manner in which mere human labour has been and is still employed in the East for purposes which amongst ourselves are effected by mechanical contrivance with very much fewer men. II. As to the size of the city. Strabo tells us that Babylon was much smaller than Nineveh. Compared with some other cities, how do its dimensions stand? Its area at the rate given by Herodotus must have been about 170 square miles; at the rate of Ctesias, 106½ square miles. This difference may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that the larger area denoted the space included by the outer wall, and the

smaller that by the inner one; but in this case there must have been a distance between the walls, not, as Diodorus says, of two *plethra* (200 feet), but of fifteen stadia, or nearly 1½ mile. If we adopt the larger area, we shall be able to include within the limits of the city the Birs Nimroud; but (a) it seems more likely that this building stands on the site of Borsippa, already mentioned as a separate place, and (b) the whole area, according to M. Oppert's calculations, would cover as much ground as the entire department of the Seine, a good deal more than five times the area of Paris in 1869, more than one-third more than that of London in 1870, and would be much more than three times the size of Peking.¹ At the smaller rate, Babylon would have been more than three times the size of Paris in 1869, less by about one-eighth than London in 1870, and about twice as large as Peking.

Are these dimensions incredible? We may reply that they are very vast and extraordinary; but that with the explanation afforded by Diodorus and Curtius of a space only very partially inhabited, and throughout the remainder occupied by cultivation, as is the case in many Oriental cities, they are not beyond belief. But what are we to say of the walls? Taking the measures given by Herodotus, we have a wall more than 55 miles long, 200 royal cubits high, and 50 cubits wide, built of bricks made from earth taken out of the adjoining ditch. Hence the solid contents of the wall and of the ditch must have been nearly the same. But what was a royal cubit? Herodotus, followed by Pliny, says expressly that it exceeded the common cubit by three fingers' breadth. Reckoning the common cubit at 20 inches and the royal cubit at 22·4 inches, we shall obtain a

¹ Area of Paris in 1869, 30 square miles; of London in 1870, 122 square miles; Peking about 25 miles in circumference, perhaps about 50 square miles in area.

maximum height of 373·3 feet, and a minimum of 333·3 feet. The width was 50 cubits, *i.e.* either 83·3 or 93·3 feet. In other words, we have to imagine a wall 55 miles long, 83 or 93 feet thick, and throughout its whole length either 14 feet higher than the top of St. Paul's Cathedral, or at least only about 27 feet lower than it. The solid contents of such a wall would be not far from 119,000,000 cubic yards, and if all the material came out of the ditch, the ditch itself would contain about 24,000,000 more cubic yards than the Suez Canal, which took thirteen years to construct, and for which almost 96,000,000 yards of soil had to be excavated. Nor was this enormous wall with its ditch the only defence of Babylon, for within it Herodotus says there was another wall, not much inferior in size to the first. It is hardly worth while to discuss formally the credibility of these statements. The general accuracy of Herodotus and his anxiety for truth cannot be doubted; but dimensions so enormous, and, we may add, so useless in themselves as these, can hardly be accepted as true. But we find him to have been greatly mistaken in another case of measurement, in which he tells us that the stones of the Great Pyramid of Egypt were none of them less than thirty feet long, whereas none of them are found to exceed nine feet in length (Herod. ii. 124; Long, *Egypt. Antiq.*, ii. 215). We conclude, therefore, either that he never saw Babylon himself, or that, having seen it, he was greatly deceived in his estimates. We may, however, accept the fifty cubits of Strabo and the writers spoken of by Diodorus as more nearly approaching the truth, and thus the wall of the great city may well have been between eighty and ninety feet in height, and about thirty feet in width, *i.e.* about as wide as an ordinary high road in England, and quite enough for two chariots to pass each other on the summit.

When were these vast structures destroyed, and what has become of them? Cyrus, after his capture of Babylon, does not appear to have destroyed the walls; but some seventeen or eighteen years later, about 520 B.C., the Babylonians, when they revolted against Darius, son of Hystaspes, are said to have kept him at bay for twenty months by the strength of their walls, so that he was only enabled to enter the city by means of a most elaborate stratagem. This time, however, the conqueror partially if not entirely destroyed the walls and took away all the gates, and having impaled 3,000 of the principal inhabitants, gave up the city to the rest of the Babylonians to inhabit (Herod. iii. 159; Jer. li. 58). Later still the temple of Belus, which Semiramis was said to have built, was plundered and overthrown by Xerxes, together with the other temples of Babylon, after his return from Greece, 480 B.C. Alexander the Great intended to rebuild this, and in fact took some steps towards doing so, but his intention was arrested by his death, 323 B.C. From this time Babylon declined, owing in great measure to the building of the new city of Seleucia, on the Tigris, by the Macedonian [sovereign] Seleucus Nicator (the conqueror). In the second century A.D. Pausanias, a

Greek topographical writer, speaks of the temple of Belus and also of the city walls as remaining, though the rest of the city was destroyed; and lastly, St. Jerome in the fourth century says that he was informed by one who knew the place that the site of Babylon was deserted by men, and only used as a preserve for wild beasts, for which purpose the walls served as an enclosure. From this time we hear nothing of Babylon till the twelfth century, when it was visited by Benjamin the Jew of Tudela, who says that it lies in ruins, but that the streets still extend thirty miles; that the ruins of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar are still to be seen, but that people are afraid to venture among them on account of the serpents and scorpions with which they are infested. In the seventeenth century Pietro della Valle, after describing the Birs Nimroud, tells us that the rest of Babylon was so destroyed that no remains existed sufficiently large to indicate the vast size of the original city. Thus it appears that the city was deserted before the Christian era, but that the walls lasted longer, though probably in a dilapidated condition, until their disappearance at some time between the fourth and the twelfth century A.D. (Herod. ii. 183; Arrian, *Expedition*, vii.; Diod. ii. 9; Strabo, xvi., p. 738; Hieron. *in Isai.* xiii. 20; vol. iv., p. 159 (175); *Early Trav.*, p. 100; P. della Valle, i. 382.)

How shall we account for this almost total disappearance? Perhaps the "broad walls," built of a perishable material, have subsided into the ditch whence the material was taken; but the most efficient instrument of destruction has probably been the constant abstraction of building materials carried on during many centuries, and which is still going on to a vast extent, so that even in a few years an alteration in the appearance of the remains becomes visible. The town of Hillah is built almost entirely of Babylonian bricks, and they form an article of constant traffic for men who carry them as far as Baghdad. By these and other means the destruction of the great city has been gradually brought about, and the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah have been fulfilled, that "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms," should be overthrown like Sodom and Gomorrah, that it should not be inhabited from generation to generation, that Arabs and shepherds should avoid it as a camping place; but that wild beasts should make their lairs there, and that the houses should be filled with "doleful creatures, owls, satyrs, and dragons." (Niebuhr, *Voy.*, ii. 235; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, p. 506; Hales, *Chronology*, i. 453; Isa. xiii. 19—22.)

Let us conclude with a few remarks on the history of Babylon, especially in connection with the history and prophecies of Scripture. In early times it appears to have been frequently, though not always, subject to Assyria, whose power the Babylonians made efforts from time to time, with more or less success, to throw off. It is right to mention that the single native historian, Berosus, entirely rejects the story of Semiramis as a Greek invention. It seems likely that her name represents under a Greek form that of a native deity, whose name and traditional influence are assigned by Greek writers to a personage assumed by them to belong to real history

and to possess a definite date. (H. Rawlinson, *Mem.*, pp. 6, 10; G. Rawlinson, *Herod.*, i. 625; Josephus, *Cont. Ap.*, i. 20.)

During the reign of Hezekiah, about 712 B.C., Babylon appears to have been independent of Assyria, for Merodach-baladan, its king, sent a message of congratulation to him on his recovery from sickness, shortly after the successful issue of his revolt from Assyria, and the destruction by Divine interposition of Sennacherib's army (2 Kings xx. 12). But thirty years later, about 680 B.C., it appears again to have come under Assyrian influence, and Manasseh, Hezekiah's son, was carried captive to Babylon by the commander of the Assyrian army during the reign, probably, of Esarhaddon, who ruled over both kingdoms¹ (2 Kings xvii. 24; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; Ezra iv. 2).

About fifty years later, the conquests of Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, had encroached upon the power of Babylon, with which Josiah was then in alliance, and who lost his life in resisting the Egyptian invasion (2 Kings xxiii. 29). But after a few years these conquests were all recovered, and the power of Babylon rose to its greatest height in the reigns of Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar. In 625 B.C., the former joined the Medes in their attack on Nineveh, which was finally destroyed in 606, if not at the earlier date. Nebuchadnezzar, who became king in 604, during his reign of forty-three years greatly extended the power of Babylon, and was also its greatest builder, so that in his hour of self-glorification he might say truly of himself, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built?" (Dan. iv. 30.) But the voice of prophecy had long ago gone forth to foretell its ultimate downfall, and with such minuteness of detail in some of its forebodings as to induce some persons to suppose that they were in fact later in date than the events of which they spoke. Beginning with Isaiah, of whose consistent unity no doubt appears on the face of the volume attributed to him, and whose age ranges from 760 to 697 B.C., we find him pointing to a time when Babylon shall not be inhabited, when even the wandering Arab shall avoid it, but its site should become an abode for wild beasts (Isa. xliii.). He speaks further on of its great exaltation and subsequent downfall (xiv.); of the captivity there of Judah (xxxix.); of the drying up (*i.e.*, turning of the

course) of the Euphrates, in the siege; of Cyrus as the captor (xliv., xlv.); and of the luxury and corruption which brought on its destruction (xlvii.). Jeremiah, the period of whose utterances includes the climax of Babylon's greatness (B.C. 628—560), speaks of the invasion of Judæa by Nebuchadnezzar (xxi.); the captivity of Jehoiachin (xxii.); the capture of Jerusalem; the seventy years' captivity, and the subsequent return (xxv., xxix.); the retribution to come upon Babylon, which in two passages (xxv. 26; li. 41) is called by the name *Sheshach*, a word which has given much trouble to commentators. It has been thought to be a sort of anagram for the word Babylon, by substitution of *sh* for *b*, and *ch* for *l*. But a later explanation founded upon inscriptions seems to show that the name of the moon as a deity² was intended, and that thus Babylon is spoken of as a city under the protection of *Shishaki*, the moon-god (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 616). Jeremiah also speaks of the combination against Babylon, its overthrow, the drying up of the river-waters, the infatuation of its rulers, the Median, *i.e.* Persian invasion, the vast extent of the city, its broad walls and lofty defences, and its complete desolation (l., li.). The prophets, especially Ezekiel, also speak of the affairs of Egypt, of Tyre, and of other countries in connection with Babylon, and especially with Nebuchadnezzar (Isa. xix., xxiii.; Jer. xxv., xlv., xlvii.; Ezek. xxvi., xxvii., xxviii.; Bishop Newton, *Prophecies*, chap. x.).³

These prophecies have been literally fulfilled. Notwithstanding more than one revolt of the Babylonian people, and the magnificent schemes of Alexander for restoring the city to its ancient greatness, the empire has been dissolved and the city itself destroyed. To use some of the language of the prophecies, "her foundations are fallen, her walls are thrown down." Nor is this all that has befallen her: "the sower is cut off from Babylon, and he that handleth the sickle in time of harvest," for "the drought is upon the waters" which refreshed her territory with fertilising irrigation. She is become a desolation among the nations without an inhabitant, and of the numerous travellers who pass near her site on their way to and from Baghdad scarcely any except a few Europeans bent on antiquarian research take any notice of the ruins of Babylon.

² See Vol. I., p. 362.

³ An important elucidation of the Scripture narrative of the capture of Babylon may be seen in Vol. I., p. 336.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

I.—SACRED SEASONS (*continued*).

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D., PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

IT was not only by the three great annual festivals already considered by us that Israel was reminded of its covenant relation to Jehovah, kept in a spirit of dependence upon Him, and taught, at least in part, the lesson that its

whole life was His. These truths were also impressed upon it much more frequently and at much shorter intervals, every point in the course of the year which afforded a natural resting-place being carefully seized upon and sanctified for the purpose; while, at the same

time, whatever the explanation of the sacredness of the number seven. those points which were connected with it received that peculiar consecration always assigned to the number of the covenant.

Among these the appearance of the new moon could hardly fail to be regarded as of more than ordinary importance. Each revolution of the moon supplied a division of time, which, especially in Eastern lands, where her brilliancy far exceeds that exhibited by her in the West, at once attracted the attention of men; while again, as each occupied almost exactly four weeks, whose length was already determined by the recurrence of the seventh day, the periods of these revolutions became a leading guide in the arrangement of the year. By them, accordingly, the Hebrew months were fixed, and each new moon stood out as a definite point by which to reckon the progress of time, and mark the beginning of a fresh stage in the journey of life. It was a fitting thing, therefore, that the day of the new moon should be distinguished by religious services peculiar to itself.

The regulations regarding these are to be found in Numb. xxviii. 9—15; x. 10. From the first of these passages we learn that, in addition to the ordinary daily offering, there were to be presented to the Lord "in the beginning of their months" a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with the meat and drink offerings properly belonging to them, and one kid of the goats for a sin-offering; from the second, that on the same day the two silver trumpets, to be afterwards more particularly spoken of, were to be blown over their burnt-offerings, and over the sacrifices of their peace-offerings, that "they might be to them for a memorial before their God." The day, however, was not one of "holy convocation," and labour was not forbidden. The services now referred to were deemed enough to consecrate it. At a later time, indeed, the estimation of the sacredness of the new moon appears to have increased. Saul had state banquets upon that day; it was customary then to consult the prophets in cases of perplexity; the observance of it is associated with the thought of "solemn feast days" and sabbaths; and the Apostle Paul speaks of it as one of those days for the non-observance of which the early disciples were reproached and persecuted (1 Sam. xx. 5; 2 Kings iv. 23; Ps. lxxxi. 3; Isa. i. 13; Col. ii. 16).

The importance thus attached to the ordinary new moon was greatly heightened when the moon of the seventh month, the month Tisri, appeared. Like the seventh day and the seventh year, the seventh month was more than ordinarily sacred. The most impressive religious solemnities of the whole worship of Israel took place in it, and its beginning was, therefore, marked in a manner corresponding to these, and to its own place as the seventh month in the calendar. All "servile work" was prohibited; the day was one of "holy convocation;" trumpets were blown, not only over the offerings, but, it would seem, the whole day long; and in addition to the daily and the usual new

moon offering, there were offered a burnt-offering of one young bullock, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, without blemish, along with their appropriate meat and drink offerings, and one kid of the goats for a sin-offering, "to make an atonement for them" (Numb. xxix. 1—6). The day was thus exalted to a higher character than that attained by the first days of the common months; and, although there does not seem to be any express authority for so naming it in the Law, it came to be generally known as the Feast of Trumpets. Yet, strictly speaking, it was rather a sacred season only, and not a feast.

We turn now to the meaning of these new moon ceremonies, and more especially to the particulars connected with them, which are "fulfilled" in New Testament times. In doing so, it is first of all necessary to distinguish between the ordinary religious celebration of the beginning of each month and that of the first day of the seventh. These were different, not only in degree, but in kind. The facts already mentioned sufficiently establish this—abstinence from labour, a "holy convocation," and an increase of offerings having a place in the one though not in the others. As regards this last particular, however, that of increase, much more has to be said. It is no mere increase of offerings, no mere prolonged blowing of trumpets that claims our attention. The former were not exactly doubled; had they been so, it might have been enough to think of increase alone. But there was at least one important exception to the doubling, for instead of two young bullocks, the addition consisted of but one (Numb. xxix. 2; comp. xxviii. 11); and as one young bullock was also the offering of the great Day of Atonement, falling only ten days later, while "to make an atonement for you" is expressly mentioned in connection with the ceremonial with which we are dealing, though not in connection with the usual one, it seems a legitimate conclusion that the new moon services of the seventh month looked forward to the atonement immediately to follow, in a way in which those of the common months did not.

The difference in the case of the trumpet-blowing is even more marked. There was, in the first place, more than a prolongation of the blowing; there was a change of note. Two Hebrew verbs are used to mark the nature of the trumpet-sound—the one denoting an ordinary, the other a louder, more continuous, and more startling peal. The difference between them is distinctly brought out in Numb. x. 7: "But when the congregation is to be gathered together, ye shall blow, but ye shall not sound an alarm." It may be doubted, indeed, if "sound an alarm" is a good translation of the latter of the two. It is rather a loud ringing sound, which may even be joyful, but is not necessarily so, that is referred to. Now the first of these two verbs is always used where the ordinary new moon service is spoken of, while the second is so characteristic of the seventh new moon, that the day took its name from the circumstance. It was the day, not of "blowing the trumpets," as in Numb. xxix. 1, but of "loud shouting or pealing." In the second place, there seems

good reason to believe that, so far as the use of trumpets contributed to this, it was a different instrument by which the effect was produced. We must bear in mind that there were two kinds of trumpets used in the worship of Israel—the long, straight, silver trumpet, known as the *khatsoferah*, and the trumpet curved after the manner of a ram's horn, known sometimes as the *keren*, at other times as the *shophar*. But these trumpets were not only different in shape; they appear to have been adapted and applied to different purposes. No doubt they are sometimes associated with one another, as when the ark of God was brought up to Jerusalem, every musical instrument possessed by the people being then naturally called into requisition by them to express their joy; or, as when summoning all created things, sea and world, floods and hills, to celebrate the praises of Jehovah, the Psalmist is almost necessarily led to group different musical instruments together for the same end (1 Chron. xv. 28; Ps. xcviii. 6). But, notwithstanding this occasional combination, different ideas are generally associated with the two instruments. The first was employed mainly as a festal instrument, at times of high and holy joy, at the consecration of a king, when celebrating a triumph over enemies, when praising the mercy and ever-enduring goodness of the Lord, when gathering Israel together at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation to meet with God (2 Kings xi. 14; 2 Chron. xx. 28; v. 12; Numb. x. 3). It was the fitting accompaniment of the cymbal, the psaltery, and the harp (2 Chron. v. 13). When it was made use of for other purposes, such as the setting forth of the different camps of Israel upon their march, and when it seemed desirable to employ another than its common note, a different word, one that belongs more properly to the *shophar*, is added to indicate the change (Numb. x. 5, 6). The last-named instrument, again, the second of the two, belongs to occasions of a more solemn, a more arousing, and a more startling kind. It was its voice that sounded "exceeding loud" at the giving of the law, even amidst the thunders that re-echoed among the mountains of Sinai, "so that all the people that were in the camp trembled;" it was the trumpet blown with a "long" blast, and accompanied by the "great," we may well suppose the fierce, shout of the people at the falling of the walls of Jericho; it was in a special manner the trumpet of war, the first mentioned not seeming to be once used in such a connection throughout the whole Old Testament, insomuch that it becomes to the ear of the prophet the very symbol of war's alarms: "My bowels, my bowels! I am pained at my very heart; my heart maketh a noise in me; I cannot hold my peace, because thou hast heard, O my soul, the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war;" and, finally, it is by it that Joel gathers all classes of Israel together to fast, and weep, and pray that the Lord would spare his people: "Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly" (Exod. xix. 16, 19; xx. 18; Josh. vi. 5; Judges, *passim*; Jer. iv. 19; Joel ii. 15). It is certainly true that the *shophar* was also

the trumpet of the jubilee, that by which the jubilee year with all its blessings was proclaimed; but this fact will find, we trust, its explanation in what has still to be said of its use at the feast more immediately before us now.

The *shophar*, then, would seem to have been the distinguishing instrument of the seventh new moon, not to the exclusion of the other, but as the leading trumpet of the ceremonial. Such, at least, is the distinct tradition of the Mishna,¹ and the word used both in the Hebrew Bible and in the translation of the LXX. to characterise the sounds of the day, lends countenance to the idea. Putting these circumstances together, we find a marked difference between the ritual of the seventh new moon and of the new moons of the other months of the year, and the change of ritual must have been designed to mark a change of thought. What this change was can only be understood when we return to the question with which we started—what was the meaning of the trumpet ritual as a whole?

The general significance of the trumpet-blowing at any religious solemnity is explained in Numb. x. 10: "Also in the day of your gladness, and in your solemn days, and in the beginnings of your months, ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt-offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace-offerings, that they may be to you for a memorial before your God; I am the Lord your God." Different views, however, have been taken of these words, some supposing them to mean that the "memorial" spoken of was a reminding God of His people, others a reminding His people of Him. The use of the word in the Old Testament appears to be conclusive in favour of the latter view. Thus, for example, it is that the Passover is declared to be to Israel a sign upon its hand and a memorial between its eyes, that the Lord's law may be in its mouth; that the stones set up by Joshua on the other side of Jordan are said to be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever; and that the breastplate with precious stones worn by the high priest, and which was the symbol that Israel had been chosen and was accepted in God's sight, is described as "a memorial before the Lord continually" (Exod. xiii. 9; Josh. iv. 7; Exod. xxviii. 29). In all these instances, and there are many others, the "memorial" spoken of has relation to man rather than God. It expresses something passing from God to Israel, not from Israel to God. In addition to this it has to be noticed that in Numb. x. 10 the silver trumpets are spoken of as if they were the symbols of God's presence, a presence already assured to Israel: "I am the Lord your God." It is in this light, therefore, that we must regard the ritual of trumpet-sounding at the ordinary new moons. The noise of the silver trumpets was a pledge that God was near. He had come, as it were, with more than common closeness into the Temple, into the city, into Israel's midst, at the opening of this new period of time. And He had come to awaken only glad and

¹ *Speaker's Comm.* on Lev. xxiii. 24.

grateful thoughts, to sound forth to Israel his son the joyful message of his love.

But in the seventh month there was a change; and that change consisted in the introduction, by new sacrifices, other trumpets, and other notes, of the thought of the more terrible aspect of the Almighty, and of the humiliation, reverence, and awe which such an aspect of Him was fitted to produce in sinful man. God was still coming near. The trumpet-sound was still the symbol of his presence, but it was a presence which called for fasting rather than feasting, for deep prostration rather than simple rejoicing in his love. Not, indeed, that the former was wholly to banish the latter, or that the two were inconsistent with one another; but that the first was the only solid basis for the last, that God must be known in the one before He could be fully known in the other light.

The arrangement now adverted to is surely in a high degree remarkable. Had the seventh month been less rich in privilege than the other months of the year, it might have seemed to us quite natural that sterner thoughts should mark its opening; but the very opposite was the case. It was the seventh, the covenant month. It was the most favoured month of the whole year. It brought with it the great Day of Atonement, the Feast of Tabernacles, and each fiftieth year the year of Jubilee. Yet, while the ordinary new moon services were suggestive mainly of privileges alone, it was suggestive of the humbled spirit by which Israel was to be marked, of that sacrifice of a broken and a contrite heart, which was due to a holy and just God, and was of all other offerings the most precious in his sight.

The facts now mentioned, however, do not stand alone. It is worthy of our notice in connection with them, that in all those passages of the Old Testament where the prophets are commanded to announce with voice "like a trumpet" the coming of Gospel times, it is as the *shophar*, not as the *khatsotserah*, that they are to cry: "And it shall come to pass in that day that the great trumpet shall be blown, and they shall come which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, and shall worship the Lord in the holy mount at Jerusalem." "Blow the trumpet in Zion . . . Then shall the Lord be jealous for his land, and pity his people." "And the Lord God shall blow the trumpet . . . And the Lord their God shall save them in that day" (Isa. xxvii. 13; Joel ii. 15, 18; Zech. ix. 14, 16, &c.)—always the *shophar*, the trumpet of war and judgment.¹

Thus then we discover the "fulfilment" of which we are in search. First, in that sound of the Gospel message which tells us that God is near, that His tabernacle is in the midst of us, that He has taken up his abode with man. What the silver trumpets announced to Israel at the opening of each month is proclaimed

to us continually by those who cry that Jerusalem's warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned; that they are commissioned to speak to her words of comfort from her God. What Israel heard on the first day of the new moon we hear without interruption in Him who has made us "the temple of the living God," so that the promise is fulfilled: "I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."

But the "fulfilment" is not in words of comfort only, or in the thought of God as only present to bestow privilege, only present in these New Testament times in mercy and love. We have seen that there was another element, the element of war and judgment, producing reverence and awe, in the seventh and highest new moon solemnity in Israel. If there is nothing corresponding to that for us, then a part of Israel's economy in the type is wanting in the antitype. But there is, and it is our duty to acknowledge it. Why should we not do so? Why should there be such a hesitation in the minds of many to allow that the God of the New Testament is not less truly, not less fully, a God of war and judgment than the God of the Old Testament? Why should there be such a desire to have God proclaimed to us only as a God of love, and that not the strong deep love described by him who says to us "God is love," but a soft and sentimental affection, knowing little difference between truth and falsehood, between right and wrong? Why should men speak as if the Redeemer had little of the stern and awful in His words, when no prophet of old ever cast aside from him with more terrible condemnation, with more contemptuous scorn, the Pharisee, the hypocrite, the trader in divine things for earthly ends? The Apostle did not feel so when, after the most glowing description to be found in the New Testament of the privileges of the citizens of Zion, he adds, as if summing up the whole: "Wherefore we receiving a kingdom that cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear; for our God is a consuming fire" (Heb. xii. 28, 29). The Apostle of love did not feel so when, in recording the discourses of Jesus to "the Jews"—that is, to the stubborn and stiffnecked leaders of the people—he records almost nothing but language of the most unsparing wrath. We have fallen too much away in these later times from this characteristic of Jesus and his words. We have lost sight of the sternness of those relations between God and sin, which are not only expressive of truth, but which are the very strength of manly piety; and to this it is that we owe so much of that whimpering accommodation to determined wrong-doing which has made not a little of our social action, not a little even of our legislation, an encouragement to vice. We need a restoration of the stricter, of the judgment element of the Bible. Not that we are to have less clear and unhesitating views of that love of God, whose height, and depth, and length, and breadth pass knowledge. Not that we are to "judge" men who differ from us in some things, when they are striving

¹ The other trumpet seems only to be once mentioned in such a connection (Hos. v. 8); but there the word "blow" is not the word belonging to it, but that expressive of the sharper, louder note.

after, or are already in possession of, that kingdom of God which is "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;" but that we are to recognise the eternal nature of the distinction between good and evil, between the light that comes to the light, and the darkness that shuts it out; that we are to look with an undimmed eye to the judgment that goes ever forth against the latter, as to the mercy that rejoices over the former; and that our hearts are to grasp with satisfaction and triumph every indication that there is not only "a reward for the righteous," but that "verily He is a God that judgeth in the earth." There will be both more reality and more wholesomeness in our piety when we return to this. We shall have a better answer even in the heart of the persistent wrong-doer himself, for he laughs in secret at the thought of mercy, which his own conscience tells him

he does not deserve. And we shall have a richer fund of love to distribute to the weak, the penitent, the humbled, when we do not waste it upon those who trample it under their feet, and turn again and rend us. This at least we ought to hold fast in all our dealings with determined sin, whether in ourselves or others, that it is the abominable thing which God hateth, and against which the inexorable sentence of His law is pronounced; and this we ought to feel, that the beginning of all privilege lies in self-abasement and repentance. If we do not feel thus we may perhaps up to a certain point have "fulfilled" in us the sacred season of the ordinary new moons of Israel; but we shall not have "fulfilled" in us the far deeper and nobler thoughts of that seventh new moon which opened the month laden with the most precious treasures of the year.

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.

BY JOHN STAINER, M.A., MUS. D., MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; ORGANIST OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

WIND INSTRUMENTS (*continued*).

UGAB (*continued*).

IN attempting to form some opinion as to the degree of excellence reached by builders of ancient (not mediæval) organs, it is very necessary to bear in mind that the principles on which instruments of this class are constructed have not undergone any radical change since the earliest times. Indeed, one of our huge modern organs exhibits an ingenious expansion of old ideas, rather than the invention of new. Let us suppose, for example, that we have two rows of pipes (*i.e.*, two stops), one set of metal, the other of wood, standing in holes in the top of a box, which is supplied with air (more or less compressed) from a bellows. Only two problems present themselves: first, how is the player to make any particular pipe speak while its neighbours stand silent; next, how is the player to have power to play on whichever of the two sets of pipes he may wish. When these questions are answered, we shall have discovered the two important principles on which *all* organs have been and are constructed. The modern names for the two pieces of mechanism which bring about these results are, respectively, the *pallet-action* and the *slider-action*. In Fig. 59 (page 72), the simplest method of placing particular pipes under the player's control was shown. Slips were pulled in and out from under the foot of the pipes. The utter impossibility of obtaining from such a system a rapid succession of sounds, or the simultaneous movement of several slips so as to produce a chord, will be at once evident. In modern organs there lies under the foot of the pipe, some little distance below it, a small flat piece of wood covered with leather, which is hinged at one end and kept in position by a spring. This is the pallet (see annexed diagram, Fig. 63). A stroke on one of the keys pulls down the free end of the pallet and allows air to rush into the pipe.

When the finger releases the key, the spring immediately holds the pallet tightly against the orifice.

But to have a pallet under every pipe in a large organ

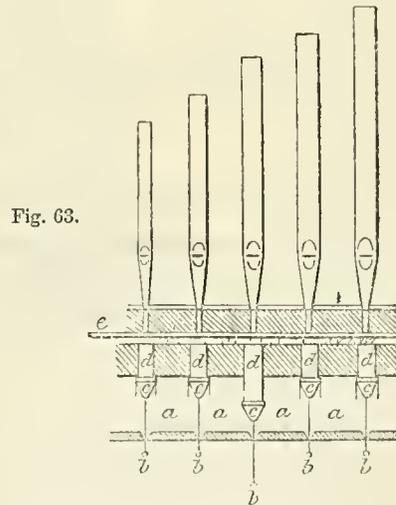


Fig. 63.

a. Chest of compressed air. b. Pull-downs of pallet connected with the keys. c. Pallets which admit air into groove; stented by moving between two wires. d. Grooves running from back to front under pipes. e. Slider with holes corresponding to pipes, pulled from right to left, so as to admit or prevent admission of air to pipes; connected with the stop-handles.

would be an absurdity; therefore, in arranging two sets of pipes, those giving the same note (or likely to be required for simultaneous use) are placed behind one another *over the groove into which the pallet admits the air*. If now a key is struck, the pipes which give the same note in both our stops will be sounding at once. Hence the necessity for our slider-action, which is

constructed thus. A strip of wood runs continuously under each row of pipes, having holes at distances exactly corresponding to the distances between the feet of the pipes. If we push this strip, which is called the *slider*, into such a position that its perforations and the openings leading to the feet of the pipes exactly *coincide*, then air can pass into the pipes when the pallet opens. If, on the contrary, we push this strip of wood so that none of its perforations coincide with the entrance to the feet of the pipes, no air can reach the pipe, even if the pallet be opened. In the former case we say a stop is *out*, in the latter that it is *in*. The diagram (Fig. 63) which is annexed will make all this easily understood.

How simple are these two great constructive principles of the organ! And yet, when once known to the ancients, there remained no obstacle to their building organs of any magnitude; for the modern organ with its three or four manuals in tiers, and its pedal-organ, is nothing more or less than a collection of as many organs all built on these two principles; and, as before remarked, the ability and ingenuity of modern organ-builders has been directed more to the easiest means of bringing these manifold organs under one performer's control than to the discovery of a radical alteration in the mode of their construction.

Who can venture to say that these simple principles of construction were never mastered by the ancients? If the reader will turn back to our mention of the *magrepha*, he will find that such contrivances *must* have been known at least as early as the second century; and there seems little reason to believe that any sudden and unexpected discovery led to their adoption. In the case of all other musical instruments, a gradual but very perceptible growth in the ingenuity of their construction is to be traced. Why not so with the *ugab*? The only conclusion to be drawn from all this is, that the *ugab* must be considered as an instrument of importance and magnitude in direct proportion to the period of its existence. To some this may seem a very contemptible conclusion. But it is not so. The use of the word extends over a vast period, and those writers, therefore, who describe it as one unvaried, unchanging instrument are, judging from what the history of music teaches us, treading on untenable ground.

It is remarkable that the latest improvements in the construction of the organ should have been in its *bellows*. One would have supposed that so important an element in its existence would have been perfected early in its

use. Such, however, is not the case. It must be generally known that as the top of a common bellows, such as a blacksmith's, descends, if left to itself, the pressure on the air contained inside it increases, because the weight of the top and sides is resting upon a constantly diminishing quantity and therefore *surface* of air. It is also a well-known fact that organ-pipes change in their pitch to a considerable extent, according to the pressure of the air which is passing through them. The ancients, then, if they had only one such simply-formed bellows, could have produced no sounds at all while the top of the bellows was being raised by the blower, as this process took off the pressure on the inside air; and even supposing that several such bellows were adapted to one organ in such a manner that while the contents of some were being utilised by the organist the others were being re-filled, even then the pressure of the air must have been far from constant, unless the ingenuity of the blowers counteracted the influence of

natural laws. A glance at Fig. 60 in the previous paper will show this plainly. These old-fashioned bellows were called *diagonal*. The bellows of modern organs, called *horizontal*, practically consist of the old kind of bellows (now called the *feeders*) and a reservoir just above

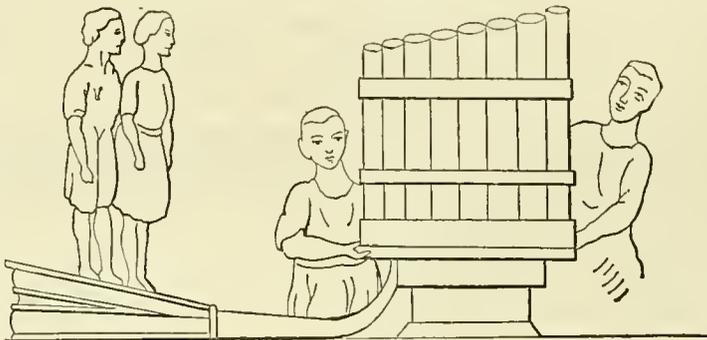


Fig. 64.

them, which, owing to valves at its under side, cannot drop while the feeders are being replenished. And in order to still further equalise the pressure, the ribs of our bellows are so arranged that while one set meet inwardly the others meet outwardly. It seems almost surprising that horizontal bellows were not made until the sixteenth century. Some ascribe their introduction to Lobinger, of Nuremberg, in 1570.

The weight of the body was very soon utilised by blowers for the purpose of inflating their bellows, in preference to the muscles of the arm.

The Saxon name for a bellows was *bilig* or *blast-belg*; and like it is the German, *Blasebalg*. Hence a bellows-blower was called a bellows-treader (*Balgentreter*). Fig. 64, in which this process is rather amusingly illustrated, is given by Dr. Rimbault, from Coussemaker's article in Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*. The awkward pause which must have taken place when the weight of the *treaders* had emptied the bellows, and before it was re-filled, can be imagined. The diagonal bellows and their treaders remained in existence quite up to the end of last century. The organ in the comparatively modern cathedral of St. Paul's, London, was blown after this fashion. It possessed four such bellows, each measuring 8 feet by 4. But other large organs had as

many as eight, ten, twelve, and even fourteen. The bellows-treader used to walk leisurely along, and throw his weight upon them in rotation. To this day many of the German organs are blown by the weight of the blower's body, although the bellows themselves are of a modern form of construction. It would be quite unfair to the reader to leave the subject of ancient organs without saying a few words on the much discussed *water-organ* or *hydraulic-organ*, which is carefully described by Vitruvius Pollio, the celebrated

into the base of a vessel of *any* given area, able to exert on *every* portion of that area equal to itself any weight equal to that added to itself, we can, perhaps, offer some such explanation of their mechanism as the following:— Suppose two oblong reservoirs of air to be made with their tops fixed, but with movable bottoms, and joined together with a cross-bar in such a manner that the bottom of one must rise as the bottom of the other falls. Suppose also that ordinary valves are placed in the top of each, so that as the bottom rises the valves

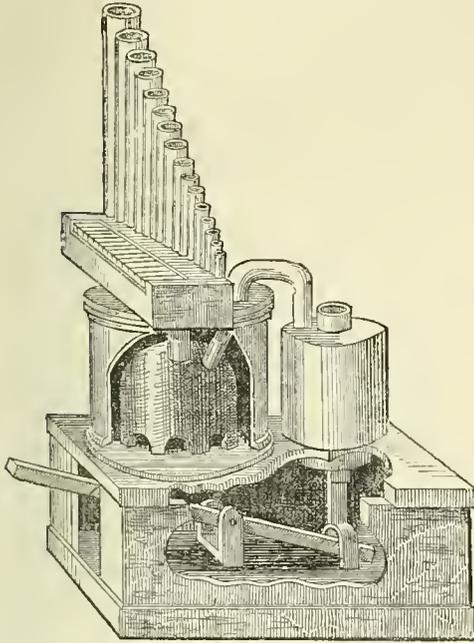


Fig. 65.

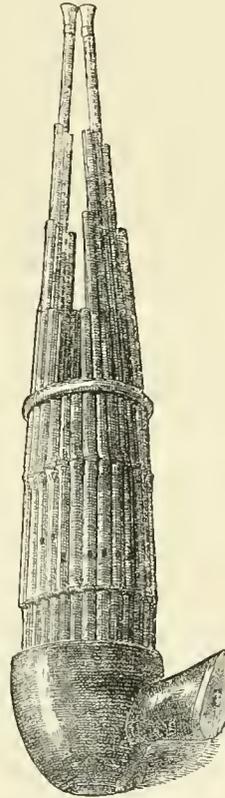


Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.

architect of the Augustan æra. As explanatory drawings were not fashionable in those days, it is quite impossible to discover what his elaborate and lengthy description really describes. But there can be no doubt that the lasting popularity of water-organs was owing to the fact that by some agency of water or other, the pressure of the air was equalised, and the defects just noticed as incidental to diagonal bellows remedied. Considering the natural dread which a modern organ-builder has to the approach of water to his instrument, although he is content to work an hydraulic-engine and fill his bellows at a distance, the reader may well wonder how and why ancient organ-builders courted the use of this hostile element. Assuming that the builders of the water-organ were aware of that extraordinary property of water which, for instance, makes it, if enclosed in a small tube passing downwards and

close, and the air can only escape through a passage into the box on which stand the pipes; while, on the other hand, as the bottom falls the valves drop too, and admit a fresh supply of air through their openings. Now, if enclosed water were to be admitted below the bottoms of the reservoirs with a mechanical arrangement which should not only stop the supply of compressed water when the bottom of each reservoir had reached its highest point, but also let the water escape through a waste-valve at the same time, it is not difficult to conceive of a very equal and strong supply of air being sent to the pipes as the two reservoirs were filled and emptied in turn. As long as the water continued to be pumped to the higher level, so long would the supply of air last. There is much in the account of the instrument, as given by Vitruvius, which carries out this view, but parts of his description are unquestionably

somewhat figurative. In opposition to the explanation of water-organs here attempted, it may be urged that had the Romans been aware of the peculiar properties consequent on the gravity of liquids, they would never have taken the trouble to build, as they did, massive and beautiful aqueducts when a closed pipe or tube would not only have brought the water safely down into the valley, but *up the other hill-side to the same level*. Also, that an hydraulic-organ is sometimes spoken of as playing *by itself*, and how can this be made consistent with the account here given, unless the organ-blower used to be considered the real player, while the man at the pipes was looked upon as a mere nonentity? And, again, it is occasionally mentioned that these instruments were worked by *hot water*, and if the water were simply used to obtain a force from its special laws of gravity, why in the world need it first be boiled?

Another explanation of the structure of a water-organ may be hazarded. If into a perfectly closed chamber of air a water-pipe is introduced, the air will, of course, be compressed in proportion to the quantity of water forced in. If pipes were placed over such a chamber with a slider under each pipe under the control of the player, the admission of the air from the chamber would unquestionably cause them to speak, and with two such chambers a tolerably constant supply of compressed air could be obtained, one providing this while the other was being emptied of its water.

This digression on the hydraulic organ is not altogether out of place here, as enthusiasts are not wanting who would make us believe that this instrument was among those known and used by the Jews in their Temple worship. Several authors have attempted to give pictures of them, and, it is not too much to say, have seriously taxed their inventive powers in so doing. Among them may be quoted Kircher, Isaac Vossius, Perrault (Commentary on Vitruvius), and Publilius Optatianus. A rude representation of one is also to be seen on a coin of the time of Nero, preserved in the Vatican. That here given (Fig. 65) is from Hänsler's *Kirchen Musik*, and is to be found, with much more valuable information, including the text of Vitruvius' account, in Rimbault's well-known *History of the Organ*. It is probably purely fanciful: the reader is therefore likely to be, after studying it carefully, as wise as he was before.

If we turn to that nation whose careful preservation of old traditions in art renders their present customs unusually valuable—the Chinese—we are struck by a remarkable fact, namely, that the organ they use is constructed on a totally different principle to that which has grown up in Europe. It is blown by being placed against the mouth of the performer, a truly primitive method, and one which, if adhered to, must have utterly prevented any great improvements in the instrument. The player finds room to pass his hand round into the back of the instrument, and so reaches the pipes which he has to stop, for by *stopping the holes* the pipes are made to speak.

Fig. 66 represents a *cheng* or Chinese organ, and in

Fig. 67 is shown the position in which it is held when in use. The most important difference between the *cheng* and our organ is that its sounds are produced by *free reeds*. The method by which sound is produced in an *ordinary reed-stop* on the organ is this: the metal *tongue* of the reed is rather larger than the orifice through which the air is forced, and is slightly curved at its extremity. When, therefore, the current of air is directed to it the tongue is forced down over the orifice, but its own elasticity causes it to return, when the air again forces it down, and so on; the number of these backward and forward motions being of course the number of vibrations necessary to produce the particular sound required. But in the case of the *free reed*, the *tongue* is not so large as the orifice through which the air is forced; when, therefore, the current of air is directed against it, it bends and *passes through the opening*, but is immediately restored to its position, as in the ordinary reed, by its own elasticity. That is to say, the tongue of the *common reed* beats against the opening, that of the *free reed* passes in and out of it. It is almost incredible that such a simple source of obtaining sweet sounds should have remained so long unused in Europe. It is said that an organ-builder, by name Kratzenstein, of St. Petersburg, saw a *cheng*, and made some organ-stops on this principle, about the middle of the last century. But the real value of free reeds does not seem to have been appreciated until Grenié, of Paris, in 1810, discarded the pipes and used the reeds alone, thus inventing the *harmonium*. Perhaps few of the many thousands who play upon this cheap and (now) sweet-toned instrument are aware that it is a true descendant of a *cheng*. Accordions and concertinas form the connecting link between the *cheng* and harmonium, as they combine the portability and free reeds of the former, with the bellows-system of the latter. The *cheng* contains from thirteen to twenty-one pipes, and is probably one of the oldest wind instruments now in use. Some have gone so far as to call it Jubal's organ, which would be in fact the *ugab*; but had it been in common use among the Jews, it is difficult to believe that all traces of it would be lost among the nations which were in close contact and inter-communication with them, especially as it is exceedingly light and easily carried, and would therefore in all probability have been carried about by them in their wanderings and captivities. It is improbable, therefore, that the *cheng*, ancient as is its origin, is allied to the Hebrew *ugab*, and the latter was probably at the earliest times a collection of pipes of the very simplest character, but growing into more importance as from time to time improvements were made in its construction. We have seen that the Jews were not unwilling to adopt the improved form of stringed instruments which they sometimes found in neighbouring nations, and there is no special reason for supposing that in the case of the *ugab* no attempts were made to improve upon the form invented by Jubal. An organ, in our modern sense of the name, it hardly could have been, as *keys* are a comparatively late invention; but a collection of pipes it

certainly was, which could be made to sound at the will of the player, albeit, perhaps, with clumsy mechanism. In the Septuagint the word *ugab* rejoices in three distinct renderings—*κιθάρα* (*cithara*) in Gen. iv. 21; *ψαλμός* (*psalmus*) in Job xxi. 12, and xxx. 31; and *ὄργανον* (*organum*) in Ps. cl. 4. That learned scholars should have ventured to translate one Hebrew word by three names of such totally different significations as “guitar,” “psaltery,” “organ,” is a sufficient warning as to the danger of trusting to translations. In our Authorised Version it is uniformly rendered as “organ”—“Such as handle the harp and organ” (Gen. iv. 21); “Rejoice at the sound of the organ” (Job xxi. 12); “My harp (*kinmor*) also is turned to mourning, and my organ (*ugab*) into the voice of them that weep” (Job xxx. 31); “Praise him with the timbrel and organ” (Ps. cl. 4). But in the Prayer-book version it is in this last passage rendered by “pipes:” “Praise him in the strings (*minnim*) and pipes (*ugab*).” The German version of the Bible translates the word in every case by “pipes” (*Pfeifen*).

As organs form, in our days, such an important element in the musical part of Christian worship, a few words on the probable date of their dedication to this sacred function may not be unwelcome. It is generally said that they were introduced into Church services by Pope Vitalianus in the seventh century. But on the other hand, mention is found of an organ which belonged to a church of nuns at Grado, before the year 580. This instrument has even been minutely described as having been two feet long by six inches deep, and as possessing thirty pipes, acted upon by fifteen keys or slides. It is very doubtful if they were familiar to the Romans, although an epigram of Julian the Apostate alludes to them. It seems, however, to be tolerably authenticated that one was sent by Constantine in 766 as a present to Pepin, a king of France. Improvements in their construction are attributed to Pope Sylvester, who died 1003. When we reach the time of Chaucer their use must have been common, for he thus speaks

in his *Nonnes Preestes Tale* (Nuns' Præst Tale) of a crowing cock “highte chaunticlere”—

“His vois was merier than the mery organ
On masse daies that in the chirches gon.”

The very existence of organs was imperilled in the troublous times of the Rebellion, and Puritans were no friends to their re-introduction.

Opinions differ as to the derivation of the word *ugab*. Buxtorf traces it to a root *agabh*, which signifies “to love,” and therefore defines it as “instrumentum musicum, quasi *amabile* dictum.” By another author it is derived from an Arabic root *akab*, “to blow.” The only passages in Holy Scripture in which the *ugab* is mentioned are those above quoted.

Maschrokitha or *mishrokitha* is the name of a musical instrument mentioned only in verses 5, 7, 10, and 15 of the 3rd chapter of Daniel. It has been described by different writers as a double flute, pan-pipes, and also an organ! As an example of the thoughtless manner in which illustrations are appended to supposed descriptions of ancient musical instruments, it may be mentioned that the figure of a *magrepha*, as given by Gaspar Printz (1690) has been given in a well-known work on Biblical literature as an illustration of a *mishrokitha*. Considering that these instruments had not only no claim to similarity of construction, but also were used by two distinct nations at an interval of about 600 years, the appropriateness of the figure of one (which by the way was in the first instance purely imaginary) as an illustration of the form of the other is, to say the least, somewhat remote. The word *mishrokitha* is traced to a root *scharak*, “to hiss” (*sibilare*), and as a certain amount of hissing necessarily accompanies the use of pan-pipes, the *mishrokitha* has been generally thought to be an instrument of that class. It is indeed rendered in the Greek by *σῦριξ* (*syrix*). The fact that the Hebrew translation of *mishrokitha* was *ugab* does not go to prove that the *ugab* was a *syrix*, as we have had sufficient doubt thrown on the trustworthiness of translators by the manifold rendering of *ugab* itself.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

JOSHUA (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRECENOR OF LINCOLN.

TWO chief duties remained to be executed by Joshua now that he had crushed the military strength of the Canaanites and made his power felt through the length and breadth of the land. The first of these was the solemn recognition of the law on Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim,¹ in obedience to the last instructions of Moses

(Dent. xxvii. 2—8). An altar of unwrought stones was erected by Joshua on Mount Ebal, and by its side was reared another huge stone monument, on the plastered face of which were inscribed all the legislative portions of the Pentateuch. These were read by Joshua in the audience of the assembled tribes ranged on the lower spurs of the hills, here nearly meeting across the valley, six on Mount Gerizim to bless, and six on Mount

¹ The narrative of this transaction occurs at the close of chap. viii., immediately after that of the taking of Ai. But when we consider that the distance between Gilgal and Mount Ebal was full thirty miles, that the country was then in the hands of the Canaanites, and that the women and children were present at the ceremony (viii. 35), and would therefore have had twice to make a long and toilsome march through a mountainous country, liable to attacks from the

enemy, it must appear in the highest degree improbable that Joshua should have selected this time for the rehearsal of the law, instead of deferring it to a period when it might be performed with ease and without fear of molestation. We must hold, therefore, that this passage is not in its true context, and that it belongs to a later period of the history.

Ebal to curse. The presence of the ark of the covenant, enshrining the tables of the law, borne by the Levites, imparted an additional solemnity to the ceremony by which, as their loud *Amens* confirming the blessings and the curses were rolled back from the enclosing hills, the people acknowledged the obligation of the law, and the righteousness of the punishments denounced upon the breach of it. A more impressive ceremony, or one fuller of the truest elements of grandeur, can hardly be imagined.

And then followed the division of the conquered territory among the tribes of Israel—the last transaction of a public and official kind the now aged warrior was called to execute. Much unconquered land still “remained to be possessed” (Josh. xiii. 1), but Joshua was commanded by God to apportion the whole, in reliance on His promise to aid the people to complete the conquest if they continued faithful and obedient. The apportionment was mainly by lot; though in certain cases unconquered districts were also assigned to those who had strength and courage to make them their own. One of these cases was that of the aged Caleb, who, in still unbroken strength in his eighty-fifth year, presented himself before his companion of five-and-forty years before, and with a soldier’s bluntness reminded Joshua of the time when Moses had sent them to espy out the land: “Thou knowest the thing that the Lord said unto Moses the man of God concerning me and thee in Kadesh-barnea” (Josh. xiv. 6), and claimed the fulfilment of the promise then made to him, as the reward of his faithfulness, of “the land whereon his feet had trodden, to be his inheritance.” The place on which Caleb had set his heart when he saw it as a spy, and which had been ever present to his mind during nearly half a century, was the mountainous country round Hebron, including the city itself, the sacred burial-place of the fathers of their nation, the stronghold of the much-dreaded Anakims. It was a prize that would have daunted any one of less courage or weaker faith. But the difficulties the winning of it offered were a temptation to Caleb. “I am this day fourscore and five years old. As yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me: as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, both to go out, and to come in. Now therefore give me this mountain, whereof the Lord spake in that day If so be the Lord will be with me, then I shall be able to drive out the Anakims, as the Lord said” (xiv. 10–12). Joshua knew that his old and tried comrade was no vain boaster; what he undertook he was likely to make good. To no one could the subjugation of that important and difficult district be more safely entrusted; so he allowed his claim, though as probably a foreigner—perhaps an Idumean by birth, and only incorporated as a proselyte with the tribe of Judah—it could not be urged as a right, and dismissed him with his benediction. “And Joshua blessed him, and gave unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh, Hebron for an inheritance” (xiv. 13). We like this last-recorded intercourse of

these grand old heroes, and see them part with a raised estimate of the character of each.

Another like claim, but urged in a very different spirit, was met by Joshua with an equal appreciation of its real merits. This was the overweening demand of the children of Joseph, the members of the tribe of Ephraim—already manifesting the arrogant self-assertion that characterised their conduct in later times—and the half-tribe of Manasseh, for a double portion of territory, in consideration of their superior numbers: “Why hast thou given me but one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing I am a great people?” The tribe of Ephraim was Joshua’s own; but no infringement of the strictest rules of justice must be expected from him for the advantage of his kinsmen. One lot and one only should they have in the general apportionment. If they wanted more, they must conquer it for themselves. They grounded their claim on being “a great people,” having “great power.” Well then, if they were so, let them prove it by great deeds. There was room enough for them in “the wood country;” let them get them up there, and clear away the forest, and drive out the Perizzites and the giants, if Mount Ephraim were too narrow for them. So they might obtain a second portion, and not have “one lot only.” “But the mountain shall be thine; for it is a wood, and thou shalt cut it down: and the outgoings of it shall be thine: for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have iron chariots, and though they be strong” (xvii. 14–18).

The latter days of Joshua must have been clouded with disappointment, as he watched the brilliant hopes with which the conquest of the Land of Promise commenced becoming gradually dimmed, and the Lord’s people, forgetful of their high mission, preferring ease and quiet to the faithful execution of his behests. Years passed on, and the Canaanites were not driven out. Only five of the twelve tribes had obtained their inheritance, and of these two and a half (Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, Numb. xxxii. 33) had received their portions before Moses’ death to the east of Jordan. Seven tribes still remained to be settled; and the fault lay with themselves. “The Lord was not slack concerning his promise,” but they were “slack to go to possess the land the Lord God of their fathers had given them” (Josh. xviii. 3). Enriched by the spoils of war, they were in no hurry to face the difficulty and danger of expelling the warlike Canaanites. They “could not drive them out” (xv. 63) because they would not. We can well conceive that this indolent, self-indulgent spirit was intolerable to the vigorous mind of Joshua. The remissness of the people was depriving him of his glory. He had been commissioned to do a work, and that work he must see done. All Israel must be settled in their portions before death called him away. So, as a first step, a survey of the still unapportioned land was instituted, and the returns being laid before Joshua at the newly-fixed religious centre of Shiloh, to which the tabernacle had been recently transferred from Gilgal, Joshua and Eleazar

the priest divided the territory by lot among the seven unprovided tribes, "before the Lord, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation" (xix. 51).

It was not until they had "made an end of dividing the country," and all other just claims had been satisfied, that the unselfish and public-spirited ruler received his own inheritance. The true nobility of Joshua's character shines out conspicuously here. He who might have claimed the first and largest share of the spoils of victory postpones his right to that of the meanest of his people. A special portion had been promised to him by God, as to Caleb, as a reward for "following the Lord fully" in the matter of the spies. But he calmly waits till all have received their portions before he "asks" for his own. And then it is no wide-spread district, no province, that he requires, but just one city. "They gave him that which he asked, and he built the city and dwelt there:" the name given to the city—Timnath-serah, "the portion that remains"—recording the fact that the conqueror's inheritance was the last assignment made in the whole distribution of his conquests.

Eight-and-forty cities—four out of each tribe—having been assigned to the Levites (chap. xxi.), and the Trans-Jordanic tribes dispatched to their rich mountainous pastures of Gilead and Bashan with a solemn charge and benediction (chap. xxii.), Joshua's public life may be said to have ended. He would seem to have withdrawn at once to his new home, and have taken no part in the occurrences arising out of the misunderstanding caused by the erection of the great altar by the returning soldiers of those tribes. Phinehas—his father Eleazar having also retired from public business—is the leading personage in all these transactions, and the name of Joshua is not mentioned (chap. xxii. 30—34).

In the uncertainty of the chronology of this period we are unable to determine how long Joshua lived in the peaceful retirement of Timnath-serah. Twice, and twice only—if the two chapters (Josh. xxiii., xxiv.) do not describe different parts of the same transaction—does he emerge from his privacy, in extreme old age, to fortify the tribes whom he had so often led in battle with his parting words of warning and encouragement. Obedient to his summons, the heads and representatives of the tribes gathered round their venerable chief, beneath the old consecrated oak of Abraham and Jacob at Shechem. No place in the whole Land of Promise could have awakened so many sacred memories. Here was the first halting-place of the father of their nation where he rested after his departure from Haran, at which he received the first recorded promise of the land, and built the first altar to the one true God (Gen. xii. 6, 7). Here also Jacob made his first settlement on his return from his sojourn with Laban, and restored his grandfather's altar on the plot of ground he had purchased (Gen. xxxiii. 18—20). Here also, beneath the ancient tree, the same patriarch buried the monuments of secret idolatry cleaving to his household (xxxv. 4). And here, on their first entrance into the land, they themselves, between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim, had entered

into covenant with God (Josh. viii. 30—35). What place could be so suitable for the solemn appeals to faithfulness and obedience, the mingled reproofs and encouragements here addressed by Joshua to the people? All around would remind them of what God had done for them and for their fathers; how He had "given them a land for which they did not labour, and cities which they built not, and vineyards and oliveyards which they planted not," and enforce the warnings against rebellion and idolatry. Observing the most complete reticence as to his own exploits, and their obligations to him as their captain and ruler, Joshua's one desire is that his people may show their sense of what they owe to God by "pleasing Him, and serving Him in sincerity and truth." He feels that he is "going the way of all the earth," and like St. Peter, he "endeavours that after his decease they may have these things always in remembrance" (2 Peter i. 15). With an impressive solemnity, like Elijah on Carmel, he calls upon them to make up their minds who should be their God: "Choose you this day whom ye will serve: but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." No hasty, shallow assent to his appeal would content him. He well knew the awful solemnity of a promise to God, that it is "better not to vow, than to vow and not to pay" (Eccles. v. 5). And, therefore, on hearing their united asseveration that they would serve Jehovah, "for He is our God," Joshua bade them count well the cost, and abstain from burdening their souls with pledges which they would be unable to make good. The people, with ready enthusiasm, repeated the declaration, "Nay, but we will serve the Lord." Cheerfully accepting the witness against themselves that they had chosen the Lord, they, a third time, renewed their promise of faithfulness. And then, at last, did Joshua ratify the covenant of Sinai, and having written a memorial of this solemn transaction and deposited it with the book of the law in the ark of God, he set up a pillar under the oak or terebinth grove which marked the sacred spot where Abraham and Jacob had held intercourse with God, as a witness to all future generations, "lest they should deny their God." "So Joshua let the people depart, every man unto his inheritance" (xxiv. 27, 28). There was no more for Joshua to do. To the end of his heroic and spotless career he had "followed the Lord fully," and he could now contentedly "go the way of all the earth." He died as he lived, "the servant of the Lord." He was a hundred and ten years old—ten years short of his great master Moses—when God called his weary servant home. And they buried him where he died, "in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in Mount Ephraim." With him, according to the statement preserved in the Septuagint version, were buried the flint knives used in the ceremony of circumcision at Gilgal (chap. v. 2), "which were long sought out as relics by those who came in after years to visit the tomb of their mighty deliverer."¹ His colleague and friend, Eleazar, who occupied the same position in relation to

¹ Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 279.

Aaron that he had done to Moses, followed him to the tomb, and was also buried in Mount Ephraim. "Eleazar and Joshua together make a type of the union of the priesthood and government in Christ. The types die

because they are types; but the Divine Antitype exists for evermore, 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'"¹

¹ Bishop Wordsworth, *Commentary on Joshua* xxiv. 30.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

XIX.

THE history of the relations subsisting between the Jews and the Persians under Darius, the son of Hystaspis, as given in the 5th and 6th chapters of the Book of Ezra, receives the same sort of illustration from the Persian cuneiform inscriptions which has been already noted in a previous paper¹ as furnished by the same records in respect of the Scriptural accounts of Cyrus. The writer of the Book of Ezra, having related the gracious dealings of Cyrus with the Jews in his first chapter, and their proceedings in consequence (chaps. ii. and iii.), goes on in his fourth chapter to give an account of the hindrances which interrupted the execution of Cyrus's pious design, and especially to note the entire suspension of the great work which he had countenanced—the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem—during the reign of a monarch whom he calls Artaxerxes, but who is reasonably identified with the pseudo-Smerdis.² He closes his fourth chapter with the words, "Then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius the Persian;" thus introducing us to the person of Darius Hystaspis,³ and implying in his first mention of the monarch that he reversed the policy of his immediate predecessor, and returned to that of the great founder of the empire, Cyrus. Having in this way struck the key-note of his coming narrative, he proceeds to inform us of the circumstances under which the work abandoned during the reign of the pseudo-Smerdis was resumed under his successor, and though again opposed, was pushed on, and finally carried to a prosperous issue.

His narrative divides itself into four portions. First we have an account of the action taken by the leading Jews at Jerusalem, Zerubbabel the governor, Jeshua the high priest, and Haggai and Zechariah the prophets, in the second year of Darius; how they suddenly "rose up," the prophets prophesying and encouraging their brethren to resume the work,⁴ the civil governor and the ecclesiastical ruler taking the lead and beginning

to build, the people zealously labouring after their example, and the walls consequently beginning to make a show, which attracted the attention of the neighbouring heathen (chap. v. 1—3). Next, we are told how the Persian governor of the Syrian province, Tatnai, his minister, Shethar-hoznai, and the people of his court, called here Apharsachites,⁵ becoming aware of what was going on at Jerusalem, inquired by what authority such important steps were being taken; and learning that the authority was a decree made in the first year of Cyrus, proceeded to address Darius on the subject, suggesting that the national archives should be searched, in order that it might be seen whether any such decree as that pretended by the Jews had ever been made; and, further, asking that Darius himself should signify his own pleasure in the matter (v. 3—17). In the third place the author tells us how Darius caused a search to be made, not only at Babylon (as Tatnai had suggested), but elsewhere; and how a decree of Cyrus was found at Achmetha (Ecbatana⁶) in the palace, which he proceeds to give; after which he passes somewhat abruptly to the words of the *firman* sent down to Tatnai by Darius for the direction of his own conduct and that of his courtiers towards the Jews (vi. 1—12). Finally the author relates how Tatnai and his companions followed precisely the orders of Darius, and how the building of the Temple, being now unhindered, went rapidly forward, and was at last completed in the sixth year of Darius, or twenty-one years⁷ after its first commencement (vi. 13—15).

The chief points of this narrative on which recent discoveries throw some light are the following. In the first place, as it appears from the great inscription of Behistun, set up by Darius himself, that in the early part of his reign he was engaged in a civil war, and then in troubles caused by various revolts and rebellions, it becomes intelligible that the Jews, at such a time of disturbance, should have taken matters into their own hands, and without waiting for a formal permission from the Court, should have disregarded the pro-

⁵ Compare the "Apharsathchites" and "Apharsites" of chap. iv. 9. All these forms probably represent the word "Persian." (See the *Speaker's Commentary*.)

⁶ Achmetha (אֶחְמֵתָה) corresponds closely with the native form, Hagmatan, found in the Behistun inscription, differing only by the omission of the final *n*, which is dropped also in Haru (for Haran, 1 Chron. v. 26), and its Greek equivalent, *Κάρραι*, Lat. *Carrhae*.

⁷ The first year of Cyrus at Babylon (according to the Canon of Ptolemy) was B.C. 538. The building of the Temple was commenced in the year following (Ezra iii. 8), B.C. 537. Darius began to reign in B.C. 521, and consequently his sixth year was B.C. 516.

¹ See Vol. II., p. 85.

² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

³ "Darius the Persian" stands in contrast with "Darius the Mede," mentioned by Daniel (v. 31; ix. 1), and known apparently to the writer of Ezra. There had probably been only those two kings of the name when "Ezra" was written in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. "Darius the Mede" had been Cyrus's viceroy at Babylon. "Darius the Persian," a very different man, was "Darius the First of Persia," i.e., Darius Hystaspis.

⁴ Comp. Hagg. i. 1, 14; ii. 2, &c.; and Zeel. i. 1; iv. 6—10.

hibitory mandate of the pseudo-Smerdis (Ezra iv. 17—22), and falling back on the original decree of the great Cyrus, should have resumed the building of the Temple. As it became in a little time well known throughout the empire that the new monarch had entirely reversed the religious policy of his predecessor,¹ they might fairly anticipate his approval, while the troubles of the time might prevent them from applying for a positive sanction. Again, the known opinions of the new monarch would naturally cause Tatnai and his companions to adopt a guarded tone in writing to him about the Jews. There is a strong contrast between the letter addressed to the pseudo-Smerdis by Rehum, and that addressed to Tatnai to Darius a few years later. Rehum's letter makes severe charges against the Jews, and does not once contain the name of God. Tatnai's abstains from all accusation, and makes frequent mention of the God of the Jews as "the God of heaven" (v. 12), "the God of heaven and earth" (ver. 11), or "the great God" (ver. 8). All this harmonises well with the contrast which the Behistun inscription draws between the elemental Magism of Darius's predecessor, and his own firm belief in a real personal God. The same belief appears with still greater distinctness in his *firmament*, where he requires his officers to help in the restoration of "the house of God" by the Jews, approves of their offering sacrifices there to "the God of heaven" (vi. 9), and sets a value upon the prayers which would be offered in the said house "for the life of the king and of his sons" (ver. 10).

Thus the general narrative of the part taken by Darius in this matter, and the special favour which he showed to the Jews, accords perfectly with the contemporary inscriptions of Darius himself, which prove him to have been a zealous Zoroastrian, a firm believer in the unity and personality of God, and therefore a natural sympathiser with the Jewish people in respect of their religion. There are also one or two minor points of the narrative which receive illustration from recent discoveries. (1.) When the question arises as to the fact, whether Cyrus really had issued a decree authorising the rebuilding of the Temple, search is made in the "houses of the rolls" at the various capitals, and when the decree is found, it is said to have been found

¹ Darius says, "The temples, which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, I rebuilt; the religious chants and the worship which he had caused to cease, I re-established." (*Ech. Ins.*, col. i., par. 14, § 5, 6.)

"in the palace that is in the province of the Medes," (Ezra vi. 2); whereby it appears that record offices in Persia were attached to royal palaces. Now the excavations in Mesopotamia, though they have not as yet actually confirmed this fact, have revealed one parallel to it. They have shown that the Assyrian kings, the predecessors of the Medo-Persians in the sovereignty of the East, whom the Persians undoubtedly imitated in various ways, had record offices attached to their palaces. It was in the palace of Sardanapalus at Nineveh that the great discovery was made by Mr. Layard, in 1850, of such an office—an office where deeds and other documents, closely packed together, covered the entire floor to the depth of several feet.² (2.) The decree of Cyrus was found by Darius at *Ecbatana*. We naturally ask, Why at Ecbatana, rather than at Babylon, or Susa, or Persepolis—the more usual seats of the court? To this the Behistun inscription suggests a reply by showing us that Darius in his second and third years was engaged in a war with a great Median rebel, and terminated it by occupying his capital, Ecbatana, and fixing his own residence there for some time.³ It may thus well be that, when Darius received Tatnai's letter, he was himself at Ecbatana, and that the record office there was the readiest and most convenient one to search. (3.) The punishment threatened by Darius against those who should disobey his decree—crucifixion (Ezra vi. 11)—is exactly that which he tells us he was in the habit of dealing out to those who resisted his will. The Behistun inscription contains four places where impalement or crucifixion is mentioned as the death assigned by Darius to criminals.⁴ (4.) Finally, the decree of Darius ends with a curse: "The God that hath caused his name to dwell there, destroy all kings and people that shall put to their hand to alter or destroy this house of God which is at Jerusalem." Similarly a curse concludes the main inscription at Behistun,⁵ and a similar formula is found in other inscriptions of Darius, the general cast of the curse being something like the following:—"If thou doest not as I bid thee, may Ormazd be thy enemy, and mayest thou have no offspring; and whatever thou doest, may Ormazd curse it for thee!"

² Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 345.

³ *Ech. Ins.*, col. ii., par. 13, § 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. ii., par. 13, § 8; par. 14, § 16; col. iii., par. 8, § 2; par. 14, § 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, col. iv., par. 17.

BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

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PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT (*continued*).



THE next decisive passage on the trichotomy of the New Testament is that in the earliest of the Apostle Paul's Epistles: "I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body may be preserved blameless unto the

coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess. v. 23). The apostle, who had been dwelling in the previous verses on some of the details of sanctification, such as proving all things, holding fast that which is good, and abstaining from every species or form of evil, proceeds

to sum up his remarks with the prayer that this sanctification might become whole and entire (*ὁλοτελής* and *ὁλόκληρον*). These two adjectives are expressive, the one of the whole, and the other of the parts of human nature. Wholly and entirely, *i.e.*, over all and through each part of man's nature, this sanctification was to extend and spread. We may here ask—and it is this which suggests the ensuing thought—what are those divisions of our composite nature into which sanctifying grace is to enter and permeate? The Apostle explains that grace is to enter into his spirit, which is the holy of holies; his soul, which is the holy place; and even his body, which corresponds to the outer court of the Temple. The analogy from the Temple with its three courts, one within the other, is a lively and just illustration of the trichotomy of man. Luther, in his exposition of the Magnificat, has very well opened up the analogy and applied it in its detail. The passage is quoted at length by Delitzsch, Goschel, and other writers. Luther also correctly seized the Scriptural distinction between *spirit* and *flesh*, not as favouring the dichotomy, as some suppose, but rather as suggesting the good and evil direction in which the whole spirit, soul, and body are drawn when the Spirit of God or the spirit of the wicked one is the source of the inspiration, bringing with it either “airs from heaven or blasts from hell.” Flesh and spirit are thus not so much the direct factors of human nature, as dichotomists think, but the opposite poles or tendencies to which the *pneuma* or conscience, which is also one with the self, of the *ego* inclines, according as it is inspired from above or from beneath. In the preface to the Epistle to the Romans, Luther grasped the right significance of the word “flesh” in Scripture. “Then set not,” he said, “to understand flesh and spirit here in such a way as that flesh alone should be that which has to do with impurity, and spirit that which concerns what is internal in the heart; but St. Paul, as well as Christ (John iii. 6), calls flesh all that is born of flesh, the whole man with body and soul, with reason and with senses, for the reason is everything in him that is stirring towards the flesh.” Luther, accordingly, quite correctly understood by the spirit the religious or faith-faculty by which we know God and the things of God, and quotes in support of this Ps. li. 10; lxxviii. 37. “The soul,” he says, “is just the same spirit, only conformed to nature. The soul,” he adds, “is the reason, and in this sense is the light of the house; but when the spirit does not enlighten as with a higher light, this light of reason rules, and therefore it can never be without error, for it is too feeble to act in respect of divine things.” “The third,” he adds, “is the body, with its members, the agencies which only bring into use what the soul knows and the spirit believes.” “Moses,” he goes on to remark, “made a tabernacle with three distinct compartments. The first was called *sanctum sanctorum*, within which dwelt God, and there was no light therein; the second *sanctum*, within which stood a candlestick, with seven pipes and lamps. The third was called *atrium*, the court, and it was under the open house in the light of the sun. In the same figure a Christian man is depicted. His spirit

is *sanctum sanctorum*, God's dwelling-place in dim faith without light. For he believes what he does not see, nor feel, nor apprehend. His soul is *sanctum*; there are seven lights, that is, all kinds of understanding, discrimination, knowledge and perception of bodily visible things. His body is *atrium*, which is manifest to every man, that it may be seen what he does and how he lives.”

This is the true psychology of Scripture, and Luther was a scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven when he thus rightly divided between the soul and spirit and the flesh and the spirit. The one indicated a distinction of faculties, the other indicated only a distinction of the direction in which these faculties should work. The flesh is a tendency even of the spirit, just as the vine may trail on the ground, and when we look that it should bring forth grapes, behold they are wild grapes. In the passage in question (1 Thess. v. 23) the sanctification is to be complete and entire. In order to this it must work outwards from within, and not, as the mere moralist would suggest, inwards from without. According to Aristotle and the moralists, doing good acts leads to good habits, and thus virtue becomes second nature; there is a sense in which this is true. But this is not the divine order. Sanctification having its roots not in mere reformation of the outer man only, but in renewal of the hidden man of the heart, follows a different order. It begins with a birth; the kingdom of heaven can only be entered from the kingdom of nature, by a waking up from the sleep of unconsciousness similar to that which marks the beginning of the psychical life. To be born again is no mere figure of speech, it is the very key of the kingdom of heaven, and yet it has been more misunderstood than any other phrase in the New Testament, not excepting even that of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of our blessed Lord. Divines, from inattention to the distinction of *psyche* and *pneuma*, have only obscured the question and overloaded it with a great deal of irrelevant argument and illustrations not to the point. The mystery of growth is the key to unlock this and every other puzzle of the universe. Till we can understand life we can never understand growth; but this we knew, that it is the unerring mark of life. The kingdom of heaven is as a grain of mustard-seed, which is cast in the ground: it is like the birth which is the fruit of the womb. In these two analogies of Scripture we have the true account of the matter. All life must come from God, who is the author and giver of life.

This being understood, the order of sanctification as outwards from within is simple and obvious. The spirit is sanctified (*ὁλόκληρον*) in the first place. The entire *pneuma* becomes the *κλήρος*, or portion of God. “The Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.” This is especially the case of the *pneuma*. God must enter in and dwell there. He must shekinah in it, as He tabernacled in the most holy place. The result of this indwelling of God in us, must work itself out in the psychical life, the seat of our intellect and affections. Nor will it end there, it will

make a κλήρος, or portion for God even of the body. It may be only the border of his inheritance, a Galilee of the Gentiles, an outer court. Still outward and onward this impulse of self-dedication will spread, until, "whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, we shall do all to the glory of God." Such is the teaching of this passage in which, as is the usual manner of Scripture, a deep psychological truth is brought out, but only by the way, as it were, and arising out of a practical matter in hand—viz., the will of God concerning us, even our sanctification.

The next decisive passage that we turn to is that in 1 Cor. ii. 12, &c., where the psychical and pneumatical natures are contrasted in this way, that the one is capable of divine communications, and of entering into the deep things of God, which the other is not. "What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him?" This identifies the spirit with the deepest and innermost part of man; the spirit is the self or *ego*, the seat of self-consciousness. The Apostle then goes on to identify it as the seat of God-consciousness: "Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God." He follows this thought out in the ensuing verses. There is a contrast between the spirit of the world and the spirit which is of God. Man's wisdom could not teach these things; it is only the Holy Ghost who can teach them by enabling us to compare spiritual things with spiritual. This leads him then to contrast two characters—the one psychical, the other pneumatical. There is a psychical life, and there is a pneumatical. The psychical man judges by sense, and sense-experience. He is of the world, understands its maxims and principles. His life is a psychical one, bounded by the region of time, unable to launch out into the far-off future or to take into its calculation considerations broader and deeper than those of the generality of men. The psychical man, in other words, knows nothing of the walk and triumph of faith. He need not be, probably is not, in the ordinary sense of the word, an unbeliever, much less a misbeliever. He is probably orthodox, and willing to render to faith the things which are faith's, and to reason the things which are reason's. But in God's sight this psychical man is one wanting faith in the true sense of the word. He is not willing to wait, like the patriarchs, for "a city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God." His horizon is bounded by time. He receives his good things now. He does not confess himself to be a stranger and a pilgrim. The psychical man is not the mere slave of his passions—quite the contrary. He has learned to act on Goethe's two favourite maxims, *ne quid nimis* and *indulge genio*, and the one he sets off against the other. Thus is he temperate in all things, but it is after all only to obtain a corruptible crown, not an incorruptible. His maxims are admired and understood by the world, and his posterity praise his sayings.

But with all this there is one fatal defect—he lacks the one thing which distinguishes the pneumatical man as such. That one thing is faith, that far-reaching, long-sighted faculty which lives for the hereafter, and which

will not be content with its portion only in this life. To the psychical man the things of the Spirit of God are "foolishness, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." The spiritual man, on the other hand, "judges all things, yet he himself is judged of no man"—for why? The less is judged of the greater, the higher always overlooks the lower. Spiritual mindedness is not so much to be described as felt. The Apostle in this passage glances at one or two of its specific qualities, and assumes a deep and radical contrast between the psychical and the pneumatical. But, after all, it must be felt to be understood. In this sense it is that "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will show them his covenant." This view of divine things has always been a derision to men of the world—"which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?" is the sneer of the false prophet to the true. In the same way the mob kicking and jumping on one of Wesley's preachers, to kick the Holy Ghost out of him, is another exhibition of the same mockery in its coarsest and most brutal form. Thus the spiritual man differs from the natural, as the life beyond from that which is. It is on this account that spiritual natures "do groan, being burdened." They feel the disparity between what is and what ought to be, between their aspirations after God and the poor performances they can attain to. The better they become, the worse they feel themselves to be. Hence that contrition on account of indwelling sin, their "groanings which cannot be uttered," and which, when they do find vent in words, seem so unreal and exaggerated. A critic like Macaulay is unable to understand Bunyan's self-reproaches as to his being the chief of sinners. When the psychical intellect asks what these enormities could have been, he finds nothing but the ordinary indulgences of a Bedford tinker, a little tipping and a little swearing, and so he sets the whole down as the morbid experience of a man who had distorted his mind by brooding too long on one single class of thoughts, and who had no other model but the one Book on which to frame his speech. So surely is spiritual experience misunderstood by the mere critical or logical faculty, that it is well to be silent in such company. A man of refinement instinctively shrinks from parading his feelings at all, particularly before those who are sure to misunderstand them, who will set them down as cant or exaggeration, the workings of spiritual pride or of presumption. To the psychical intellect these things are as foolishness; they are as music to a deaf man, or a painting to one born blind. He lacks the perceptive organ, and for this reason he had better be silent.

Æsthetics, or the science of taste, furnish some very just analogies to our spiritual perception. It is now admitted on all sides that there is no external test of the sublime and beautiful—the standard is in ourselves. We must educate our taste, and as our *æsthesis*, or fine perception of beauty, grows with culture, so we seem to gain a new sense—the insight of beauty. It is at once an intuition, and also the result of many laboured exercises of judgment and taste. It is instinctive apparently

and indefinable, and yet it comes to us only at the end of a long training in art. It is precisely the same with our spiritual perceptions. A refining process has been going on for some time. We have "purified our hearts in obeying the truth," and at last, as the result of diligence and duty, of patience and prayer, the things of God stand out, seen in their own light. It is that "finer light in light," of which the poet speaks, and which distinguishes the moral and spiritual from the mere historical evidences for the truth of Christianity. This is the meaning of the beatitude, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God:" as a lake at night, when the ripple of the evening breeze has passed off, is glinted with stars, and in the still watches of the night a procession of the heavenly bodies passes over it as over the speculum of a reflecting telescope.

In the Epistle of St. Jude there is the same contrast between two characters; there are those who are sensual and psychical, having not the Spirit. The German here marks a distinction which we fail to reproduce in the English. Luther renders it, "Fleischliche, die da keinen Geist haben." But the Berleburgh Bible, with De Wette and Scholz, render it still more accurately, "Sinnliche Menschen, die keinen Geist haben;" men, that is, who act on psychic principles, only because they lack the spiritual faculty altogether. There are men whose very conscience is defiled, and who by long indulgence in known sin have deadened the *pneuma*, that it is as if it had never existed. Their last state is worse than the first. We gather from this decisive passage in St. Jude, this truth—not only that the spirit is dead in unregenerate man, but also that it has been deadened by the hardening which results from habitual sin. The commission of sin does not kill the psychical nature in the same way that it does the pneumatical. On the contrary, there is a kind of vice which loses all its grossness, and seems to stimulate the intellectual powers to a certain extent at least. Fleshly lusts, it is true, war against the *psyche* (1 Peter ii. 11), so that the end of these things is death. We know that they who sow to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but the first deadening effect of these things is felt in the *pneuma*, not in the *psyche*. It is conceivable that a licentious scoffer should have the psychical nature in its highest perfection; it is not conceivable that he should exercise the *pneuma*.

Another passage in St. James confirms this view, where the wisdom that is from beneath is described as earthly, psychical and devil-inspired (*δαμονιώδης*). We

have here a great truth with regard to our growth and development. In the last stage of all we become the children of God or children of the devil. The *pneuma* cannot continue for ever, like a house empty, swept, and garnished. Some one must enter in and dwell there, and if it is not made the home of God some spirit more wicked than the first will enter in and dwell there, and the last state will become worse than the first.

To sum up, then, our view of the New Testament psychology, it does not contradict that of the Old—it is only an advance upon it. The *psyche* or soul is the life of man in the rudest sense of the word; as it has its seat in the body, it is often identified with the blood and the breath. But neither one nor the other, nor both together, make up the *psyche* in the true and full sense of the word; for we are told not to fear those who can only kill the body, but rather to fear Him who can cast both body and soul into gehenna. The *psyche* is thus the formative principle of the body, but it is also the nucleus of another and higher life which we call that of the *pneuma*. In this sense we may follow Justin Martyr's simile, and speak of the body as the house of the soul, while the soul again is the house of the *pneuma*. This higher life was but imperfectly known under the first covenant, and therefore the psychology of the Old Testament is indistinct in comparison to that of the New; but it is an immense advance on the psychology of Aristotle. The faculty of God-consciousness was unknown to the Greeks, for the very sufficient reason that the object on which that faculty should exercise itself was scarcely, if at all, known. "In Jewry is God known, his name is great in Israel." For this reason it was only within the covenant that the function of spiritual-mindedness could be exercised. As we cannot imagine Aristotle inditing the 42nd Psalm, so we cannot think of him as inserting in his treatise *On the Soul*, a chapter on the functions and use of the *pneuma*. Scripture, which teaches us what it is to be "athirst for God, yea, even for the living God," alone describes that part of man's nature from whence this thirst arises. But it is when we turn to the New Testament that we find our knowledge of self supplemented by a revelation of a Being who is said to be the abiding Comforter, and to be with us and in us. As our faith teaches us to believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, so psychology suggests that there must be a special organ in man which it is the office of the Holy Spirit to breathe into and to teach.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

EZEKIEL.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.



EZEKIEL is, among the prophets, what Michael Angelo is among painters and sculptors. Vast and colossal in his imagery, majestic in his diction, copious in fancy, he nevertheless often transcends in his ideas the powers of language, and becomes obscure and difficult to understand. This is well exemplified in the vision by which he was called to his office. He was the son of a priest named Buzi, and had been carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar with Jehoiachin, king of Judah, at the capture of Jerusalem, just after Jehoiakim's death. With other prisoners he was made to settle upon the river Chebar, an affluent of the Euphrates in Babylonia, probably that known as the royal canal of Nebuchadnezzar, the word simply meaning "the great stream." The object, no doubt, of the king in thus transplanting people from Palestine to Babylonia was to increase the population of his territories. In Judaea they would be restless and ever ready for revolt. Compelled to emigrate, and settled here and there in small communities, they would become faithful subjects and help to fill up the gaps among the inhabitants caused by incessant war.

We may suppose the community soon moderately flourishing; for the Jews were good settlers, and the land excessively fertile. And Ezekiel apparently held a position of rank among them (viii. 1; xiv. 1; xx. 1), besides being probably their priest. They had been five years in captivity, when in the "thirtieth year" (chap. i. 1) he saw his vision. This date has greatly troubled commentators. Some have supposed that it was the thirtieth year of Ezekiel's age, others the thirtieth year from the jubilee, but more probably it means the thirtieth year of the era of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar. Most appropriately, the prophet writing in Chaldea uses a Chaldee epoch, which in the 2nd verse he checks by giving the Jewish date of Jehoiachin's captivity. As Nabopolassar began to reign B.C. 625, this gives for Ezekiel's vision the year B.C. 595, which exactly tallies with the fifth year of the imprisonment of the Jewish king.

Walking then by the river Chebar in deep meditation probably upon the destinies of his country, the "hand of Jehovah" rested upon Ezekiel, and, closing the avenues of his mind to the ordinary impression of the senses, displayed to his tranced sight the most wonderful spectacle ever presented to mortal eyes. From the dark north a whirlwind appeared like a vast cloud, formed of blazing fire, shooting out rays and tongues of flame on every side, and enclosing at its centre an appearance as of amber, or rather dark-blue, like polished steel. From this dark centre there came forth four living beings, each four-sided, and having on each side four wings, making for each sixteen in all. Their feet were not like those of men, set at right angles to the leg, but

came straight down and ended, like those of a calf, in a flat sole. On each side under their four wings they had human hands, and as thus each side was perfect with its face, four wings, and four hands, they needed not to turn, but faced every way, and moved ever straight onwards. Each one apparently had on the right hand the faces of a man and of a lion, and on the left those of an ox and an eagle, signifying the union in each one of intelligence, courage, strength, and piercing vision, or spiritual insight. Their wings were so arranged that two on each side were elevated, enclosing the face between them, while two covered the body, but they needed them not for motion. Wherever they willed to go, thither they went; and such was their brightness and the rapidity of their movements that they seemed to go hither and thither like the lightning flash.

Beneath these living beings were wheels bright as of beryl, shaped wheel within wheel, but each wheel of equal size, placed transversely to one another, so as to form globes. And the circles or tires of these wheels were full of eyes, the symbols of intelligence; and as each living creature had beneath it one of these globes of wheels, which moved ever with it as it willed, the whole represented the rapid intelligence with which God's ministers instantaneously do his behests.

For these beings formed the throne of the Deity. Above their heads was an expanse of dazzling crystal, whence came a voice; and as they moved the prophet seemed to hear a mighty rushing of wings, like the sound of many waters, and of rolling thunder, and of the din of an army; but when the voice came from the expanse, all was still, and the living creatures drooped their wings. For the voice came forth from a throne of sapphire, circled around with the same deep blue colour as had formed the centre of the cloud of whirlwind, while above it was the rainbow, and in the midst the Deity seated in human form, but as "the appearance of fire round about within." And the voice was Ezekiel's commission to speak in Jehovah's name to Israel's rebellious house.

When we contrast this vision, so intricate, so minute in its details, so complex, and withal so awful and mysterious, with the calm sublimity of the glorious spectacle which greeted Isaiah's eyes in the Temple, or with the peaceful simplicity of Jeremiah's imagery, we understand something of the reason which made St. Jerome characterise Ezekiel as "the ocean and labyrinth of God's mysteries," and which made the Rabbins forbid their pupils to read his writings till they were thirty years of age. Well might his name be called Ezekiel, that is, "the strength of God."

The book is divided into two parts, as Josephus long ago observed, in a passage (*Antiq.* x. 6) which has given commentators great trouble from supposing that what we have is one book only. But just as in Isaiah we have seen that there are two distinct collections, besides the

historical appendix, and the final prophecy concerning the "servant of Jehovah," so here in chaps. i.—xxiv., we have a series of prophecies all relating to Jerusalem, each one dated, and all arranged in chronological order, and ending with the capture of the city. To this is appended a group of prophecies relating to seven foreign nations, the number seven being, no doubt, intentional. The insertion of these prophecies, breaking up so completely the strict order observed before, makes it extremely probable that upon Jerusalem's fall—an event so striking to all his countrymen, and so exactly fulfilling the predictions of the prophets—Ezekiel collected the scattered prophecies spoken by him at Tel-Abib, "the mound of wheat-cars," his dwelling-place on the Chebar, arranged them according to their dates, and published them. It must have been many years afterwards that he put forth the section containing the prophecies against other nations, in which chronological order is not always observed, though the dates are still given. Thus a prophecy against Egypt in the twenty-seventh year of the captivity (xxix. 17) is put between predictions relating to the same country belonging to its tenth and eleventh years (xxix. 1; xxx. 20). As it was in the eleventh year of the captivity that Jerusalem was taken, this brings down the date of this collection to a period sixteen years later, unless this prophecy were inserted at the time when the second book was published. The only date in the second book is the twenty-fifth year of the captivity, and thus it seems pretty certain that it was not published till sixteen or seventeen years after the first, and between them the prophet placed the group not belonging to his own people. The prophecies of this second book are, as a rule, quite distinct in character from those of the first.

It consists of chapters xxxiii.—xlviii., and contains, first, a number of prophecies uttered after the fall of Jerusalem (xxxiii.—xxxix.), chiefly to comfort the people; and secondly, a vision of the future glory of Israel depicted under a representation of the rebuilding of the Temple. This part has often been made the subject of attack, and the prophet has been accused of giving way too much to a sacerdotal bias, and confounding the future development of his nation with the restoration of the materialism of animal sacrifices and cumbrous ceremonies. But really the Temple was the centre of the affections of all Israelites, and was itself symbolic, and to some extent its symbolism was understood. Evidently also a prophet in depicting an era of future glory could only use the ideas of his own times. So in the Revelation of St. John, which reproduces much of the imagery of Ezekiel, the abode of the blest is represented as a walled city, because walls then represented security and strength. Commentators, however, differ greatly on the question whether these chapters are to be understood literally; or generally as predicting an era of prosperity to the Jews; or spiritually of Christ and his kingdom.

As inflexible as Jeremiah, and tenacious of his duty, Ezekiel was more stern and unflinching. To Jeremiah it was often pain and misery to obey God's commands,

and his nature led him to brood over his own feelings and look into himself, while Ezekiel threw his whole heart into the struggle with an iron steadfastness that felt pleasure in the struggle itself. One prophecy illustrates this very remarkably. He had just predicted the capture of Jerusalem (chap. xxiv.), and fixed the day when the king of Babylon should start to conduct in person the siege. And then God took from him his wife tenderly beloved, "the desire of his eyes;" and yet, in the presence of the miseries coming upon his people, he was content to show no token of grief. He forbore to cry and made no mourning, and observed none of the usual signs of sorrow. It was the command of Jehovah, and he obeyed without a murmur.

His prophecies in the first part are exceedingly interesting, as disclosing somewhat of the feelings of the captives settled in a strange land, and even more so for the bold spirit in which they modify the letter of the Mosaic covenant. It was a grievous blow to the Jews to be torn away from their homes; and such an overturning of the whole course of life often unhinges men from what was previously good in them, and makes them careless or even desperate for the future. We are all such creatures of habit, that if our old associations are destroyed we often seem to lose with them our energy and self-control. It was no wonder, therefore, that the people began to hesitate in their allegiance to Jehovah. At Babylon there were men of strong nature and settled piety to be their guides and leaders, but the little communities of farmers along the Chebar had probably no master-mind among them except Ezekiel's. We find, therefore, idolatry making way among them (xiv., xx.), and even a tendency to return to that fierce melancholy which had led them to make their children pass through the fire (xx. 31). Ezekiel's words often met with opposition (iii. 26, 27; xii. 2), while, naturally perhaps, they brooded over the dealings of God's providence with them and accused him of injustice (xviii. 25). There were even false prophets among them (xiii. 3), but they do not seem to have been so numerous or so powerful as at Jerusalem, and even at Babylon in the days of Jeremiah (Jer. xiv. 14; xxvii. 9; xxviii. 1; xxix. 8).

It was the fall of Jerusalem which was the turning-point of the Jewish mind, and which made Jeremiah so influential with them. Till then they had hesitated, but it brought home the full conviction that God's word as spoken by the prophets was true. And this Ezekiel dwells on as earnestly as Jeremiah, and depicts with great force the long series of sins against Jehovah, culminating in open rebellion and idolatry, which had brought upon the city so severe a punishment. He thus tries to wean them from the past, and induce them to settle quietly in their new homes; to fret and plot no longer for a return to Judæa, but from its history to gather the lesson that their one hope and strength and happiness was in being faithful to their God. And this instruction he gives them in predictions remarkable for the diversity of the forms which they assume. There are types and symbolical actions, parables and allegories, similitudes and riddles, visions and open prophecies,

and often we get strange glimpses of what went on in Jerusalem; as when, in chap. viii., he sees seventy of the ancients of the house of Israel worshipping, with censers in their hands, in "chambers of imagery," *i.e.*, halls in which not one idol only, but many, were represented, some of which, as, for instance, the images of "creeping things," show that the Jews had sunk almost as low as the Egyptians, to whom all animal and even vegetable life seemed divine and worthy of worship. Near them, in the Temple itself, the women were weeping for Tammuz, a rite of native worship, apparently representing the destruction of the fair and beautiful spring-time by the burning heats of summer. This entirely agrees with the representation in Jeremiah (vii. 18; xlv. 17—19) of the devotion of the women of Jerusalem to the queen of heaven; for in mythology Tammuz was represented as beloved by her, and slain by the jealousy of her lord, the sun.

But even more remarkable are the interpretations put by Ezekiel upon the Mosaic law. We find, for instance, that the exiles made bitter complaint of the words of the second commandment, that God visits upon the children the sins of the fathers. They had repented, were idolaters no longer, and yet they had to suffer the consequences of the crimes of their forefathers. Now it is the law of God, in nature and in providence, that the children are affected for good and evil by the doings of their parents. Aptitudes gained by the parent are bestowed upon the child; sins, and the diseases which result from them, are constantly matters of inheritance; while the fortunes of the parent, his success or failure, his industry or his unthrift and profligacy, cannot but affect the temporal position of his offspring. But Ezekiel shows with bold hand that this entail is strictly limited, and does not affect the moral probation of the individual. Each one in life makes his own choice, and both in things temporal and things spiritual, repentance may reverse the past. A pious son may spring from a profligate father, a prosperous son from one overtaken by misery. Nay, even in a man's own life, the future may be the reverse of what has gone before. A lapse into sin may destroy the bright promise of former years (xviii., xxxiii.).

Equally remarkable and even more bold is the statement in chap. xx., that the whole of the Mosaic law was not equally good. When first the Israelites came out of Egypt, God gave them "statutes and judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in them." But when they rebelled, and despised God's judgments, and polluted his sabbaths, which he had given as a special sign of his covenant with them, then he "gave them statutes which were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live" (xx. 11, 25). Such teaching is the more remarkable as coming from a priest, and one who was in general so strict himself in the observance of the Levitical precepts (see iv. 14). St. Paul himself did not more plainly teach that much of the law was a burden too heavy for men to bear.

And thus then prophecies concerning Jerusalem and the Babylonian war, together with such instruction as

grew naturally out of the feelings and difficulties of the exiles in their new and painful position, form the two great divisions of Ezekiel's first book. In the predictions which concern foreign nations, one or two things are so striking as to call for some remark.

The first is the account of the trade of Tyre, in chap. xxvii., where we have a most interesting picture of the beauty of Tyre itself, its buildings and ships, its military strength and naval power, with a long list of the nations which traded with her, and the articles brought to her mart, giving us a surprising representation of the commercial activity of ancient times. And this, in the next chapter, is followed by a lamentation over the prince of Tyre, in which he is described as having been in Eden, the garden of God, covered there with every kind of precious stones; as being the anointed cherub that guarded the mount of God; as walking between the stones of fire, and as being perfect in all his ways till iniquity was found in him. How are these words to be explained? Some take them as hyperbolical, a description in wildly metaphoric language of the glory and magnificence of the Tyrian state while in the height of its prosperity; others put upon them a more mysterious meaning, and suppose that before the call of Abraham, the progenitor of the Tyrian race had been chosen as the depository of the light of revelation, but had forfeited his privileges through sin. Certainly of this we find no single word in the rest of Holy Scripture; but the words are very marvellous, and can scarcely mean so little as that Tyre was very rich and rejoiced in luxurious living. It is after this prophecy, in chap. xxix., that we have the prediction given in the twenty-seventh year of the captivity, recording the long service of the Chaldean army in the capture of the city, and promising it Egypt as a reward. So specific a prophecy might well be inserted among those relating to Egypt when the second book was put forth if, as is probable, these historical predictions were originally published at the earlier date.

For many years after the fall of Jerusalem Ezekiel seems to have ceased to prophesy, though active as ever in guiding and instructing the people. The ruin of city and temple was to work slowly upon the minds of the Jews, and gradually produce that change in them which made them so completely different a people when, at the end of the seventy years, they returned to their land. Still from time to time God's hand rested upon him, and, some seventeen or eighteen years afterwards, he put forth this second book, consisting no longer of short and varied and often startling visions and parables, but of longer and more general discourses. In them he speaks at length, and with much power, upon the duties of those who watch over and feed the people, while he comforts the latter under their troubles. Like Obadiah, he condemns strongly the unfriendly conduct of the Edomites in the day of Jerusalem's fall, and predicts their ruin; and this prophecy, no doubt, would be spoken when the minds of all were still smarting with indignation at the cruelty of Edom, who, when his brother Jacob sought a refuge in his land from Nebuchadnezzar's

hosts, stood in the way to stay the fugitives and give them up to the pursuing Chaldees. In chap. xxxvii., however, we have something in his old manner. The hand of the Lord sets him down in a valley filled with human bones, and these he is commanded to call back to life. And no sooner have the words gone forth from his lips than there is a rustling and motion among the bones, and they seek each one its fellow, and flesh and muscle and skin once again clothe them, and he sees a host of living men. Now, no doubt, the primary application of this prophecy was to the restoration of the Jews to their land. Scattered among the nations, their political existence extinct, powerless and utterly crushed, they were yet to revive as a nation, and once again live for the performance of that great task assigned to them by God. Yet we cannot but feel that the vision suggested far more than this. The nation was to revive, but what of those who had died in the long years of exile? Was there nothing for them? Had they no share in Israel's hopes? Yes, they too would live again, and form a mighty army of Jehovah. "O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel." Many took this even literally. We read in the Talmud of a Rabbi Jehuda, who claimed to be a lineal descendant of one raised to life, in accordance with Ezekiel's words. Others, better instructed in the symbolism of the prophets, must often have mused upon these words, especially as years passed by and there was no literal fulfilment, and must have sought a spiritual interpretation. So too of the rest of the chapter, in which the prophet foretells the union of Judah and Ephraim under their king—David. It excited hopes never to be literally fulfilled.

But both had a better fulfilment when Christ brought life and immortality to light by his Gospel.

And next we have a picture of the gathering together of the hosts of Gog and Magog to attack God's people. Into this it would be scarcely proper to enter, for the interpretation is so difficult and contested, that a volume would be necessary for its exposition. But after their destruction God's new kingdom on earth is revealed, with its temple, and new settlement of the tribes, and the holy waters issuing in a mighty stream from the threshold of the house of God. Of much of this we have an interpretation in the Revelation of St. John, who had evidently mused deeply upon Ezekiel's mysteries; and he too tells us of a river of water of life, flowing from the throne of God for the healing of the nations. And with some such general meaning we must be, for the present, content; for while upon moral points, and the interpretation of the Mosaic law, Ezekiel is the clearest of teachers, yet in his mysteries he is too deep and obscure for them to be easy to be understood. It may be that much is still future, and that when the purposes of God as regards Israel are more fully developed, we may understand better than we can do now the prophet's words.

It remains only to add, that there is nothing absolutely improbable in the statement of Isidore and others of the fathers, that Ezekiel was murdered by an Israelitish prince, whom he had rebuked for being guilty of idolatry. When, however, they add that he was buried "in the land of Maur, in the tomb of Shem and Arphaxad," the assertion seems more than dubious. In the Middle Ages his tomb, situated some days' journey from Bagdad, was a common place of pilgrimage for the Jews of Media and Parthia.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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THE ELEPHANT (*concluded*).

WHERE did the Jews obtain their ivory from, and was it in all cases the teeth of the elephant? The elephant from South-western India most probably supplied Solomon and Hiram, king of Tyre, with ivory; but we read also that the market of the Tyrians obtained ivory from the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf. "The men of Dedan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thy hand; they brought thee for a present horns of ivory (*karnôth shên*) and ebony" (Ezek. xxvii. 15). The Dedanites were probably caravan traders bringing foreign produce from the head of the Red Sea. This tribe seems to have dwelt in the north-west of Arabia. There also appears to have been another tribe of the same name, the Cushite Dedanim, who settled on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and became travelling merchants across Mesopotamia into Palestine and Phœnicia. The north-western Arabian merchants would convey goods brought *viâ* the Red Sea

from Southern India, Southern and West Arabia, Ethiopia and the eastern shores of Africa; the Cushite Dedanites on the Persian Gulf would convey merchandise brought to their shores from Northern India and Persia. Herodotus tells us (iii. 97) that in his day the inhabitants of Lower Ethiopia and Nubia made presents to the king of Persia, every third year, of twenty elephants' tusks with ebony, gold, &c. Sir G. Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, says that ivory and ebony, with other productions of the country and of the interior of Africa, had always been brought as a tribute to the Egyptian monarchs of the 18th and other dynasties. The Egyptians made use of the ivory of the African elephant, though the animal represented on the sculptures is the Asian species. The Ptolemies later on established a hunting on the confines of Abyssinia for the chase of the elephant. The art of inlaying various kinds of wood with ivory, such as boxes, tables, and other pieces of furniture, was practised by the Egyptians. Thus it appears that the ivory used by the Hebrews, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Egyptians, and other

people was supplied to them from India and Africa, both the *Elephas Indicus* and the *E. Africanus* yielding this commodity. At present, not only do the two existing elephants afford ivory; the fossil mammoth of Siberia, an extinct kind of elephant with tusks ten feet long, supplies ivory to the Russians; the teeth of the hippopotamus, wild boar, and narwhal form ivory of various kinds, that of the first-named animal being of a superior quality. But the ivory known to the ancients was probably that of the Asian and African elephants alone; we can find no distinct allusion to hippopotamus ivory. The British Museum contains several Assyrian and Egyptian works in ivory, as seats of ebony wood inlaid with ivory, high-backed chairs, spoons of ivory; figure of king and lotus flower, heads of cows and

long been supposed to be of foreign origin. We have seen that ivory was imported into Judæa in the time of Solomon from some place in India; but Africa also produced ivory, and Ethiopia supplied Egypt with it; accordingly the *habbim* may be referred to some African word for an "elephant," or to some Indian or Sanskrit word. According to Pott, there is an old Egyptian term *ebu* (which appears to be the same as the Coptic *ebros*, "an elephant"); if then we put the Hebrew article before *ebu*, and make it a plural form, we get *ha-ebbim* or *habbim*, "elephants;" if this be the correct derivation, the Hebrews must have got the name from the region of the Nile during their sojourn there. But it must be remembered that we do not hear of *shen-habbim* before the time of Solomon. There is a Sanskrit



TRIBUTE-BEARERS WITH ELEPHANTS' TUSKS, STAVES OF WOOD OR BARS OF METAL, AND BAGS OF GOLD.
(BLACK OBEISK OF SHALMANESER II., FROM PALACE OF NIMRUD.) (ASSYRIAN.)

other animals, part of a chair inlaid with lapis lazuli and glass, male and female deities, &c. Some of the specimens of Egyptian ivory-work Dr. Birch considers to date back before the Persian invasion, and to be as old as the 18th dynasty. The most interesting of the ivory relics found by Mr. Layard at Nimroud were, he says, "a carved staff, perhaps a royal sceptre, part of which has been preserved, although in the last stage of decay, and several entire elephants' tusks, the largest being two feet five inches long." So closely did the earth attach itself to the ivory sceptre, that it was only by a very ingenious process that it was restored. (On the subject of the early use of ivory amongst the ancients, see Dr. Birch's "Memoir on the Nimroud Ivories," in *Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit.*, new series.)

Shen-habbim (1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21), "teeth of elephants," occurs as *karnôth shên*, "horns of teeth," in Ezekiel (xxvii. 15). The latter is Hebrew, but *habbim* is not a recognised Semitic word, and has

word *ibha* used to denote an elephant, and treating this word in the same way as we did the Egyptian *ebu*, we shall get the Hebraised form of *ha-ibhim* or *habbim*, and this is the more probable explanation.

When, therefore, we consider that the Hebrew words for *apes*, *peacocks*, and *almug-trees* (also mentioned with *ivory* as foreign importations) have not a Semitic but an Aryan origin, are not Hebrew words, but Hebraised forms of Sanskrit words, we can come to no other conclusion than that the ivory, apes, peacocks, and almug wood were Indian products, and imported by Hiram and Solomon into Phœnicia and Palestine from the west parts of India or Ceylon.

The wooden representing tribute-bearers with large elephants' tusks is taken from the Black Obelisk in the British Museum; the tribute is that of the Shulites from the Euphrates, who are depicted on the monument bringing lions and a stag, shawls, &c., to the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II. The cut representing the Indian

elephant and monkeys, also from the Black Obelisk, depicts the tribute of the Muzri, or people of Muzr, or North-western Kurdistan. The elephant is clearly the Indian species, which is evident at a glance from the smallness of its ears; these Muzr probably traded with India, whence they would obtain elephants, monkeys, and ivory. Many years ago it was thought that the Hebraised name *habbim* or *habba* was the Assyrian word for the elephant not uncommon on the monuments; it is now certain that the term *abba* or *habba* is the Accadian name for "the camel," of which the Assyrian equivalent is the ordinary Semitic *gammel*. *Abba* in Accadian means "the sea." With the determinative prefix of "animal," it means the "animal from the sea," i.e. "the Persian Gulf," whence the Accadians procured the

rhinoceros rather than the elephant is intended. The reader will notice in the same woodcut men bearing or leading monkeys. In the same epigraph with the *al-ap nahr* 'Sa-ci-e the word *u-du-mi* occurs; this M. Lenormant believes to be the Assyrian word for "apes," as though *udum* was *adam* (אדם), "a man;" the old inhabitants of the Mesopotamian plains being struck with the likeness between man and monkey. This, however, is uncertain. Mr. Norris renders *u-du-mi* by "footstools," referring to the Hebrew word *hadóm* (הדום) (*Assyr. Dict.* i., p. 285.)

Amongst the ancient Egyptians the elephant, though it gave name to the island of Elephantine, was not considered sacred. It only occurs at Elephantine in the



ELEPHANT (ELEPHAS INDICUS) AND MONKEYS (CERCOPITHECUS), TRIBUTE OF THE MUZRI. BLACK OBELISK (ASSYRIAN).

camel; this is explained under Article "Camel;" but the elephant, it is very probable, is mentioned on the Assyrian monuments. Some years ago Dr. Hincks imagined that he had discovered the name of the elephant in the third epigraph of the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II. The words are *al-ap nahr* 'Saci-e, which clearly means "the ox of the river 'Sacc.'" It was not an uncommon thing for the ancients to call any large animal an ox. The Coptic *P-che-mou*, "the ox of the water," is the hippopotamus (the Greek "horse of the water"). When the Romans first saw the elephant in the army of Pyrrhus in Lucania, they gave it the name of *Luca bos*, "the Lucanian ox." To this Lucretius refers in the lines—

"Inde boves Lucas turrato corpore tetros,
Anguimanos, belli docuerunt vulnera Pœni
Sufferre, et magnas Martis turbare catervas."

"Next the Pœni taught the Lucan kine with towered body,
horrible to look at, with snake-like hand, to endure the wounds of war,
and to throw into confusion the mighty ranks of Mars" (*De Rer. Nat.* v. 1,301).

Dr. Hincks' supposition, therefore, seems highly pro-

name of the place which in hieroglyphics is styled "the Land of the Elephant," *eb* or *ebu*, the original appellation of the island. Nor was it worshipped in the neighbouring island of Phike, nor was it probably ranked among the sacred animals of Ethiopia. The Assyrian monuments represent the rhinoceros, which is, however, very badly drawn, and perhaps might have been executed from memory only; the horn is placed not over the nose, but over the eye; it is intended, no doubt, for the Indian rhinoceros.

An Indian bull and a large kind of antelope accompany the rhinoceros; the bull is ornamented with tassels, and may have been, as Mr. Layard thinks, a sacred animal. The antelope may be intended for the *Chikara*, or *goat-antelope* of the Europeans in Deccan, the *Tragops Bennettii* of Hodgson (*Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, 1847, II). It occurs in Madras, Nepal, and Tarai; it has lyrate horns, and differs from antelopes generally in not being gregarious. The figure on the obelisk, however, is too thick for any antelope, and is badly drawn.

CONEY.

Our English word coney or cony—for it is spelt both ways—is an old name for the rabbit; a still older form is *cunig*, or *conyng*, as in *Piers Ploughman's Vision*—

“The while he cacetheth *conynges*,
He coveteth nought youre caroyne.” (384.)

But *conyes* is also found in Chaucer—

“The lytel conyes to her pley gunnen hye.” (*Ass. of F.*, 193.)

Wycliffe's version in Lev. xi. 5 has *coni*. It is the French *connil*, Italian *coniglio*, Spanish *conejo*, German *König*, Latin *cuniculus*; and as the original home of the rabbit was in Spain and the Balearic Islands, the name itself has a Spanish origin. But though the word “coney” occurs in our English Bible, it is certain that no rabbit is denoted by the Hebrew word *shâphân*.

because in Phœnician *špš* (*shâphân*) must have had the same meaning, *Spain* being named by the Phœnicians from the multitude of its rabbits.” It may be true that *Spain*, or *Span* or *Sapan*, which is the older form of the word, has its origin, as Bochart contended, in the Hebrew or Phœnician *tsâpan*, *'sâpan*, or *shâphân*. Spain was known to the ancients as the land of rabbits, and has been personified, on a medal of Hadrian, as a female figure with a rabbit at her feet; and it is quite probable that when Phœnician settlers came to that country they called it, from the abundance of the rabbits there, after the name of that animal of *rabbit-like form* known to them by the name of *sapan* in their own country; but *shâphân* cannot mean a rabbit, an animal which never existed in Palestine or any other adjoining country until its introduction into Aleppo (from Europe at a com-



HYRAX SYRIACUS.

The *shâphân* is mentioned in Lev. xi. 5; Deut. xiv. 7, where it is named amongst certain other animals which the Jewish law forbade as food: “And the *shâphân*, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof, he is unclean unto you.” In the 104th Psalm, which has been well called “a bright and living picture of God's creative power pouring life and gladness through the universe,” and which contains so many beautiful allusions to wild animals, the *shâphân's* habit of dwelling chiefly among the rocks is spoken of: “The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the *shâphâns*” (ver. 18). In the Book of Proverbs, amongst the “four things little upon earth, but exceeding wise,” are enumerated the *shâphâns* as being “but a feeble folk, yet having their houses in the rocks” (xxx. 26). The Hebrew word, probably from an unused root meaning “to hide,” is now generally and with very good reason understood to denote the *Hyrax Syriacus* of naturalists. Fürst, however, is rather inclined to coincide with Jewish tradition, and understands the rabbit to be meant. He says, “This interpretation is suitable,

paratively recent date), where tame rabbits are bred for the sake of the fur. The hyrax is known in Palestine and Sinai by the name of *wabr*, from the Arabic *wabar*, “to be hairy,” in allusion to the long black hairs which stand out sparingly from the creature's fur.

The Abyssinians call it *ashkôkô* (from the Amharic word *ashkôk*, “a thorn”) for the same reason. In Southern Arabia it is called *thofum*, “the hider,” like the Hebrew *shâphân*, this animal being shy, timid and wary, instinctively retreating into fissures and under rocks at any unusual noise or sight. The hyrax is the single genus constituting the order *Hyracoidea*; it is neither a rodent, nor, as represented in Leviticus, a ruminant, its chief affinities being with the *Perissodactyle Ungulates*. In outward form it bears some resemblance to, and is about the same size as a rabbit, but it is classed between the hippopotamus and the rhinoceros. There are two incisors in the upper jaw—as have rodents—but in the hyrax they differ considerably in form; in rodents they are of the shape of a quadrangular prism; in the animal we are considering they are pointed and triangular, like

those of the hippopotamus; but the most striking point in the dentition is in the molars, which are very similar in form to those of the rhinoceros. There are also osteological points which show that the hyrax has its true affinities with the *Perissodactyle Ungulates*, though the genus is so aberrant that zoologists have constituted it an order by itself, and under the name of *Hyracoidea* have assigned it a place between the *Ungulata* and *Rodentia*.

The hyrax, from its habit of constantly working its teeth and jaws, was supposed by the Hebrews to chew the cud, and is placed by them amongst the ruminants, as the ox, sheep, goat, &c. It is incorrect to say that the Hebrew words do not necessarily imply rumination, and merely mean *re-chew*; the very same expression which is used for "chewing the cud" in the true ruminants is used for "chewing the cud" in the hyrax: "And the *shâphân*, because he cheweth the cud, but doth not divide the hoof, he is unclean to you" (Lev. x. 5). The Hebrew words are too distinct to admit the slightest doubt as to their full signification. The Hiphil participle *maâlêh*, from the verb *'âlâh*, "to arise, ascend, go up," literally rendered, would stand thus, "(The hyrax) which maketh the cud to ascend," and clearly shows that the Hebrews had a correct and definite idea of the process of rumination, as visible to them in a true ruminant.

The Septuagint made an unhappy emendation when, with reference to the hyrax and the hare, it attempted to redeem the scientific accuracy of the statements by the addition of οὐκ, "not," ὅτι οὐκ ἀνάγει μρυκισμὸν. That the Hebrews should be deceived in the matter of certain animals being ruminant or not is natural enough. Dr. Brehm says, "I saw the rock-badgers often graze at the foot of clefts, and I found that their habits are exactly like those of ruminants, for having bitten off the grass with their teeth, they move the jaws like the bisulcates when chewing the cud" (*Illust. Thierleben*, ii. 724, quoted from Kalisch). Bruce, Goldsmith, Cowper, Sir G. Wilkinson, and others have made similar mistakes with respect to the hare and hyrax. It is clear that the Hebrew words ascribe a normal ruminating power to the hyrax equally with real ruminants; abnormal rumination may occur in non-ruminants, as in man and other animals with stomachs that have no valvular construction of the entry, which, in the horse for instance, renders regurgitation physically impossible. Professor Owen has observed a quasi-rumination in some of the kangaroos, and the power and habit certainly is possessed by fish, as carp and tench and other fish whose teeth are in the throat, and whose food is for the most part vegetable and coral. Aristotle mentions a fish he calls the *searus*, to which he ascribes, and with truth, a ruminating power.

The hyrax, the *Klippdachs* or *Schieferdachs* ("rock-badger") of the Germans, does not burrow like the rabbit, but lives in holes in rocks, to which it retreats

on the slightest disturbance. Some observers have remarked that an old male is set as a sentry in the vicinity of their holes, and that he utters a sound like a whistle to apprise his companions when danger threatens; to this, perhaps, the words of Agur the son of Jakeh refer when he mentions the *shâphân* as one of the four things upon earth which, though little, are exceedingly wise. The Rev. F. K. Holland writes to Dr. Tristram, "Though I several times saw single conies in Sinai, I only twice came upon any large number together. Once when crossing a mountain pass, I was startled by a shrill scream near me, but could see nothing. On my return in the evening, I approached the place cautiously, and saw eight conies out playing like rabbits. I watched them for some minutes before they saw me. At length one caught sight of me, and immediately uttered its scream, and all at once rushed to their holes. On another occasion I saw twelve out feeding at a different spot, but on neither occasion did I see any appointed guard."

The hyrax has been seen in Palestine and Sinai by many travellers, but in the former country it is not so common as in the latter. Dr. Tristram, however, found it in many parts of Palestine: it is extremely common in the gorge of the Kedron, from Marsaba eastward, and all down the west side of the Dead Sea. He has given an interesting account of this little creature's habits to which we must refer the reader (see *Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 77).

In Arabia Petrea these little animals are called *gannim Israel*, "Israel's sheep." Prosper Alpinus has these words, "Animal quoddam humile, cuniculo non dissimile quod *agnum filiorum Israel* nuncupant." Bruce tells us the same, and thinks the name was given from the hyrax frequenting the rocks of Horeb and Sinai, where the children of Israel wandered forty years.

The hyrax has been now called a *marmot*, now a *cavia*. The term *Hyrax* to express the genus was first established by Hermann; it is the Greek ὑραξ, a word used by Nicander (*Alex.* 37) to denote some shrew-mouse, apparently. The South African hyrax (*H. Capensis*) is called *Dasse* by the Dutch settlers, *dasse* being the same as the German *dachs*, "badger." It is not easy to suggest a good English representative of the hyrax. "The stony rocks for the hyraces" does not sound well; "rock-badger" is objectionable, as conveying an erroneous idea, zoologically. Perhaps it would be as well to retain the English word *coney*, familiar to all, and as the word is now obsolete, to re-issue the coin, as it were, with the stamp of the hyrax upon it.

We have now noticed all the Mammalia except the "greyhound," mentioned only in Prov. xxx. 31 as one of the "four things comely in going." It is very improbable that the Hebrew words meaning "one girt about the loins" denote a greyhound; we agree with those who interpret them of a "wrestler."

BETWEEN THE BOOKS.

BY THE REV. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D., HEAD MASTER OF KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Canon of the Old Testament closes with the prophecies of Malachi. A period, therefore, of about four hundred years separates the last book of the Old from the first of the New Testament Scriptures.

This period is one of supreme importance in the history of the Jewish nation. During it the Jews were brought under the most varied influences. (1) First they were subject to the dominion of Persia; (2) for nearly a century and a half they were under Greek rulers; (3) for a century they enjoyed independence under their native Asmonæan princes; (4) and for more than half a century, while nominally ruled by the family of Herod, they were in reality subject to the power of the great Roman Empire.

In the course of this period a remarkable change was wrought in the condition of the Elect Nation.

(i.) Whereas for many centuries they had been almost cut off from contact with the world around, they were now scattered everywhere, east and west, north and south, bearing about with them their peculiar customs and institutions, and diffusing wherever they went a knowledge of the Law and the Prophets.

(ii.) Corresponding to this wide diffusion of the people, which had so long "dwelt apart," there had been brought about also a change in their vernacular tongue, and in their mode of worship. The language spoken in the days of David and Solomon was gradually exchanged for the Chaldee or "Syrian tongue,"¹ while the worship of the true God, before carried on only in the Temple at Jerusalem, was now celebrated, not only there on the occasion of the great festivals, but in synagogues, which arose out of the exigencies of the Captivity, and which were now to be found, not only in every town, and almost in every village throughout Palestine, but also in every city in Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, where there was a Jewish settlement.

(iii.) Again, the intellectual culture of Greece had an important influence on Jewish development. It quickened independent thought, and led to the rise of various sects, "Freedom, ritualism, and asceticism found a characteristic expression in *Sadducees*, *Pharisees*, and *Essenes*,"² while politicians, as represented by *Herodians*, looked to the family of Herod as a bulwark against Roman ambition, and pretended to trace in that dynasty the fulfilment of ancient prophecy.

(iv.) Lastly, the idea of the Messiah, which the "People of the Future" had been raised up to foster and keep alive from generation to generation, had been affected in no slight degree by the variety of the influences under which the Jews had been brought. As

before, so now, each period added or connected something necessary to the completeness of the conception, and the sadness of the Captivity ended what the mournful close of Solomon's reign had begun. The "Son of David" gives place to the "Son of man," and the idea of the Conqueror and the King is combined with that of the Lawgiver, the Prophet, and the Priest.

In the following chapters we shall try to give a sketch of the history of the Jews during this eventful period, and to trace the results of the experiences through which they passed as they have been just summarised. In this way we shall be able to trace the connection between the Books of the Old and the New Testaments, and to see how not only the Elect Nation itself, but also Persia, Syria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, all in their several degrees prepared for "the fulness of time,"³ and made ready for the advent of the long-predicted Redeemer in whom "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female."⁴

CHAPTER I.

THE JEWS UNDER THE PERSIAN MONARCHS.

The first period of the history of the Jews after the death of Nehemiah, which took place about B.C. 413, is almost a blank to us. For upwards of 230 years after the decease of this last of the Jewish governors sent from the court of Persia, to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 175 (a period "as long, to compare it with modern history, as from the death of Queen Elizabeth to the accession of Queen Victoria, nearly from the death of Henri IV. of France to the accession of Louis Napoleon"⁵), the record of events is of the scantiest description.

It appears certain, however, that Judæa itself was now annexed to the satrapy of Coele Syria, and the administration of affairs was entrusted to the Jewish high priest, subject to the control of the Syrian governor.

As subjects of the Persian monarch, the Jews were distinguished for their loyalty and good faith. While Cyprus, Phœnicia, Egypt, and other dependencies of the Persian crown, were frequently the scenes of rebellions, which were with much difficulty suppressed, the Jews remained steadfast in their allegiance to the "great king," and increased rapidly alike in wealth and population.

One atrocious crime distinguishes the uneventful annals of the period from the death of Nehemiah to the era of Alexander the Great. During the lifetime of this Jewish reformer the high priest was

¹ Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 26; Isa. xxxvi. 11; Dan. ii. 4.

² Westcott's *Gospel of the Resurrection*, p. 82. Ed. 2.

³ Gal. iv. 4.

⁴ Gal. iii. 28.

⁵ Milman's *History of the Jews*, i. 443.

Eliashib.¹ He was succeeded by Joiada.² Joiada had two sons, the one Jonathan or Jehanan, the other Jeshua.³ Jeshua stood high in favour with Bagoses, the Persian governor, and obtained from him the promise of the high priesthood. Fortified by this assurance, he ventured to quarrel with his brother, and fell slain by his hands within the precincts of the sanctuary itself, *circa* B.C. 366. This horrible occurrence roused the indignation of Bagoses, and he advanced upon Jerusalem and demanded admittance into the Temple. This the Jews tried to prevent, but the Persian general declared he was less unclean than the body of the murdered man, and not only polluted the sanctuary by entering it, but also levied a fine of fifty drachmas on every lamb offered in sacrifice during the next seven years.⁴

Like his father, Johanan in his turn had two sons, Jaddua and Manasseh. Jaddua succeeded to the high priesthood, B.C. 341, and was distinguished for his generous maintenance of the Mosaic institutions as they had been restored by Ezra and Nehemiah.

Manasseh, on the other hand, contracted an alliance with the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, one of the most active opponents of the Jewish reformer.⁵ This roused the indignation of the elders at Jerusalem, and Jaddua declared that Manasseh must either put away his wife or resign all claim to the priesthood. This the brother declined to do, and betook himself to his father-in-law at Samaria, and commenced to exercise his priestly functions at a rival temple which Sanballat built on Mount Gerizim with the permission of the Persian court. Thus, according to Josephus,⁶ Manasseh became the first priest of the Samaritans at their rival sanctuary, to which those Jews also repaired from time to time who had been expelled for criminal offences from their own country, or had any cause of disaffection.⁷

Meanwhile the tide of war, which had been rolling at a distance and wasting Asia Minor, at length burst upon the shores of Palestine and Coele Syria. Victorious over the Persian forces at the Granicus, B.C. 334, and again at Issus in the following year, Alexander the Great took Sidon, and laid siege to Tyre, B.C. 332. Thence he sent a letter to Jaddua at Jerusalem, demanding the transference of his allegiance to himself from an empire which was crumbling to pieces before his armies, and requesting supplies for his troops. This the high priest declared was impossible. He had sworn to be loyal to Darius, and to Darius he would be loyal so long as he lived. Though annoyed at this reply, Alexander delayed to take vengeance for this bold refusal till after the reduction of Tyre, July, B.C. 331, and then set out with his Macedonian armies for the Holy City.

Moving along the flat strip of the coast of Gaza, the conqueror laid siege to that stronghold,⁸ and

having captured it in October, secured the road to Egypt. Having now leisure to turn his attention to Jerusalem, he advanced thither apparently by the same route that Sennacherib had taken on a previous occasion.⁹ Meantime Jaddua and his people were filled with the utmost alarm. Sacrifices were offered, prayers were put up, and the Divine aid was sought to appease the wrath of the invader. At length the high priest is said to have been warned in a dream how he was to act. He hung the city with garlands, threw open the gates, and as soon as he was informed of the approach of the conqueror, went forth, clad in his robes of hyacinth and gold, and followed by a train of priests and people arrayed in white, and met him at Sapha, *i.e.*, probably Mizpeh, the high ridge to the north of the city.¹⁰

As soon as Alexander beheld the venerable form of the high priest, he fell down prostrate before him, and adored the holy name inscribed in golden letters on the frontal of his tiara. The Phœnicians and Chaldeans in his retinue were only awaiting the signal to pillage the city and put the high priest to the torture. They could not, therefore, conceal their astonishment at the conduct of their leader, and Parmenio, addressing him, inquired why he, whom all the world worshipped, could think of kneeling before the high priest. "It is not the high priest," replied the conqueror, "whom I worship, but his God, who has conferred on him the priesthood. In a vision at Dium in Macedonia, I saw him arrayed precisely as he now stands; and when I was debating how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, he exhorted me to lay aside all delay, and boldly cross over the sea, for he would conduct my army and give me victory over the Persians."¹¹

Then he took Jaddua by the right hand, and entering the city repaired to the Temple, offered sacrifice there, and conferred high honours upon the whole priestly body. The scroll containing the prophecies of Daniel was then brought, and the prediction was read in his hearing how that a Greek would destroy the Persian empire. Overjoyed at this, he offered the Jews whatever privileges they might select. Thereupon they requested that the free enjoyment of their lives and liberties might be secured to them, as also to their brethren in Media and Babylonia, and that they might be exempted from tribute during the Sabbatical years. These privileges the conqueror willingly conceded.¹²

⁹ Isa. x. 28—32.

¹⁰ Or Scopos, the Nob of Isa. x. 32; whence τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀνέβαιεν ἰφορᾶσθαι. (Jos., Ant. xi. 8, 5.)

¹¹ Jos., Ant. xi. 8, 5.

¹² "Internal evidence is highly in favour of the story, even in its picturesque fulness. From policy or conviction, Alexander delighted to represent himself as chosen by destiny for the great act which he achieved. The siege of Tyre arose professedly from a religious motive. The battle of Issus was preceded by the visit to Gordium; the invasion of Persia by the pilgrimage to the temple of Ammon. And if it be impossible to determine the exact circumstances of the meeting of Alexander and the Jewish envoys, the silence of the classical historians, who notoriously disregarded and misrepresented the fortunes of the Jews, cannot be held to be conclusive against the occurrence of an event which must have appeared to them trivial or unintelligible." (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art., "Alexander;" Thirlwall's *Greece*, vi. p. 206; Raphael's *History of the Jews*, i. 42—50.)

¹ Neh. iii. 1, 20, 21.

² Neh. xii. 11, 22.

³ Joseph., Ant. xi. 7, 1.

⁴ Jos., Ant. xi. 7, 1.

⁵ Neh. ii. 10, 19; xiii. 28.

⁶ Jos., Ant. xi. 8, 2.

⁷ Jos., Ant. xi. 8, 7.

⁸ Arrian, ii. 26, 5; Grote's *Greece*, viii. 366, 367.

CHAPTER II.

THE JEWS UNDER THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

Eight years after this visit to the Holy City, Alexander the Great died at Babylon, B.C. 323, and the vast empire he had won for himself was divided amongst his generals. Palestine, as a province of Syria, passed into the possession of Laomedon, while Egypt was assigned to Ptolemy Soter. Before long Ptolemy conquered Cyrene, and looked with longing eyes on the harbours of Phœnicia, and the cedar forests of Libanus and Antilibanus. Accordingly he invaded the realms of Laomedon, and having defeated him in battle, B.C. 321, made himself master for a time of all Syria and Phœnicia.

On this occasion the Jews manifested such unwillingness to break their engagements to the Syrian king, that Ptolemy advanced against Jerusalem, and besieged it with a large army. Entering the city under pretence of offering sacrifice on the Sabbath day, when the inhabitants refrained on religious grounds from attempting any defence, he succeeded in capturing it. Instead, however, of following up his victory by a cruel massacre, he contented himself with transporting a great number of the inhabitants to Egypt, where he distributed them as garrisons in different places, and conferred upon them equal privileges with the Macedonians themselves.¹

The conqueror, however, was not long allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of his new province. It was soon disputed with him by Antigonus, one of the most ambitious of Alexander's generals. Twice the coveted province fell into the hands of his rival; twice Ptolemy managed to regain possession of it, and it was finally adjudged to his share after the decisive battle of Ipsus, B.C. 301. But this battle had other results besides securing to Ptolemy Soter the dominion of Palestine, Phœnicia, and Cœlesyria. Seleucus I. had joined the confederacy against Antigonus, and after the victory was rewarded with a great part of Asia Minor, as well as the whole of Syria from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. He assumed the title of "king of Syria," and his dominion, in the words of the prophet Daniel,² became "a great dominion," the most extensive and powerful of those which had been formed out of the empire of Alexander. Seleucus founded his eastern capital on the banks of the Tigris, and called it Selencia after his own name. For his western metropolis he selected a spot on the left bank of the river Orentes, and here he founded a city B.C. 300, and called it *Antioch*, after the name of his father Antiochus. Antioch soon became one of the most flourishing cities in the world, and Seleucus, convinced, like the Egyptian monarch, of the loyalty of the Jews, invited many of them to his new capital and other cities in Asia Minor, and bestowed upon them many important privileges.

The foundation of the Syrian kingdom, with Antioch

for its western metropolis, placed Judæa in an unfortunate position between two great rival monarchies, and threatened to make it the prize of interminable contentions. But the government of the first three Ptolemies, Soter, Philadelphus, and Euergetes, was mild and gentle, and while all the rest of the world was ravaged by war, Palestine enjoyed profound peace.

Meanwhile Jaddua had been succeeded in the high priesthood by his son Onias I., and he again, B.C. 300, by Simon the Just, the last of the men of the "Great Synagogue," as he was called by the Jews. He repaired the sanctuary of the Temple, surrounded with brass the cistern or "sea" of the principal court, fortified the city walls, and maintained the sacred ritual with unusual pomp and ceremony. On the death of Simon the Just, B.C. 291, his brother Eleazar became high priest. He was succeeded, B.C. 276, not by his own son Onias, but by his uncle Manasseh, the son of Jaddua. On his death, B.C. 250, Onias II., the son of Simon, became high priest, but inherited none of his father's virtues, being distinguished for nothing but meanness and an inordinate love of money. Neglecting to pay the annual tribute of twenty talents of silver to the Egyptian king, he provoked the anger of the latter, who threatened to invade Palestine, and divide it amongst his troops. The Jews were filled with dismay at the too probable consequences of the threat, and were only relieved from their apprehensions by the spirited conduct of Joseph, the nephew of the high priest, who repaired to Egypt, ingratiated himself with the court, and was appointed collector of the revenues from Judæa, Samaria, Cœlesyria, and Phœnicia. Furnished with a guard of 2,000 soldiers, he extorted payment from the refractory towns, liquidated the arrears due from his uncle, and for upwards of twenty-two years was universally acknowledged as collector for the Egyptian kings.

The throne of Egypt, on the death of Ptolemy Soter, in B.C. 283, was occupied by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Like his predecessor, he distinguished himself by uniform kindness to the Jewish nation, conferring costly presents on the Temple at Jerusalem, and inviting many of the Jews to settle in his dominions. He showed himself also a liberal patron of literature and science, establishing a famous library at Alexandria, and sparing no pains in procuring books to be deposited in it. With his reign also is connected the commencement of the Greek version of the Scriptures called the *Septuagint*, from the tradition that seventy or seventy-two interpreters from Jerusalem were engaged in the translation. This celebrated version was begun about B.C. 286, the Pentateuch being translated first, and the other books being subsequently added.

On the death of Philadelphus, B.C. 247, Ptolemy Euergetes succeeded to the Egyptian throne. Following in the steps of his father, he extended considerably the privileges of the Jews; and the story just related of the manner in which Joseph obtained from him the farming of the revenues of Judæa, is a striking illustration of the influence which individual members of the nation had begun to acquire.

¹ Jos., *Ant.* xii. 1.

² Dan. xi. 5.

The reign of the Egyptian monarch came to a sudden and tragical close. In the year B.C. 222 he was assassinated by his own son, Ptolemy IV., who was called in irony Philopater ("the lover of his father"). No sooner was he seated on the throne than he murdered his mother Berenice, and his brother Magas, and then gave himself up to luxury and dissipation. Before long, however, he was constrained to rouse himself from his lethargy, and confront the rising power of Antiochus the Great, who had seized Phœnicia and the greater part of Cœlesyria, and wished to add Judæa to his dominions. Ptolemy confronted his rival at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, and defeated him with great loss, B.C. 217.

Meanwhile the Jews had remained loyal to the Egyptian monarch, who was induced after his victory to pay a visit to Jerusalem. Attracted by the beauty of the Temple and the solemnity of the services, he pressed forward to enter the sanctuary. Simon II., the successor of Onias, entreated him to desist from his purpose; but this only made him more anxious to carry it out, and amidst the terror of the priests and the wailing of the populace, he proceeded towards the Holy of Holies. Here, however, he is said to have been seized with a sudden and supernatural terror, and fell speechless to the earth. Annoyed at this repulse, he returned to Alexandria, and wreaked his vengeance on the numerous Jews who had been settled there. Some he put to death; others he sold into slavery, or reduced to the lowest class of citizens. Thirteen years afterwards he fell a victim to his unbridled excesses, and was succeeded by his son, Ptolemy Epiphanes, B.C. 205, then only five years of age.

During the closing years of the last reign Antiochus had been gradually recovering from his disastrous

defeat at Raphia, and had re-established the supremacy of the Selencidæ among the Parthians and Bactrians. Returning to Western Asia, he found his old rival dead, and the throne of Egypt in the possession of a child. Thereupon he instantly attacked the Egyptian dominions, and seized Cœlesyria and Judæa. In the engagements that followed the Jews suffered severely, and became in turn the prey of both the contending parties. In B.C. 203 Antiochus succeeded in capturing Jerusalem. In B.C. 199 it was retaken by Scopas, the general of the Egyptian forces. In the following year Antiochus took the field again, and at the foot of Mount Panium, near the sources of the Jordan, defeated Scopas in a decisive engagement, and captured that general himself and the remains of his troops, who had fled for refuge to Sidon.

Tired out with the struggle, and mindful of the indignities offered to their sanctuary by Ptolemy Philopater, the Jews welcomed the conqueror as their deliverer, and furnished readily supplies for his army. Antiochus, on his side, treated his new allies with liberality and kindness. Not only did he assure to them perfect freedom in the exercise of their religious rites, but he forbade the intrusion of strangers into their temple, promised to restore it to its ancient splendour, and bestowed upon it many splendid gifts. At the same time, following the example of Alexander the Great and of Seleneus, he gave orders to Zeuxis his general to remove two thousand Jewish families from Babylon to Lydia and Phrygia, where they were to have lands assigned them, to exercise their own laws, and to be exempt from tribute for upwards of ten years.¹

¹ Jos., *Ant.* xii. 3, § 3, 4.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE:—(2) ORIGIN OF ISRAEL.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM LEE, D.D., ROXBURGH.

IT was, according to Archbishop Ussher, about the year 1450 B.C., or, according to Hales and other supporters of the Long Chronology, about 150 years earlier than this date, that that great event in the history of Palestine took place which transferred the possession of the Holy Land from its primitive inhabitants, of whom we have already spoken, to another race.

We have now to inquire into the ethnical history of the people which at the conquest thus became predominant in the land, a position which they continued thenceforward to occupy, not without many vicissitudes, involving calamities which occasionally even threatened their national existence, down to the destruction of Jerusalem by the armies of Vespasian, in the year 70 after Christ.

I. FATHERLAND.

It is in the land of Chaldea, or Babylonia, and more

especially in Chaldea proper, or the country lying immediately to the north of the Persian Gulf, and forming that portion of the great alluvial plain between the Tigris and the Euphrates, which was afterwards known as the southern division of Babylonia, that we must look for the first beginnings of the Chosen Seed. There Abraham's family had probably dwelt from the times of his remote ancestor, Arphaxad [*i.e.*, "the border," or, according to Ewald (*Hist.* i. 282), "the stronghold, of the Chaldees"]. There Abraham himself was born, and passed the first seventy-five years of his life. In the same territory was the birthplace of Sarah, Abraham's wife and Isaac's mother. The birthplace of Rebekah, and of Rachel and Leah, was considerably further north, but belonged to the same great plain of which Chaldea proper formed the lower extremity. Nor was the connection with the fatherland only kept up by marriage. In Padan-aram Jacob, when he fled

from Esau, sought refuge, for a period of, as it has been variously computed, from twenty to forty years, among his Chaldean kindred.

Though of different races, the original home of Israel therefore was, if the tradition as to the origin of the Phœnicians, preserved by Herodotus, be accurate, not remote from that of one great branch, at least, of the nations whom they supplanted, and with whom they were for long brought into such intimate relations in Palestine. Nor need we be surprised at this coincidence. In no part of the world, according to all the information we possess, was there, in early times, found a more remarkable intermixture of different peoples than in Western Asia, and in no part of Western Asia than in Chaldea. The fact now referred to, which is in a great measure accounted for by the early history of the country in question, is itself well worthy of our notice.

In what part of the world the survivors of the Deluge first established themselves is a question of very great difficulty. The most general opinion is in favour of some of the mountain-ranges of Armenia (Bochart, *Phaleg*, 18). Another conclusion, apparently more consistent with one of the indications (Gen. xi. 2) of its geographical position, and supported by concurrent traditions among the Indians and Persians (see Lenormant, *Anc. Hist.*, i. 21), is that the mountain mass of Little Bokhara and Western Thibet was the Ararat of Genesis (viii. 4) and the cradle of the post-diluvian race of man. However this question may be determined, it appears that in process of time Noah's descendants migrated from their original settlements, and after "journeyings" (Gen. xi. 2), the history of which is not preserved, arrived—by the Hebrew chronology about 100 years, by that of the Septuagint about 400 years after the flood—in the very land from which Abraham removed to Canaan, and there proceeded to establish themselves.

That the "land of Shinar" must be identified with Chaldea, or Southern Babylon, hardly admits of question. "It was a plain country, where brick had to be used for stone, and slime (mud?) for mortar (Gen. xi. 3). Among its cities were Babel (Babylon), Erech or Orrech (Orchoï), Calneh or Calno [probably Niffer (according to Lenormant, *Anc. Hist.* i. 80, Ur)], and Arrad, the site of which is unknown. These notices are quite enough to fix the situation" (*Dict. of Bible*, s. v. "Shinar"). Nor is it much less evident from the sacred history that the migration to this territory, of which we read in the first verses of Gen. xi., consisted, not of a section merely of the Noachidæ, as was long ago suggested by Bryant, who supposes these verses to refer to the Cushite invasion of Chaldea, under Niurod, elsewhere (Gen. x. 8) described (*Anc. Mythology*, iii. 32), but of "the children of men" of that day, as a whole; and that the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion, related in the same chapter, also in connection with Chaldea, had reference in like manner to the whole race. It is not improbable, certainly, that migrations may have occurred before the dispersion at Babel, before even the arrival in the plains of Shinar. That such was the case is, indeed, apparently

implied in the reasons assigned by the builders of the city and tower of Babel for the course which they followed (Gen. xi. 4); but this conjecture, if proved to be correct, would not be at variance with the opinion generally received, namely, that the occupation of Chaldea, referred to in the passage in question, was the result of movements, not on the part of one people, but of the, as yet, undivided race of mankind.

Such an event as that now described could not fail to leave its traces on the population of this territory, even after the dispersion. A large residuum of different races would necessarily remain in the country in which the descendants of the whole of the sons of Noah had thus for a time formed a common home, and which became their point of departure when, eventually, "they were scattered abroad upon all the face of the earth." After events would tend to perpetuate and still further to complicate the mixed character of the population, doubtless due originally to this cause. Reference is here made especially to the Cushite invasion of Chaldea, of which there is evidence, both in the Bible and in the more ancient monumental inscriptions.

But it is with the fact rather than its causes that we are here concerned; and the fact of the existence of a strange medley of races in the Tigro-Euphrates basin in all early times is abundantly ascertained. There is reason to believe that originally various independent tribes divided the country among them (Lenormant, *Anc. Hist.*, i. 347). If, indeed, the native historian Berosus is to be relied on here, the country had for a time fallen into a state of utter anarchy, being without civilisation, or the forms of law. He describes it (Eusebii, *Chron.*, ii. § 3) as "a great resort of various peoples who . . . lived without rule and order, like the beasts of the field." The question has been raised (Niebuhr, *Anc. Hist.*, i. 11, sq.; Rawlinson, *Anc. Monarchies*, i. 58, sq.) whether the race which first established a regular government in Chaldea was Semitic or Hamite. From some expressions in a remarkable fragment of primeval history which has been introduced by the inspired writer, probably from some much earlier document, into the *Toldoth Benê Noah*, or "Book of the Generations of Noah" (Gen. x.)—confessedly "the most important record that we possess for the affiliation of [nations]" (*Journ. of Asiatic Soc.*, xv. 233)—as well as on other grounds, it appears to be, on the whole, most probable that this distinction belonged to a branch of the race of Ham, the Cushite invaders of the country already referred to. There are at the same time, however, strong reasons (cf. *ibid.*, xv. 221, 226) for believing that Semitic peoples, like the Arphaxadæ (Gen. xi. 11) and the descendants of Asshur (Gen. x. 22), had previously in considerable numbers occupied the same region. All along, indeed, even under the Cushite rule, an important Semitic element appears to have existed in the population. And from the monumental inscriptions it may be concluded that not only Semitic and Hamite, but also Turanian, and possibly other groups of the Japhetic, races must have been found in this territory in the earliest times. "The fact," says Lenormant, "of the existence of an ancient Turanian

civilisation, and the presence of people of that race in Chaldea, is one of the newest and least expected results of the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, and of the study of the original monuments of the Assyro-Chaldean world. It is, nevertheless, incontestable" (*Anc. Hist.*, i. 342).¹ There is a curious confirmation of the facts now stated as to the mixture of races in this country, in the title of "rulers of the four races," or sometimes "four tongues," which we find given to a dynasty which reigned in Chaldea about the time of Abraham himself.² (Cf. Rawlinson's *Herod.*, i. 262, 266.)

Less is known of the history, religion, customs and manners, trade and commerce, arts and manufactures, science and literature, even the country itself, of the ancient Chaldeans than of those of many other peoples of antiquity, and much less than will probably be discovered when Southern Babylonia has been more carefully explored, and greater progress has been made in deciphering the inscriptions already collected. Great difficulties attend excavations in so inaccessible a region (Loftus, 239). The cuneiform inscriptions take us back to a period of, in some cases, 2,000 years B.C., and have already yielded valuable results; but this form of writing, especially as found in the older documents, is, as yet, very far from having been thoroughly mastered. Then, the Greek historians of Babylonia all belong to a date comparatively too recent to be of much value as authorities for the history of the people in the times with which we are here concerned. As far, however, as our information goes, the native country of Abraham, though it must have made great progress in every way since the times described in a passage already quoted from Berosus, was, even in Abraham's day, very much less highly civilised than some other countries with which the migrations of that patriarch afterwards brought him in contact.

(1.) The aspect of the country—a flat alluvial plain—is described by all travellers as, at least in its present uncultivated and depopulated condition, singularly monotonous and uninteresting. But with two such rivers as the Euphrates and the Tigris, Chaldea must always have been susceptible of being rendered, if not beautiful, sufficiently fertile to support a large population. It is uncertain to what period must be assigned the introduction of the complicated system of canals and water-courses, which in the time of the second empire made the Tigro-Euphrates basin not less fruitful than the banks of the Egyptian Nile. The barren sandy wastes which now almost everywhere meet the eye throughout

this region, in the neglect of culture that prevails, do not confirm the accuracy of the tradition in Berosus (*Euseb., Chr.*, ii. § 2) that in primeval times it yielded corn without cultivation. But, according to Loftus (*Chaldea*, 14), there is no physical reason why, even at the present day, it might not, with care and labour, become again the land rich in corn and wine, the land of pleasant gardens, and groves of palm-trees, described by Herodotus (*Hist.*, i. § 193). (2.) No stone is found in Chaldea, and the invariable use of bricks, cemented by bitumen or mud (as in the tower of Babel) for building purposes, was unfavourable to the development of the art of architecture. The only remains of examples of this art which have been explored are remarkable rather for their massiveness than their elegance. But even in early times ornament was not wholly absent. In some chambers examined by Mr. Taylor at Abu-shahreim, and apparently belonging to the Chaldean period, the inner walls were found coated with fine plaster, and painted in various designs. In one apartment the ornamentation assumed a form common afterwards in the same country (*Ezek.* xxiii. 14, 15), there being "represented, but very rudely, the figure of a man holding a bird on his wrist, with a smaller figure near him" (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, i. 104). At Warka, Mr. Loftus found among the remains of an edifice, in his opinion, of early origin, part of a wall thirty feet long, which was entirely composed of terra-cotta cones, embedded in a cement of mud, and so coloured and arranged as to form on the outer surface various ornamental patterns. Similar cones are found lying loose in the *débris* of many of the mounds throughout the country, indicating the prevalence of this style of architectural embellishment (*Chaldea*, 187). Another building in the same place affords an example of the employment of the column in early Chaldean architecture. The form is very rude—semi-circular bricks being made use of, without cornice, base, or capital (Loftus, 175). Mr. Loftus (182, sq.) believes that the roofs were generally arched. The rooms (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, i. 106) were long and narrow, and usually communicated with each other, or were entered by doors opening directly into them from without. Passages are rarely found within the walls. (3.) Among the commonest and most remarkable ancient remains are the burying-places. These are of various periods, and so extensive that it has been supposed (Loftus, 199) Chaldea must in course of time have become the Necropolis of all Babylon. They consist of piles of earthenware coffins, covered, probably by the wind, with sand, and form vast tumuli. Brick vaults are also sometimes found. The coffins and vaults, besides human remains, contain engraved cylinders and gems, beads and neck-ornaments, date-stones and other remains of food, and drinking vessels. Some of them appear to belong to the earliest periods of Chaldean history (see Loftus, c. xviii.). (4.) Little evidence is in our possession of an advanced state of the arts in the time of the first empire. Hammers, hatchets, knives, sickles, and other implements—in one case (Loftus, 269) what appears to have been the stock-in-trade, part of it in course of

¹ To this must be added the following statement by Sir H. Rawlinson:—"One of the most remarkable results arising from analysis of the Hamite cuneiform alphabet, is the evidence of an Arian element in the vocabulary of the very earliest period, thus showing that either in that remote age there must have been an Arian race dwelling on the Euphrates among the Hamite tribes, or that (as I myself think more probable) the distinction between Arian, Semitic, and Turanian tongues had not been developed when picture-writing was first used in Chaldea." (Essay on Early History of Babylonia, Rawlinson's *Herod.*, i. 362, note.)

² See also Essay above cited (p. 366). According to Sir H. Rawlinson, "the four races referred to, and which thus comprised the early population of Babylonia, were probably Hamite, Turanian, Arian, and Semitic."

manufacture, of a coppersmith—are among the spoil of recent explorers. The latter collection, which is now in the British Museum, includes large caldrons, vases, small dishes, a large assortment of knives and daggers, carpenters' tools, a pair of prisoner's fetters, and several plates resembling horses' shoes. Some of the articles are skilfully wrought. The fictile remains—vases, drinking vessels, and lamps—and the gold or iron ear-rings, and other personal ornaments, which also form part of the collections of Babylonian antiquities supposed to belong to the Chaldean period, are not without beauty of form (Loftus, 211). In textile manufactures the Babylonians eventually attained high excellence. The "Babylonian garment," which Achan coveted among the spoils of Jericho (Josh. vii. 21), shows that, at least by the time of the conquest, they had already acquired some repute in this branch of industry, and found a market for their productions beyond the limits of their own country. (5.) Nothing is known of their scientific attainments except the fact of their early proficiency in arithmetic and astronomy. As to the latter science, we know (cf. *Journ. As. Soc.*, xv. 221) that when Alexander the Great took Babylon (c. 332 B.C.), there

was found in that city a catalogue of eclipses, which had been observed by native astronomers during the previous 1,903 years. According to Lenormant (*Anc. Hist.*, i. 360), "in the most ancient times that the monuments permit us to investigate, astronomy was more advanced in Babylon and Chaldea than it even was in Egypt."

It is unnecessary to enter here into any account of the religion of Chaldea. We have already found that nature worship, accompanied by idolatrous, superstitious, and licentious rites, prevailed throughout the whole of Western Asia, from the earliest periods of which we have any knowledge. The distinctions between the Chaldeans and other members of the Syro-Arabic family of nations, as to their special beliefs and usages, are more curious than important. The reader will find an interesting chapter on the subject of the religion of Chaldea in the first volume of Professor Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*. To the general fact, that at the time of the call of Abraham, idolatry appears to have been *universal*, here as elsewhere, and was practised even by the family of that patriarch, there will be occasion to return in another connection.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINEFIELD, BERKS.

"Again, ye have heard [or, ye heard] that it hath been said by [or, was said to] them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths. But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication [or manner of speech] be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil [or of the evil one]."—ST. MATT. v. 33-37.

THE words here quoted by our Lord are not taken exactly, as in some other parts of this discourse, from the Mosaic law. They contain, however, the substance of the teaching of that law as set forth in the following passages:—

(1.) "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain" (Exod. xx. 7).

It must be observed here that the word rendered "in vain" is as applicable to the profanation of the name of Jehovah in the ordinary intercourse of life as it is to false swearing. The word שוּא (*shav*) is used in the sense of "false" in Exod. xxiii. and Deut. v. 20; and in the sense of "uselessly" or "to no purpose" in Ps. cxxxvii. 1; Jer. ii. 30; vi. 29; and Mal. iii. 14.

(2.) "And ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou [or, and] profane the name of thy God" (Lev. xix. 12).

Here the word rightly rendered "falsely" is a different word from that which is rendered "in vain" in Exod. xx. 7.

(3.) "If a man vow a vow unto the Lord, or swear an oath to bind his soul with a bond, he shall not break his word; he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth" (Numb. xxx. 2).

(4.) "That which has gone out of thy lips thou shalt keep and perform" (Deut. xxiii. 23).

In addition to these passages, which clearly imply the lawfulness of oaths under the Mosaic law, there are other more direct sanctions for their use on solemn and necessary occasions, such as that contained in Deut. vi. 13: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him; and shall swear by his name."¹

If further confirmation were needed of the legality of oaths under the Jewish law, reference might be made not only to the example of the patriarchs (Gen. xxi. 24; xxxi. 53), of Moses (Josh. xiv. 9), of David (I Sam. xxiv. 22), and of Solomon (I Kings ii. 23); but over and above these, to the fact that Jehovah is again and again represented as swearing by Himself, as, e.g., in Ps. cxxxii. 11; Isa. xlv. 23;² Jer. xlv. 26; and Amos iv. 2.

Enough has now been alleged to warrant the conclu-

¹ It is deserving of notice that the Hebrew verb which signifies "to swear" is not used in the *Kal*, i.e., the active voice, but in the *Niphal*, i.e., the passive voice; and therefore that this passage may be literally rendered thus: "and shalt be sworn by [or in] His name," a rendering which precisely accords with the phrase in common use amongst ourselves in reference to judicial oaths—viz., *to be sworn*.

² It is not unworthy of observation that the accomplishment of this oath has reference to Christian times.

sion that there is nothing inherently or essentially unlawful in an oath. It does not, however, follow, of necessity, that that which is in itself lawful at one time may not be forbidden by Divine authority at another; and it therefore becomes necessary to inquire farther whether an absolute prohibition of oaths as regards Christians is, or is not, implied in the words under consideration.

The first reason which suggests itself to the mind, in opposition to such an inference, is that the whole context leads to the conclusion that our Lord's reference is not to oaths taken on solemn occasions, and in obedience to lawful authority, but to the use of oaths in ordinary conversation (*λόγος*), and for light and trivial purposes.

This inference, drawn first from the context, which has reference to customs commonly prevailing amongst the Jews, is confirmed by the unquestionable fact that the very oaths specially forbidden, and others of a similar character, both were, and still are, of continual occurrence with that people. Amongst the oaths in common use amongst the Jews of old, Buxtorf,¹ who gives his authorities, enumerates the following:—(1) By the swearer's own head; (2) by the Temple; (3) by the altar; (4) by heaven; (5) by the earth; (6) by the sun; (7) by Moses; (8) by the law of Moses; (9) by the life of the Rabbin; whilst with regard to their modern practice, Dr. Thomson² writes in the following words:—“This people are fearfully profane. Everybody curses and swears when in a passion. . . . The people now use the very same sort of oaths that are mentioned and condemned by our Lord. They swear by their head, by their hip, by heaven, and by the Temple, or, what is in its place, the Church.”

The natural and obvious import of our Lord's words, then, seems to be as follows (and it is worthy of remark that in some of the best critical editions of the New Testament we find only a comma after the words “at all”): “But I say unto you, Swear not at all [*i.e.*, have recourse in your daily and hourly intercourse with each other to none of the oaths so current amongst you, of which the following are examples], neither by heaven, . . . nor by earth, . . . neither by Jerusalem, . . . neither shalt thou swear by thy head . . . but let your communication [*i.e.*, your ordinary conversation, or mode of affirmation or denial] be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of [*i.e.*, has its origin in] evil [or the evil one].”

It remains to be seen how far this explanation of our Lord's words is confirmed by, or is inconsistent with, His own example, and the example and teaching of His inspired apostles.

As regards our Lord's own example, it should be observed that when adjured by the living God to tell the high priest whether He was the Christ, He neither objected to the adjuration, nor kept silence, as when

charged by the false witnesses with saying that He was able to destroy the Temple.³

As regards both the example and teaching of the apostles, the evidence is yet stronger.

For, not only does the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews refer, in terms of implied sanction, to the prevailing custom of oaths for confirmation with a view to “the end of all strife,” but we find St. Paul again and again solemnly appealing to God, and calling Him “for a record (or witness) upon his soul,” when he desired to give special weight and solemnity to his assertions (cf. Rom. ix. 1; 2 Cor. i. 18, 23; xi. 31; xii. 19, &c.).⁴

Whether, then, we accept the view of Augustine, that our Lord specifies particular oaths, such as oaths by the head, by the city of Jerusalem,⁵ by heaven, or by earth, because the Jews thought that the violation of such oaths was permissible,⁶ or whether, apart from such special ground of prohibition applicable to them, we interpret our Lord's words as an absolute prohibition of all oaths used on light and trivial occasions, as calculated to encourage profanity and to lead to perjury, it seems obvious that He could not have designed to forbid as unlawful those oaths which in all ages, as well by the authority of revelation as by the light of reason, had been sanctioned—which Holy Scripture represents Jehovah himself as employing, in condescension to the weakness of man, for the greater confirmation of his faith—to which our Lord himself raised no objection when solemnly adjured by the high priest—and of which the New Testament contains many instances as proceeding from the lips of one who received the Gospel which he preached, not of or through men, but by direct revelation from heaven.

It must not, however, be overlooked that, as it is man's sin which is the origin of the necessity of oaths, so, in exact proportion as man is restored to the lost image of his Maker, and created anew in righteousness and true holiness, in the same proportion will the necessity of such solemn confirmations of the truth of his words cease to be needful, together with all those other safeguards against crime, and provisions for its detec-

³ It must be remembered that the custom in the administering of oaths amongst the Jews was in accordance with our own in this respect, that it was the proposer of the oath who repeated the words, and not the person who was sworn.

⁴ It is not unworthy of observation that 1 Cor. xv. 31, “I protest by your rejoicing,” &c., has, as Augustine has noticed, the very form as well as essence of an oath.

⁵ There is a different preposition (*eis*) used in reference to Jerusalem from that which is used in the other oaths here specified. It indicates direction towards a place or person, and it may, therefore, refer to the Jewish custom of praying with the face towards the city of Jerusalem (Dan. vi. 10); or it may be an allusion to the Jewish custom of praying that all blessings may descend and rest upon Jerusalem.

⁶ That such was the opinion of the Jews with regard to many of the oaths which were in most common use amongst them, appears from Matt. xxiii. 16–23, where our Lord exposes the fallacy of the distinctions drawn by them between swearing by the Temple, and by the gold of the Temple; by the altar, and by the gift laid upon it; by heaven, and by Him who inhabits it. In a work of high reputation amongst the Jews, quoted by Bengel in his *Gnomon*, we find the following passage: “As heaven and earth shall pass away, so shall the oath pass away which calls them to witness.”

¹ *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum*, p. 2315, fol. Basilee, 1540.

² See *The Land and the Book*, pp. 190, 191. 1864.

tion and punishment, which, directly or indirectly, "come of evil," or "of the evil one."

"Therefore," says Augustine, "let him who understands that swearing is to be reckoned, not among things that are good, but among things that are necessary, refrain, as far as he can, from indulging in it,

unless by necessity, when he sees men slow to believe what it is useful for them to believe, unless they are assured by an oath."¹

¹ *Sermon on the Mount Expounded*, p. 42. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1873.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

PALESTINE, or the Holy Land, is the central portion of a long narrow tract of country which stretches along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, from the Bay of Issus and mountains of Asia Minor on the north, to the Red Sea and Desert of Arabia on the south. Separated from all other countries, and almost isolated, by the sea on the west and the desert on the east, this region possesses peculiar physical characteristics, which require some explanation before the geography of Palestine itself, and its relation to the history, religion, and mode of thought of the Jewish nation, can be rightly understood. The most remarkable feature is the great valley which traverses the country from north to south, and runs nearly parallel to the coast from Antioch to the Red Sea; the northern portion of this valley is watered by the rivers Orontes and Litany, which, rising near each other in the vicinity of Baalbec, flow in opposite directions—the former north to Antioch, where it turns westward to the sea; the latter south, till it forces its way to the Mediterranean round the southern slope of Lebanon. These are followed by the Jordan, a river wholly without a parallel in the world, which, hurrying southward in rapid descent, loses itself in the Dead Sea, the very deepest part of the Old World, lying 1,300 feet below the level of the sea. South of the Dead Sea the valley is known as the Wady el-Arabah, which reaches to Akabah, and thence the great cleft, if so it may be called, passes southward beneath the waters of the Gulf of Akabah and the Red Sea to the pillars which guard the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.

West of the Gulf of Akabah, and rising to a height of from 6,000 to 8,000 feet above the sea, are the wild rugged mountains of Sinai, shrouding, as it were, with a thick veil the secluded valley in which, amidst scenery of the most grand and impressive character, the Israelites were assembled to witness the delivery of the Law from Mount Sinai. North of the mountains stretches the dreary desert of Et Tih, the scene, as it is generally believed, of the forty years' wandering; still further north lies the Negeb, or "south country," through which the spies passed up to view the land; and then follow the hills of Judæa running northwards to the plain of Esdraelon, which separates them from the hills of Galilee. These latter serve to connect the mountain system of Palestine with the lofty range of Lebanon, which, after attaining a height of 10,000 feet near the

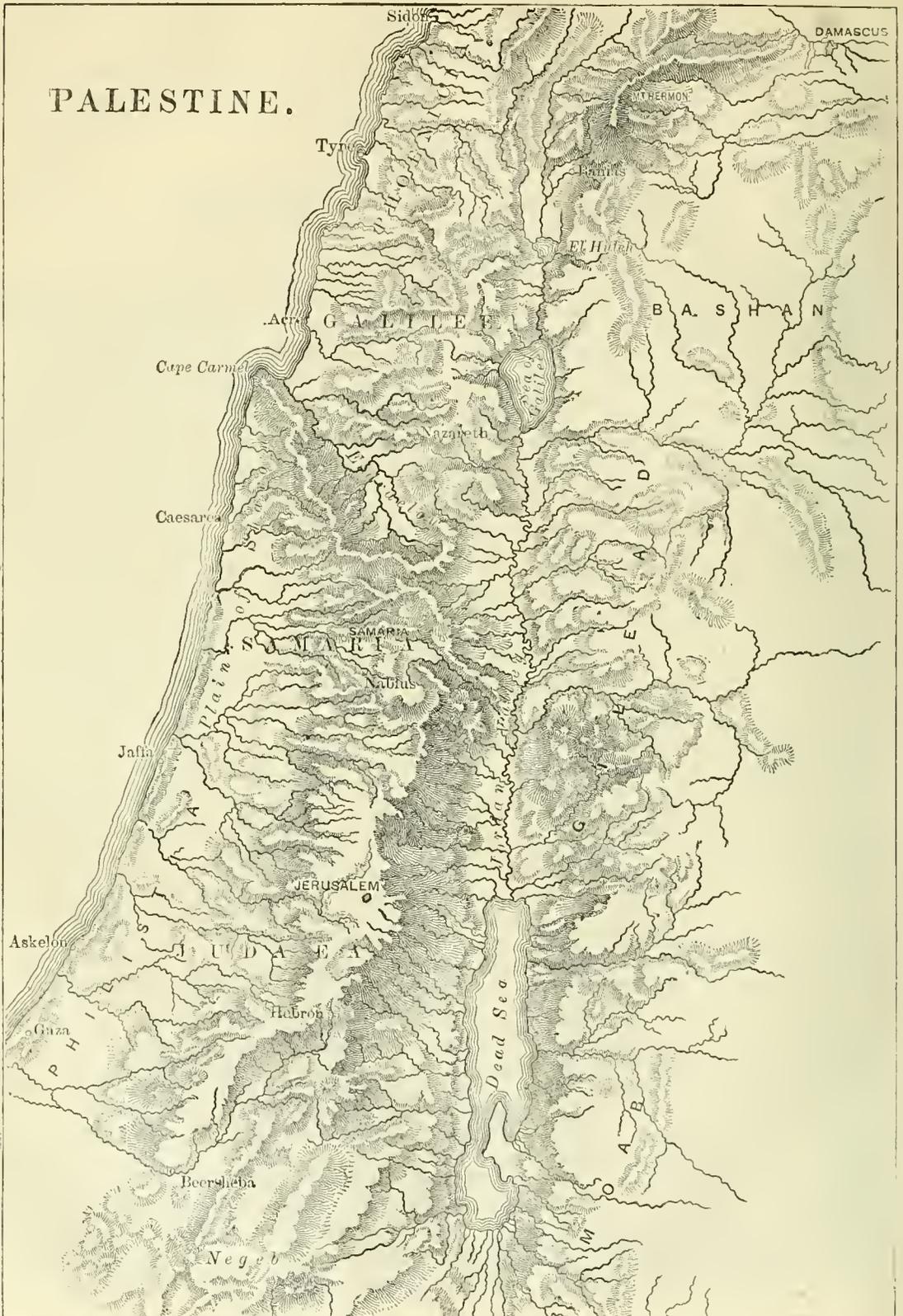
cedars, falls gradually to the north before rising again in the mountains of Asia Minor, and leaves at this point an open highway for the passage of the nations of the East from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean.

East of the great valley the country, as far north as the giant buttress of Mount Hermon, presents no marked physical features, and is for the most part a broad plateau, affording abundant pasturage for the Bedawi flocks of the present day, as it did formerly for the flocks and herds which furnished the pastoral wealth of Moab, Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manassch. With Mount Hermon the range of Anti-Lebanon commences, and this, too, sinks gradually to the north almost purposely, as it seems, to admit of the open highway alluded to above.

Between the coast and the western range of mountains there is a belt of level country, about twenty miles broad at its southern extremity near Gaza, but gradually narrowing as we proceed northwards, until at last it almost disappears, or is broken up by the rocky spurs of the hills, which frequently advance to the water's edge.

This district may be divided into six sections—Upper Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, the Negeb or South Country, the Desert, and the peninsula of Sinai—each of which will be treated separately. At present, however, our attention will be confined to the most important section, Palestine, or the Holy Land.

Name.—The Hebrew word which in our English version of the Bible is translated "Palestine" in Joel iii. 4, and "Palestina" in Exod. xv. 14, and Isa. xiv. 29, 31, is only found elsewhere in the Psalms, and is there rendered by "Philistia." In the Bible the name is used for the country of the Philistines alone, but it afterwards came to signify the whole land occupied by the Jews, and in this sense we find it employed by Josephus, Philo, and some of the writers in the Talmud. The country is alluded to in the Bible under several other names; it is the "land of Canaan" of the patriarchs and Joshua; "the land" of Ruth, Jeremiah, and St. Luke; the "holy land" of Zechariah; the "glorious land" of Daniel and Amos; the "land of Jehovah" of Hosea, the "land of promise" of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the "land of Israel" of the Monarchy; and the "land of Judæa" of the New Testament. It is now most commonly known under its name of Palestine, or the Holy Land.



Position.—No one can help being struck by the peculiar position of Palestine in regard to the powerful nations immediately surrounding it, as well as by its remarkable geographical position, almost in the centre of the ancient world; and it is hardly too much to say that in no other country could that striking combination of moral and physical conditions have been found which rendered Palestine the most fitting theatre for those momentous events which have had such a great and lasting influence on the history of the world.

Separated from the great nations of the East by the arid plains which lie beyond the Jordan, and from Egypt by the southern desert, Palestine was from the very first a country set apart from the rest of the world, and this isolation was increased by the religion of the Jews, which forbade their forming any alliance with the surrounding nations. No great highway led through the country; the hosts of Egypt on their way to Assyria, those of Assyria, of Babylon, and of Persia on their way to Egypt, swept by it along the low maritime plain which fringed the coast; their object was the conquest of the rival empire, and the hill country of Palestine hardly possessed sufficient attractions to induce them to turn aside from the most direct road to the end they had in view. Napoleon, when he was asked, during his Syrian campaign, to visit Jerusalem, replied that it did not lie in the line of his operations, and it was probably to a similar feeling on the part of the leaders of the hostile armies that the Jewish nation for so many years owed its independence; it was only after the lapse of centuries that the country became involved in disaster by neglecting the Divine commands and forming alliances with one or other of the contending powers. Later, Alexander passed over the country on his way to Oriental conquest, and when, on his death, the empire which he had formed fell to pieces, it became the battlefield of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies; later still, under Roman dominion, Palestine became one of the thoroughfares between the East and the West, and it was during these troubled times that a stream of Western civilisation flowed into the country, exercising a powerful influence on the arts, the mode of thought, and the history of the Jews during the last three centuries of their existence as a nation. Isolated as Palestine was from all other countries, its geographical position with reference to the three great continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, as well as to the Mediterranean and Red Seas, was such that, when the fulness of time came, the knowledge of the Gospel could be spread to the remotest corners of the earth, and it is not unworthy of notice that the principal means by which the glad tidings were conveyed was that sea which had once seemed an almost impassable barrier.

The physical character of Palestine is no less remarkable than its geographical position; there is no other country which, within the same narrow limits, contains so many striking contrasts, or exhibits features at once so varied and comprehensive that, as has been justly observed, there is no land or nation in the world which does not find something of itself reflected there. In

the north are the lofty peaks of Lebanon and Mount Hermon, rarely free from snow, with their cedars, their alpine flora, and their wild thunder-storms, to which allusion would seem to be made in the 29th Psalm; in the south is the deep depression of the Dead Sea, with its tropical climate, and a flora and fauna similar in many respects to those of the lake-regions of Equatorial Africa. On the west the rich corn-growing plains of Philistia are in close proximity to the sandy, unprofitable desert of the south; in the centre the terraced hills, with their Italian climate so suitable for the cultivation of the vine, olive, and fig, pass almost imperceptibly into the barren wilderness of Judæa; and on the east the downs of Moab and Gilead, with their abundant pasturage, are bordered by the dry and thirsty land of the great eastern desert. Lastly, there is the "great sea" which is so frequently alluded to in the Psalms, in familiar passages which come home with especial force to the hearts and minds of the people of a great maritime nation such as England. From the Phœnician traders who did their "business in great waters," the Psalmist would hear of "the works of the Lord and his wonders in the deep," and how, after one of the wild westerly gales which visit the coast of Palestine, the ships in which they sailed would "mount up to heaven" and "go down again to the depths," reeling "to and fro" and staggering "like a drunken man."

Extent.—Every writer has noticed the narrow limits of the Holy Land. From Dan to Beer-sheba is no more than 140 miles, and from the Mediterranean to Jordan the average breadth is only 40 miles; a little territory about the size of Yorkshire, containing less than 6,000 square miles.

Physical Features.—Perhaps the most striking feature in the general aspect of Palestine is its natural division into four parallel strips of territory—the coast plain, the hill country, the Jordan valley, and the eastern plateau.

The *coast-plain* extends without a break from the desert south of Gaza to the long ridge of Mount Carmel on the north; beyond Carmel lies the plain of Acre, stretching northwards to the headland of Ras el-Nakura (Ladder of Tyre), which separates it from the long narrow plain of Phœnicia. The two latter sections of the coast-plain are not mentioned in the Bible; the first contains within its limits the plain of Sharon reaching from Carmel to Jaffa, and the plains of Philistia extending southward to the margin of the desert. The greater portion of the plain is flat, but north of Jaffa there are some low hills, through which at a remote period tunnels were cut to drain the marsh land lying behind them; the soil is rich and of marvellous fertility, producing year after year magnificent crops, though the ground is tilled in the rudest manner, without manure and without irrigation. The broad expanse of the Philistine plain, covered as it is at harvest time with a waving mass of golden grain, unbroken by a single hedge, is one of the most beautiful sights in Palestine. Under the burning sun of Syria the stubble becomes so dry that a single spark might

kindle a flame that would run before the wind like the fires which sweep over the American prairies, and strict precautions are taken by the Bedawi to prevent the occurrence of such a calamity. We cannot, therefore, wonder that the Philistines were stirred to fierce wrath when Samson turned his 300 foxes with their fire-brands "into the standing corn," "in the time of wheat harvest;" fanned by the steady land breeze, which at that season of the year blows every morning for three or four hours, the flames would spread with fiery speed, licking up corn, olives, and vines, until they were checked by the sea; and in those days, when the intercourse between country and country was so slight, the loss of their harvest must have been felt almost as a national calamity by the Philistines.

Between the southern plain and the hill country lie a series of low undulating hills, which are probably noticed in the Bible under the term *shephelah*, a word translated in our English version the "low country," the "low plain," the "plain," or the "valley;" at least it is in this district that we find the towns mentioned in 2 Chron. xxviii. 18 as lying in the Shepholah, viz., Beth-shemesh, Ajalon, Timnah, and Gimzo.

The *hill country* commences about fifty miles south of Jerusalem, and runs northward through the land to the plain of Esdraelon, beyond which it rises again and is connected with the Lebanon by the hills of Galilee. This highland district varies but slightly in altitude, and its general appearance as seen from the sea is that of a long wall without any prominent peak to break the monotony of its outline. Its average height may be gathered from the following altitudes:—Hebron, 2,840 feet; Mount of Olives, 2,665 feet; Neby Samwil, 2,900 feet; Mount Ebal, 3,029 feet; Noby Ismail, 1,790 feet; and Jebel Jermuk, 4,000 feet. The hills are broad-backed, and present none of the grander features of mountain scenery, but every here and there rounded summits rise above the general level of the range, and afford striking panoramas of the surrounding country; such are the views from Neby Samwil, Mount Ebal, Little Hermon, Neby Ismail, near Nazareth, and the hill on which Safed stands, each embracing no inconsiderable portion of the Holy Land. The effect of the views is increased by the transparency of the atmosphere, which diminishes apparent distances in a manner unknown in moister climes, and by the rich and varying tints that light up the steep slopes of the Jordan valley. Through the centre of the hill country runs the main road from Jerusalem, through Samaria, to Galilee, following nearly the line of the watershed, and passing close to many of the chief cities of Judah and Israel; it is the route now usually followed by travellers, and was probably always one of the most important thoroughfares in the country. East of this road the hills descend abruptly to the Jordan valley; west of it, they fall more gradually to the coast-plain. The wonderful ramifications of the valleys which cut up the hill country on either side of the watershed form one of the peculiar features of Palestine topography; rising frequently in small upland plains of great rich-

ness, such as El Mukluna, near Nablus, the valleys at first fall very rapidly, and then, after a tortuous course, reach the plain on the one side and the Jordan valley on the other. The effect of this is to split up the country into a series of knife-like ridges, generally preserving an east and west direction, and effectually preventing any movement over the country from south to north, except along the central highway; the valley of the Kishon, which spreads out into the broad plain of Esdraelon, and the valley of Jezreel, are the only two which are more than mere torrent-beds. The soil of the hill country, except in the wilderness of Judæa, south-east of Jerusalem, and some portions of the eastern slopes of the hills, is extremely rich, and where cultivated very productive. On the small upland plains corn is grown, and on the sides of the hills vine, olive, and fig; it is true that at present most of the country lies waste, and except in spring-time, when the ground is covered with bright flowers, presents a most dreary and monotonous aspect, but such was not the case formerly. Everywhere traces are found of that "terrace-culture" for which the hill-sides were so peculiarly adapted, and which the Jews brought to such great perfection. Professor Palmer found the walls of old vineyards far south of Beer-sheba, on the very verge of the desert, and there is hardly a hill in Palestine on which ruined walls and the cisterns in which the scanty rain-fall was husbanded are not found. It would appear from several indications in the Psalms that the land was highly cultivated when the Israelites came into possession, and this is happily expressed by the author of the *Christian Year*:—

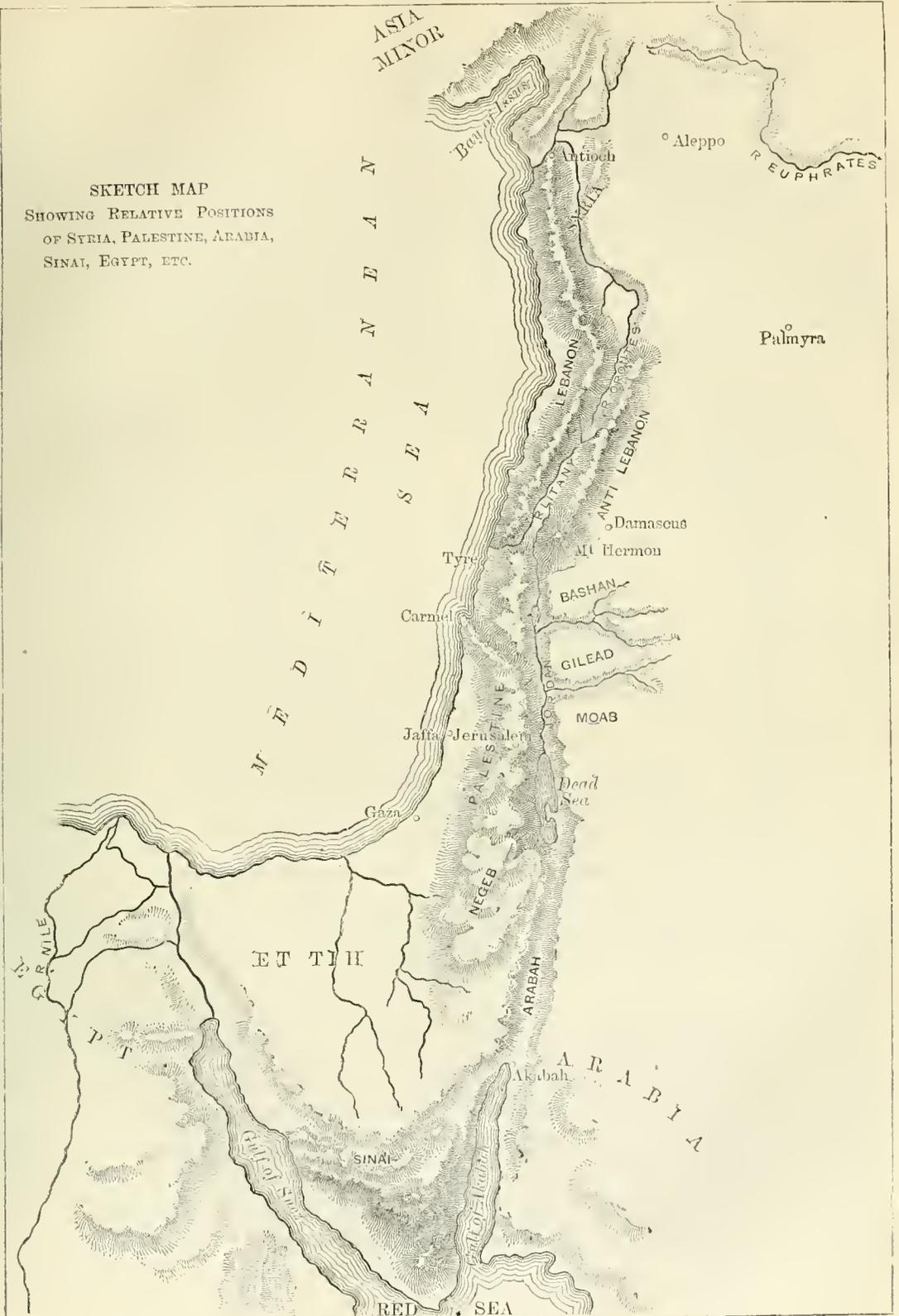
"It was a fearful joy, I ween,
To trace the Heathen's toil,
The limpid wells, the orchards green,
Left ready for the spoil,
The household stores untouched, the roses bright
Wreath'd o'er the cottage walls in garlands of delight."

There is evidence, too, of the existence of large forests in certain districts, especially in Galilee, where the roots form one of the principal sources from which charcoal and firewood are obtained for the Damascus market.

The *Jordan Valley* runs nearly parallel to the coast from the base of Mount Hermon to the Dead Sea, and contains the one great river of the country, the Jordan, a purely inland river, like no other on the face of the earth, "having no embouchure on the sea, and closing its course in the very deepest part of the Old World." After the junction of the three streams which rise respectively at Hasbeiya, Tell el-Kady, and Banias, the Jordan spreads out into the Lake el-Huleh, and descends rapidly to the Sea of Galilee, whence it follows a tortuous course wholly below the level of the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea. On either side of the river is a strip of plain of varying width, with a rich soil, formerly irrigated by the numerous springs and by the streams that descend from the hills, which rise abruptly on the east and west.

The *Eastern Plateau* has a general altitude of 2,000 feet, and is tolerably uniform in its character, presenting

SKETCH MAP
SHOWING RELATIVE POSITIONS
OF SYRIA, PALESTINE, ARABIA,
SINAI, EGYPT, ETC.



a broad expanse of down or steppe land cut up by the deep ravines which find their way to the Jordan valley. In the south the downs are covered with rich pasture, and in the north are still found remnants of the ancient forests of Bashan. The southern portion of the plateau, on the borders of the Dead Sea, formed the territory of Moab; the centre and northern the kingdoms of Sihon and Og, Gilead and Bashan, which were given at their own request to the pastoral tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half tribe of Manasseh, who saw that it was "a place" for the "very great multitude of cattle" which they possessed.

Rivers.—The Jordan has already been mentioned; its principal tributaries are the Yarmuk and Zerka (Jabbok) on the east, and the streams in Wadies Jalud and Fera on the west. The Sea of Galilee receives two small streams from Wadies Hanmam and Rubadiyah, and Wadies Zerka Main, Mojib, and Kerak discharge their waters into the Dead Sea. The streams running westward to the coast are the Litany (Leontes), Naman (Belus), and Kishon north of the ridge of Carmel, and the Zerka, Akhdar, and Anjeh south of it.

Springs.—In Dent. viii. 7 the Promised Land is described as being "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills;" and so it is when contrasted with Egypt, which derives its supply of water from the annual inundation of the Nile, though it may not seem so to travellers from the more favoured countries of Northern Europe. Several of the springs are of great size: at Banias, Tell el-Kady, and Ras el-Ain, rivers of pure limpid water come to the surface full grown; and those of Jericho, Jenin, Jalud, and Nablus are of almost equal importance, bringing life and vegetation wherever their waters flow. There is, in fact, no lack of springs in those places where we might naturally expect to find them; but the cities and villages of Palestine being usually built on the summits of the hills, they depend for the most part on cisterns for their water-supply, and rarely have springs within their walls. The springs are frequently mentioned in the Bible, often under circumstances of great interest, as those of Jezreel, Jericho, Gihon, and En-gedi. There are also several hot springs, the most important being those of Tiberias, Gadara, and Callirrhoe.

Climate.—From its peculiar formation, the country possesses much variety of climate; that of the hill country has been compared with the climate of Italy, whilst that of the Jordan valley is decidedly tropical. The rainy season usually commences towards the end of October and lasts till March, after which the air clears, and for months the bright blue sky is unbroken by a single cloud. The rainy season is still divided into the early and the latter rains, but they are rather a succession of heavy showers than a continuous rain, and the annual rainfall is small, the average of seven years, during which observations have been taken, being only

nineteen and a half inches. There are occasional falls of snow at Jerusalem and on the higher hills, but it seldom lies on the ground more than one or two days. Palestine is still visited by those sudden storms which are so frequently alluded to in the Bible, as on the occasion of the battle of Beth-horon, and that of Barak's victory over Jabin, king of Hazor, in the plain of Esdraelon; the storm which caught the disciples on the Lake of Galilee, and that which followed the discomfiture of the priests of Baal beneath Mount Carmel, when Elijah "girded up his loins and ran before Ahab to the entrance of Jezreel." The writer was once caught in one of these storms in the plains of Galilee, and a short description of it may interest the reader. Leaving camp one bright cloudless morning with a party of Arabs, his attention was called by his companions to a small cloud in the west, no larger than a man's hand, which rising rapidly soon overspread the heavens and burst upon the party. The storm commenced with a furious gale, against which it was barely possible to stand, and this was followed by an almost instantaneous fall in the temperature from 75° to below freezing-point, numbing the fingers, and producing all the unpleasant sensations of frost-bite; then came a torrent of hail, or rather sharp broken pieces of ice, which no one could face, and all had to seek such shelter as they could, rolled up in their cloaks on the open plain. We had on this occasion full experience of the Psalmist's words, "He casteth forth his ice like morsels, and who can stand against his cold?" and could realise the effect of those storms which came so opportunely to the assistance of the Israelites on the occasion of the two memorable battles mentioned above. With their backs to the gale the warriors of Joshua and Barak would be in comparative comfort, whilst their opponents would be perfectly paralysed, for no soldier could have notched an arrow or drawn a bow in the face of such a storm as that which has been noticed above.

It has often been supposed that the climate of Palestine has changed since the time of our Lord, but this does not seem to have been materially the case. The destruction of all the timber has, no doubt, somewhat modified the climate, and produced a slightly diminished rainfall; but the existence of the conduits, pools, and cisterns for the water-supply of Jerusalem, and the numerous aqueducts and cisterns for irrigation, show that there must always have been a want of water; and the fact that the fruits grown at present are those mentioned in the Bible would seem to indicate that the climate has not undergone any great change.

Such are some of the principal features of the Holy Land, and it is hoped that what has been said will give the reader an insight into the general character of the country, and enable him to understand more completely the detailed descriptions of the several districts and localities which follow.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS,
AND INSCRIPTIONS.

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XX.

PERSIAN cuneiform inscriptions later than the time of Darius Hystaspis are exceedingly rare; and thus the later chapters of Ezra, the Book of Nehemiah, and the Book of Esther, which belong to the reigns of Xerxes,¹ the son, and Artaxerxes Longimanus, the grandson of Darius, do not admit of much illustration from this source. Still there are various points connected with Persian manners and customs, and also some linguistic peculiarities of

not very much below the Persians themselves (i. 19). Now with all this the inscriptions of Darius are in complete accordance. In the great inscription of Behistun, Media is coupled with Persia, and the Medes with the Persians in exactly the same way as in the Book of Esther. "When Cambyses had gone to Egypt," says Darius, "then the state became wicked; then the lie became abounding in the land, both *in Persia and in Media*, and in the other provinces."³ And again, "From Cambyses the state went over to Gomates the



SIGNET CYLINDER OF DARIUS THE SON OF HYSTASPIS. ENLARGED FROM LAJARD'S "CULTE DE MITHRA."

these portions of Holy Scripture, on which the earlier Achaemenian inscriptions throw a certain amount of light. These points it is proposed to consider in the present paper.

1. We find in the Book of Esther a frequent combination of Media with Persia (i. 3, 14, 18; x. 2), or of the Medes with the Persians (i. 19), which indicates that under the early Achaemenian kings the Medes held a peculiar position. They had been conquered (we know), and were subject to the Persians,² but they were not reduced to the condition of the mass of the provincials. They evidently stood next to the Persians, had a share of the royal favour, enjoyed offices of dignity (i. 14), and were in fact accounted as

Mage, both *Persia and Media*, and the other provinces.⁴ And—"After Gomates the Mage had dispossessed Cambyses both of *Persia and Media*, and the dependent provinces, he did according to his desire; he became king."⁵ Again, the royal favour towards the Medes is shown in the inscriptions by the appointment of two of them to high commands under Darius: "Then," says Darius, "I sent an army to Babylon; a man named Intaphres, a *Mede*, him I made their leader."⁶ And earlier in his reign—"Then I sent forth an army of *Persians and Medes*; a man named Tachmaspates, a *Mede*, one of my subjects, him I made their leader."⁷ No other subject nation shares with the Medes this dignified position.

2. It is repeatedly stated in the Book of Esther that proclamations issued to the inhabitants of the different

¹ That the Ahasuerus of Esther is Xerxes appears to be now generally admitted. The resemblance in character was always felt. Recently it has appeared that the name is very close indeed to the native Persian form, which is *Khsayarsha*.

² Herod. i. 130.

³ Col. i., par. 10, § 9, 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. i., par. 11, § 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, par. 12, § 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, col. iii., par. 14, § 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, col. ii., par. 14, § 5, 6.

provinces of the Persian empire were addressed to them in their several languages—"unto every province according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their language" (viii. 9; compare i. 22; iii. 12). The Achaemenian inscriptions harmonise with this statement in respect of the fact that, being more or less of the nature of proclamations, they are in every instance set up in more languages than one. Ordinarily the inscriptions are tri-lingual, Persian, Babylonian, and Scythic; sometimes, but rarely, they are no more than bi-lingual, Persian and Scythic, or Persian and Egyptian.¹ The principle is apparent in them, that the Persians declined the attempt to force their own language upon the nations subject to them;² and this principle is involved equally in the fact with respect to proclamations recorded in Esther.

3. In Esther, as in Ezra (Ezra vi. 11), crucifixion appears as an ordinary Persian punishment (Esth. ii. 23; v. 14; vii. 9). It has been shown in a former paper that the Behistun inscription is in entire accordance.³

4. The employment by the Persian monarchs of a signet, by which they authenticated decrees and other documents, is strongly marked in Esther, where the royal signet is mentioned no fewer than five times.⁴ The late researches in Mesopotamia, which have brought to light signets of several earlier monarchs,⁵ have yielded one such memorial of a Persian king. This is the signet cylinder of Darius Hystaspis.⁶ It represents the monarch as engaged in the chase of the lion amid a palm-grove, seated in a chariot, driven by an unarmed charioteer. (See the preceding page.)

On the left side of the pictorial representation is a bi-lingual inscription (Persian and Scythic) which tells us that the monarch represented is "Darius, the great king." Whether the signet of Ahasuerus which he took from Haman and gave to Mordecai (chap. viii. 2) was a cylinder or a ring is perhaps doubtful; but, on the whole, probability is in favour of its having resembled the signet of Darius.

5. In Ezra vii. 12 we find Artaxerxes Longimanus styling himself in an edict "king of kings." The Achaemenian inscriptions exhibit this as the ordinary title of every Persian monarch after Cyrus.⁷ In Assyria its use had been infrequent;⁸ in Babylon we have no evidence that it was assumed at all;⁹ but the Persian

monarchs, at any rate from the time of Darius Hystaspis, took it as one of their proper titles, and used it freely in all their addresses to their subjects.

6. In Ezra vii. 14, Artaxerxes speaks of his "seven counsellors;" and in Esth. i. 14 we hear of the "seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat the first in the kingdom." There is a passage in the great inscription of Behistun which, combined with one in Herodotus, throws light upon these statements, showing us who these "prince-counsellors" were, and how they acquired their superior dignity. Darius tells us that, when he raised the standard of revolt against the pseudo-Smerdis, he did it in conjunction with six others, "his well-wishers," and that by their aid he accomplished the task which he had set himself¹⁰—the recovery of the crown from the Magi, and its re-assignment to the members of his own family. Herodotus adds to this the statement that the six "well-wishers" were rewarded for their devotion by being elevated to the rank of a high nobility, and united closely with the monarch.¹¹ They were given the right of admission to the king's presence whenever they pleased, and thus "saw the king's face" continually. There is a slight difficulty in respect of their number, which in Herodotus and the Behistun inscription appears to be six, whereas in Esther and Ezra it is "seven." But this is sufficiently met by the suggestion of Niebuhr,¹² that the seventh privileged family was that of the Achaemenidæ itself—represented by Darius at the time of the conspiracy, and afterwards represented among the counsellors by the nearest agnate of the king, as by Artabanus¹³ (Admatha?) in the early part of the reign of Xerxes.

7. The linguistic points on which the Persian cuneiform inscriptions have thrown light are numerous; but the greater part would perhaps scarcely be appreciated by the bulk of our readers. We refer those who may wish for further information about them to the *Speaker's Commentary*, and especially to the appendices to Ezra and Esther. In this place we propose to speak only of certain Persian names or titles which were formerly more or less doubtful, but which have now, by the discovery of the native originals, been distinctly and positively identified.

(1.) The name "Ahasuerus" has been identified with the Greek and Roman "Xerxes," through the Persian original *Khshayarsha*. Ahasuerus (אחשורוש) has all the letters of *Khshayarsha* in their proper order, and only differs from it by the initial *a*, without which the Hebrews could not pronounce the double consonant *khsh*, and the *vau* which replaces the *y* of the Persian original.

(2.) *Achmetha* was conjectured to be "Ecbatana" in former times, not that the words were very like, but

¹ The legend of Cyrus at Murgab (Pasargadæ) is Persian and Scythic. A legend of an Artaxerxes (probably Ochus) on a porphyry vase in the treasury of St. Mark at Venice is Persian and Egyptian.

² Two instances occur of inscriptions in four languages, Persian, Babylonian, Scythic, and Egyptian. (See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii., p. 265, note 3, 2nd edition.)

³ See Vol. II., page 191.

⁴ Esth. iii. 10, 12; viii. 2, 8, 10.

⁵ As those of Uruk, Igi, and Kurri-Galzu, early Chaldean kings, of Sennacherib (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 160), and others.

⁶ Layard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xxv., fig. 6.

⁷ *Beh. Ins.*, col. i., par. 1, § 3; Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i., pp. 261, 220, 341, &c.

⁸ The phrase occurs in the great inscription of Tiglath-pileser I., but not, as far as I know, elsewhere in the Assyrian inscriptions.

⁹ Nebuchadnezzar calls himself "the august lord" and "the supreme lord," but not "king of kings" nor even "supreme king."

¹⁰ *Beh. Ins.*, col. iv., par. 18.

¹¹ Herod., iii. 84.

¹² *Lectures on Ancient History*, vol. i., p. 131; E. T.

¹³ Herod., vii. 10, 15, 46—52. The "Admatha" of the present text of Esther (אדמתא) may not improbably have come from an original אדמתא. (See Esth. i. 14.)

that all other known Persian cities presented forms more positively unlike. Now, it is found that the Persian name of the place was *Hagmatón*, and with this word Achmetha (אחמטה) corresponds nearly. The light aspirate *s* represents the Persian *h*; the guttural *ṛ*, *kh*, replaces the Persian *g*; the *m* and *t* are the same in both; the Hebrew אָר exactly renders the long *a* of the Persians. Nothing is wanting to complete the accordance of the two words but the final consonant *n*, which is dropped in the Hebrew "Achmetha," as it is in "Hara" for Haran (1 Chron. v. 26). Thus Achmetha is positively identified with Ecbatana; and what was formerly a reasonable conjecture has now become a matter of certainty.

(3.) *Tirsháthá*, which our version leaves untranslated (Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65, 70; viii. 9; x. 1), is no doubt the title of an office, and is consequently a word of which it is not very important to know the exact meaning. Still there is a satisfaction, to the etymologist at any rate, in learning (as we may learn from the inscriptions) what the formation of the term was, and what to one who understood that formation it signified. Now we find in the inscriptions the verb *tars*, "to fear," frequently; and this verb would make in its past participle *tarsáta*. If Tirshatha, as is probable, represents this word, its exact meaning would have been "the Feared;" and it may be compared with the German *gestrenger Herr* and our title of "Reverend."

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF BIBLICAL POETRY (*continued*).

§. 5.—FROM HEZEKIAH TO THE CAPTIVITY.

THE name of Hezekiah does not, like that of Solomon, mark the beginning of a distinct epoch in Hebrew literature. The whole interval from the latter monarch's reign to the exile may be considered as one period, for the impulse given by him to every form of artistic activity lasted, without abatement of its vigour, far beyond the end of the eighth century. The most perfect works of literary art produced by Israel are, by many of the best writers, referred to a date later than Hezekiah, while, of the large group of psalms whose composition may with certainty be placed in the interval between David and the Captivity, only a very few can with approximation to certainty be connected with a particular event or reign.

There are, however, reasons which make Hezekiah's time a convenient landmark in the literary as in the political history. With the reign of his son Manasseh a period of decline in national greatness set in, which must have extended to the literature. The wound which had been given to the empire by the Assyrian conquests was too deep for recovery, and that dreaded power still hung like a dark cloud over the fortunes of Judah, threatening to break in ruin. But it was not only the visible power and glory of the State which suffered. The spirit of the people was broken and confused. Ever since the later days of Solomon secret causes of corruption had been at work. The writings of the prophets from Joel to Isaiah show how deep-seated was the disease, and how fatal to morality and religious purity. Under the infamous Manasseh, paganism, which had been long struggling with the worship of Jehovah, seemed to gain the ascendant. The persecution of the true religion in which, according to Jewish tradition, Isaiah's martyrdom occurred, shows that the corruption had now reached its greatest height. Ewald does not hesitate to compare the dark reign of

Manasseh to the worst periods of Greek or Roman history.¹

But it is the great name of Isaiah which chiefly distinguishes this epoch. Around the greatest of the prophets all the best intellectual power of the country must have gathered. He, more than Hezekiah, must have been the centre of the great cluster of nameless poets whose songs make the time conspicuous. His own writings combine every excellence and every variety of poetic composition. "We cannot in the case of Isaiah, as in that of other prophets, specify any particular peculiarity or any favourite colour as attaching to his general style. He is not the especially lyrical prophet, or the especially elegiacal prophet, or the especially oratorical and hortatory prophet, as we should describe a Joel, a Hosea, a Micah, with whom there is a greater prevalence of some particular colour; but just as the subject requires, he has readily at command every several kind of style and every several change of delineation; and it is precisely this that, in point of language, establishes his greatness, as well as in general forms one of his most towering points of excellence."²

But it is not his pre-eminence alone which distinguishes this prophet from those who succeeded him. He was the last of the great prophetic order who was able by the action of his life to influence in any material degree the course of public events. Jeremiah and Ezekiel strove in vain to resist the growing evils of their day. Those who felt the call of God to the great office of prophet were compelled to resort to new means of giving utterance to truth. The orator was merged in the poet or his historian, the man of action in the man of letters, and thus prophecy tended "to become a mere matter of literary and poetic compo-

¹ Ewald, *History*, vol. iv. 277.

² Ewald, *Propheten des A. B.*, quoted in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Isaiah."

sition." In the history of prophetic poetry, therefore, Isaiah occupies a place where two distinct eras meet.

But it is not only in prophetic poetry proper that Isaiah holds a marked place. His influence on the fortunes of lyric song was perhaps greater than that of any one after David. It is true that none of the Psalms which are extant bear his name. Tradition has not fixed upon him as on Jeremiah, Haggai, and Zechariah, as a contributor to the Psalter. Yet his poetry becomes in some cases so purely lyric in tone and style that we may well consider him a psalmist. There is not in the whole range of poetic literature anything which in grandeur of conception or splendour of language can surpass the magnificent ode over the downfall of tyranny in chap. xiv. Isaiah was a master too in that elegant form of verse which lyric poetry was now assuming, in which the strophes are divided and marked by a chorus or refrain. But his influence is chiefly felt in the impulse and force given by his writings to the prophetic hopes which now begin to blossom more vigorously into song, and usurp more of the function of lyric poetry, in proportion to the decline of the public activity of the prophets and the weakening of their sway over the outward fortunes of the empire.

The poets of Israel had always been foremost in giving utterance to the noblest aspirations of the people. The prophetic spirit in which David, in spite of the temptations attending his growing power, had ever maintained the purity of the theocracy, the supreme majesty of the rightful Lord of Israel, continued to breathe through the strains of those who woke his harp in succeeding times. But the faith gradually assumed a new form. The very glory of David helped to give it this new direction. As king after king succeeded, and, with each, the national spirit seemed to weaken and lose something of its ancient vigour and purity, the noblest expectation was directed, not so much to the perpetuity of the theocracy as to the coming of the true human King through whom it might be consummated. The community could only regain its lost hold on true religion, and fulfil its high destinies, when one born a king should live the perfect life becoming the leader of the kingdom of God. Isaiah was the first to grasp this truth and give it a distinct and living form. "Himself, so to speak, royal in nature, he recognised for the first time the real character and certain coming of the true and perfect King." From him the newly-shaped Messianic hope passed not only to the prophets whose names we know, but also to those unnamed singers who, amid the general decline, brought the energy of individual minds to the task of keeping alive the noble thoughts and grand truths which were the ancient possession of the nation. From this time onward it becomes a characteristic feature of lyric poetry to paint the future glory of Israel under images borrowed from the reigns of David and Solomon, which, in contrast with the evils of later reigns, grew to be the symbols of perfect internal and external prosperity (cf. Ps. lxxii., lxxxix., cxxxii., &c.). Other prophetic elements also appear. "A vision of judgment" becomes a common

topic for poetic treatment. The inspired bard sees God coming down to arraign all the nations of the earth and pronounce sentence on the wicked. Spiritual religion is contrasted with mere outward and formal service, and the true worth and meaning of sacrifice gradually grows clear. Poetry takes its stand, like prophecy, as the irreconcilable antagonist to literalism of all kinds, and even, in the hands of Levites who chant the praises of the law, continues to exalt the inner truths over the mere words of sacred books and the ceremonial sanctity of office. Psalm l. combines all these features in a remarkable degree. Though it does not furnish any evidence for fixing a precise date for its composition, it may be with greatest probability assigned to the period with which we are now concerned. The title, which ascribes it to Asaph, may at least be taken in proof of its connection with the tribe of Levi (1 Chron. vi. 38, 39). In its general tone and character it is essentially prophetic. It contains a magnificent *theophany* in which Jehovah appears in judgment on his people. The language and style are suitable to the subject. "In elegance and sublimity of language, in force and dignity, the psalm is worthy of the best days of Hebrew poetry."¹

"Jehovah, even the most mighty God, hath spoken and called
the world
From the rising up of the sun unto the going down
thereof:
Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, hath God shined;
Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence!
There went before Him a consuming fire,
And a mighty tempest was stirred up round about Him.
He calleth to the heaven above,
And to the earth, that He will judge His people:
Gather my saints together unto me,
Those that have made a covenant with me with sacrifice!
And the heavens declared his judgment,
How that God himself doth judge."

This is the exordium in which the poet describes his "vision of judgment." God's sentence follows in three utterances: the first addressed to the Jewish nation; the second directed against the wicked; the third, a message of mercy and solemn warning to all who are tempted to forget the great Judge.

i. *God's Sentence against the Nation.*

"Hear, O my people, and I will speak; I myself will testify
against thee, O Israel;
I am God, even thy God!
I will not reprove thee because of thy sacrifices,
For thy burnt-offerings are always before me;
I will take no bullock out of thine house,
Nor he-goat out of thy folds!

For all the beasts of the forest are mine,
And so are the cattle on a thousand hills;
I know all the fowls upon the mountains,
And the wild beasts of the field are in my sight;
If I were hungry I would not tell thee;
For the whole world is mine and all that is therein!

Thinkest thou that I will eat bull's flesh,
And drink the blood of goats?
Offer unto God thanksgiving,
And pay thy vows unto the Most Highest,
And call upon Me in the time of trouble,
So will I hear thee, and thou shalt praise me!"

¹ Perowne, *Psalms L.*, vol. i.

ii. *Against the Wicked.*

"But unto the ungodly said God:
 Why dost thou preach my laws,
 And takest my covenant in thy mouth;
 Whereas thou hatest to be reformed,
 And hast cast my words behind thee?
 When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst unto him,
 And hast been partaker with the adulterers;
 Thou hast let thy mouth speak wickedness,
 And with thy tongue thou hast set forth deceit;
 Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother,
 Yea, and slanderest thine own mother's son:
 These things hast thou done, and I held my tongue,
 And thou thoughtest that I am even such a one as thyself:
 But I will reprove thee, and set before thee the things that
 thou hast done."

iii. *His Words of Mercy and Solemn Warning.*

"Oh, consider this, ye that forget God,
 Lest I pluck you away, and there be none to deliver you!
 Whoso offereth me thanks and praise, he honoureth me;
 And to him that ordereth his conversation aright
 Will I show the salvation of God."¹

Other general features of the composition of this period assume distinction. The songs are constructed more elaborately, and arranged with greater view to artistic effect. The strophes become more even and regular. Even the letters of the alphabet are called into poetic service to secure uniform arrangement of the verses.² There is a general desire for new graces of expression and more elegance of form, and the rapidity of movement and terseness and vigour of the ancient song are sometimes sacrificed to these external adornments.

But the "well of inspiration" was still fresh and pure. In spite of the growing corruption of the age and the general decline in national prosperity, individuals not only preserved their faith in goodness and truth, but were able to give it the noblest utterance in song. The very miseries on which they looked drove them inwards to search in their own hearts for the strength and consolation which outward events could not supply. And they were not even dismayed when they met, in these "sessions of silent thought," the perplexing problems which the Book of Job and many of the noblest psalms seek in vain to solve. It is characteristic of the decline of the Hebrew monarchy that the wide field of subjects which had engaged the speculation of Solomon's time ceased to interest. Literature revolves more and more round the nature and history of the true religion. But religion had lost its hold on national life, and the poetry of the decline reflects individual feelings rather than those of the nation. Grand outbursts of patriotic song were no more heard. As we read the long series of national disasters which followed one another with such startling rapidity, and are crowded by the chronicler into one short chapter (2 Chron. xxxvi.), we feel that only one style of poetry could possibly flourish at such a time; that Jeremiah, sitting amid the ruins of Jerusalem, and singing those grandly mournful elegies which have for ever made his name a word of lamentation and woe, is the one figure which fully represents the dying

spirit of Jewish song. Many of the psalms are in subject and manner Jeremiah's, if they were not written by his pen; and there are others which, from their allusions and tone, must be referred to the Captivity. Some of these contain the bitterest imprecations against the heathen oppressors. Others rise to nobler feelings of trust in the redeeming love of God and hope of speedy deliverance. But all are marked by that remorseful recognition of past follies and sins in which lay the best hopes of future restoration and peace.

§ 6.—THE RETURN.

In the account given in the Book of Ezra of the return of the first band of exiles with Zerubbabel, we are informed that it comprised *singing men and singing women*. It was a time for joyful song. "Jacob was rejoicing and Israel was right glad" (Ps. xiv. 7), and we can well understand not only how the right hands resumed their cunning and swept the strings to the glad notes of the ancient "songs of Zion," but how all the deep and strong feelings which are the true source of poetry were stirred into activity and broke out in song. The captivity was turned as the rivers of the south (Ps. cxxvi. 4). Freshness and fertility had revived in the parched and thirsty land. Those who had sown in tears were reaping in joy. The long time of trial would now bear fruit. The people had come back wiser and purer, and the ancient hopes, which had been well nigh destroyed, sprang up afresh under a truer and nobler form.

There is one small group of fifteen psalms which must in part have been the offspring of the feelings awakened by the return (Ps. cxx.—cxxxiv.). They bear the inscription "Songs of Degrees," or "Songs of going up" (*shir hammahaloth*). This term has been variously explained. It probably denotes a collection of hymns made for the use of pilgrims to the Second Temple, at the period of the great feasts, and which turned, as was natural, on the great pilgrimage, the return from captivity. Many of the songs must owe their origin to the hopes called into being by that event. All are pervaded by the same sweet strain of tender beauty. They are exquisite little poems breathing of the sanctity and peace of home life in the restored city and under the shadow of the new Temple.

It was indeed to the new House of Jehovah that all the interest of the restored people turned. Dreams of imperial splendour were broken and gone for ever, but the ancient worship might be revived, if not with all the old magnificence, yet pure from all the corruptions of the past. Poetry lent its aid to this noble revival. Many anthems and hymns were composed for the Temple services, and were sung with the proper accompaniments of music and dancing. "Amongst these was that long series of psalms which open or close with the triumphant Hallelujah, a nation's great thanksgiving, the celebration of a deliverance so wonderful that it eclipsed even that which before had been ever regarded as the most signal instance of God's favour towards them, the deliverance of their fathers

¹ See *The Golden Treasury Psalter*.

² Ps. ix., x., xxv., xxxiv. of the alphabetical psalms belong probably to a date prior to the Captivity.

from the bondage in Egypt. One portion of these psalms (cxiii.—cxviii.), 'the *Hallel*,' or, as it was sometimes called, 'the Egyptian *Hallel*,' as if with the purpose of bringing together the two memorable epochs of the national history, was sung at the great festivals in the Second Temple, at the Passover, at Pentecost, at the Feast of the Tabernacles, and also at the Feast of Dedication and at the New Moons. This was doubtless 'the hymn' which our Lord and his apostles are said to have sung at his last solemn passover before He suffered" (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26).

Another group, the grand choral hymns, which close the Psalter (cxlv.—cl.), are marked by an intense fervour and glow such as burns only in an united congregation. This New Temple poetry has indeed a character of its own. The psalms of David, though adapted by him to liturgical use, were scarcely hymns in our sense of the term. They were lyric poems, expressing indeed national feelings and truths which were shared by the community, but springing from individual experience, and glowing with the passion of the poet's own heart. The later Temple song is 'for the most part wanting in this individual feeling. The compositions were evidently made for public use. Historic allusions are frequent. The national rather than the individual past is appealed to. The watchwords which roused the nation to action in former times are regarded as oracles. Fragments of ancient song are quoted with affectionate reverence. (See especially the grand dedicatory ode Ps. lxxviii.)

Of poetry of a national kind little besides these liturgical hymns survives from this period. The lyric impulse had in other directions died out. But in the sanctuary of personal experience, no less than in the sanctuary of public worship, it retained its grandeur. Here it is not inferior to the old models either in earnestness and depth of thought or in beauty of expression, while in other respects it shows the deep and lasting effects of the sufferings of the Exile and the joy of the Return. The chief results of this great national crisis were an increased and purified religious zeal and a stricter regard to the Divine law. But side by side with these moral results were other signs of progress, which are reflected, as in a mirror, by the poetry and prophecy of the restoration. In some of the later psalms, as well as in that magnificent body of prophetic song which bears in our Bibles the name of Isaiah and concludes his work, but which, in spirit if not in reality, belongs to this period, we discern a deeper and wider sympathy both with nature and mankind. The softening influence of foreign intercourse, though it was with their oppressors, had enlarged the human interests of the people of Israel. Amid their own affliction they meditated on God's fatherly love till they felt it to embrace all afflicted and oppressed ones, and extend to all His creatures. In their zeal for the restored religion they pictured the extension of its blessings "even to the isles beyond the sea." They

saw all nations coming to the new Jerusalem as to a religious centre for the whole world (Ps. xcviii., lxxxvii.). But "intercourse with God had also become closer and more personal." The human spirit sought for union with the Divine in new and untried directions, and the great works of God were approached with a new meaning and purpose. This is shown in the poetical representations of nature. The Hebrew poet begins to look on the magnificence and beauty of the created world through the medium of human feeling. He draws inanimate nature into closer sympathy with himself. He sees and hears on all sides around him a reflection and echo of his own emotions. Hitherto he has represented Jehovah as rejoicing in His works. Now the world is rejoicing with himself in the goodness and greatness of its author. From sea and land, from hill and wood, one great chorus of gladness and song rises as the belief grows strong that the eternal and righteous God is coming to dispense His judgments and establish righteousness in the earth. (See especially Ps. xevi.—xviii., with remarks in *Psalms Chronologically Arranged*.)

Most of the later psalms are anonymous. The LXX. and Vulgate prefix inscriptions to many of the great liturgical hymns, assigning these compositions to the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.² A true tradition is probably embodied in these inscriptions, which represent the tendency, already developed before the Captivity, of prophecy and song to blend. We are ignorant of the name of the author of the long 119th Psalm, which, with some shorter compositions, reflects the elaborate study of the written law which was one of the features of a later age. Here prophecy begins to make way for the wisdom and didactic skill of the scribe, and prepares for the long silence about to fall, in which neither prophet's voice nor poet's song will be heard.

When that silence began is, however, unknown. The date for the final closing of the Psalter has never been accurately determined. Some psalms are referred by many writers to the Maccabean age. Allusions in Ps. xlv., lxxiv., lxxix. are better explained by reference to the events of that period than to those of any other. The common lament of the time was that of the psalmist's:—

"We see not our tokens,
There is not one prophet more,
Neither is there any among us that knoweth how long."
(Ps. lxxix. 10.)

But it is more probable that poetic and prophetic inspiration died away together, to be revived together only in the glad song which resounded through the Temple courts when the priest's mouth was unlocked, and he prophesied the future of the boy born to prepare the way for Him whose coming, not the Jewish nation only, but all the world had awaited in silence so long.

¹ Perowne, *Psalms*, vol. i., Introduction.

² According to the LXX., cxxxvii., cxlv., cxlviii.; according to the Vulgate, cxi., are psalms of Haggai and Zechariah.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE PROPHETS:—ZEPHANIAH.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

INTRODUCTION.

IN all probability, Zephaniah was a prince as well as a prophet, in virtue of his descent from Hezekiah, the pious king of Judah, who, aided and taught by another royal prophet—Isaiah—wrought a notable reformation in the faith and morals of the chosen people. In the title prefixed to this prophecy his pedigree is traced, through four descents to a Hezekiah, and there abruptly terminates, as though, the name being well known to fame, there were no need to carry it further. Ordinarily, only the name of a prophet's father is given. The fact that, contrary to custom, Zephaniah's pedigree is traced up to his great-great-grandfather is an indication that this ancestor, Hezekiah, was a man whose name was held in memory and honour. We find no Hezekiah known to fame in the Hebrew annals, save Hezekiah the king; and therefore it is probable that the Hezekiah from whom Zephaniah was proud to descend was that devout king who for a time arrested the downward current of the Hebrew story.

Zephaniah, the descendant of King Hezekiah, prophesied "in the days of Josiah, king of Judah," who also set himself, aided by Jeremiah and other prophets, to reform the public faith and morals. Thus Zephaniah serves as a link between Hezekiah and Josiah, the two most godly and zealous monarchs of the later ages of the Hebrew kingdom.

Between these two godly monarchs there spreads a dreary waste of years, in which the men of Judah departed more and more from the Lord their God, and plunged ever more deeply into the vices and superstitions of the neighbouring idolatries. When Josiah, still a child, ascended the throne of his fathers, the Hebrew commonwealth was almost incredibly corrupt; from the crown of its head to the sole of its foot it was infected with the most malignant forms of political and spiritual disease. The princes and nobles, the heads of tribes and families, plotted treason and mischief in their hearts. Their turbulent followers "leaped over their masters' thresholds" to rob and plunder the defenceless, to commit crimes of public violence, filling the houses of their lords with injustice and deceit. The very priests abandoned the pure ritual of Jehovah to minister at the flagrant altars of Baal and Astarte. The great bulk of the people, openly falling away from the faith of their fathers, "worshipped all the host of heaven on the roofs" of their houses. Nay, even after Josiah had republished the Law and re-established the service of Jehovah, many thousands of them attempted a compromise between God and Baal, "swearing both to Jehovah and by their Malkâm," or idol-king; while other thousands, yielding to the scepticism which ever walks side by side with credulity, refused to believe in aught that

the senses could not grasp; "drawn together on their lees," eradling themselves on their baser passions and lusts, they accounted of God himself as One who "did neither good nor evil," who neither rewarded men for their virtue, nor scourged them for, and by, "the pleasant vices" with which they pollute their lives. In short, the interior of the Temple, which had been suffered to fall into a ruinous disrepair, was an apt symbol of the spiritual decay that was eating out the very heart of the national life and unity and strength.

Zephaniah, of whom we know nothing save his pedigree and his function, was raised up and inspired of God to correct these errors; to rebuke these sins; to denounce the judgment of the Lord on all unrighteousness of men; to disclose the merciful intention and purpose of judgment; to exhort men to seek the Lord, in seeking humility and righteousness; to assure them that, if they returned to the Lord whom they had abandoned and denied, the Lord would have mercy upon them and redeem them from all evil. In this task or mission he must have been greatly aided by the zeal and sympathy of the king.

Josiah was but "eight years old when he began to reign;" but "he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord," despite the idolatrous customs amid which he had been brought up, "and walked in the ways of David his father, and declined neither to the right hand nor to the left."¹ The phrase "he walked in the ways of David his father" is probably a hint that *the good men do lives after them*. Josiah had not been bred in habits of reverence for the only wise and true God; "the law of the Lord" was an unknown book to him. But from some written chronicle, or from tradition, or from some kind faithful voice—perhaps that of the venerable prophetess, Huldah—he appears to have learned the story of David and his "ways;" to have been deeply impressed by it; to have been fired with a noble emulation; to have resolved, while yet a boy, that the hero and darling of Israel should be his model and exemplar.

"In the eighth year of his reign," when he was sixteen, his thoughts rose from David, the shepherd and king, to the God who was David's King and Shepherd; "he began to seek after *the God* of David his father."² In the twelfth year of his reign—when a young man of twenty—he proved that in some measure he had found the God whom he sought, and had made the laws and principles by which David ruled his life his own. For now he began "to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places and the groves" of the base Phœnician cult, to break down the altars of Baal and Astarte, to grind the carven and molten images to powder. For the next

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1, 2.² 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.

six years of his life and reign he devoted himself to the task of cleansing the land from the traces of this foul idolatry. And then, having destroyed that which was evil, he set himself, in the eighteenth year of his reign—the twenty-sixth of his life—to develop and foster that which was good.

He issued a public commission for the repair of the Temple, and the restoration of its splendid and elaborate ritual. And while the cloisters and courts swarmed with Levites and artisans, busied in hewing stones, carrying timber, collecting and testing instruments of music, Hilkiah, the high priest, lit on a treasure which inflamed the king with new ardour. In the Holiest of All, that innermost shrine into which even the high priest might enter but once a year—in this sacred and awful *arcana* laid up before the ark of the covenant, Hilkiah found “the book of the law of Jehovah by the hand of Moses.”¹ This book—so the most competent scholars affirm—was nothing less than the original copy of Deuteronomy at least, perhaps of the whole Pentateuch, the very skins on which “the hand of Moses” had written out the Divine Law. “The book of the law by the hand of Moses”—so strangely lost, so strangely found—was taken to the king, who in all probability had seen no copy of it before, and produced a profound impression on his mind. That which struck him most deeply—struck him to the heart—appears to have been those very curses out of the Book of Deuteronomy which we had occasion to read in our study of Joel—the curses pronounced by Jehovah on the children of Israel if they should not walk in His statutes, do His commandments, keep His sabbaths, reverence His sanctuary. That the men of his generation had provoked these curses, he could not doubt. That the curses were coming on them, he had grave reason to fear; for, as we shall see, the land was at this time menaced by a terrible and portentous calamity. Troubled by fear and the consciousness of the national guilt, the king cannot rest. He *must* know the truth, however threatening, however terrible it may be. He sends an embassy of the most honourable of his servants to the college in Jerusalem, where Huldah, the aged prophetess, was awaiting the tardy approach of death. Huldah had been distinguished by her prophetic wisdom when Jeremiah and Zephaniah had been young and unknown men. To her, therefore—wise by long experience, as well as by prophetic gifts—the king bids his servants repair. “Go, inquire of the Lord for me, and for them that are left in Israel and in Judah, concerning the words of the book that is found: for great is the wrath of the Lord that is poured out upon us, because our fathers have not kept the word of the Lord, to do after all that is written in this book.”² Only too clearly and sorrowfully Huldah perceives that though during Josiah’s days the children of Israel may serve the Lord, they will afterward depart from Him yet more and more; that the curses denounced by the Law *must* fall in order that the blessing

promised in the Law may be bestowed. She tells the king’s servants that the Divine wrath will surely be poured out; but that, because he was of a tender heart, and trembled at the word of the Lord, Josiah should come to his grave in peace, and not see the evils that were about to blacken on the land.

Undismayed, or at least undeterred, by the prophetic warning, Josiah set himself more steadfastly than ever to recall the people to obedience and worship. He himself read to them “all the words of the book” which had so shaken his own heart, and persuaded them to renew their covenant with the God of their fathers.

Probably they were the more disposed to listen to the king because of that terrible calamity which had just swept through the land, and which might at any moment return upon them. For at this time the Scythian hordes had broken out from their pastures and deserts;⁴ they had overrun Western Asia, irresistible and destructive as a locust flight; they had passed through Judæa, eating up the land before them, and had shaken a distant hand of menace at Jerusalem itself, if they had not, as some writers aver, actually besieged it. These barbarous Cossack hordes were still surging to and fro in their career of conquest and plunder, now sweeping over this land, now over that; at any time they might return upon their course and flood the city and kingdom of Judah. Such an inroad, a danger so imminent and terrible, might well seem to Josiah the beginning of the end, the first drops of that rain of curses threatened in “the book of the Law.” It might well dispose the men of Judah to hearken to the words of their king, to repent of their iniquities and turn to God with purpose of heart.

Now it was about this time, toward the middle of Josiah’s reign, that Zephaniah delivered his prophecy, and came, in the name and power of the Lord, to expound the words of the Law, and to enforce the warnings of Huldah and the exhortations of the king. Most of the more able of recent commentators place Zephaniah in Josiah’s reign, for chronological and historical reasons too minute and elaborate for popular discussion. We have the less need to discuss them, since his poem dates

⁴ The account which Herodotus gives of this terrible Scythian invasion is briefly this. A numerous horde of the Scyths “burst into Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians, whom they had driven out of Europe, and entered the Median territory.” They were “opposed by the Medes, who gave them battle, but, being defeated, lost their empire. *The Scythians became masters of Asia.*” They then formed the design of invading Egypt. “But when they had reached Palestine, Psammetichus, the Egyptian king, met them with gifts and prayers, and prevailed on them to advance no further.” (That the Egyptian king should “meet” the Scyths in Palestine, is accounted for by the fact that he was at this time besieging Azotus, or Ashdod, one of the leading cities of the Philistine confederation.) For a time the Scythian hordes remained in the “Shephelah” or “low country” of Palestine, the broad maritime tract on the south-western coast occupied by the Philistine clans; but after the main body had departed, “some few who lagged behind pillaged the temple” of Astarte at Ascalon. In fine, “the dominion of the Scythians over Asia lasted eight-and-twenty years, during which their insolence and oppression spread ruin on every side. For besides the regular tribute, they exacted from the nations additional imposts, which they fixed at pleasure; and further, they scourged the country and plundered every one of whatever they could.” (Herodotus, Book I., chaps. 103–106.)

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14. ² See Vol. II., page 142.

³ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 21.

itself. Its tone and scope imply a period in which a reformation of religion had been commenced, but had not been carried to completion; in which the worship of Jehovah had still to contend with "the remnant of Baal," and men were still wont to blend the service of God with that of idols;¹ in short, just such a period as that in which Josiah was engaged in cleansing and repairing the Temple, restoring its ancient ritual, and summoning the people to the annual feasts which had long fallen into desuetude.² It was at such times that prophets were needed and were commonly sent. These were the very conditions which demanded the prophetic ministry. For it was the prophet's task to interpret the facts of his time, the omens and portents in the facts, and to impress their significance on the hearts and consciences of men. Zephaniah rose to the level of this high task. He took up and expounded the threatenings of the newly-discovered "Book of the Law." He applied the solemn warning of Huldah, bringing it home to the conscience of all sorts and conditions of men. In the Scythian inroad he saw a symbol of future invasions still more destructive and fatal; in *that* day of darkness he descried the portents of a still greater and more terrible day of the Lord, a day of fury, a day of anguish and distress, a day of desolation and ruin, a day of darkness and gloom, a day of cloud and of cloudy night, a day of the trumpet and the trumpet blast, a true *dies iræ*, the terrors of which should cover the whole earth and shake the hearts of all its inhabitants with fear and trembling. Neither Judah nor Jerusalem should be spared in that day. Nay, the judgment would *begin* at the house of God. Nor was that day distant; it was even now sweeping up like chaff driven before the wind. Nor must they hope to escape it; "not even their silver, not even their gold," would be able to rescue them in the day of the Lord's fury.³ If they were wise, they would not so much as wish to escape it; for this day of judgment was also a day of sovereign mercy. The very heathen were to be smitten by its terrors, in order that all nations, "every one from its place, might worship Him," the only true God,⁴ and find rest in serving Him; while of the Jews, as many as humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God should "see evil no more;" Jehovah would reveal Himself in their midst as "the Mighty One who saves;" He would dwell among them, and rejoice over them, now in the silent ecstasy of a love which can find no words, and again in the rapture which breathes itself in cries of joy.⁵

This, in brief, is the general scope and purport of Zephaniah's pathetic and sublime poem. And in its general scope it closely resembles the prophecy of Joel, which we have recently studied.⁶ It traverses the same large circle of thought. In both there is, first, a threatening of judgment, then a call to repentance, and,

last, the promise of a golden age of concord and peace. In both, the history of the chosen race swells and grows into the history of the world at large. In both, the prophet starts from the history of the past and presses on into the future, until he is met by apocalyptic visions of a regenerated race dwelling amid the sweet bounty and peace of a restored universe. And it will be well for us to compare the two, and mark how Zephaniah presents the very truths and principles enunciated by Joel in forms peculiar to himself. For, though so similar in scope and purport, these sacred and inspired poets differ much in form and style. Joel is the most abstract of prophets, and touches the history of his time at points comparatively few; while Zephaniah abounds in minute and elaborate allusions to the political facts and events of his age. And hence, while Joel may be read with edification by the simple and unlettered, Zephaniah is well-nigh a sealed book to them until a scholar unlooses the seals and opens the book. Of this prophecy, more than most, we may well ask, "How can we understand it except some man should guide us?"

Yet even the most simple and unlettered reader of this poem will find passages in it which move him either by their sublimity or their pathos. His enjoyment of these passages, however, will be much marred by the feeling sure to grow upon him as he reads, that he can make nothing of the poem as a whole, and that many of its verses are enigmas to which he has no key. Nor will his case be greatly mended should he betake himself to the works of any English commentator known to the present writer. He will be apt to feel much as the Ethiopian statesman must have felt as he rolled along the desert road from Gaza to Egypt, puzzling his brains over the dark sayings of Isaiah; and he will be fortunate indeed if he meet any evangelist to tell him of whom and what the prophet was speaking, and be led by him to the cool fountain of some green oasis in which he may wash away the sins of his ignorance.

On the merits of Zephaniah's style—*i.e.*, in the Hebrew—critics differ, though the better judges are much impressed by its "grace, energy, and dignity," and by "the unity and harmony of the composition," viewed as a whole. But of the poem as translated into English, every reader may judge for himself. And in this form it surely is one of the most beautiful of poems. It contains passages which we should pronounce to be admirable had they been written by an Englishman of to-day. It abounds with vivid dramatic touches, with exquisitely chosen epithets, with elaborate picturesque descriptions, such as our own poets love. Viewed simply as a literary composition, there are few verses in which we may not find something to admire. Of the longer passages, for example, what can be more perfect than the description of the ruined city of Nineveh (chap. ii. 13—15)?—

"He will also make Nineveh a barren waste,
An arid waste, like the desert:
And herds shall lie down in the midst of her,
Wild beasts of every kind in droves:
Pelicans and hedgehogs lodge on their capitals;

¹ Chap. i. 4, 5.

³ Chap. i. 14, 18.

⁵ Chap. iii. 14—17.

² 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8—xxxv. 19.

⁴ Chap. ii. 11; iii. 9.

⁶ See THE BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., pp. 52, 65, 92, 108, 140, 156.

Birds sing from the windows ;
 Rubbish-heaps lie on the thresholds,
 For the cedar-work is laid bare.
 This is the city, the exulting city, the impregnable city,
 Which said in her heart,
 'I, and no other !'
 How is she become a desolation,
 A lair of wild beasts !
 Every one that passeth by her shall hiss
 And swing his hand."

Or where shall we find a scene so steeped and suffused with passion as his picture of the restored Zion (chap. iii. 14—17)?—

"Rejoice, O daughter Zion! Shout, O Israel!
 Be glad and exult with all thine heart, O daughter Jerusalem!
 Jehovah hath removed thy judgments,
 He hath cleared away thine enemies,
 The King of Israel, Jehovah, is in the midst of thee;
 Thou shalt see evil no more.
 In that day will men say to Jerusalem,
 'Fear not, O Zion! Let not thy hands drop down!
 Jehovah, thy God, is in thy midst,
 The mighty One who saves.
 He rejoiceth over thee with rapture:
 He is silent in His love;
 He exulteth over thee with cries of joy.'"

Besides these more elaborate and poetic passages, there are single verses so weighty with thought, expressed in graceful or picturesque forms, that we may return to them again and again, always finding new charm in them, or new suggestion. As, for instance, chap. i. 12:—

"And it shall come to pass at that time,
 That I will search Jerusalem with candles,
 And visit the men who are drawn together on their lees,
 Who say in their heart,
 'Jehovah doeth neither good nor evil.'"

Or, again (chap. ii. 11):—

"Terrible is Jehovah over them!
 For he famisheth all the gods of the earth,
 That all the isles of the heathen,
 Every one from its place, may worship Him."

Or, again, that other verse, in which the self-same secret of Providence, the merciful purpose of judgment, is cast in yet another form (chap. iii. 9):—

"For then will I turn to the nations a pure lip,
 That they may all invoke the name of Jehovah,
 And serve Him with one shoulder."

Or, finally, that marvellous and suggestive contrast of the Just and Divine King in the doomed and unjust city (chap. iii. 5):—

"Jehovah is just in the midst of her,
 He doeth no wrong;
 Morning by morning He setteth His justice in the light, not failing:
 But the unjust know no shame."

In addition to these and other noble verses, we shall perpetually meet with weighty sentences or graphic and picturesque phrases as we read and study this difficult but most instructive poem.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

SAMUEL.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRECENTOR OF LINCOLN.

THE character of Samuel is, in every stage of his career, one of the grandest in the Old Testament. Standing at the meeting-point of two diverging eras in the national life of Israel—the last of the Judges, and the first of the Prophets—the inaugurator of the monarchy—no figure occupies a more prominent place in Jewish history. Nor is there one who challenges a more unqualified admiration. The exquisite beauty of his holy childhood; the vigour and wisdom of his administration as judge; the calm dignity with which he yields to the demands of the people, and bows to what he feels to be the Divine will; the energy with which he throws himself into the new system, alien as it was to his own personal feelings and cherished convictions; the self-forgetting zeal with which he devotes the whole of his powers to the efficient carrying out of its requirements; his warmth of affection for the youthful monarch who had supplanted him in the popular favour; the depth of his sorrow at the repeated failure of the chosen one whom he had been the instrument of raising to his high office; the reluctance with which he regards the breach as final, and seals Saul's rejection by anointing a successor; all combine to make up a portrait of no ordinary attractiveness, on which the mind rests with

more complete satisfaction than on most of the heroes of the earlier and less perfect dispensation.

The life of Samuel divides itself into three periods: (1) his childhood and youth, spent in the tabernacle at Shiloh (1 Sam. i.—iii. 19); (2) his recognition as a prophet, and his administration as judge (iii. 20—vii. 17); (3) his old age and comparative retirement from the public stage, after the establishment of the monarchy, and his death (viii.—xxv. 1).

Samuel was by birth a member of the tribe of Levi; his father, Elkanah, was descended from Kohath, Levi's second son, the grandfather of Moses and Aaron (1 Chron. vi. 33—38). He is called "an Ephraimite" (1 Sam. i. 1); not, that is, an inhabitant of Bethlehem-Ephraim, as in Ruth i. 2, and 1 Sam. xvii. 12: but, as the word means in Judg. xii. 5, and 1 Kings xi. 26, an Ephraimite. This double designation of Elkanah is to be explained, just as in the case of Micah's Levite (Judg. xvii. 7) who is said to belong to "the family of Judah," as denoting that though by birth a Levite, as far as his civil standing was concerned, he was reckoned to the tribe of Ephraim. The Levites, according to Hengstenberg, were regarded as belonging to the tribes in which they had their original homes; and we find from Josh. xxi. 5, 20—26, that in the primary assign-

ment the sons of Kobath, who were not of the family of Aaron, had cities allotted to them in Ephraim, Dan, and Manassch. The place where Elkanah lived, and in which his son Samuel was born, is variously designated as Ramathaim¹-zophim,² or Ramah. The latter form, which is always written with the article, *ha-Ramah*, "the height," is merely an abbreviated form of the fuller expression, which from its dual termination indicates a twin hill, on whose summits the city stood.

Samuel never lost his love for his mountain birthplace. He returned to it when his connection with Shiloh was violently snapped by Eli's death, and the capture of the ark; and here he lived, worshipped, laboured, and died, and "in his house at Ramah"—*i.e.*, in the court or garden attached to it—he was buried (1 Sam. vii. 17; xv. 34; xvi. 13; xix. 18, 19, 22, 23; xxv. 1; xxviii. 3). Everything seems to point to Elkanah's being a man of substance in his city. This is confirmed by his having two wives, itself a mark of wealth among the Orientals. He furnishes the earliest recorded example of polygamy in a private citizen among the Israelites, and his household experienced the discomfort of the jealousies inseparable from that state. The names of Elkanah's two wives were Peninnah and Hannah.³ The former had a large family of children, while the latter, though the more favoured wife, was childless. Hannah's barrenness exposed her to the cruel taunts of her fertile rival, jealous of the greater affection shown her by Elkanah. It is the story of Leah and Rachel over again, with this exception, that Hannah bore her trial in a far meeker and more becoming spirit than Jacob's favourite wife. Elkanah, as a devout Israelite, went up year by year with his family to the tabernacle at Shiloh, in obedience to the injunctions of the law (Exod. xxxiv. 23; Dent. xvi. 16), to worship and offer sacrifice to the Lord. His stronger love for Hannah was shown at the sacrificial feast that followed the offering, in his sending her a double portion of the flesh of the victim.⁴ This exasperated Peninnah's jealousy, and her tongue did not spare her rival: "Her adversary provoked her sore for to make her fret." Year by year the same bitter provocation

was repeated, until as the hope of her becoming a mother grew weaker, Hannah's tender spirit became utterly crushed; "she wept sore, and would not eat." To Elkanah's affectionate remonstrance on seeing her sit sadly, refusing to share in the banquet, and the assurance of his undiminished affection, Hannah cannot trust herself to make any reply. She retires to pour out her heart in tears and silent prayer before "the Lord of hosts," at the door of the tabernacle,⁵ and there registers the vow, that if God will grant her petition, and give her "a man child," he shall be devoted to the Giver as a Nazarite, "all the days of his life" (1 Sam. i. 11). The excitement of her passionate devotion, and the voiceless movement of her lips, are noticed by Eli the high priest, as he sits on his seat by the gate of the tabernacle enclosure to watch the worshippers, and lead him to suppose her intoxicated. Hannah's dignified but respectful reply convinces him of his error, and he dismisses her with the high-priestly blessing, and the prayer that God would grant her petition. The words of the high priest are regarded by her as the words of God himself, and convey the welcome assurance that her prayer is accepted, and that the long looked-for blessing would be granted. With a spirit relieved of its burden she returns to the family feast, and takes her share with a cheerful countenance (chap. i. 18). Nor was the trust of this holy woman disappointed. In due time she became the exultant mother of a son, on whom she conferred the name of Samuel, "the heard," or "asked of God."⁶ As soon as the child was weaned, which, according to Eastern custom, would not be till he was at least two years old, and might probably be delayed till his seventh year, she once more accompanies her husband on his yearly visit to Shiloh, and takes her boy with her to fulfil her vow, by personally dedicating him to the service of Jehovah. What it must have cost her to part with her darling, so hardly won, none but a mother's heart can know. But God had been true to her, and she must be true to him. "She had opened her mouth unto the Lord, and she could not go back." Her holy resolution is expressed in the touching words with which she presented him to Eli: "For this child I prayed, and the Lord hath given me my petition which I asked of him. Therefore also I have lent him to Jehovah; as long as he liveth he shall be lent to Jehovah" (chap. i. 27, 28).

After a triumphant burst of song, originally intended to express no more than her own feelings of joy or thankfulness, but, like the other inspired hymns of the Bible, unconsciously expanding into language properly applicable only to the Messiah and his kingdom, in which we unmistakably discern the prototype of the "Magnificat," Hannah leaves her little son under the high priest's care, and returns to Ramah, to be repaid

¹ Few of our readers require to be reminded that the termination *-aim* marks the Hebrew dual; just as *-im* or *-oth* marks the plural, masculine or feminine—*e.g.*, *Aram-naharaim*, "Syria of the two rivers" (Tigris and Euphrates), or Mesopotamia; *Mahanaim*, "two hosts" (Gen. xxxii. 2); *Kirjathaim*, "the double city" (Gen. xiv. 5); *Shaaraim*, "the two gateways" (1 Sam. xvii. 52).

² The addition "Zophim" ("watchmen") may indicate that this "hill" was used as a look-out post in times of war; but it more probably signifies "the descendants of Zuph," of whom it was the home (1 Sam. i. 1; ix. 5; 1 Chron. vi. 26).

³ The name Hannah (חַנָּה) = "grace" or "prayer," in the Septuagint *Anna*, and in the Vulgate "Anna," reappears more than once in later sacred records. It is the name of the wife of Tobit, and mother of Tobias (Tobit i. 9); of the prophetess of the tribe of Asher, the daughter of Phenuel (Luke ii. 36); and, according to early tradition, of the wife of Joachim, the mother of the Virgin Mary.

⁴ In the same way as Joseph showed his affection for Benjamin, by giving him a mess five times as large as his brother's (Gen. xliii. 34), and as in later days Samuel himself reserved "the shoulder and that which was upon it" for Saul (1 Sam. ix. 23, 24).

⁵ "The tabernacle" is here, and in iii. 3, called by anticipation "the temple of the Lord." The word חֵיל (heial) signifies "a palace," or magnificent mansion (Amos viii. 3; Ps. xlv. 9; Isa. xiii. 22).

⁶ The names "Ishmael" and "Elishamah" have the same meaning, and are derived from the same roots.

with interest for her "loan to Jehovah," in the gift of three sons and two daughters. At Shiloh, under the protecting shadow of the tabernacle, employed in personal attendance on the aged and dim-eyed Eli, and in such ministrations as suited his years—trimming and putting out the lamps, opening the doors of the sacred enclosure, "ministering to the Lord before the priest" as an acolyte—the holy child passed his opening boyhood, and like that other Holy Child of whose days he "foretold" (Acts iii. 24), "grew on, and was in favour with Jehovah, and also with men" (1 Sam. ii. 26; Luke ii. 52). The child's dress, an ephod of white linen, the ordinary garb of the priests, marked his dedication to the Lord's service. A robe, in our version "a little coat,"¹ such as that worn by the high priest and personages of rank, the work of her own hands, was brought for him to wear by his mother, on the annual occasions of their meeting at the time of the yearly sacrifice (1 Sam. ii. 18, 19).

The figure of this innocent child, intent on his little ministries, stands out in beautiful relief against the dark background of greed and licentiousness sketched in such appalling colours by the sacred writers (ii. 12—17, 22, 29). In daily association with those "sons of Belial," the young priests, Hophni and Phinehas; forced to witness the constant scenes of rapacity and debauchery with which they profaned God's holy place, and made men "abhor the offering of the Lord" for themselves, and dread the tabernacle as a place of contamination for their wives and daughters, the child's spotless soul received no defilement, but, like a lily among rank and foul weeds, developed in ever-increasing strength and purity towards the high dignity for which he was unconsciously preparing. "The child Samuel grew before Jehovah, and Jehovah was with him" (ii. 21; iii. 19).

And then the call came. That call which was to separate him from other men, and assigning to him the highest of all missions, to be the mouthpiece of Jehovah, was to make him acquainted with the deep sorrows and trials inseparable from that office. Samuel's first experience of the prophetic mission was one of sharp pain. The call came in the stillness of the night. A voice called the boy by name, as he lay sleeping the deep sleep of innocent childhood in his little tabernacle chamber. Accustomed to be roused from his slumbers, to attend to the wants of his blind and feeble old master, the child springs from his bed, and runs into Eli, ready to fulfil his bidding. "Here am I; for thou

calledst me." Sent back to his couch by the kind old man, whom it is impossible not to love for his gentleness, while we pity and lament his weakness, once and again the same voice arouses him, and sends him on the same errand. The strange repetition of the call at last convinces Eli that there is something more than ordinary in the child's tale. "Eli perceived that the Lord had called the child" (chap. iii. 8), and probably rejoicing that "the word of Jehovah," which had become so rare and "precious in those days" (chap. iii. 1), was beginning once more to make itself distinctly heard, but with little idea of the terrible message it was to convey to him and to his house, charges the lad, if the Voice is heard again, to say, "Speak, Jehovah, for thy servant heareth." A fourth time the call is heard. The child hears his name repeated twice—"Samuel, Samuel." He declares his willingness to receive the message of Jehovah, now for the first time delivered to him (ver. 7), and is entrusted with the announcement of the terrible and irreversible vengeance about to fall on Eli and his family, "because his sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not" (ver. 13). And does the boy, elated with the honour of being charged with a message from the Lord, and eager, as is common with childish natures, to communicate the startling intelligence, careless of the pain it will inflict, at once hasten to convey the doom to Eli? No! With a remarkable self-restraint, and unwillingness to bring the shadow of so deep a grief over the heart of the good old man he loved so well, "Samuel lay until the morning" (ver. 15), and went about his usual duties—"opening the doors of the house of the Lord," bearing about with him the burden of this unwelcome truth, to be made known to him whom he loved, honoured, and feared—"his first experience of the prophet's cross."² Eli's words of devout submission, when his gentle persistence has extracted the truth from its timid depository, "It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good," manifest his conviction of how well the threatened judgments were deserved.

"The gifts and calling of God are without repentance." Samuel, once called to the prophetic office, receives more and more of the gifts peculiar to it, and the Most High sets his seal on his utterances by confirming his words. "The Lord let none of his words fall to the ground." Soon it became known in every part of Israel, from Northern Dan to Southern Beer-sheba, that Jehovah had once more visited his people, and raised up a prophet among them, and that the youthful Nazarete, Samuel, the son of Elkanah, was "established to be a prophet" of Jehovah, at Shiloh.

After this the sacred narrative takes leave of Samuel for at least twenty years. All that is known of him is summed up in the brief record: "Jehovah revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of Jehovah. And the word of Samuel came to all Israel" (iii. 21;

¹ The word rendered "coat" in 1 Sam. ii. 19, *קָיִיל* (*meil*), is the same used for the high priest's robe (Exo. l. xxviii. 4, 31, 34; xxxix. 5; xxxix. 23, &c.; Lev. viii. 7), and for that of Jonathan, with which he invested David (1 Sam. xviii. 4), and for that of Saul, the skirt of which David cut off (xxiv. 5, 11); for that of David, when he danced before the ark (1 Chron. xv. 27), and of his daughter Tamar (2 Sam. xiii. 18). From these instances it was evidently a dress of no ordinary richness and beauty. It is interesting to find this *meil* continuing to be Samuel's dress after he was grown up (1 Sam. xv. 27), and so characteristic of him that the mention of it by the witch of Endor, "an old man cometh up, and he is covered with a mantle" (*meil*) (1 Sam. xxviii. 14), convinced Saul that it was no other than Samuel himself.

² We may compare Jeremiah's experience of the same cross, inseparable from the due fulfilment of the prophetic office (Jer. xv. 10; xvii. 15—18; xx. 7—19).

iv. 1). Soon, very soon, the judgment he had been commissioned to denounce overtook Eli and his house, involving in its sweep the loss of Israel's "glory," the ark of God, "delivered into the enemies' hand" (Ps. lxxviii. 61), and the fall of the national sanctuary of Shiloh. To the young prophet it must have been the loss of all that was most dear to him. The kindly and venerable man, who had been to him as a father, whom, notwithstanding his weaknesses, he had ever regarded with reverence and love; the ark of God, the centre of his sacred affections, and the object of his service; the tabernacle itself—for, wanting the ark it enshrined, it was a mere empty shell, a memorial of departed glories—all were lost to him in that fatal day when Israel fell before the Philistines at Eben-ezer. We would have willingly traced the career of Samuel from that sad day when, in fulfilment of the former prophecy, cou-

firmed by his own mouth, he had to "see an enemy in the Lord's habitation," and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, "died both of them in one day," and "a thing was done in Israel at which both the ears of every one that heard it did tingle" (ii. 32, 34; iii. 11); but it is denied us. Holy Scripture is silent, and all speculation is vain. The twenty years of deep national humiliation and general confusion that followed the defeat at Eben-ezer are an absolute blank. All we know is that Samuel was acknowledged in all parts of the country as a great prophet, and was thus quietly preparing for the important events in the nation's history in which he was destined to take a leading part. When he reappears, it is as the judge and deliverer of Israel, summoning the people to national repentance, and leading the armies of the Lord to victory over their enemies (chap. vii.).

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.

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WIND INSTRUMENTS (*concluded*).

SOUOMPONIAH, SAMPUNIA, SUMPHONIA, SYMPHONIA.

THIS instrument is the last of those enumerated in Dan. iii. 15. In speaking of the *psanterin* or dulcimer, we had occasion to regret that the word *symphonia* should have been translated by "dulcimer" in our Authorised Version, when this word would have represented more properly *psanterin*. The *symphonia* is now generally supposed to have been a *bagpipe*. The reasons for this belief are, that the meaning of the word "sounding together" is not inapplicable to the union of melody and drone which it produces, and also that the Italians have to this day a bagpipe called *zampogna* or *sampogna*, and that *chifonie* or *symphonie* was an instrument of the same class used in the Middle Ages. Of the antiquity of bagpipes there is ample evidence. Varieties of it seem to have been common in all parts of Asia and Europe. The Greeks called it *ἄσκυλος* (*ascyulos*), which means the "leathern-bottle" pipe (from *ἄσκος*, a leathern bag or bottle, and *ἄλδος*, a pipe). The Romans gave it a name having much the same meaning—*tibia utricularia* or *utricularium*; in Germany it is the *sacpfeiffe*, corresponding exactly to our bagpipe; in Italy *sampogna*, *piva* (in Dan. iii. 5, &c., the Italian translation has *sampogna*), or *cornamusa*, which last means apparently a hornpipe, alluding probably to the material of which the "pipe" part was sometimes made, not only in Europe, but amongst the Arabians. From the Italian *cornamusa* the French adopted *cornemuse*, and in both countries the diminutive *musetta* and *musette* (a little *musa* or pipe) seems to have been generally used. A piece of music written in the style of bagpipe music came afterwards to be called a *musette*. By some it is said to have been also called *chalancau* by the French; but it is proba-

ble that this name was only so far used in connection with the bagpipe as to describe the pipe which was pierced with finger-holes, in opposition to that in which the drone-reed was inserted. The Gaelic name for bagpipe is *piob morh*; the Welsh *pibau*. Fig. 68 shows



Fig. 68.

an Arabian instrument of this class, called by them *souqqarah* or *zouggarah*. It is of goat-skin, and the two pipes with finger-holes are tipped with horn. The scale consists of four notes, A to D of the treble staff, both pipes being in unison. It will be noticed that the goat-skin reservoir is filled by means of the little pipe seen on the left-hand side of the illustration, which is placed in the mouth of the performer. There are, in fact, two kinds of bagpipe, if viewed as to their construction. In the one the reservoir is supplied from the mouth of the performer, who blows into it through a pipe and mouthpiece; in the other the reservoir is so constructed that the pressure of the elbow against its side will force the air which it contains into the sounding-tube or *chanter*, as it is termed. It will be seen that the *souqqarah* (Fig. 68) belongs to the

former of these kinds. The bagpipe shown in Fig. 69, which is an Indian instrument called *tourti* or

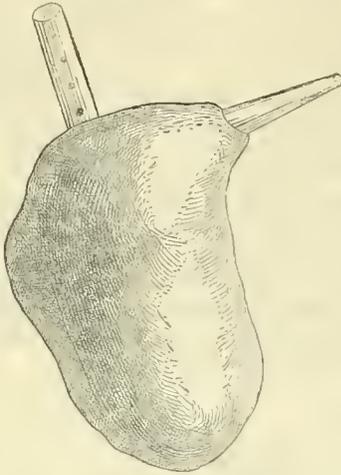


Fig. 69.

tourry, is of the same kind, the inflation of the reservoir being brought about through the mouthpiece. That its chanter has only four holes is proof probably of great antiquity. Another instrument of the same sort, called a *zitty*, has seven holes. So, too, the *magondi* (Fig. 70), used by the Indian snake-charmers

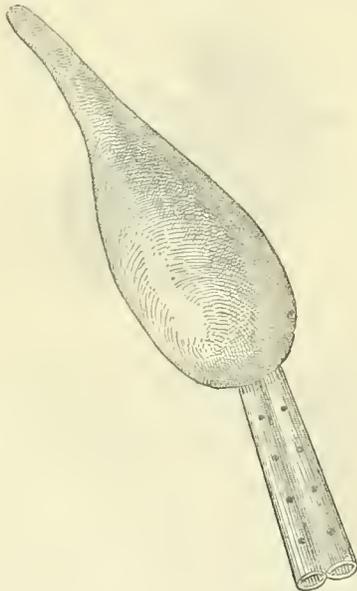


Fig. 70.

when they exhibit their almost Orphean influence over the reptiles, is supplied with air from the mouth, only in this case there is no intermediate tube. The reservoir is made of the outer coating of a gourd, the small end of which is pierced for the admission of the air. The two tubes appear to have four holes each, but

one has seven, three more being pierced on the reverse side. The tone is said to be soft and somewhat sweet.

The Persians have their *nay-* or *nei-ambanah*, which, though somewhat different in form, is of the same construction as a bagpipe.

It is interesting to note the close relationship between the *arghool* of the Egyptians, as before described (Vol. II., p. 10), and the *souqqarah*. The reservoir is the only distinctive feature of the *souqqarah*, for the *arghool* is of two kinds, like its relations of the bagpipe family, having sometimes two pipes tuned to two unison scales; at others, two pipes, one for the playing of a tune, the other for a drone, or bourdon.

The broad distinction between bagpipes blown by means of the mouth and those blown by "pumping" with the elbow, before mentioned, is, however, exhibited much nearer home. Irish bagpipes are inflated by the elbow, Scotch by the mouth. Both have their special advocates, but it is said that the most ancient Irish instruments of this class were blown, like the Scotch, by the mouth. The Irish lay claim to the superiority of their bagpipes on the ground of the tenor chords which they are capable of producing.

The Roman *tibie utricularia* must have been of a lower pitch than the ordinary bagpipe, judging from the appearance of one which was found depicted on an ancient bas-relief in the court of the palace of Santa

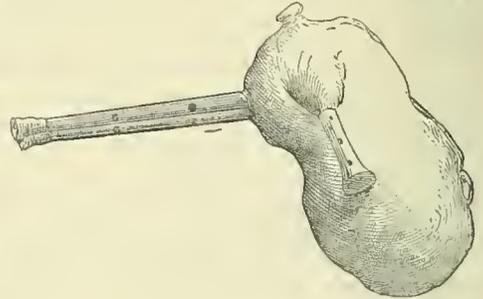


Fig. 71.

Croce. The almost disproportionate length of the tubes suggests very deep sounds. The *sampogna*, the modern Italian form of the *utricularium*, is commonly played on the Campagna and the surrounding hills. Fétis remarks that when some of these poor *sampognatori* or *sampognari* migrated to Paris some years ago, in the hopes of getting a livelihood, they were popularly called *pifferari*, but, of course, wrongly so, as the *pifferari* were oboists, not bagpipers. Some are occasionally to be seen about the streets of London.

The Assyrian records of this instrument are unfortunately very scanty. One is given in Fig. 72, but the reader will probably think that it might with equal justice be said to represent many other things. The Phœnicians were well acquainted with bagpipes; hence it is probable that this is the source from whence the Greeks obtained them, or imitated their method of construction, and that the Romans copied them from the Greeks. The Syrian Greeks called it *σαμπονια* (*sam-*

ponia), and the question at once arises—was this an imitation of *soumponiah*, a genuine Chaldaic name, or were both *samponia* and *soumponiah* corruptions of the Greek *symphonia* (*συμφωνία*); or, to put the question in other words, did the Greeks give Greek names to Chaldaic musical instruments, or did the Chaldees borrow their instruments from Greece? This difficulty has been

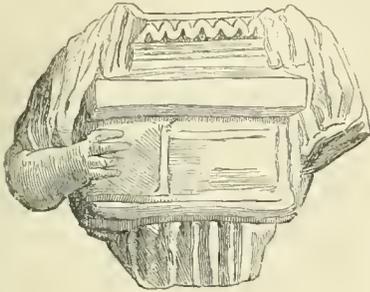


Fig. 72.

alluded to on page 216 of Vol. I. It is completely out of the sphere of the musician, and must be left for scholars and theologians to settle, or, perhaps it would be safer to say, to discuss. As the *symphonia* is only mentioned in that catalogue of musical instruments given in Dan. iii. with such strange iteration, it must be presumed that the captive Jews did not so highly value its merits as to wish to adopt it. But harsh as the tones of a bagpipe are when heard in a small enclosed place, there can be no two opinions as to the romantic and beautiful effect they produce when heard in the midst of wild scenery; and when large numbers are played together, the result is even imposing and grand. The repetition of the phrase "all kinds of musick" (Dan. iii. 5, 10, 15) would lead us to believe that a very large company of musicians was gathered together on that memorable day when Nebuchadnezzar tried to enforce idol-worship; but though the instruments themselves were of a barbarous type, we may still believe that the massive volume of sound produced by so many playing together must have been awe-inspiring and terrible.

KEREN, SHOPHAR, CHATZOZERAH.

These are the names of the three important Hebrew trumpets. The first, evidently, either actually was, or at least originated from, that most ancient of wind instruments, the horn of an animal. But it seems absolutely impossible to discover the real distinction between any of these instruments. *Keren* and *shophar* are sometimes used synonymously, and notably so in the account of the capture of Jericho (Josh. vi.). But in this same account there is affixed to *keren* the word *jobel*, making the whole a "jobel-horn." Although this is translated "ram's horn" in our version, and although it has been suggested that *jobel* in Arabic, if not in Hebrew, might signify a ram, yet on the whole it seems probable that *jobel* is the source of our word *jubilee*, and that the expression simply points to the fact that the instrument was used

on great solemnities, and was a *jubilee-trumpet* (*τοῦ ἰωβήλ*). The actual horns of animals were in very early times imitated in metal or ivory. In the latter case a tusk was hollowed out and often elaborately carved. They were called in the Middle Ages *oliphants*, or elephant-trumpets, from their material. The Ashantees to this day use tusks for this purpose, only, strangely enough,



Fig. 73.

the instrument is blown at a hole in the side (like a *flauto traverso*), and not at the small end. In I Chron. xxv. 5, after giving a list of those set aside by David to play upon the *keren*, the historian says, "All these were the sons of Heman, the king's seer in the words of God, to lift up the horn." Again, translated in our version by "cornet" (though in the Septuagint by *σάλπιγγε*), the word occurs in Dan. iii. 5, &c. Only in these passages is mention made of the *keren* as a musical instrument, although the word often occurs with other meanings, and is frequently used as figurative of "strength."

The *shophar*, judging from its very frequent mention, extending in the pages of the Bible from the Book of Exodus to that of Zechariah, must have been more commonly used than the *keren*. It was the voice of a *shophar*, exceeding loud, issuing from the thick cloud on Sinai, when, too, thunders and lightnings rolled around the holy mount, which made all in the camp tremble. When Ehud's personal daring had rid Israel of a tyrant, he blew a *shophar* and gathered the people together to seize the fords of Jordan towards Moab. Gideon used the instrument, and Saul also (1 Sam. xiii. 3), and many other of Israel's warriors, to rouse and call up the people against their enemies. But it was not confined to military use, for "David and all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting and with the sound of the *shophar*" (2 Sam. vi. 15). It is mentioned three times in the Psalms: "God is gone up with a merry noise, and the Lord with the sound of the *shophar*" (Ps. xlvi. 5); "Blow up the *shophar* in the new moon" (lxxxi. 3); "Praise him in the sound of the *shophar*" (cl. 3).

The *shophar* is especially interesting to us as being the only Hebrew instrument whose use on certain solemn occasions seems to be retained to this day. Engel, with his usual trustworthy research, has traced out and examined some of these in modern synagogues. That shown in Fig. 74 is from the synagogue of Spanish

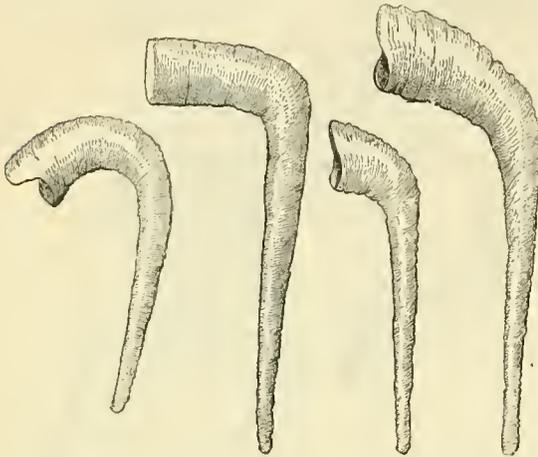


Fig. 74.

Fig. 75.

Fig. 76.

Fig. 77.

and Portuguese Jews, Bevis Marks, and is, he says, one foot in length. Fig. 75 shows one used in the Great Synagogue, St. James's Place, Aldgate, twenty-one inches in length. Both are made of horn. Figs. 76 and 77 Engel gives in his valuable *Music of the most Ancient Nations*, from Saalschütz. The first is a ram's horn, the second that of a cow. On these instruments signals or flourishes are on certain occasions played, the music of which it is unnecessary to give, as they are well known as the simplest progressions which such tubes are capable of producing. All such instruments can only give a series of sounds called natural harmonies or overtones, which are produced in their special case by forcing (by gradually increasing the pressure of air from the lips) the column of air they contain, into two vibrating parts; then three, four, five, six, and so on. When it is required to play a chromatic scale, artificial lengths of tube are formed by means of pistons or valves, as exemplified in our modern *cornet-à-piston*.

The *chatzozerah* is generally thought to have been a straight trumpet, with a bell or "pavillon," as it is termed. Moses received specific directions as to making them. "Make thee two trumpets of silver; of a whole piece shalt thou make them: that thou mayest use them for the calling of the assembly, and for the journeying of the camps." In Ps. xxviii. 6, the *chatzozerah* and sound of *shophar* are brought into juxtaposition: "With *chatzozerah* and sound of *shophar* make a joyful noise before the Lord the King;" or, as it incorrectly stands in the Prayer-book version, "With trumpets also and shawms, &c." In this passage the Septuagint has it, 'Εν σάλπιγγιν ἐλαταῖς, καὶ φωνῇ σάλπιγγος κερατίνης, "With ductile trumpets, and the sound of horn-trumpets." So, too, the Vulgate: "In tubis ductilibus et voce tubæ cornæ."

The word *mikshah*, which is applied to the description of the *chatzozerah* in Numb. x. 2, which means "rounded" or "turned," may either apply to a complete twist in the tube of the instrument, or, what is more probable, to the rounded outline of the bell. But if the former is the real interpretation of the epithet, it would make it more like a trombone, and similar in form to that depicted on the Arch of Titus. But, on the other hand, the account given by Josephus points out the latter characteristic of shape. He says, "Moses invented a kind of trumpet of silver; in length it was little less than a cubit, and it was somewhat thicker than a pipe; its opening was oblong, so as to permit blowing on it with the mouth; at the lower end it had the form of a bell, like a horn." It seems chiefly to have been brought into use in the Hebrew ritual, but was also occasionally a battle-call, and blown on other warlike occasions. It was the sound of the *chatzozerah* which made the guilty Athaliah tremble for her safety and rend her clothes, crying, "Treason! treason!" Silver trumpets have always been associated with dignity and grandeur, whether blown before a pope in the ritual of the magnificent St. Peter's, Rome, or carried, as in this country, by royal trumpeters, or by a few favoured regimental bands. In Figs. 78 and 79 two coins are shown, on which, surrounded by a

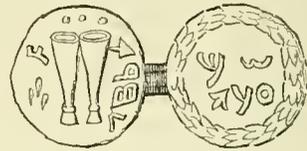


Fig. 78.

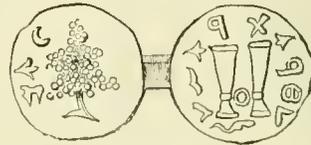


Fig. 79.

motto, "the deliverance of Jerusalem," trumpets are delineated. These instruments have, perhaps, too incautiously, been described as specimens of the *chatzozerah*.

The Assyrians appear to have used trumpets, as Fig. 80 plainly shows; but there are at present no records of their having trumpets with a bell mouth. Figs. 81 and 82 prove, however, that such terminations to tubes were not unknown to the Egyptians. The Romans had at least three varieties of trumpet, the most powerful of which was called *tuba*. It was used as a war-trumpet. Fig. 83, from a bas-relief in the Capitol, exhibits a Roman blowing a trumpet at the triumph of Marcus Aurelius. Ancient trumpets, which were usually formed of one piece only, could not possibly be adjusted to any variety of pitch, and therefore must have been with difficulty associated with other instruments. Modern horns and trumpets can be tuned

with the greatest nicety by a variety of *crooks*, which are selected by the performer so as to lengthen or



Fig. 80.

shorten his tube to orchestral requirements. The verse of the Psalms before quoted is the only one in which

mention of the *chatzozerah* is made by the Psalmist. The first allusion to this instrument in Holy Scripture is where Moses is commanded to make two of silver



Fig. 81.



Fig. 82.



Fig. 83.

(Numb. x. 2); the last in Hos. v. 8, where it is used in connection with the *shophar*, and both instruments are to be blown as a warning to wicked Israel of the approaching visitation of God.

BETWEEN THE BOOKS.

BY THE REV. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D., HEAD MASTER OF KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL.

CHAPTER III.

THE JEWS UNDER THE KINGS OF SYRIA.

THE battle of Mount Panium marks an important epoch in the history of the Jews. Ever since the battle of Ipsus they had remained loyal to the kings of Egypt. They now transferred their allegiance to the descendants of Selencus Nicator, and the period of their connection with the kings of Syria begins.

Antiochus, who now stood "in the glorious land"¹ of Palestine, and was welcomed by the people as their deliverer, did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory. Frustrated in his further designs against Egypt by the intervention of the Romans, he turned to Asia Minor, and after considerable success in the Ægean,² crossed over in the year B.C. 192 into Greece, and ventured on a contest with Rome.

¹ Dan. xi. 16.

² "After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many" (Dan. xi. 18).

But in the following year (B.C. 191) the consul, M. Acilius Glabrio, attacked him in his entrenchments at Thermopylæ, routed his army, and forced him to hasten back to Asia. Here he collected a vast host to carry on the campaign, which his friend Hannibal warned him was impending. But neither his numerous elephants nor the Macedonian phalanx³ could bear up against the irresistible attacks of the Roman legions, when led against him by Scipio Africanus and his brother at the battle of Magnesia, B.C. 190. Defeated with enormous loss, he was fain to sue for peace, which the haughty conquerors would only grant on terms which were the ruin of his empire. He was forced to cede all his possessions in Asia Minor west of Mount Taurus, to defray the expenses of the war by successive instalments, to surrender all his ships of war, and to deliver up Hannibal and other enemies of the Republic who had taken refuge in his kingdom.⁴

These hard conditions were finally ratified by the

³ Livy, xxxvii. 39.

⁴ Livy, xxxvii. 45; xxxviii. 38.

Senate, B.C. 188, and in order to raise the enormous tribute, the Syrian king turned "his face toward the fort of his own land,"¹ the rich temple of Belus in Elymais, situated at the meeting-place of the caravan routes between Media and Susiana. But the hardy mountaineers rose in defence of their shrine, and Antiochus was slain; he stumbled, and fell, and was not found;² B.C. 187.

On the news of his death, his son Seleucus IV., who had taken part in the disastrous battle of Magnesia, ascended the throne, and assumed the title of *Philopator*. As the possession of Palestine was of great importance in the event of an Egyptian war, the new king maintained in his dealings with the Jews the conciliatory policy of his father, granted them the free exercise of their religion, and even undertook a share of the expenses of the Temple service.³

Before long, however, an intestine feud led to his interference in the affairs of the people. We have seen⁴ that Joseph, the nephew of the high priest Onias II., was appointed collector of the revenues of Phœnicia and Cœlesyria. At his death he left behind him an illegitimate son named Hyrcanus. Between Hyrcanus and his legitimate brothers a quarrel arose respecting their father's property. Onias III., who succeeded to the high priesthood B.C. 195, sided with Hyrcanus, and on his death secured his property in the treasury of the Temple, committing it to the custody of "the governor," Simon.⁵

The governor, who is thought by some to have been a son of Joseph, had a spite against the high priest, and informed Apollonius, the prefect of Phœnicia and Cœlesyria, of the amount of treasure now deposited in the Temple, and hinted that it might be turned to account by his master, who was anxious to find means for paying the Roman tribute.

Apollonius repeated this to Seleucus, who ordered his treasurer, Heliodorus, to remove the treasures. Heliodorus accordingly proceeded to Jerusalem, demanded the surrender of the money, and, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the high priest, declared that he must carry out his orders. But as he was on the point of entering the sanctuary, like Ptolemy Philopator⁶ before him, he, too, was stayed from his design by a "great apparition."⁷ A horse, with a terrible rider arrayed in golden armour, attended by two young men of giant strength and awful mien, is said to have suddenly appeared in the Temple courts, and so terrified Apollonius that he fell speechless to the ground, and had to be carried away insensible by his retinue. He was afterwards restored at the earnest intercession of the high priest, and returning to Antioch, related what had befallen him, and testified to the inviolable majesty of the Temple.

Whatever may be the amount of truth in this narra-

tive, it appears certain that Seleucus did not manifest any resentment against the Jews, though he may have levied extraordinary taxes from them.⁸ But in the twelfth year of his reign (B.C. 175) he was destroyed, "neither in anger, nor in battle,"⁹ but in consequence of a plot formed by Heliodorus, who murdered him and usurped the crown.

News of the murder reached Antiochus, the youngest son of Antiochus the Great, who had been given as a hostage to the Romans, B.C. 188, after the battle of Magnesia, and was now at Athens on his way back to Syria. He had been released by the intervention of his brother Seleucus, who had sent his own son Demetrius to take his place as a hostage; and now with the assistance of Eumenes and Attalus, princes of Pergamus, he easily crushed the usurper, and obtained "the kingdom by flatteries,"¹⁰ in place of his nephew Demetrius, who remained a hostage at Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JEWS UNDER THE KINGS OF SYRIA.

AMONG the princes and chiefs who flocked to Antioch to congratulate the new monarch, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, "the illustrious," was Joshua, the brother of the high priest Onias III.

Joshua illustrated in his own person the effect which long subjection to Grecian monarchs had produced on the Jewish nation. He went so far as to assume the Greek name of Jason, and headed a numerous party of his countrymen, who were devoted to Greek manners and customs, and had acquired a strong taste for Greek literature and philosophy. Received with favour at the Syrian court, and knowing the needy condition of the king, he offered him the tempting bribe of 440 talents, if he would secure to him the high priesthood in the room of his elder brother.

Antiochus consented, and Onias III. was summoned to Antioch, and kept there as a prisoner at large, while Jason returned to Jerusalem, and gave himself up to the work of introducing Greek customs among the people. To such an extent were his efforts successful, that he was enabled not merely to establish a gymnasium in the Holy City, where the young men could be trained naked in athletic exercises, but induced his countrymen in many instances to adopt Greek names and Greek dresses; while even the priests followed his example, "despising the Temple and neglecting the sacrifices" to take part in the games.¹¹ Not content with this, he even persuaded many of the Jews to accept the empty honour of being enrolled as citizens of Antioch, and actually sent a deputation of Jewish youths with offerings¹²

⁸ Hence his title of "raiser of taxes" (Dan. xi. 20).

⁹ Dan. xi. 20.

¹⁰ Dan. xi. 21. "Vir ille (Antiochus) Athenas pervenerat, quum Seleucus insidiis Heliodori, unius ex purpuratis, oppressus incessit. Hunc regnum affectantem Eumenes et Attalus expulerunt, indueruntque in ejus possessionem Antiochum, quem sibi hoc tanto beneficio devinctum habere magni estimabant." (Livy, xli. 20.)

¹¹ 2 Macc. iv. 14; Jos., Ant. xii. 5, § 1.

¹² Θεωροῦς (2 Macc. iv. 19, 20).

¹ Dan. xi. 19.

² Dan. xi. 19.

³ 2 Macc. iii. 3, 6.

⁴ See above, Chap. II.

⁵ Προστάρης τοῦ ἱεροῦ (2 Macc. iii. 4); see Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, art. "Simon, 3."

⁶ See above, Chap. II.

⁷ Ἐπιφανεία μεγάλη (2 Macc. iii. 24).

from the Temple of Jehovah to the festival of Hercules at Tyre. In the year B.C. 172, Antiochus, who was at Joppa, paid a visit to Jerusalem, where he was received with much honour and rejoicing by Jason, and returned after a short expedition to Phœnicia.

For three years the high priest continued his work of corrupting the habits and manners of his countrymen, and then found his own treachery to Onias III. recoil upon himself. His brother, Onias IV., who had assumed the Greek name of Menelaus, was sent by him to the Syrian court, and there offered Antiochus 300 talents a year more than Jason had paid for the office of high priest. The Syrian king consented, and, escorted by a body of Syrian troops, Menelaus expelled Jason, who fled for refuge beyond the Jordan into the country of the Ammonites.

For some time the new high priest, though he owed his appointment to bribery, neglected to make the stipulated payment. At last he was summoned to the Syrian capital, and finding that the money must be raised in some way, he sent instructions to his brother Lysimachus, whom he had left behind as his deputy¹ at Jerusalem, to seize some of the golden vessels of the Temple, which were secretly sold at Tyre, and the debt was liquidated. The sacrilegious sale, however, could not be concealed, and Onias III., the legitimate high priest, now a prisoner at Antioch, severely rebuked the usurper. Enraged at the reproof, Menelaus prevailed on Andronicus, the deputy of Antiochus, to put the aged priest to death, and thus added murder to his other crimes.²

Returning to Jerusalem, he provoked general dislike by his tyranny and rapacity. Taking advantage of this, Jason suddenly crossed the Jordan, and appeared before Jerusalem at the head of a thousand men. Admitted within the walls, he drove his brother into the citadel, and put many of the Jews to death.³ Failing, however, to seize the Temple treasures, he retired once more beyond the Jordan, and "perished in a strange land."⁴

Meanwhile Antiochus, bent on reducing Egypt, had twice invaded that country, and in B.C. 170 had subdued the whole of it, with the exception of Alexandria. He was besieging this city when news arrived of the attack of Jason on Jerusalem, and the rumour was spread abroad that all Palestine was in a state of revolt. Filled with rage at this intelligence, he instantly marched upon Jerusalem, and having effected an entrance into the city, surrendered it for three days to the licence and cruelties of his soldiers. Upwards of forty thousand of the inhabitants are said to have been slain, and as many sold into captivity. Then, under the guidance of the impious Menelaus, he entered the sanctuary, and a general pillage ensued. The golden altar, the seven-branched candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the sacred vessels—all were removed, together with 1,800 talents of gold, which were found in the subterranean vaults.⁵ He next ordered a great

sow to be offered in sacrifice on the brazen altar of burnt-offering, a part of the flesh to be boiled, and the liquor poured over every part of the Temple. Then, having profaned the Sanctuary, and deluged Jerusalem with blood, he left for Antioch with an enormous booty and a large train of captives, having once more handed over the administration of affairs to Menelaus, and nominated Philip, a Phrygian, to be governor of the city, a man of a more savage disposition even than himself.⁶

Having thus replenished his exchequer, Antiochus led a third expedition into Egypt in the year B.C. 169, and once more besieged Alexandria. But the cruelties lately enacted at Jerusalem had raised up against him even more relentless enemies than the Egyptians themselves.

The Jewish quarter at Alexandria numbered a full half of the entire population. Provoked beyond endurance by the indignities offered to their fellow-countrymen and the profanation of their national sanctuary, they readily assisted the Alexandrians in defending their city, and once more they succeeded in compelling the king to raise the siege. This second repulse, however, did not daunt the determination of Antiochus, and he appeared before the walls again in B.C. 168, resolved to reduce the place to subjection. But on this occasion he was confronted by ambassadors from the Roman republic, who commanded him to desist from the siege and to quit the territory of the Ptolemies, who were allies of Rome.⁷

Not daring to resist, Antiochus broke up the siege, and returned towards his own dominions. Unfortunately for its inhabitants, Jerusalem lay in the track of his return. Accordingly he detached Apollonius with a force of 22,000 men, with directions to occupy the city, and leave in it a permanent Syrian garrison. Having been collector of the tribute throughout Judæa, Apollonius found no difficulty in effecting an entrance, and on the first sabbath afterwards suddenly let loose his soldiers on the unsuspecting inhabitants, charging them to slay all the men they met, to make slaves of the women and children, and to throw down the city walls.⁸

His commands were carried out to the letter. The streets of the city and the courts of the Temple ran with blood; the walls were destroyed, the houses plundered, and a Syrian garrison took up its quarters in the ancient "city of David," the famous hill of Zion, which overlooked the Temple, and commanded the approaches to it.⁹ The Jews were unable to offer the accustomed sacrifice, and the daily offering ceased in the month of Sivan, B.C. 167. Jerusalem was now deserted; her people fled in all directions; "her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt."¹⁰

⁶ 1 Macc. i. 24—28; 2 Macc. v. 22.

⁷ For the details of the interview, see Livy xlv. 10.

⁸ 2 Macc. v. 24—26.

⁹ 1 Macc. i. 33; Jos., Ant. xii. 5, § 4 (note). ¹⁰ 1 Macc. i. 30.

¹ 2 Macc. iv. 29.

² 2 Macc. iv. 27—35.

³ 2 Macc. v. 6.

⁴ 2 Macc. v. 9.

⁵ 1 Macc. i. 20—24.

But the persecution did not end here. Antiochus now issued an edict to compel uniformity of worship throughout his dominions, and a commissioner named Athenæus arrived with instructions to enforce compliance. He first re-consecrated the Temple in honour of Zeus Olympius;¹ erected on the brazen altar of burnt-offering another in honour of that god, and offered swine's flesh upon it; and introduced heathen orgies with all their licentious accompaniments. When he had thus "set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar,"² he passed an edict making the observance of any particular of the law of Moses a capital offence. Not only were the people forbidden to keep the Sabbath, or read the law, or practise circumcision, but every copy of the sacred books that could be discovered was seized, and either torn to pieces or burnt. At the same time, to the horror of all stricter Jews, groves were consecrated, heathen altars erected in

¹ 2 Macc. vi. 2.

² 1 Macc. i. 54; comp. Dan. xi. 31.

every city, and every month the people were ordered to celebrate the birthday of the king with sacrifices and festivals. Moreover, they were forbidden to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. In its place they were to celebrate the heathen feast of the Bacchanalia, to wear ivy wreaths in honour of the god of wine, and observe his festival with joyous processions.³ All who refused to conform to the orders of the tyrant suffered the most terrible tortures. Two women, who had ventured to circumcise their children, were dragged round the streets of Jerusalem with their babes hanging at their breasts, and then were cast down the battlements into the deep valley below the walls of the city. An aged man, named Eleazar, one of the chiefs of the scribes, refused to eat swine's flesh. For this offence he was beaten to death, while a mother and her seven sons, who in like manner had declined to comply, were executed with revolting barbarities.⁴

³ 2 Macc. vi. 3-7.

⁴ 1 Macc. i. 60-63; 2 Macc. vi., vii.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE:—(2) ORIGIN OF ISRAEL (*continued*).

BY THE REV. WILLIAM LEE, D.D., ROXBURGH.

II.—LINEAGE.

THE Israelites as a nation—almost as individuals—were descended from a single race, the race of Shem, and from a single Semitic family, nay, from a single member of that family. Abraham is, in the Bible, always recognised not only as the founder of the nation, but as the common ancestor of the people of Israel.

I. It is not the case, certainly, that there was in that people no admixture whatever of non-Abrahamic, or even of non-Semitic races; nor is there any claim made by the inspired historians of the seed of Abraham to an absolute purity of blood on their part: as if it were a point of capital importance to exclude the notion that alien races were ever, under any conditions, suffered to intrude themselves into the sacred line of the Peculiar People of God. It is evident, even from the genealogies, that foreigners were in fact occasionally admitted, not only to citizenship, but as, in every respect, members of the Theocracy.¹

A curious but doubtful indication of one possible source of foreign admixture is found in the history of the Exodus itself. In Exod. xii. 38, we are told that when, after the destruction of the first-born of the Egyptians, the Israelites left Rameses for Succoth, "a mixed multitude also went up with them." More than a year afterwards we find the same "mixed multitude" in the wilderness of Sinai, still accompanying the people of Israel in their route (Numb. xi. 4). And in a

passage in Josh. viii. 35, referring to the times of the conquest (cf. Knobel, *Handbuch zum Alten Test.*, i. 121), they seem again to be alluded to. From all these data it may at least be inferred that a considerable body of foreigners, probably in part Egyptians (Lev. xxiv. 10), had availed themselves of the Exodus to leave Egypt with the Israelites, and had afterwards cast in their lot with them, forming from the first commencement of the history of Israel as a nation a part of those "strangers in the land" who are so often referred to in the legislation of Moses. How far, however, this "mixed multitude" was ever incorporated with the Israelites, does not appear.

But there were provisions made in the Mosaic law itself for the naturalisation of foreigners. It appears probable (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, § 139) that whoever wished to become an Israelite was required to conform to the religious institutions of the country. There were also other conditions. But, except in the case of the Moabites and Ammonites, and in their case on special grounds (Deut. xxiii. 3), no alien by birth was wholly precluded from obtaining admission to the privileges of citizenship. By an express law, Edomites and Egyptians were permitted to "enter into the congregation of the Lord" in the third generation (Deut. xxiii. 8). In Uriah "the Hittite" we have a well-known instance of a fully-naturalised Israelite, who was of Canaanitish descent (2 Sam. xxiii. 39).

Then, as to *intermarriages* with foreigners, such unions, though they were in most periods of the history of the nation very rare, and though they were opposed to public feeling (Numb. xii. 1), especially in later times

¹ As to the phrase, "An Hebrew of the Hebrews," cf. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 145; Trench, *New Testament Synonyms*, 131.

(Ezra ix. 2; Jos., *Antiq.* xi. 8, § 2; xii. 4, § 6; Tac., *Hist.* v. 5), having been found by experience to be full of danger to the purity of the national faith (1 Kings xi. 4; xvi. 31), were, except in the case of the Canaanites, permissible by law, and are known to have at least occasionally occurred—even apart from the limitation just referred to—in all periods of the Jewish history. The practice, indeed, was countenanced by men of the highest character and position in Israel. For Isaac and Jacob care was taken to provide wives of their own kindred (Gen. xxiv.; xxviii.); but of the twelve sons of the latter, two married foreigners—Judah, a Canaanite woman named Shua; and Joseph, Asenath, an Egyptian, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On (1 Chron. ii. 3; Gen. xlvi. 20). Moses himself married first a Midianite (Exod. ii. 21), and afterwards a Cushite or Ethiopian wife (Numb. xii. 1). Nor was it only on the one side that alliances with non-Israelites thus took place. In at least three cases we read of Israelite women who were married to men of alien race—in one, the husband being an Egyptian; in another, an Ishmaelite; in a third, a native of Tyre (Lev. xxiv. 10; 1 Chron. ii. 17; 1 Kings vii. 14). In the times of the Judges mixed marriages became comparatively common. The children of Israel in those times “dwelt among the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites;” and “they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons” (Judg. iii. 5, 6). After the return from the Captivity, so many of the Jews, including even their princes and rulers, entered into marriage with the mixed foreign population with which the land seems then to have been filled, that it was found necessary to take the most severe measures to avert the danger thus threatened to the integrity as well as the faith of the nation (Ezra ix.; x.).

It is a remarkable fact that even among the direct ancestors, “as concerning the flesh,” of our blessed Lord himself, are found at least two women of non-Israelite birth—Rahab, at whose house in Jericho Joshua’s spies were hidden, and who afterwards married Salmon; and her daughter-in-law Ruth, the wife of Boaz, and grandmother of Jesse. That the fact was significant is the more probable, because in St. Matthew’s Gospel these two names—the only female names (except Tamar and Bathsheba) thus honoured—are carefully preserved in the genealogy of our Lord. The latter case is especially noteworthy. There are, indeed, no more striking illustrations of the state of the country generally, under the Judges, than in the history of Ruth. One of the periodical famines to which Palestine was subject had compelled a certain man of Bethlehem-judah to emigrate with his wife and two sons into the land of Moab. “The name of the man was Elimelech, and the name of his wife Naomi.” Elimelech died, and his sons took them wives of the daughters of Moab—the name of the one Orpah, of the other Ruth—and after ten years died also. When the family was thus broken up, Naomi resolved to return to the land of Israel, the rather because she heard that the land again enjoyed its cus-

tomary plenty, “the Lord having visited his people in giving them bread.” Though she urged her daughters-in-law to remain in their own country, saying, “Go, return each to her mother’s house; the Lord deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead and with me,” one of them preferred to accompany her to the home from which she had been so long absent. Orpah “went back to her people and unto her gods;” but Ruth said, “Intreat me not to leave thee . . . for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God: where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried. The Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me. . . . So Naomi,” it is added, “returned, and Ruth the Moabitess, her daughter-in-law, with her, out of the country of Moab, and came to Bethlehem” (Ruth i. 1—22). It is needless to pursue the history further than to recall the fact, that, in Bethlehem, Ruth “the Moabitess” made a second marriage by espousing Boaz, “a mighty man of wealth of the family of Elimelech,” and became “the mother of Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of David,” and therefore a progenitor of Him who was at once David’s Son and David’s Lord.

Though, however, such exceptions to the rule occurred—occurred, perhaps, on purpose to show the Israelites that any virtue found among the Chosen Race was due, not to hereditary qualities, but to the favour of God; and also, perhaps, to prepare their minds for the eventual admission, without restriction, of men of every nation to all the privileges of the people of God—the rule was as already stated. One of the most remarkable facts indeed, in connection with the history of Israel, is the evidence it affords of the homogeneity of that people from first to last. How far this characteristic of the nation was in itself favourable to their national progress upon the whole, is another question. The presumption is that, whatever important ends it may have been designed to serve, it was, in its own nature, an element of weakness. As a rule, the peoples who have presented the highest types of humanity, both physically and intellectually, who have attained to the greatest worldly glory, and who have exercised the most important influence in relation to the progress of civilisation throughout the world, are, it is generally agreed (Pritchard, *Researches*, i. 149)—nor is the principle unrecognised in sacred history (Gen. vi. 4)—those in whom, as with the Romans (see Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 24), there has been a large admixture of distinct races. And probably we have here one cause, not only of the failure of the Jews—as far as they did fail—to distinguish themselves to the same extent as many other nations, otherwise less highly favoured, in the arts, in science, in literature, and in arms, but of some of the more conspicuous defects of their national character, especially their narrowness of spirit. It is of the fact, however, that we here alone speak, and of that there can hardly be any question. “We be Abraham’s seed,” was a boast which, with little qualification, could be made by almost every member of the commonwealth of Israel.

By the hypothesis of Ewald as to the origin of the nation, a very different conclusion would be necessary. He supposes that Abraham and Jacob, as far as they are to be regarded as historical persons at all, were merely leaders of successive and more or less extensive migrations into Canaan from beyond the Euphrates; and that Jacob's twelve sons, also, were in truth not, as the Bible describes them, "one man's sons" (Gen. xlii. 11), but types of various distinct tribes, who, mingling with the older Hebraic immigrants, formed the nation which was afterwards known as Israel (*Hist. of Israel*, i. 362, 381 sq.). But this hypothesis is not only without basis in any known facts, but proceeds on principles of Biblical interpretation which are wholly inadmissible except at the expense of our faith in the authenticity of the Biblical history.

II. What was the character—physical, intellectual, and religious—of the people from whom Abraham himself, and through him the Israelites, thus traced their descent?

The great progenitor of Israel was the member of a tribe which, in the strictest sense of the term, belonged to one of the races now known as Semitic. The "Semitic" races are not so called because in every case they were exclusively descended from the first-born (Gen. x. 21; cf. Rosenmüller and Knobel *in loc.*) of Noah. The name is generally used to designate the Syro-Arabic nations as a whole, and is so used in the Bible itself. In the tables of Gen. x., which we have already found to be rather ethnological than genealogical tables, the children of Shem are "Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram"—names which, as far as they can be identified, appear to represent—(1) the Elamites of Susiana; (2) the Assyrians; (3) the Chaldeans, with their offshoots the Hebrews and the Arabians; (4) the Lydians; and (5) the Syrians, including the inhabitants of Upper Mesopotamia, Syria Proper, of which Damascus was the capital, and the region in which was eventually formed the kingdom of Palmyra. In other words, the Semitic races include the whole of the peoples who occupied the countries extending from Upper Mesopotamia to the southern extremities of Arabia, and from the borders of the Mediterranean Sea to the country beyond the Tigris (Lenormant, *Anc. Hist.*, i. 59). Though to a great extent peoples of mixed descent, embracing descendants not only of Shem, but also of Ham and Japheth, the populations of this comparatively narrow territory were distinguished by a common ethnical character, as by a common type of religious belief and worship, and the possession of—in its elementary principles—a common language. That the descendants of Shem must have originally preponderated, and always formed an important element in the population of the whole territory, or at least in some way must have given its distinctive character to this population, the statements of Genesis do not permit us to doubt.

The character of the races from which, through Abraham, the Israelites were thus derived, is of the more interest to us because the permanence of native

qualities, no less than of customs and manners, among all Eastern peoples, is proverbial. Professor Rawlinson has noticed "the striking resemblance to the Jewish physiognomy [as familiar to us in the Jews of the present day] which is presented by the sculptured effigies of the Assyrians" (*Anc. Mon.*, i. 297). And other as well as more important illustrations of the perpetuation among the Israelites of qualities derived from the original Syro-Arabic races of which they are scions, might easily be multiplied.

(1.) The *physical* characteristics of the Semites are to be learned partly from history, partly from the sculptures on the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments, and partly—for these races have existing representatives, of whom, to say nothing of the Jews, the Arabs are, on many accounts, the most important—from the reports of Eastern travellers. The correspondence between the Jews of the present day and the ancient Assyrians as regards physiognomy has just been noticed. A family likeness in all physical qualities may, as far as our materials go, be traced among the whole peoples of Semitic origin. Speaking of the various nations which alike pass under the name of Arabians, M. Chateaubriand describes them from personal observation as characterised by the same traits. "Wherever," he says, "I have seen them . . . they have struck me as rather tall than short in stature; they are well made and slightly built; the head is oval, the brow high and arched; the nose aquiline; the eyes large and almond-shaped; the look melting and full of sweetness (le regard humide et singulièrement doux)" (*Itinéraire*, quoted by Prichard, *Researches*, ii. 588). According to Professor Rawlinson, Chateaubriand's portrait of the Bedouin in this passage presents traits which "are for the most part common to the Semitic race generally," being "seen now alike in the Arab, the Jew, and the Chaldean of Kurdistan; while, anciently, they not only characterised the Assyrians, but probably belonged also to the Phœnicians, the Syrians, and other minor Semitic races" (*Anc. Mon.*, i. 298). As in other races, there were, of course, in details considerable variations in the physical character of the Semites. On this subject the reader may be referred to the second volume of Prichard's *Researches on the Races of Mankind*, where extracts from all the different authorities will be found. Even among the Arabs the complexion of the people "displays great diversities in the different countries inhabited by them" (*Researches*, ii. 597), from the sickly yellow hue of the Arabs near Muscat to the jet black of those of the low countries of the Nile bordering on Nubia. The dark hair and eyes of perhaps the most of the races are, in some countries or individuals, interchanged for fair, sometimes red, hair, and blue eyes—a distinction also found among the Jews. Spare forms and short stature characterise some of these peoples; while others are, as a rule, above the average height, and are remarkable for physical power and strong muscular development (*Researches*, ii. 599, sq.).

(2.) *Intellectually*, the same authority assigns to the Semitic races a very high position, on this point differ-

ing widely from M. Renan (see *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, i. 4, sq.). "The intellectual powers of the Syro-Arabian people," Dr. Prichard says, "have in all ages equalled the highest standard of the human faculties" (*Researches*, ii. 548). Mr. Layard attributes to them "brilliance of imagination and readiness of conception" as their more prominent intellectual gifts, adding, however, that "these high qualities, which seem to be innate in them, they have taken no pains to cultivate or improve" (*Nineveh*, ii. 239; cf. Palgrave, *Arabia*, i. 175). Reference has been made to the views adopted by M. Renan as to the intellectual character of the Semites. The views of this learned author are the less to be relied on, that they are brought forward in connection with a theory—of which some notice will be taken immediately—as to the religious history of these peoples; and they have, in fact, been generally regarded by critics most familiar with the subject as of little value. He claims to have been the first to recognise the fact, that the Semitic race, compared to the Indo-Europeans, represent in truth "an inferior combination of human nature." They were, he says, deficient in scientific and philosophical originality, had no talent for political organisation; with a genius for some forms of poetry, the range of their imaginative powers, both in form and expression, was extremely limited; and upon the whole intensity rather than comprehensiveness of mind was the leading characteristic of all these races (*Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, i. 4—17).

(3.) Of their ethical characteristics it is even more difficult to speak. If we were in this respect to judge of these races generally, throughout all periods of their history, from such specimens as are furnished in "the godless, grasping, foul-mouthed Arabs of the modern desert," we should doubtless not only do gross injustice, as Dean Stanley has noticed (*Jewish Church*, 1st series, 12), to the Israelites, but to the whole family of nations of the same original stock. It is not necessary, certainly, in the interests of our faith, to prove that no gross moral obliquities were found in the Semitic character, even as illustrated in that particular nation which was selected to become the "peculiar" People of God. It is from the Bible itself, and from the history in the Bible of those men who became the most remarkable instruments in the introduction of the purest ethical system ever known, that we have disclosed to us some of the darkest traits in the natural disposition of these races. And the less hopeful the materials through which the great work assigned to the Chosen Seed was accomplished, the more must the result tend to the glory of God. Even by nature the Semites, however, were doubtless no more corrupt in moral principle than other men. Possibly a turn for duplicity and dissimulation may have been a distinctive feature of the Semites. It must not be forgotten, however, that there is evidence of the greatest possible diversity of character amongst them. This is seen even in the family of Abraham. Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, and the twelve sons of Jacob, were men remarkable not so much for the resemblances as

for the strong contrasts in whatever constitutes the ethical qualities of mankind by which they were, in fact, distinguished.

(4.) Before leaving the subject of the native characteristics of the races from which the Israelites were derived, a few words must be said as to their *religious tendencies*. A native superiority has sometimes been attributed to these races in respect of those faculties, or powers, or intuitions of the human mind which have relation to spiritual or religious truth. Even Dr. Prichard, after referring to the fact, that "the three great systems of theism which have divided the civilised world came forth from nations of Semitic origin," says, "The Semite people alone appear to have possessed sufficient power of abstraction to conceive the idea of a pure and immaterial nature, and of a governing mind distinct from body" (*Researches*, ii. 548). But it is by M. Renan, in the work already referred to, that the supposed possession by the Semitic races of natural advantages in this respect over the rest of the world has been set forth most elaborately and with the greatest fulness and precision of statement. His position is, that not so much by any superiority of intellect upon the whole, or by any depth of reflection, or force of reasoning beyond other races, as by what he calls a higher instinct than was given to mankind generally, a special sense, an unflinching intuition peculiar to themselves, but at all events by native powers possessed by them alone, the Semitic peoples generally, not excepting the Jews, but including also all the other Syro-Arabian nations, were enabled to find out for themselves that which he holds to be the fundamental doctrine of true religion—namely, the unity of God; that they had a monotheistic instinct; and, indeed, that monotheism was the leading characteristic of the race, from the very commencement of their history (*Le Monothéisme résume et explique tous les caractères de la race Sémitique*). "It is," he says, "the glory of this race that they attained from their earliest times (*dès ses premiers jours*) the conception of the Godhead which all other peoples ought to adopt after their example and through faith in their teaching. They never conceived the government of the world but as an absolute monarchy; their theology has not advanced a step since the time of Job; the sublimities and the aberrations of polytheism have always continued to be alien to them" (*Histoire Générale*, i. 6, sq.).

For an examination of the grounds on which this hypothesis professedly rests, and an exposure of its entire variance with the facts of the case, the reader must be referred to a masterly essay in Prof. Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop* (vol. i., p. 341). M. Renan's object, of course, is to account on naturalistic principles for the great part in the religious history of mankind assigned to the people of Israel; and to dispense with the necessity for that supernatural revelation, made to and by means of that "peculiar" People of God, to which the Christian world is accustomed to attribute the origin of the true faith, whether in the elementary form in which it appears in the Old Testament, or in its full development in the New. How

inadequate it is for such a purpose on the whole need hardly be said. For the fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith is not monotheism, but Redemption. But even as far as it goes it is at variance with facts known to all the world.

As to the Semitic races generally, or the Syro-Arabic nations, we have already seen how far we are from having in their history any evidence of a monotheistic instinct. Not to speak at present of the seed of Abraham, these races were very much like the rest of the world. They were wholly given up to idolatry, often to idolatry in its most corrupt and degrading forms. From the history of Job and that of Balaam, as well as, perhaps, on other grounds (see Palgrave, *Arabia*, i. 249), it appears that partial exceptions were found to this rule among some of the Arabic peoples (whose descent from Abraham and connection with Israel amply accounts for the exception). But as to the general fact there can be no doubt. So complete, indeed, is the evidence against the assumption as to the prevalence of monotheism throughout Western Asia from the earliest times, that though essential to his argument, M. Renan has, in a second publication, in defence of his original thesis, been compelled, as Professor Max Müller points out (*Chips*, i. 346), practically to abandon it.

Nor if we confine our attention, as M. Renan sometimes appears willing to do (*Hist.* i. 6), to the seed of Abraham, is there even in them found evidence of the "instinct supérieur;" the "sens spécial" in favour of monotheism for which he pleads. If the true faith as to the unity and also as to the perfections of God was found among this branch of the Semitic peoples, as we know it was, that faith was so far from proceeding naturally or instinctively from the people themselves, that it appears from their whole history to have been one which was not less, but perhaps more, alien to them by nature than to all other peoples to whom it has through their instrumentality eventually been made known.

In regard to the religious tendencies of the Semitic races, it may indeed upon the whole be said that no real distinction can in this respect be found between them and other races of mankind.

III. In connection with the lineage of Israel it must be noticed how many of the nations by whom that people were, after their conquest of Canaan, surrounded, and with whom, especially during all their early history, they were brought most in contact, were of near affinity by blood to themselves. The Moabites and Ammonites, the descendants of Lot, Abraham's nephew, have been already mentioned. There is some difficulty in identifying the men of the land of Uz, of whom the patriarch Job is the most eminent representative. It is probable that in this people, as well as in the Buzites, represented in the history of the patriarch just named by Elihu, we find descendants of two of the sons of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. But that, in addition to the Israelites, there were several peoples—indeed, large and important nations—which could claim direct descent from Abraham himself, having indeed "Abraham to

their father" no less truly than the Chosen Race, is a fact especially worthy of our attention.

Little more can here be attempted than to enumerate the non-Israelitish Abrahamicæ now referred to. (a) The first place is, of course, due to the Ishmaelites, the children of that son of Abraham by Hagar the Egyptian whose name they long continued to bear (*Judg.* viii. 24; *Ps.* lxxxiii. 6). It was predicted of Ishmael that, because he was Abraham's son, God would make of him a great nation (*Gen.* xxi. 13, 18); and the destiny of that nation was also foreshown: "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren" (*Gen.* xvi. 12). It is probable that the Arab peoples, of whom the Ishmaelites became an important branch, existed long before the days of Ishmael. There is indeed every reason to believe that Arabia was originally occupied by a Cushite race, and that, at a period long antecedent to the birth of Ishmael, the children of Joktan, a son of Eber, the grandson of Shem, had also formed settlements in the same country. Nor is it otherwise than probable that the nomadic and predatory habits of the Ishmaelites characterised "the children of the East" from the earliest times. Although, however, the prevalent notion—a notion without warrant in Scripture—that the whole Arab nation was originally Ishmaelite, and had derived at once its existence and its more distinctive character from Ishmael, must be discarded, it is certain that among the people to which the son of Hagar attached himself, and whose habits he adopted, his descendants for long formed one of the most important, and, ultimately, the principal nation. They appear to have chiefly occupied those districts of Arabia which lay nearest to Palestine, thus dwelling "in the presence of their brethren." It may be added that, according to the tables of Genesis (xxv. 12), they were divided into several distinct tribes. The names of the twelve sons of Ishmael are given in a form (*Gen.* xxv. 16) which proves this fact, and itself, therefore, indicates how soon the prediction that he would become "a great nation" must have been accomplished. (b) Another Arab people, descended like the Ishmaelites from Abraham, though by a different mother, is found in the Midianites. The marriage of Abraham to Keturah probably took place in the lifetime of Sarah (*Gen.* xxv. 6); and of this union were born six sons—Zimram, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah—all of whom probably became heads of separate tribes. Of these tribes, always excepting the Midianites, we hardly know anything. A descendant of the last of the sons of Keturah in the list, Shua, appears in the person of one of the friends of Job (*Job* ii. 11). The whole of them seem to have been portioned by Abraham, and sent forth in the lifetime of their father to seek their fortunes in "the east country" (*Gen.* xxv. 6)—a phrase variously understood as signifying the Arabian desert east of Palestine, or the whole territory of Arabia. But in regard to the Midianites our information is comparatively complete. The Midianites occupied a prominent position in the

history of Moses, who, when he fled from Egypt, took up his residence in their territories and married the daughter of one of their chiefs (Exod. ii. 15); in the history of the conquest of the trans-Jordanic provinces (Numb. xxii. 4; xxv. 17; xxxi. 2); and in the history of the Judges, but especially of Gideon (Judg. vi.; vii.), by whom their power, as one of the most active and bitter of the early enemies of Israel, was finally broken. A vivid picture of the wealth and power of this people in the time of Moses is furnished by the account of the spoil taken on the occasion of the first victory gained by Israel over Midian. Besides jewels, and gold chains, bracelets, rings, ear-rings, and tablets, of which "the offering to the Lord" "was 16,750 shekels," there were 575,000 sheep, 72,000 beeves, and 61,000 asses (Numb. xxxi.). In the time of the Judges, though from a more settled and pastoral tribe, the Midianites appear to have now become a desert-horde, living chiefly by plunder, they were probably in number, if not in wealth, even in a better position than before their terrible defeat by the armies of Moses. "They came up" to the land of Israel, it is said, "with their cattle and their tents; and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without number" (Judg. vi. 5). In the battle of Jezreel, already referred to, the army of Midian consisted of no fewer than about 135,000 men (Judg. viii. 10). Israel, it may be noted, suffered not more from their open acts of hostility than from their too successful attempts (Numb. xxv. 18) to lead them astray from the injunctions of the law of Moses, in which direction it is supposed their influence was the more powerful and effectual in consequence of the blood relationship between the two peoples, through their common descent from Abraham. (c) The Edomites were another people in the same position. Isaac, Abraham's son in the line of the Divine promise, had himself twin sons, Esau and Jacob, of whom we are told that, even before their birth, God "loved Jacob and hated Esau" (Mal. i. 2), or selected the one and rejected the other in relation to the succession of the Chosen Line. Although, however, the peculiar blessings of the Abrahamic covenant were conferred on Jacob, Esau found that for him also a great destiny was reserved. "Behold," he was told, in words which obviously looked far beyond his own day, "thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above; and by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass

when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck" (Gen. xxvii. 39, 40). Esau himself, in the lifetime of his father, migrated with his Canaanitish wives to the country which afterwards became the home of his descendants. This was Mount Seir, a mountainous but fertile region to the south of Palestine which had long been occupied by the Horites, whose territories they at first shared, but afterwards, at a period antecedent to the Exodus, took possession of. The Horites have been already mentioned as Troglodytes; and the Edomites now, if not before, adopted in this respect their habits. That the caves or grottoes cut out of the soft sandstone so common in that region, which they thus made their dwellings, were often habitations possessing ample accommodation and not without architectural beauty, is proved by the remains of the remarkable city of Petra. Their history, which goes down to the period of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (Josephus, *B. J.*, iv. 1), is too long to be told here. In proof of their importance as a people, even in the earliest times, it may be mentioned that, in Gen. xxxvi. 31, a list of eight kings is given who "reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king in Israel." It was long before they forgot, if they ever wholly forgot, their hereditary enmity to the Chosen People. Of that enmity we find traces not only in their refusal to allow their "brother Israel" (Numb. xx. 14) to pass through their land during the wanderings in the wilderness, though the request was made under circumstances of the utmost urgency, but from the terms in which we find them denounced by the later prophets (Isa. xxxiv. 5; lxiii. 3; Ezek. xxv. 13; Amos i. 11, &c.). The warlike character of Esau was likewise perpetuated in the latest of his descendants. They were ultimately brought into close alliance with their ancient foes. But, according to Josephus (*B. J.*, iv. 4) the children of Israel found reason to dread the children of Esau no less as allies than as open enemies. Even in his own day that historian describes them as "a turbulent and unruly race . . . rushing to battle as if they were going to a feast."

So much as to the lineage of Israel. It only remains to give, in the succeeding article, a rapid sketch of the circumstances under which they came into existence as a nation, and took possession of the country whose most sacred associations are connected with their history.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

SAMUEL (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRECENTOR OF LINCOLN.

IT is with almost startling suddenness that Samuel presents himself again on the sacred page. The ark, on its restoration by the Philistines, had halted at Kirjath-jearim, and had not been replaced in the old sanctuary at Shiloh. Why this was, we are not informed. Perhaps Shiloh had fallen into the Philistines' power, after the defeat at Eben-ezer, and, with the country round, still remained in their hands. Samuel's connection with Shiloh had consequently entirely ceased. He starts forth from obscurity, whence we know not, in the time of the nation's deepest depression, when, down-trodden by their inveterate enemies the Philistines, calamity was beginning to do its appointed work, and they were awakening to the truth that their unfaithfulness to their covenant with their God was the origin of their national disasters. Wearied with their infatuated service of the idols, which could not help or profit them in the hour of their distress, the thirst for "the living God" began to make itself felt in the nation's heart. Jehovah had departed from them, and went no more out with their armies; "and all the house of Israel lamented after Jehovah" (1 Sam. vii. 2). Samuel well knew how to take advantage of this change in the people's feelings. It was the hour he had been long looking for and praying for, when he might lead Israel back to Him from whom they had so deeply revolted. The only remedy for their evils was a national reformation. And this reformation must be a thorough one. There must be no halting between two opinions. The worship of Jehovah was not to be joined in unholy alliance with the foul rites of the gods of the nations round about. If they professed to "return unto the Lord," it must be "with all their hearts." The "strange gods," "Baalim and Ashtaroth," must be "put away from among them." If they wished for a restoration of Jehovah's favour, they must "prepare their hearts," direct them, and set them firmly in devout allegiance to Him, and "serve Him only." Then, and then only, would He "deliver them out of the hands of the Philistines" (viii. 3). Such was Samuel's call to repentance, nor was it unheeded. "The children of Israel did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served Jehovah only" (ver. 4). To seal the national reformation, Samuel proclaimed a solemn day of penitence and prayer. The place of assembly was Mizpeh (*Ham-mizpeh*, as it is in the Hebrew, "the watch-tower," or "look-out post"), one of the many "high places" consecrated by early religious rites designated by that name. Its locality is not defined, but it may probably be identified with the place of that name in the tribe of Benjamin, the scene, previously, of the gathering of the tribes to "take advice" and "speak their minds," in the case of the outrage on the Levite's concubine at Gibeah (Judg. xix. 30; xx. 1), and, subse-

quently, of the election of Saul (1 Sam. x. 17). On this hallowed spot the assembled tribes made an acknowledgment of their sin, accompanying their confession with fasting, and with a symbolical rite, probably indicative of deep penitence—"drawing water, and pouring it on the ground before Jehovah." We may gather from the words used, that on this occasion Samuel was now for the first time formally accepted by the popular voice in the character of judge (ver. 6). The Philistines took alarm at this unwonted combination, and, headed by their lords, put in motion the whole forces of their nation to suppress the movement. Full of alarm at the consequence of their rashness, the Israelites, hopeless of making a stand against those whose superiority they had so long acknowledged, betook themselves to Samuel, and entreated him to raise an earnest and continuous prayer that Jehovah would deliver them. While he was offering a sucking lamb as a whole burnt-offering, in propitiatory sacrifice, and crying to the Lord with prevailing intercession, the Philistines burst upon Israel with their united army. But God fought for Israel. As when Joshua was fighting with the Canaanites at Beth-horon (Josh. x. 11), and Barak was pursuing Jabin's host across the plain of Kishon (Judg. v. 20, 21), He "who maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh on the wings of the wind" (Ps. civ. 3), manifested His power against the enemies of His people. A thunder-storm of more than usual violence broke on the host of the Philistines, and threw them into confusion. The Israelites followed up the advantage, and charging down on the disordered army, drove them before them, and gained a complete victory, on the very ground where twenty years before they had sustained their tremendous defeat, when the ark of God was taken (iv. 1—11). To commemorate this great deliverance, Samuel set up a standing-stone, or pillar, to which he gave the name—already used by anticipation (iv. 1; v. 1)—of Eben-ezer ("the stone of help"), saying, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us" (vii. 12). This decisive victory, the first, and as far as we know, the only military exploit of Samuel, established his authority as judge. Even when the military leadership was transferred to Saul, on his election as king, the civil administration of justice remained with Samuel, and "he judged Israel all the days of his life" (ver. 15). In pursuance of his duties as judge, he made an annual circuit, holding sessions at three of the ancient sanctuaries of the land, Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh; and "judged Israel in all these places" (ver.

¹ The Targum interpretation of this rite, which has been very variously explained, is probably the correct one: "They poured out their heart like water in penitence to the Lord." Compare Ps. xxii. 14; Lam. ii. 19, where the expression "poured out like water" is used to denote inward dissolution, through pain, misery, and distress. (See Keil on Samuel, *in loc.*)

16). His fixed home was in his native city of Ramah, where "he built an altar to Jehovah," as a religious centre for the tribes resorting thither for judicial purposes (ver. 17). Another more immediate result of the victory of Eben-ezer was that the Philistines were completely cowed into submission. Not only did they cease from their predatory inroads on the Israelitish territory, but such was the courage inspired by Samuel's vigorous government, that the Israelites themselves made reprisals, attacking the Philistines in their own territory, and recovering from them the cities which had fallen into their hands.

Samuel, the last, was the most powerful of all the judges of Israel. No one of those who preceded him in that office appears to have exercised such wide authority. If not the whole nation, certainly the southern tribes were united under his firm and beneficent sway. "This," writes Dean Milman,¹ "was his great achievement, the crowning point of his service to Israel and the God of Israel: the scattered and disunited tribes became again a nation. The rival tribes Ephraim and Judah make common cause against the common enemy; and the more distant tribes do not seem to withhold their allegiance." He thus, in a marked manner, stood between the new and old, and prepared the way for the establishment of the monarchy. The recognition of Saul as king of all Israel would have been an impossibility had not the judgeship of Samuel already brought about a cohesion between the disorganised members of the Jewish commonwealth, and afforded them practical experience of the benefits of national union.

The latter days of Samuel's administration prepared the way for the establishment of the monarchy in another manner, for which he can have been little prepared, and which must have been, to one of such unsullied justice and purity of conduct, a source of the deepest mortification, as it went to show that piety is not hereditary. Samuel was doomed to witness in his own two sons, Joel and Abiah,² whom, in his declining years, he had associated with him in his judicial functions, the same corrupt abuse of their high position, of which he had seen so scandalous an example in the sons of Eli. They did not follow the rectitude of their high-minded father, but abusing their privilege to their own gain, they "turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment" (viii. 1—3). The perversion of justice on the part of these degenerate young men heightened the popular dissatisfaction at the contrast between Israel and the surrounding nations. "They had tried judges long enough, and were weary of them. If they only had a king to judge them in peace, and head their forces in time of war, all would be well." A deputation, therefore, from the whole nation, "all the

elders of Israel," came to Ramah, and made known to Samuel their desire for a monarchical form of government. "Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us, like all the nations" (chap. viii. 5).

There is one feature of Samuel's character belonging to this period, which must not be left altogether unnoticed. Samuel, we learn from an incidental mention of the historian (ix. 9), was not known among the people as "a prophet" (*nabi*), but as "a seer" (*roeh*), or "gazer" (*Hhozeh*)—one, that is, divinely gifted with intuition into matters hidden from the knowledge of mankind in general. This keenness of sight was believed to extend not to things future only, nor to be limited to matters of great and pressing importance, but to embrace comparatively insignificant trifles. If cattle had strayed, it was not considered a degradation of the seer's office to consult him how they were to be recovered. When Saul's servant found himself and his master, after their three days' fruitless search, within easy reach of Samuel's home, he seems to regard it as the natural way out of their difficulty that they should apply to "the seer," with a petty present—a little bread, or a small coin—in their hand, by way of fee, and call in the aid of his supernatural gift to recover the lost asses. If such an application seems to us derogatory to the dignity of a prophet of Jehovah, degrading him to the level of a cunning man, or soothsayer, we must remember the low moral and religious condition of the Israelites at that period, and that their estimate would be very different from ours. Divination, as with all ignorant and uncultivated people, held a very definite place in the Israelitish life. They were accustomed to have recourse to the possessors of or pretenders to supernatural knowledge, on all occasions of doubt or difficulty. To have pronounced all such proceedings unlawful, and have forbidden them altogether, would have been to incur the risk of driving them to forbidden arts, the consultation of witches and the like. In this gift of prophetic sight, God supplied his people with a legitimate substitute for divination, and by the recognised superiority of the possessors of it to ordinary soothsayers, and the infallibility of their utterances, was leading them to a recognition of himself as a God of truth, higher and greater than all the gods of the heathen around them. It was an important step in the education of the people, that the "man of God" should be universally recognised as "an honourable man," whose words "came surely to pass" (ix. 6). That a prophet of the Lord should be consulted about strayed asses, shocks our moral sense. If it did not shock the moral sense of the Israelites, it was because their standpoint was lower than ours, and that this exercise of the prophetic gift was a portion of their religious education. It was one of the "sundry portions and divers manners" in which God saw fit to "speak to the fathers by the prophets," to prepare them, by very gradual advances, for the more perfect revelation, when He should "speak unto us by a Son" (Heb. i. 1).

¹ *History of the Jews*, bk. vi., vol. i., p. 267.

² The firstborn of Samuel is called "Vashni," according to our present text, in 1 Chron. vi. 28. This name is probably a corruption of וַשְׁנִי, *v'sheni* ("the second"), the name of the elder son, Joel, having dropped out; so that it should be read, "And the sons of Samuel, Joel, and the second, Abiah."

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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BIRDS.

MODERN zoologists divide the sub-kingdom *Vertebrata* into three sub-divisions—the *Mammalia*,¹ *Sauropsida*, and *Ichthyopsida*; the first comprehending the class *Mammalia*, the second those of *Aves* and *Reptilia*, and the last those of the *Amphibia* and *Pisces*. From the *Mammalia*, which we have already considered, we come to the class *Aves*, or *Birds*, to which we find various allusions in the sacred writings. There can be no doubt that birds on the whole are related more closely to reptiles than to mammals. In accordance, therefore, with their essential morphological affinities the classes *Birds* and *Reptiles* are, as we have just stated, placed in the same great sub-division, the *Sauropsida*, i.e., “lizard-like animals.” There are marked characters which separate these two classes, as the very obvious one that in reptiles the blood is cold—not much warmer, that is to say, than the temperature of the medium in which they live—whilst in birds the blood is warm as in mammals. Again, in birds there can be no direct mixture of venous with arterial blood; in reptiles there is this mixture. But the resemblances between birds and reptiles are, notwithstanding, very strong and sometimes very curious. Every rearer of chickens is familiar with the fact that young birds are provided with a hard knob or tubercle on the extreme tip of the upper beak for breaking the shell when ready for hatching; now amongst reptiles, the young of the *Chelonia* (tortoises and turtles) and the *Ophidia* (snakes) are similarly provided. It seems a strange anomaly that any bird should possess actual teeth, and no known adult bird possesses reptilian-like teeth; and yet strange to tell, in the embryos of parrots and the parrot family (*Psittucinae*), rudimentary teeth have been observed, while in the summer of last year (1872) some remains of a remarkable fossil-bird were found in the upper cretaceous shale of Kansas (U.S.A.),

indicating that it was aquatic and carnivorous in habits, differing widely from all known birds in having bicarinate vertebrae and well-developed teeth in both jaws. Here is further interesting evidence of the relationship existing between the two classes *Birds* and *Reptiles*.

According to the account of the creation given in the first chapter of *Genesis*, birds are said to have made their appearance on the earth on the fifth day, together with creeping creatures that have life, sea-monsters, and other animals with which the waters teem; in verse 20 our Bible reads, “And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.” From this it would seem that the ancient Hebrews held that birds were produced from the waters and not from the earth like mammals (see verse 24); similarly the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Targumim, Luther, and some modern translators; but both the verbs in the Hebrew are imperative, “Let the waters swarm with living swarms, and let fowl fly above the earth,” &c. Indeed, in chap. ii. 19, birds are expressly said to be produced from the earth.

The following Hebrew words generally stand for birds: *'oph*, literally “a wing,” hence “winged animals” or “birds;” *'ait*, “a bird of prey,” from a root signifying “to rush upon;” and *tsippôr*, “a small bird,” or “bird of any kind,” from a root meaning to “twitter” or “chirp.”

Birds were used as food by the ancient Hebrews, though probably not to the extent which prevailed amongst the Egyptians; several birds were expressly disallowed as food by the Levitical law, which, indeed, does not differ much from modern English custom. All birds of prey, whether diurnal or nocturnal in their habits, were forbidden, such as vultures, eagles, hawks, buzzards, owls. Hence the whole order of *Raptores* was shunned as being repulsive and cruel, feeding upon other animals or upon carrion; though the flesh of young eagles and hawks was by some nations recommended and eaten as delicacies. Aristotle expressly mentions the sweet and nourishing food afforded by the flesh of young hawks (*Hist. An.* vi. 7). The raven (*Corvus corax*), and doubtless all the family of the *Corvidae*, as represented in Palestine in Biblical times, such as the jackdaw, hooded crow, rook, alpine chough, &c., were avoided. Some of the *cursorial* or “running” birds, as the ostrich; many of the *grallatores* or “waders,” as the heron, bittern, stork, and ibis; a few of the *natatores* or “swimmers,” as the greedy pelican and the cormorant, were forbidden as food to the people of Israel. Domestic poultry, common and familiar enough in Palestine in our Lord’s time, was almost, if not quite, unknown there before the Babylonian captivity. “Fatted fowl” are indeed mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 23 (Heb. Bih. v. 3), as amongst the good things supplied for Solomon’s table; but there is no reason for

¹ Since the articles on the *Mammalia* were written we have received an interesting letter from Mr. A. H. Sayce on a few Accadian names of animals: one which he has discovered throws light on the meaning of the Hebrew word *ochim*, mentioned only in Isa. xlii. 21 (see margin), and rendered in the text “doleful creatures,” which, together with jackals, should inhabit desolate Babylon. In the astrological tablets, Mr. Sayce tells us that lions (in Accadian *lig mukhi*, i.e., literally “great beasts”), are always associated with animals called *lig-barri*, whose inroad into Babylon was to be feared. *Lig-barra* he has discovered to be represented in Assyrian by the word *a-kuh*, which is probably the singular of the Hebrew *ochim* (אכים). Now *barra* may mean “striped;” so *lig-barra* means “the striped beast.” The Hebrew word etymologically points to some “lamentably howling” animal, and thus we think that striped hyenas are intended in the passage in Isaiah. The ancient Babylonians often gave animals names either from some peculiarity in size or character, or from the countries whence they were derived. The lion, being the largest carnivorous animal with which they were acquainted, was called the “big-beast;” the dog, from its docility, was called *lig-cu*, i.e., “the tame beast;” one of the names for the wolf was *lig-bi-ku*, i.e., the “beast that devours,” which exactly answers to the Biblical expression, “a ravening [feeding with rapacity] wolf” (Gen. xlix. 27; Ezek. xxii. 27; Matt. vii. 15). The hart, Mr. Sayce tells us, has the pretty name of “horn of the star” in Accadian.

believing that such things are intended by the Hebrew words *barbarim abúsim*, about the meaning of which there is nothing but conjecture. It is not improbable the ancient Hebrews domesticated the pigeon, though there is no direct statement to this effect. A pair of turtle-doves or young pigeons was ordered as a substitute for a kid or a lamb as sin or trespass offering in the case of poor people (Lev. xii. 6; Numb. vi. 10); and as early as the time of Abraham we read of a turtle-dove and a young pigeon (Gen. xv. 9). A passage in Isaiah (lx. 8) points, somewhat indefinitely it is true, to the domestication of pigeons by the Hebrews: "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows?" like doves flying to their dovecots, alluding perhaps to the towers with latticed openings for the pigeons, which still fly, as of old, to their homes in the neighbourhood of all Eastern villages and towns.

Reference to the wonderful migratory habits of some

was considered under the especial care of the deity, and it was sacrilege to molest it. The quiet repose and security of the house of God is beautifully depicted in very familiar words: "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King, and my God" (Ps. lxxxiv. 3).

Dr. Tristram tells us that to the present day "the Moslem cherish tenderly any birds which resort to the mosques," adding, "woe betide the reckless stranger who should meddle with them! The storks seem perfectly aware of the immunity, as do the doves and other birds which rest in numbers in such situations" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 160).

The Levitical law, which ever inculcated humane feelings towards animals, forbade the taking of an old bird together with its young, as being unjust to take advantage of maternal instinct which leads the parent



BATTLE-FIELD: VULTURE IN ATTENDANCE. (ASSYRIAN.)

birds is occasionally met with in the Bible. Who will not call to mind with unceasing pleasure the poet's description of spring?—"Lo! the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land" (Cant. ii. 11, 12), or the prophet's pathetic expostulations with unrepentant Judah?—"Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord" (Jer. viii. 7).

Song-birds as pets are very common now in the East both amongst Jews and Moslems, and it is probable that the ancient Jews tamed some kinds. That young birds were taken from their nests either for food or domestication is evident from Deut. xxii. 6; whilst the passage in Job (xli. 5), "Wilt thou play with him [leviathan] as with a bird?" looks very like a reference to tame song-birds. Birds resorting to sacred edifices, not only amongst the Jews and other Eastern nations, but amongst Europeans also, were regarded as deserving protection. A bird that built its nest on a temple

bird to hazard her own safety in protection of her little ones (Deut. xxii. 6).

The rapid flight of a bird is employed as a figure to express the transient nature of earthly things. "As for Ephraim, their glory shall fly away like a bird" (Hos. ix. 11).

The singing of birds is alluded to in Cant. ii. 12, as one of the harbingers of spring; also in Ps. civ. 10, 12. "He sendeth the springs into the valleys. . . . By them shall the fowls of the heaven have their habitation, which sing among the branches." "In this passage, as the Psalmist is speaking of the trees which overhang the water-courses, or wadies and rivers of the country, the singing of the different species of warblers (*Turdidae*) is perhaps pointed to, and especially the bulbul and nightingale, both of which throng the trees that fringe the Jordan and abound in all the wooded valleys, filling the air in early spring with the rich cadence of their notes" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 161).

Birds were generally caught in snares or nets, and to this there is frequent allusion in the Bible, the references being for the most part metaphorical to express either the cunning devices of God's enemies (Ps. ix. 15;

xxv. 15; xxxi. 4), or the anger of God upon the impenitent (Lam. i. 13; Hos. vii. 12; Ezek. xii. 13). Traps—but not iron spring-traps—clap-nets, gins or nooses were all employed in capturing birds, and there are many different Hebrew words to denote various kinds of traps. Decoy birds were apparently sometimes used in catching wild ones. "They set a trap, they catch men; as a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit" (Jer. v. 26, 27). The cage here probably denotes a wicker-work trap (*chelub*) into which birds were enticed by means of a decoy. Compare also Ecclus. xi. 30: "Like as a partridge taken and kept in a cage, so is the heart of the proud; and like as a spy, watcheth he for thy fall." "The employment of decoy birds is still very common, and much pains are taken to train the decoys for their treacherous office. They are carefully tended till perfectly tame, that they may not be deterred by the neighbourhood of man from uttering their call-note. Larks, linnets, pigeons, quails, and especially partridges, are employed in this mode of fowling. The bird is placed in a cage, partly concealed, while the fowler remains carefully concealed under cover in the neighbourhood, where he can manage his snares and nets. In the case of larks the cage is placed on the open ground, surrounded with springes or horse-hair nooses, which entangle the feet of the incautious and too curious visitors. For other small birds it is placed in a thicket, while the sportsman is ready with his net to throw over them when they alight. Sometimes great numbers are taken in a few hours, as the birds will descend in large flocks. Partridges and quails are more generally captured by long narrow runs, carefully formed of brushwood, leading to the cage in which the decoy bird is concealed. The run, like the decoy used for wild fowl in this country, gradually contracts, till it ends in a bag-net thrown over the pathway, in which whole coveys are rapidly captured wholesale. The mountaineers of Lebanon are very skilful in this mode of fowling, and I have seen them often capture whole broods before they could fly, when the chicks are brought up by hand either for food or to serve as decoys in turn themselves" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 163). Dr. Tristram also tells us of the cruel device employed to take wood pigeons. A wild one is snared, and after its eyelids are sewn together it is tied to a perch set among the trees. The poor bird flapping its wings and uttering its call-note soon attracts whole flocks, which fall an easy prey to the fowlers. Besides traps and nooses the throw-stick is still, as it was probably in ancient times, employed in capturing birds. These throw-sticks, the *zerwattys* of the Arabs mentioned by Shaw (*Trav.* i. 425, 8vo), are about eighteen inches long and half an inch in diameter. Among the ancient Egyptians the use of the throw-stick was very general. Allusion to this kind of chase is probably made in David's complaint of Saul's conduct to him: "The king of Israel is come out . . . as when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains" (1 Sam. xxvi. 20). Dr. Tristram tells us that the throw-stick is hurled "with a revolving motion so as to strike the legs of the bird as it runs,

or more frequently, at a little higher elevation, so that when the game, alarmed at the approach of the missile, begins to take wing, it is struck and slightly disabled. The pursuers let fly a rapid succession of sticks, and generally finish the chase by flinging their cloak over the quarry, which is always dispatched by cutting the throat after the Mohammedan injunction, which, following the Jewish law, forbids the eating of any flesh with the blood in it."

Whether hawking, now so favourite a chase amongst Orientals, was ever practised by the ancient Jews, we have no definite information, neither do we know whether the ancient Egyptians practised falconry; no representation of the kind occurs on the monuments of Egypt, but we must not put too much stress on negative evidence.

Dr. Tristram thinks that the rugged hills and cultivated valleys of the Holy Land would afford no scope for the exercise, and that this is the reason why no allusion to falconry occurs in the Bible.

With regard to our present knowledge of the ornithology of Palestine we are almost entirely indebted to Dr. Tristram, who has paid considerable personal attention to it. He speaks in glowing terms of the birds of brilliant plumage, such as the Roller, Bee-eater, Smyrna kingfisher, Belted kingfisher, Sun-bird, &c., which the traveller meets with; of the immense number and variety of the larger birds of prey, vultures, eagles, and falcons, which abound in every part of the Holy Land, being "at first sight its ornithological characteristic." Dr. Tristram and party collected 322 species of birds, and he says there are at least 30 other species which may be added to the list. The greater part of these are either the same as, or very similar to, the birds of our own country. "Of the 322 species of birds we obtained," he says, "26 are, as far as our present knowledge extends, peculiar to Palestine and the districts immediately adjacent; 8 are of Eastern Asia; 32 are common to Arabia or East Africa, being chiefly desert forms; while 260 are reckoned in the lists of European birds, and no less than 172 are enumerated in the catalogues of British birds" (p. 168). There is one very remarkable feature in the ornithology of Palestine which is not met with in that of any other country, and that is the occurrence of birds of tropical type in a country within the temperate zone. The area of Palestine consists of a slip of coast territory about 200 miles long and about 90 miles wide, and could "scarcely be expected to vary much in character from the other countries bordering on the Mediterranean."

But there is "one unique and unparalleled phenomenon" in the physical geography of Palestine which affects its ornithological fauna, and that is the existence of the Jordan valley, a long chasm, 1,400 feet below the level of the sea, "enclosing tracts, some arid and salt, others fertile and well watered, but all enjoying in the temperate zone the climate of the tropics, and wholly distinct from the country on either side. These tracts or oases nurture birds of tropical type different from those of the upper country. But there appears to

be no difference between the birds on either side of this isolated strip of the tropics. The same birds, the wood pigeons, jays, and woodpeckers of Carmel, equally abound in the forests of Gilead and Bashan" (p. 167). Dr. Tristram, in his very interesting chapter on the "Physical Geography of the Holy Land," mentions five of these oases nurtured by copious springs and streams, where all the varieties of this tropical basin are collected; there are the plains of Shittim, those of Jericho, the little bay of Engedi, the Wady Zuweirah, and the Ghor es-Safieh (the ancient "waters of Nimrim"); in all these the climate is truly tropical, the thermometer even in winter ranging from 60° to 80°. As with the birds so with vegetation; corn ripens in March, and you may eat melons in winter; here grow the "zukkum" (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*), the henna or camphire, the *Salvadora persica* (long and erroneously supposed to be the mustard-tree of the New Testament), and other tropical products. In these favoured spots occur birds of Indian and Equatorial African type, besides some which are not known elsewhere. The large Indian turtle-dove (*Turtur risorius*) is common, all the year, around the Dead Sea; "a night-jar, a sparrow, and a grackle, not hitherto found elsewhere, reside permanently here; and a beautiful little sun-bird, *Nectarina osee*, sometimes mistaken for a humming-bird, flits among the shrubs in great numbers;" while the butterflies, like those of Nubia and Abyssinia, hover over the flowers in January. We will now proceed to consider the birds mentioned in sacred writ, and will begin with the order Raptores, or birds of prey.

THE VULTURE.

The *Vulturidæ*, a family of Raptorial birds, is represented in Palestine by these three species—the griffon vulture (*Vultur fulvus*), the lämmergeier (*Gypæëtus barbatus*), and the Egyptian vulture, or Pharaoh's hen (*Neophron percnopterus*). Two other large kinds, according to Tristram, the *Vultur nubicus* of Smith, and the *V. cinereus* of Linnæus, have been observed in the neighbouring countries, and may probably occur in the south-east districts of Palestine.

Mention is made of the vulture in three passages, viz., in Job xxviii. 7: "There is a path which . . . the vulture's eye hath not seen." The Hebrew word (*ayyâh*) here rendered "vulture," is translated "kite" in Lev. xi. 14 and Deut. xiv. 13. Two other Hebrew words, *dââh* (Lev. xi. 14) and *dajyâh* (Deut. xiv. 13; Isa. xxxiv. 15), are also rendered "vulture."

There is little doubt that none of these Hebrew names denote any species of vulture, but rather some smaller bird of prey, as the kite or the buzzard.

The griffon vulture is frequently alluded to in the sacred writings under the Hebrew name of *neshet*, always rendered "eagle" in our version. The modern Arabic name for the griffon vulture is *nesser* or *nasr* (though this name also includes the eagle), evidently the Hebrew *neshet*, and in addition to the evidence afforded by the identity of the names there is that supplied by some of the passages where the bird is mentioned. Thus in Micah (i. 16) it is said: "Make thee bald and

poll thee for thy delicate children; enlarge thy baldness as the *neshet*" (A.V. "eagle"). This can only accurately apply to the griffon vulture, whose whole head and neck is destitute of true feathers. The reference in the passage is to the custom of shaving the head as a token of mourning which, notwithstanding the prohibition in Deut. xiv. 1, appears to have been handed down traditionally and practised. Some have thought that the Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*) is here intended, but this bird is bald on the *front* of the head and neck, whereas the Hebrew word (*kârach*) means "to make bald at the *back* of the head." The well-known words of our Lord, "Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together" (Matt. xxiv. 28), is more applicable to vultures which congregate by hundreds, than to eagles which associate only as few individuals.

The vulture's rapidity of flight is referred to in Job ix. 26; Deut. xxviii. 49; 2 Sam. i. 23; Jer. iv. 13, &c. The high-soaring habits of these birds seem to be referred to in Isa. xl. 31: "They shall mount up with wings as eagles" (*neshârîm*); see also Prov. xxiii. 5; xxx. 19. The power of flight, the acuteness of vision, the habit of selecting craggy rocks whereon to make a nest, the feeding on the slain, are all graphically described in the Book of Job. "Doth the *neshet* mount up at thy command, and make her nest on high? She dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the crag of the rock, and the strong place. From thence she seeketh the prey, and her eyes behold afar off. Her young ones suck up blood: and where the slain are, there is she" (xxxix. 27—30); see also Jer. xlix. 16; on which Dr. Tristram remarks, "While the eagles and other birds are content with lower elevations, and sometimes even with trees, the griffon alone selects the stupendous gorges of Arabia Petraea, and of the defiles of Palestine, and there in great communities rears its young, where the most intrepid climber can only with ropes and other appliances reach its nest."

The passage in Ps. ciii. 5, "Thy youth is renewed like the *neshet*'s" ("eagle's," A.V.), has by some been supposed to allude to the old fables about the eagle renewing its strength when very old, as that this bird mounts aloft till it comes near to the sun, when, scorched by the heat, it throws itself into the seas, from whence it emerges full of renewed vigour. Augustine thought that the eagle when very old became unable to take food on account of its beak having grown enormously large and curved, and that the bird used to dash its beak and break it against a rock, when it could take food as before, and thus its vigour was renewed. The verse in the Psalm most probably has no reference to any of these fables. The Prayer-book version, "making thee young and hasty as an eagle," gives a very good meaning of the words. The care which the vulture and other birds of prey take of their young, their coaxing and encouraging their young ones to leave their nest and try to fly, is well known. This figure is employed in Deut. xxxii. 11, and Exod. xix. 4, to express the watchful and sustaining care of his people

by the Almighty: "As an eagle (*nesher*) stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings: so the Lord alone did lead him." The vulture was considered pre-eminently fond of its young, both amongst the Egyptians and the ancient Greeks and Romans, and it is curious to observe that this was the bird which originally was supposed by the ancient Egyptians to feed its young ones with its own blood. Horapollo (*Hiero-*

spring. Augustine, commenting on Ps. cii. 6, "I am like a pelican in the wilderness," says, "These birds (male pelicans) are said to kill their young offspring by blows of their beaks, and then to bewail their death for the space of three days. At length, however, it is said the mother bird inflicts a severe wound on herself, pouring the flowing blood over the dead young ones, which instantly brings them to life." To the same effect write Eustathius, Isidorus, Epiphanius, and a



THE SCAVENGER, OR EGYPTIAN VULTURE (*NEOPHRON PERCNOPTERUS*).

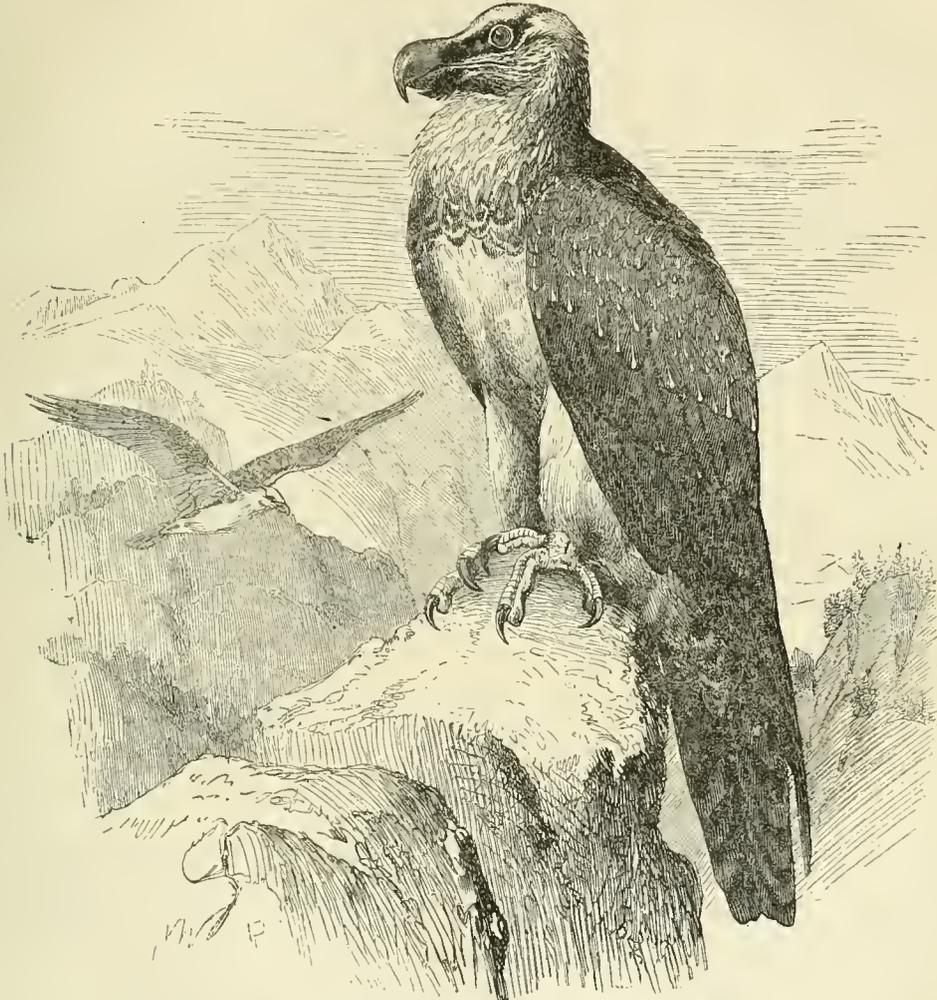
glyph., i. 11) says that a vulture symbolises a compassionate person, because during the 120 days of the nurture of its offspring, if food cannot be had, "it opens its own thigh, and permits the young to partake of the blood, so that they may not perish from want." In time this fable became transferred from the vulture to the pelican—first, as far as we make out, in patristic annotations on the Scriptures. The ecclesiastical fathers transferred the Egyptian story from the vulture to the pelican, but magnified the already sufficiently marvellous fable a hundredfold, for the blood of the parent bird was not only supposed to serve as food for the young, but was also able to reanimate the dead off-

spring. Augustine, commenting on Ps. cii. 6, "I am like a pelican in the wilderness," says, "These birds (male pelicans) are said to kill their young offspring by blows of their beaks, and then to bewail their death for the space of three days. At length, however, it is said the mother bird inflicts a severe wound on herself, pouring the flowing blood over the dead young ones, which instantly brings them to life." To the same effect write Eustathius, Isidorus, Epiphanius, and a

host of other writers, except that sometimes it was the female who killed the young ones, while the male re-animated them with his blood. The fable was supposed to be a symbol of Christ's love to men. It is a mistake to think that it is to be found in the zoology of the ancient Greeks and Romans. We learn from Dr. Tristram that the number of griffons in every part of Palestine is amazing, and that they are found at all seasons of the year. Many colonies of eyries were observed in the gorge of the Wady Kelt, near Jericho; in the cliffs near Heshbon, under Mount Nebo; in the ravine of Jabbok, &c. The ravines on the north and east of Mount Carmel were inhabited by

two large colonies, "but the most populous of all were the 'griffonries' in the stupendous cliffs of the Wady Hamam, 'the robbers' caves,' and in the deep glen of the Wady Leiman, opening on to the plain of Genesaret. In either of these sublime gorges the reverberating echoes of a single rifle would bring forth griffons by the hundred from their recesses."

nisr, as we have seen, being the name of a vulture or eagle. But this is doubtful. Professor Rawlinson says that no such word as *Nisroch*, or *nisr*, meaning a "hawk" or "falcon," occurs in Assyrian. This is not quite correct, for the Assyrian words to denote either a vulture or an eagle are *na-as-ru* and *e-ru-u*, the former being evidently the Arabic *nisr*, the Hebrew *nesher*.



LÄMMERGEIER, OR BEARDED VULTURE (*GYPÆTUS BARBATUS*).

Figures of the vulture occur on the Assyrian monuments, sometimes hovering in the air as an expectant sharer of the bodies that would fall in battle; sometimes resting on the bodies, and picking out the eyes of the slain. The figures, however, are very badly drawn, the Assyrian artists, as Professor Rawlinson truly says, being "not happy in their delineation of the feathered tribe." Vulture or eagle-headed human figures occur on the early Assyrian monuments, often in colossal proportions. Some have supposed this figure to be the same as the god *Nisroch* (2 Kings xix. 37), in whose temple Sennacherib was slain by his sons;

(See Sir H. Rawlinson's *W. A. I.*, vol. ii., pl. 37, line 9 b.) Professor Rawlinson thinks it more probable that the eagle-headed figure often represented in attendance on the king is intended to denote a good genius. (See on this subject Rawlinson's truly valuable work, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii., p. 30, 2nd edition.) Mr. A. H. Sayce thinks that the vulture (*V. fulvus*) is definitely denoted in Assyrian by the name *zin-na* or *zin*, "a desert," which, with the determinative of *ist-su-ru* before it, would mean "the bird of the desert." The Accadian for a bird is *khu*, and perhaps *id-khu*, "bird with hands," means "an eagle" or "vulture."

The griffon vulture is a majestic bird, and, according to Tristram, by no means unamiable or disgusting in its habits. "With his fellows he is good-tempered, and, voracious as he is, never grudges to share the feast with as many as choose to join him. There is none of the snarling or quarrelling of the canine tribe, nor any attempt to rob a weaker cousin of his portion, or to devour a savoury morsel in secret; but each of the company amicably keeps his place without attempting to eject his neighbour. They are easily trained, and we brought up two from the nest, which were reared, and arrived safely in England" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 178).

Vultures are most numerous in hot countries, and here they are immensely serviceable in removing putrefying remains which have rapidly decomposed under a high degree of temperature. Their services generally gain for these birds protection from injury. Vultures possess extraordinary powers of smell and vision; they will seldom attack living animals, and even the eagle prefers his food already slain.

The Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*) is with very good reason identified with the "gier-eagle" (= German *gier-eagle*—i.e., vulture-eagle), mentioned in Lev. xi. 18, and Deut. xiv. 17, amongst the unclean birds. The Hebrew name is *râchâm* or *rachâmâh*, which, according to Gesenius and other authorities, is derived from a root meaning "to be affectionate towards its young;" but according to Fürst (*Heb. and Chald. Lex.*, p. 1,294) is akin to the Arabic *arkham* or *arkam*, "parti-coloured" or "variegated," which is true enough of the bird in its adult state; but since vultures have

by Asiatic and European nations long been regarded as showing an extraordinary attachment to their young, it is probable the true derivation lies in this direction. The modern Arabic name for the Egyptian vulture is *rachmah*, or *reahmy*. Near Cairo the bird is called *Ach Bobba*, which in the Turkish language means "white father," a name given it partly out of reverence the people have for the bird, and partly from the colour of its plumage, which is all white except the primary and some of the secondary wing-covers, which are black; hence the specific Greek name *percnopterus*—i.e., "dark-winged."

The Egyptian vulture is an admirable scavenger, feeding on the carrion thrown about towns, "and every kind of filth, offal, and garbage; and though elegant in plumage and appearance on the wing, it is most disgusting not only in habits, but in odour and appearance on a close inspection." Unlike the griffons, these birds do not congregate in large numbers, but live in pairs, the male and female seldom separating. They build in cliffs, generally low down; the nest is described as being "an enormous collection of sticks, clods of turf, bullocks' ribs, pieces of sheep-skin, old rags, and whatever else the neighbourhood of a camp or village affords." The eggs, generally two in number, are rich red in colour, or mottled with red. The Egyptian vulture is a migratory bird in Palestine, very common in spring everywhere, but never seen in the winter. It is widely distributed, being found in all the warmer parts of the Old World, from the Pyrenees to Southern India, and throughout the whole of Africa.

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

BY THE VEN. HENRY WOOLLCOMBE, M.A., ARCHDEACON OF BARNSTAPLE, AND CANON OF EXETER.

"They took knowledge of them that they had been with Jesus."—
ACTS iv. 13.



AMONG the many undesigned coincidences in Holy Scripture, the following seems worthy of notice—viz., that between Acts iv. 5—14, and St. John xviii. 12—17.

In the former passage we read of St. Peter and St. John being summoned before the Sanhedrim on the occasion of the healing of the impotent man at the beautiful gate of the Temple. At this meeting of the Sanhedrim (a very largely attended one) were present Annas and Caiaphas; and after the answer of St. Peter, St. Luke describes the effect which that answer had upon the members of the Sanhedrim, in these words (Acts iv. 13): "Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived" [or rather, having ascertained, or, having had previous knowledge. Cf. Acts xxv. 25, where the word is rendered "When I had found"] "that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled, and they took knowledge of them" [or rather, they recognised them. See Acts iii. 10; xii. 14; xix. 34; xxviii. 1; where the same word is used in the

original, evidently in this sense] "that they had been with Jesus."

It is often supposed that the meaning of these latter words is, that the Sanhedrim attributed their boldness to their intercourse with Jesus. But this seems hardly consistent with their wishes, or convictions, that Jesus was no other than an impostor.

A truer interpretation of the words would be, that the members of the Sanhedrim, and especially Annas and Caiaphas, recollected at the moment that they had seen these two disciples in the same "palace of the high priest" not many more than forty or fifty days before, when Jesus himself stood before them in judgment. One of the two, St. John, was personally known to Caiaphas, and therefore, probably, to Annas, his father-in-law (St. John xviii. 13). For St. John owed his means of entering into the palace of the high priest on that occasion (it would seem) to his acquaintance with Caiaphas, and was emboldened by that same acquaintance to obtain entrance thereto for St. Peter also. All this is shown in St. John xviii. 15, 16: "Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did that other disciple:

that disciple was known unto the high priest, and went in with Jesus into the palace of the high priest. But Peter stood without at the door. Then went out that other disciple which was known unto the high priest, and spake to her that kept the door, and brought in Peter."

And so the sudden recognition of the two apostles by the Sanhedrin was in truth a recollection of their having seen them at that former most momentous trial in that same "palace," and their surprise at their boldness was intensified by the fact that on that former occasion they had seen them dispirited and humiliated, and that one of them had denied his Master.¹

¹ Chrysostom, in his Commentary on Acts iv. 13, "They took knowledge," &c., says: "It is not without an object that the Evangelist set down this passage, but he did it that he might show where they had so been with Jesus. He means, at His passion. For these were the only two apostles then with Him. At that

Now, if this be the true interpretation, we have here a very striking undesigned coincidence between two independent historians, St. Luke and St. John, whose accounts were written and published at a considerable interval from each other; the Acts of the Apostles being written somewhere about A.D. 64, St. John's Gospel not until A.D. 90, or thereabouts. St. John's later account records the circumstance on which was grounded the recognition recorded by St. Luke so many years earlier.

This coincidence, then, may be taken as among not the least remarkable proofs of the veracity of these two inspired writers.

time they had seen them humbled and cast down, and so their complete change of bearing surprised them exceedingly. For Annas and Caiaphas and their fellow-counsellors were there, and these two apostles had been among those who stood by them. Now, therefore, their exceeding boldness astonished them."

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ZEPHANIAH (*continued*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

I.—THE THREATENED JUDGMENT (CHAP. I. 2—18).

THE invasion of Western Asia by the Scythian hordes appears to have been the occasion of Zephaniah's prophecy, and, in large measure, to have suggested its form; but this invasion is not the subject or theme of his prophecy. What he foresees and foretells is, rather, a series of wide-spread judgments, which would embrace Judah, Edom, Moab, the Philistine confederation, Assyria, Egypt, and even Ethiopia. Still these future judgments would doubtless grow more real and more terrible in his thoughts, and in the thoughts of those to whom he announced them, from their experience of that present, or recent, judgment—the Scythian invasion, which had devastated Judæa, and was still sweeping over the kingdoms of the East.

We have lately felt, as probably we never felt before, the terrible havoc which dogs the steps of war. We know—how can we but know, who have so recently witnessed the Franco-German war?—that when the enemy is approaching in force, all the grain, cattle, food-stores of the undefended villages and towns are carried off into the fortified cities, for the support of the garrisons; while the infirm and the aged, women and children, are often expelled, that there may be the fewer mouths to feed. We know that when the country has thus been swept of its substance by its defenders, the invaders flow over it, consuming and destroying whatever has been left, slaying thousands of its inhabitants, pressing other thousands into their service, and leaving yet other thousands to the lingering agonies of starvation, or to the more merciful, because swifter, pangs of the pestilence which follows in the train of war and famine. In ancient times the modes

of warfare were far more cruel than they are now; and of all the ancient races the Scythians were perhaps the most barbarous and remorseless. Probably the Cossack hordes, with their robber instincts and nameless brutalities, are our nearest modern analogue to the Scythian tribes of antique times. Wherever they went, the land and its inhabitants were utterly consumed before them.

Such an invasion may well have suggested the opening verses of this prophetic poem (chap. i. 2, 3):—

"Sweeping, I will sweep everything from the face of the earth,
Saith Jehovah:
I will sweep away man and beast;
I will sweep away the fowl of the heaven and the fish of the sea,
And their offences with the sinners:
And I will cut off man from the face of the earth,
Saith Jehovah."

A clean sweep over the face of the whole earth—such a terrible judgment as this would naturally suggest itself to one who looked out from the walls of Jerusalem on the weltering hordes of barbarian foes, saw the whole land devoured before them, and had long heard of the frightful destruction they had carried through the neighbouring kingdoms.

But what had Zephaniah, a Hebrew prophet, to do with the great heathen empires? His errand was to Judah. Why should he concern himself with the fate of Assyria, Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon—with the calamities of races which had always been the bitter foes of Israel? Were not the Hebrews the most national and exclusive of races? Did they not love their poets and prophets because these inspired men of genius gave expression to their patriotic and exclusive spirit in the most beautiful and impressive forms? So we have too long, too often, thought. We have com-

mously conceived of the Hebrew poets as of men wholly devoted to the interests of the sacred race, as exulting over the calamities and defeats of alien tribes, as limiting their thoughts and hopes solely to the affairs of the Hebrew commonwealth. And in thus conceiving them, we have done them great wrong. They were patriots, patriots of the sincerest and loftiest strain. But may not an Englishman be a patriot without exulting in the disasters which befall the French or the Germans? and love his country supremely without craving its aggrandisement at the cost of other lands? In proportion as his patriotism is genuine and pure, he will respect the patriotic feelings and toils of other races; in proportion as his patriotism is intelligent and wise, he will desire the welfare of all races, knowing that only as all prosper can any one people rise to its full prosperity. And as we come to read the Hebrew prophets with intelligence, we find that their patriotism was as wise as it was sincere. Instead of being of a bigoted and exclusive spirit, they are the most catholic of men; or, if they are not catholic, the Spirit who inspired them is a Spirit of love and goodwill to all. If they long for the prosperity of Zion, for the glory of the seed of Abraham, it is that in his seed all the families of the earth may be blessed. If they exult in the judgments which befall alien races, do they not exult in the judgments which fall on Judah? Does not this stern exultation in the calamities which fall on their own and on alien races spring from the conviction that these judgments have a purpose of mercy; that they are sent to purify and uplift men, and to bring in the happy day when all nations shall serve God with one mind and one heart?

It was in this spirit, as we shall see, that Zephaniah, who was sent to denounce judgment on the men of Judah, opened his prophecy with the denunciation of a judgment that was to sweep through the whole earth.

In thus linking the fate of the whole world with that of the chosen people, Zephaniah resembles Joel, who saw "all nations" judged in the Valley of Doom, and the Spirit of God poured out on "all flesh."¹ And there is another point of resemblance between these two prophets. Joel grieved for field and pasture, wheat and barley, vine and fig-tree, for the flocks of sheep and the herds of cattle; in his tenderness for them, he heard them "moaning" because there was no pasture, and crying to God because the watercourses were dried up. It was a keen pain to him that these innocent creatures should suffer for the guilt of man.² And in precisely the same spirit Zephaniah views the whole universe as sharing the fate of man, as suffering for his guilt. Is "man" to be swept from the face of the earth? so also is "beast;" so also are "the fowl of the heaven and the fish of the sea." In our day it is too much the fashion to regard man as the mere creature of the mighty natural forces amid which he stands and moves. It is assumed that physical laws govern his whole life, determine the bent and scope of his mental faculties, the cast of his thoughts, his customs, his religious beliefs; that he is

the mere outcome and sport of the great forces and laws which rule the wide domain of Nature. The Hebrew prophets breathed another, and surely a higher spirit. To them it seemed that man was the ruler, not the obsequious slave or helpless victim, of the natural world; that both the world and he were under the dominion, not of mere physical forces and sequences, but of an all-wise, all-good Being, who subordinated the physical to the moral, and was capable of convulsing the whole universe, shaking heaven and earth, for the good of those whom He had created in His own image, after His own likeness. This conception of man, as standing with only God above him, and having all things put under his feet, may belong to the pre-scientific age, but I hope it is not quite exploded yet; for it accords with the profoundest intuitions, and satisfies the deepest wants of our nature. We indeed may see, even more clearly than the Hebrew seers, that the physical and political catastrophes which they called "judgments," were not infractions of natural laws; but cannot we also see that the miserable and punitive results of broken laws are, in the truest sense, "the judgments of God?" And did not the Hebrew prophets see that, too—see it perhaps even more clearly than we do? The sense of a Divine law penetrating human life, and working out in blessing or in punishment according as it is obeyed or violated, is the most conspicuous feature in their writings; and though they may express it in other than our modern forms, it may be well for us to hesitate before we decide our forms to be the better of the two, or the more accurate. Let us wait in patience and humility before we give sentence, acknowledging meanwhile that these holy men had at least a deeper sense than we have reached as yet of the immanence of a Divine law and righteousness in human life and affairs.

But if the Hebrew prophets held that all things have been put under the feet of man, "all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field, the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea;" with what a genuine sympathy, with what a fine and tender humanity, they take thought for these innocent subjects of a guilty lord! Who but a Hebrew prophet, or perchance a modern poet whose mind had been steeped in the spirit of the Bible, would have had a thought to spare for the "beasts" of the field, or "the fowl of heaven," or "the fish of the sea," as he stood trembling before the vision of a judgment which was to "cut off man from the face of the earth?"

A third point of resemblance between Joel and Zephaniah comes out in these opening verses. Joel was rooted and grounded in the conviction that judgment was mercy, that all the sorrows and calamities of human life were designed to answer an end of compassion and love: the locusts came to bring men back to the God whom they had forgotten; all nations would be judged, in order that God might manifest himself as the stronghold and sanctuary of the good, that his Spirit might be given to all flesh.³ And on this conviction Zephaniah also plants himself. In passages of an exquisite tenderness and

¹ Joel iii. 11—14; ii. 28.

² Joel i. 10—12, 18—20.

³ Joel ii. 12—14, 23—32; iii. 16—21.

beauty,' he affirms that God makes himself terrible in the earth in order that "all the isles of the earth, every one from its place, may worship Him;" that He sweeps the earth with fire and smites the nations with His fury in order that, the judgment having shaken them from their sins, He may "turn to the nations a pure lip, that they may all invoke the name of Jehovah, and serve Him with one shoulder." The same thought, the same intense conviction of the Divine goodness, finds expression, though more briefly and obscurely, in verse 3, "I will sweep away . . . their offences with the sinners." Even these brief enigmatical words indicate that the purpose of the far-sweeping judgment which the prophet forecasts, is the purification of the world and of human life. If even "good customs" may lose their vitality by long use, and so "corrupt the world," we may be sure that the world would soon perish under the accumulating mass of good customs out of which the life has died and of the evil habits whose very life is hostile and malignant, were it not for the changes, the floods of calamity and rebuke, by which, age after age, "the things that can be shaken" are removed, and the health of the world is renewed.

"What custom wills, in all things should we do't,
The dust on antique time would lie unswept,
And mountainous error be too highly heaped
For truth to o'er-peer."

No revolution, however, no reformation, whether in the history of individuals or of nations, is an easy or agreeable process. You cannot sweep away the dust without making a dust. And yet these radical changes, which at the time are so painful, often so terrible and judicial, afterward produce "the peaceable fruits of righteousness to them that are exercised thereby." "Sinners" are "swept away;" but "their offences" are swept away with them. The corrupt and evil forms of life and worship—feudal tyrannies, for example, barbaric superstitions, and "customs" in the African sense—disappear; they no longer load and oppress the activities of the race: and, once banished, they can never return; if the evil spirit *should* come back, it must at least assume another form, and enter a house that has been swept and garnished.

And it was, I suppose, because the Hebrew prophets were so strong in this conviction of the beneficent uses of "judgments," that they could dwell on them, and even exult in them, as they did. Nothing, for example, is more strange and painful to many minds than the way in which Zephaniah lingers over the details of "the day of judgment." He elaborates his description of it as though the theme were grateful to him, adding touch to touch, piling epithet on epithet, as though he were reluctant to leave it, as though he took a stern and almost malignant pleasure in contemplating it.³ As we mark the gust with which he lingers on the theme, turning it like a sweet morsel on his tongue, we are ready to say, "This man's God is not our God." Until we understand that Zephaniah believes judgment to be

mercy, that he is depicting terrors through which men must pass in order that they may be cleansed by them, and that as they pass through them they may find the mercy in them, we can have no sympathy with him, we can only be repelled by the stern exultation with which he hails the great and terrible day of the Lord.

Nor do I see how we can face the facts of human life, and hold fast our faith in God, until we share Zephaniah's conviction, that God judges and afflicts men in order that He may cleanse and restore their souls. We shudder at the prophet's description of the day of anguish and distress, the day of desolation and ruin, that was coming on Judah, and of the judgment that was to sweep everything from the face of the earth. But was that day one whit more terrible than "the day of judgment" which lately darkened over France? Might not a French prophet have taken up the very words of the Hebrew prophet, and have spoken of a day of darkness and gloom, a day of the trumpet and the trumpet-blast against the fortified cities and against the lofty battlements; a day on which men would be brought into straits, and walk like the blind, and find with dismay that not even their silver, not even their gold, was able to rescue them? Has not every nation in its turn passed through these days of anguish and distress, of ruin and desolation? Why, then, should we carp at Zephaniah's words, when facts equally loaded with terror and gloom are the common staple of the human story? We ought rather to be thankful for his words; we should rejoice, that even on a day so dark he could see a great light of hope, and teach us to see it. Let us learn of him the mercy of judgment; let us hold fast to the conviction that even the judgments which are most penetrating and of the widest sweep, are only as a surgeon's probe which carries a healing balm to the very seat of disease, that they simply sheathe and convey the "saving health" of the Divine compassion and love.

Zephaniah prophesied in the days of Josiah, and probably in those earlier years of his reign during which Josiah accomplished the reformation which is the glory of his reign. The moral value of Zephaniah's prophecy lies in this: that it presents the themes common to every prophet in rapid succession, in terse and picturesque forms. Rebuke of sin, threatening of judgment, the merciful and redeeming errand of judgment, invitation to repentance, assurance of redemption, the blessedness of the redeemed—these characteristic topics of the prophetic ministry, though crowded within the limits of so short a poem, are handled with singular force, vividness, and passion.

In this consists the moral value of Zephaniah's prophecy. But its main *historical* value lies in the fact, that it helps us to comprehend the greatness and difficulty of the task to which King Josiah devoted himself, the almost incredibly corrupt materials with and on which he had to work, the varied and obstinate baseness of the men whom he had to reform, to recover to patriotism, virtue, and religion. The historical records

¹ Zeph. ii. 11; iii. 9.

² *Coriolanus*, act ii., scene 3.

³ Zeph. i. 2, 3, 14—18.

of his reign tell us in general terms that the Hebrews of his generation, forgetting God, abandoning his worship, had sunk into the cruel and obscene *cultus* of the Chaldean and Phœnician idols. But if we would learn how utterly they had been debased by their base worship, we must turn to Zephaniah. He touches the scene with fire. As we look, we see a nation in the very agony of dissolution. All bonds are broken; all the energies of life are paralysed and infected: a mere touch, a mere breath, will suffice to dissolve a commonwealth seething in such foul corruptions. Every man is living to himself, without thought of the public weal. The private life of the nation is defiled with the most flagrant forms of vice; its political life is stained with fraud, oppression, treason; its religious life has degenerated into a gross superstition and an infidelity equally gross; and both the infidelity and the superstition are rendered tenfold more sinister and fatal by an ostentatious insincerity. As Josiah moved through such a charnel-house of corruptions he might well have asked, "Can these dead bones live?" As Zephaniah contemplated it, he felt that a day of the Lord must come, a great and terrible day, before life could arise from such a "death in sins;" that only a Divine judgment could cleanse and revive a nation sunk in pollutions so foul and so deadly.

He is sure that that judgment will come, and "sweep away their offences with the sinners." Nay, as God is the God of the whole earth, as other nations are no less corrupt than the Jews, as God loves all men as well as the men of the elect race, the prophet affirms that the Divine judgment will sweep through the whole earth; that everywhere an age so degraded must give place to an age of purer manners, wiser laws. He opens his poem, therefore, as we have seen, with a denunciation of universal doom, a doom as wide and terrible as that of the Flood,¹ out of which, however, as from that ancient catastrophe, there is to come a new heaven and a new earth, in which humanity will commence a new career.

But when Jehovah stretches out his hand "over" or "against" man, those will justly suffer most who have known his will most clearly and have yet resisted it, who have been most obstinate and perverse in their rebellion against his law. Accordingly, the prophetic vision of judgment, which at first embraced the whole world, now contracts and settles on Judah, the land in which God was known for a refuge (ver. 4, *et seq.*), and then on Jerusalem, the city which He had made glorious with his presence (ver. 10, *et seq.*).

The judgment is to come on Judah, that "the very remnant of Baal may be cut off." This is one of the phrases in our poem which help us to fix its date. For the most natural interpretation of the phrase is that which takes it as marking the period at which Josiah had commenced his reformation, although as yet it was incomplete. In some measure, to some degree, the power of idolatry had been broken; but still "a remnant," and it would seem a large remnant, of Baal

worshippers had been left. These, too, should be swept away when God came to visit and judge the land.

How large that "remnant of Baal" was, how fatally it was corrupting the national life, verses 4 to 9 abundantly declare. For here, instead of describing in abstract terms the offences which demanded judgment, the inspired poet gives us a dramatic sketch of the sinners whose offences were "loud, and cried to heaven." He sketches at least six classes of the inhabitants of Judah whose crimes were flagrant and notorious, and thus virtually places the Hebrew society of the time before us with a vividness which no abstract terms, no mere catalogue of offences, could possibly reach.

(1.) He sets before us the priestly class, in its twofold division of *kemārîm* and *kohānîm* (ver. 4).

"I will also stretch forth my hand over Judah,
And over all the inhabitants of Jerusalem;
And I will cut off from this place the very remnant of Baal,
The name of priest and flamen."

I have translated these Hebrew words by "*priest* and *flamen*," and can find no better translation. But no English words will accurately render the Hebrew, since none carry the Hebrew suggestions with them. The *kemārîm* were the priests—sometimes taken from the tribe of Levi, sometimes from the very "lowest of the people"—ordained by the kings of Judah either to minister at the altar of Jehovah with alien and impure rites, or to serve the altars of Baal and Astarte. In either case they were renegades from the national faith, *miscreants* who, to earn a loaf of bread or to win the favour of the Court, were prepared to stand at any altar and administer any ritual. The *kohānîm*, on the other hand, were the foreign priests who had been trained in the colleges of Phœnicia or Assyria, and ordained in their temples—men who were deep in the astral and astrological learning of the time, and to whom the severe and simple rites of the Jehovah-worship would be a theme for laughter and contempt. It is easy to understand the indignation with which the faithful Hebrew, and still more the zealous prophet, would regard both the haughty aliens who, strong in the favour of the Court, despised the champions of the national faith, and the sordid *miscreants* who, to win Court favour, had sold their Hebrew birthright and corrupted the faith of the elect people. Zephaniah dismisses them with a single phrase. The very "name" of these base priests and haughty flamen "shall be cut off."

(2.) From the priests he turns to the worshippers. And of these he selects three classes for special animadversion. The first, "those who worshipped the host of heaven on the roofs;" that is, open and avowed idolaters who blended the service of the sun (Baal) and the moon (Astarte) with the Sabeian worship of the stars. On the flat roofs of the Eastern dwellings they erected altars; and here, in full sight of the host of heaven, they did them homage, mainly by burning costly aromatic gums.

(3.) To these avowed idolaters the prophet adds, with a certain tone of scorn, "the worshippers who swear both to Jehovah and by their *malkām*." This *malkām*, or king, was Baal, who is named "king" and "lord" on the Phœnician inscriptions, not the king of the nation.

¹ The similarities and even identities of expression in Gen. vi. 7 and Zeph. i. 2, 3, prove that Zephaniah had the Flood in his thoughts, as well as the Scythian invasion.

"To swear to," is an Oriental phrase for entering into a covenant, for binding oneself by oath to this person or that; "to swear *by*" a person or god, means simply to use his name when taking an oath. So that this second class of worshippers, who swear to Jehovah and by *malkām*, consisted of men who, while pledged to the service of God, thought it well to be on good terms with Baal, or, at least, so far to yield to the fashion of the time as to adopt the customary and fashionable oaths, and thus to pass themselves off, when they saw need, as adherents of the prevalent idolatry. In short, they were like the men whom Elijah described as "limping on both legs," or "limping between two paths;" or like those whom we sometimes describe as "wanting to walk on both sides of the hedge at once;" or like the men whom one of our own poets stigmatised as "willing to serve God so that they did not offend the devil." On the whole, they thought Jehovah to be the true God, and that to worship Him was the duty of man; but they held this truth as mere opinion, not as a conviction for which loss and reproach were to be braved (ver. 5).

(4.) After those two classes of priests and these two classes of worshippers, we come on another class, who, though they have not wholly eradicated their religious intuitions and instincts, decline to act on them, or even to profess to act on them. They have ceased to believe, ceased to worship. They "*draw back from Jehovah*," that is, they put Him out of their thoughts; they try, as it were, to get *behind* Him, where He cannot see them; "*and neither seek Jehovah nor ask after Him*." They do not want to find Him. They are afraid that, were they to ask, He would answer; that, were they to seek, He would be found of them. And as they do not care to find Him, as they would only be embarrassed by his presence, they forget Him as far as they can, and abstain from and renounce the national habits and the rites of worship which might bring Him to their thoughts (ver. 6).

(5.) Thus far Zephaniah has been depicting the inhabitants of Judah in their religious aspects, in their relation to God. But now, in verses 8 and 9, he depicts them, or some of them, in their political aspects, and gives us two new sketches to study.

"And it shall come to pass in the day of Jehovah's sacrifice,
That I will visit the princes and the king's sons,
And all who clothe themselves in foreign apparel;
I will also visit all who leap over the threshold in that day,
Who fill the house of their lord with violence and deceit."

First he sketches the princes and nobles of the land, and then the turbulent retainers who did them suit and service. "*The princes*" are the heads, the chiefs, of tribes and of the great historic families. "*The king's sons*" are not only the sons of Josiah, who were still very young; in this case they probably are not even included in the term. It is a Hebrew phrase for the royal family, and would include the uncles and nephews of Josiah—all his blood relations, all who were of royal strain and rank. And these, or many of them, were

idolaters and traitors, some leaning to the Babylonian Court, some to the Egyptian Court. According as they advocated alliance with Egypt or with Babylon, they adopted Egyptian or Chaldean modes of attire, and thus set a fashion which the rank and file of their several factions would be eager to follow. "*All who clothe themselves in foreign apparel*" were, in all probability, these apostate nobles and princes and their factions; their foreign apparel indicating their foreign and treasonable leanings, their servility to alien monarchs, their addiction to heathen vices and superstitions.

(6.) These haughty traitorous nobles had their houses crowded with armed retainers, often of foreign extraction, who were even more licentious and insolent than the masters they served, as is the wont of their kind. They lived by pillage and extortion. They "*filled the houses of their lords with violence and deceit*." When a caravan was passing, when a wealthy husbandman was to be plundered, when the stronghold of a neighbouring "lord" was to be attacked, in their lust of booty and bloodshed, "*they leaped over the threshold*," violently rushing out of their own stronghold, or as violently invading the stronghold they assailed.

It was this turbulent nobility, with its still more turbulent followers; it was these base and alien priests; it was these idolatrous, trimming, and godless citizens whom Josiah had to confront, and on whom Zephaniah denounced the judgments of the Lord. "*Oh, hush!*" cries the prophet; "*be silent before Jehovah*. He is coming; *his day is near*. He has already chosen and called those who are to execute his judgments on the land. *He hath prepared a sacrifice and sanctified his guests*" (ver. 7). The sinners of the Jews are to be the sacrifice; and the guests who are invited to this sacrificial meal are the nations whom God has sanctified, or set apart, to overrun the land, to destroy the people, and to make their wealth a booty.

The figure of verse 7 sounds a little strangely to us; but it would be familiar to the Jews, for it was taken from their common life. We have an illustration of the habit on which it was based in the history of the first king of Israel.² When Saul sought his father's asses, but found them not, his servant suggested that, before giving up the quest in despair, they should consult "the man of God" who dwelt in the city of Zuph—*i.e.*, Samuel—and who peradventure would be able to show them the way they ought to take. As they went up the hill toward the city, they met young maidens going out to draw water, and asked them, "Is the seer here?" They replied, "He is. . . . As soon as ye be come into the city, ye shall straightway find him before he go up to the high place to eat, for the people will not eat till he be come, because he doth bless the sacrifice, and afterward they eat that be bidden." Such a sacrificial meal was so common with the Jews that they would at once seize the prophet's meaning. They would understand that God was about to make *them* a sacrifice, and bid the hostile nations

¹ 1 Kings xviii. 21.

² 1 Sam. ix. 1-24.

whom he had set apart as the ministers of his will to the feast. And thus the awful yet consolatory truth would be brought home to them, that, though it might be the sword of Babylon before which they fell, it was God who was meting out the judgment, even the God who in the midst of wrath remembered mercy.

Zephaniah sees a vision of judgment, then, which is to sweep through the whole earth. This vision contracts till it settles in manacng gloom on the land of Judah. At verse 10 it still further contracts on Jerusalem, the metropolis in which the national vices and impieties took their most offensive forms. But as he turns on Jerusalem the prophet slightly changes his method. He no longer describes the various classes of sinners and their offences; but he condenses into one expressive figure the characteristic and prevailing tone of its inhabitants. They were "*drawn together on their lees*" (ver. 12), or, to express the figure fully, they were like wine that is settled on its lees, taking harsh and foul flavours from its dregs. That is to say, they were cradling themselves on their lusts, resting on what was vilest in them, on the sediment and refuse of their nature; their whole character was being impregnated with the harsh fumes of their baser passions; they were taking their tone from that in them which was lowest and worst. Fixed in their devotion to the flesh and the world, they were *saying in their hearts*, "*Jehovah doeth neither good nor evil.*" They were not at the pains to deny his existence. They had not reasoned themselves into atheism. They were not so utterly foolish as to say, even in their hearts, "There is no God." But though they did not deny God, they forgot Him. They had no vital faith in Him, or in his administration of human affairs. For them He sat in heaven, heedless what men did, suffering the world to take its own course, not penetrating and guiding that course with the pure counsels of his eternal will, neither causing all things to work together for the good of them that served Him, nor executing his idle threats against the rebellious and ungodly. Why, then, should they fear Him? What profit should they have if they served Him? Why not give the reins to their lusts, and carry themselves as though there were no God? In short, they had sunk into that practical but unreasoned atheism so common in large cities, when their inhabitants have long been corrupted with luxury and vice.

It is this practical atheism, the atheism of the market-place and the stews, which the prophet sets himself to rebuke. Because they have eyes and yet cannot see God in the ordinary and benignant course of his providence, He will come out of his place to judge and to condemn them. Because, when their days go lightly and smoothly they forget Him who "sets their days upon the score," He will send them a day of terrors on which their very heart and flesh will cry out for God. He will come to them. He will go through the city making diligent search, trying house by house, man by man. As the vintner goes through his cellars, torch in hand; or

as the head of the household, taper in hand, searches every nook and corner of his house before Passover, lest any morsel of leaven should be hidden in it; so Jehovah will "*search Jerusalem with candles,*" hunting the evil out of every dark nook in which they have concealed themselves, suffering none to escape. No strength will be able to resist Him, no bribe to avert the due reward of their deeds. He will bring evil upon them that they may learn how good He is, how imperatively He demands truth and goodness in men. In their prosperity they have forgotten Him and wronged their own souls; by the stripes of adversity He will bring them to a better mind, and turn their heart back again unto Himself.

This is the teaching of verse 12, which we have taken out of its place because it describes *the sin* of Jerusalem as well as the judgment that was coming upon it. But in verses 10, 11, and 13, *the judgment* is depicted under an image still more impressive, if, indeed, it be an image at all, and not rather a prediction of literal facts. For in these verses the city is described as undergoing the miseries and horrors of a victorious siege. Its leading inhabitants gather in and around the Temple and stronghold of Zion. Standing on the ramparts of the Upper City, they see the enemy swarming round the walls, and delivering the assault on the fortifications of the Lower City. They hear "*a sound of crying from the Fish-Gate,*" probably a gate in the northern wall of the Lower City, through which fish were carried to market from Gennesaret and the Jordan. This gate has fallen, as the despairing outcry which issues from it denotes, and the enemy, pouring in, carry fire and sword through the streets, till the sound of wailing overspreads "*the Lower City;*" and still the engines of war are heard crashing from the neighbouring hills against the walls and forts. The storm of war sweeps on toward the Upper City, severed from the Lower by the ravine watered by the brook Kedron, and known to this day as *El-Wad*, or, "*The Valley.*" This rude hollow, in shape somewhat resembling an ancient mortar, Zephaniah calls "*the Mortar,*" coining this new name for it in order to suggest the fate of its inhabitants; that they will be bruised and pounded as in a mortar by shocks of judgment, by the blows of war. This valley, moreover, was from time immemorial the haunt of the merchants of the city; they are to be found in it to-day. Of these merchants the prophet speaks as "*the people of Canaan,*" because, like the Canaanites, they were devoted to traffic, or, perhaps, because a colony of Phœnician traders had settled in the valley. Indeed, as—now we understand his terms—we can see for ourselves, the whole scene of the siege is vividly present to the prophet's eye. He has seen the Fish-Gate fall: he has heard the crashing of the rams and the balistas from the adjacent hills, and the cries of the inhabitants of the Lower City as they fall before the sword. And now, as the assault storms downwards into the valley which separates them from the Upper City, he cries, like one who beholds a present catastrophe: "*Shriek! ye inhabitants of the Mortar! For all the people of Canaan,*" all the wealthy smiths

and merchants of the valley, "are destroyed: cut off are all they that are laden with silver."

The prophet's heart seems to have failed him as he beheld the enemy break into the Upper City, invade, pollute, and destroy the Temple. Of this catastrophe he gives us no such view as that of the destruction of the lower town: yet he leaves us in no doubt of the event. The whole city is searched with flaming judgments from which none escape. Their "wealth becomes a booty" to their foes; "and their houses a desolation;" they are not suffered to inhabit the houses they have built, nor to drink the wine of the vineyards they have planted.

As Zephaniah contemplates the scene, as he beholds Temple and city and palace fall, and the unhappy thousands who have escaped the sword carried away captive into a strange land, he breaks into that sublime song, that solemn *dies iræ* with which the chapter closes (vs. 14—18):—

"The great day of Jehovah is near,
Near, and hastening greatly.
Hark! the day of Jehovah!
Bitterly shrieketh the mighty man.
A day of fury is this day,
A day of anguish and distress,
A day of desolation and ruin,
A day of darkness and gloom,
A day of clouds and of cloudy night,
A day of the trumpet and the trumpet-blast
Against the fortified cities,
And against the lofty battlements.
And I will bring men into straits,

And they shall walk like the blind,
Because they have sinned against Jehovah;
And their blood shall be poured out like dust,
And their flesh like dung.
Even their silver, even their gold,
Shall not be able to rescue them
In the day of Jehovah's fury;
But in the fire of his wrath
Shall the whole earth be consumed:
For He will make an end, yea, a sudden end,
Of all the inhabitants of the earth."

There are no grander verses, none more sombre and tragic, none in which terror is more picturesque, in the literature of the world. But they call for little comment. They are to be *felt* rather than critically analysed and explained. In order to impress on us the terrors of that great day of the Lord, the prophet exhausts the copious Hebrew vocabulary of its terms for gloom and horror. That day is the day of the overflowing irresistible wrath of God; the day on which men sink into an anguish and distress beyond expression, beyond relief; the day on which the whole earth is wasted with havoc and broken into ruin: the day of a darkness so profound that day itself is changed into its very opposite and becomes a night, and a night wrapped in clouds through which no star can shoot a ray of hope; and out of the thick darkness, stabbing all hearts with an agony of fear, the war-trumpets peal louder and louder, till, in their misery and terror, men "walk like the blind," brooding in a sullen despair over their sins, desperate of escape.

CONTRASTS OF SCRIPTURE.

THE GOSPELS OF ST. MATTHEW AND ST. LUKE.

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HE distinctions of Scripture are no less remarkable than the coincidences, or rather, they are coincidences of a peculiar kind. Every thoughtful student of the Gospel narratives must have noticed verbal differences in the Gospels when the writers are narrating what are evidently the same events. It is of some importance if we can trace these verbal differences, not to any carelessness of expression on the part of the writers, but to a desire on the part of each Evangelist to use that phraseology which would convey the true impressions of the event narrated in the clearest manner to the class of persons to whom each primarily and particularly addressed his Gospel.

It is generally admitted that St. Matthew wrote more especially for the Jews, and St. Luke for the Gentiles; and it will be alike interesting and important if we can find, upon a critical analysis of the text of each of these Evangelists, that when the phraseology in which they both narrate the same event differs, it does so out of a consideration of the different classes addressed.¹ I

propose to examine a few points of difference in phraseology in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, bearing this principle in mind.

I. THE GENEALOGIES.—The difference between the genealogy of our Lord, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, is remarkable. St. Matthew traces the descent of Christ from Abraham; St. Luke traces it from Adam. I do not here enter into the question of whether both writers give us the genealogy of Joseph, or whether in St. Luke we read that of the Virgin. I confine my remarks to the point which immediately concerns my general argument.

On this point it is evident that the connection of Christ with Abraham would be most important to the Jews (and therefore is the point illustrated by St. Matthew); and for the Gentiles the most important point would be to teach them that He and all men were descended from God, the Creator of humanity.²

II. It is noticeable that, as a rule, when St. Matthew

¹ I think this principle, which pervades the differences between the two Gospels, goes some way to disprove Schleiermacher's view that St. Luke was only a compiler, as urged in his *Ueber die Schriften Lukæ*.

² Keim, in his *Life of Jesus*, referring to this point, and to the date of St. Luke's Gospel, sarcastically remarks (as if there were no other solution), "Metaphysics already begin to attach themselves to his nature; he is a descendant from Adam, not the son of David, or the son of Abraham." Surely the reason of the difference in the genealogies is nearer at hand.

writes of the "kingdom of heaven," St. Luke uses the phrase "kingdom of God." The words mean precisely the same thing, but the different phrases conveyed most accurately the same idea to the Jewish and Gentile mind respectively. A Jew spoke commonly of a "great thing" as a "thing of God." Thus we read of "a city of God" (Jonah iii. 3), "mountains of God" (Ps. xxxvi. 6), "cedars of God" (Ps. lxxx. 10). So that to a Jewish mind the words "kingdom of God" would convey at once an idea of temporal splendour and power. When we remember that the most vital error in Jewish theological thought was the belief that the Messiah's kingdom was to be a temporal one of great earthly might and majesty; how that mistaken conception of its nature led to their rejection of Jesus of Nazareth because of his humility, we can easily see how St. Matthew carefully avoided the phrase "kingdom of God," which might encourage that misconception, and might seem to pander to that error. On the other hand, the erroneous conceptions of the Gentile world which St. Luke had to dispel were of a totally different character. To them the phrase of St. Matthew, "kingdom of heaven," might have seemed to give some countenance, while the phrase so dangerous to St. Matthew, "kingdom of God," would in the case of the Gentiles not only have given no countenance to their prevalent error, but tended to instruct them in much needed positive truth. The Gentile would believe in "gods many," in gods of earth, of the sea, of the heaven, and the phrase "kingdom of heaven" might have implied to them that there were other kingdoms ruled over by other gods. Therefore St. Luke speaks of the "kingdom of God" in every passage where St. Matthew writes of the "kingdom of heaven." Everywhere St. Luke seems to avoid anything which to Gentile thought might suggest a confirmation of their localising or individualising the Deity. For instance, St. Luke never speaks, as St. Matthew so frequently does, of "our Father in heaven."¹ Even in the Lord's Prayer, according to the best authorities,² St. Luke gives only "Our Father," and not, as St. Matthew, "Our Father which art in heaven."

So also St. Matthew says (iv. 4), "Every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God"—the personality and individuality of which is carefully avoided by St. Luke in the phrase, "By every word of God" (iv. 4); and the phrase "Whosoever will do the will of my Father which is in heaven," of St. Matthew (xii. 50), is delocalised by St. Luke into "My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of God and do it."

III. Of the distinctive objects in view and provided for by the two Evangelists, we have remarkable examples

in Matt. xxiii. 27, as compared with Luke xi. 41. St. Matthew writes, "Ye are like unto whited sepulchres,"³ which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." St. Luke writes, "Ye are as graves which appear not, and the men that walk over them are not aware of them."

Now at first sight, and especially with our minds imbued with the popular but erroneous idea of a "whited sepulchre," these passages seem to refer to entirely distinct things; but upon closer examination, and especially with regard to the facts I am seeking to illustrate, that St. Matthew wrote especially for the Jews, and St. Luke for Gentiles, they will be found to be identical. It must be borne in mind that in Jewish casuistry for a man, however unconsciously, to walk over a grave, was to incur ceremonial defilement. The Jewish authorities, therefore, when a grave became undistinguishable by reason of the decay or destruction of the original indication of its existence, caused the spot to be marked with "whitewash," so that no one unconsciously walking over it should unwittingly contract ceremonial defilement. These marks, however, exposed as they were necessarily to the elements, would become soon obliterated, and, the indication of danger removed, these graves covered with the renewed growth of grass and herbage, would appear "beautiful outside," while full within of the sources of ceremonial defilement. Then the "whited sepulchres" would be dangerously deceptive because the whitening had worn off, and there was nothing to warn the Jew, when walking over the "beautiful" verdure, that he was really treading on a polluting grave.⁴

All this was intelligible enough to a Jew, accustomed to these protective arrangements; but how unintelligible to a Gentile one can easily imagine in the light of the fact that by our very misapplication of the words "whited sepulchre," we show we have proverbially as Gentiles misunderstood it. St. Luke, therefore, as instructor of the Gentiles, speaks not of the *κεκοιμημένοι* (graves which have lost the prohibitory whitening, and become beautiful with the regrown grass and flowers), of the *ἄδηλα* (graves "which appear not")—a phrase so untechnical and simple that no Gentile could misunderstand it.

IV. St. Matthew is generally more chronologically accurate in his narrative than other writers, yet he gives as the first miracle the healing of a leper (viii. 2—4), for nothing in the shape of exercise of healing power would so impress a Jew as the curing of a leper, especially when the healing was accomplished by touch, which to other than One sent by God would be a source of pollution. St. Luke, on the contrary, puts in the forefront of his

¹ St. Luke xi. 13 may seem an exception, but here not only the exception proves the rule, but *ὁ Πατήρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* ("the Father who is of heaven," Bengel, Eng. Ed.) is simply in opposition to fathers who are evil and of the earth, and is certainly not so strong in suggestion of localisation as the *ὁ Πατήρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* ("the Father in the heavens") of Matt. vii. 11.

² See the Vulgate, Origen *περὶ εὐαγγ.*, Tertullian. Griesbaeh (Leipsic Ed., 1805) also rejects the *ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* in St. Luke's Gospel.

³ *τίφοις κεκοιμημένοι*, literally "graves," not *τὰ μνημεῖα*, "sepulchres," as in Luke xi. 44.

⁴ See on this point of whitening the graves, Pocock, *Notæ Miscell.* This is also spoken of in *Mishna Shekalim*, i. § 1, *חוררין חסן יצאין*. On the first of Adar in each year the sepulchres were to be "painted," i.e. marked with a mixture of lime and water. Maimonides mentions that they did not mark those which were apparent, but only those which were not likely to be seen, and which, therefore, might accidentally be touched in passing.

record of miraculous signs (iv. 33—36) the healing of one possessed, by far the most impressive sign to the Gentiles, when we remember that he was a worshipper of the demons, over whom Jesus was thus shown to triumph. It is also noticeable that St. Luke speaks of an "unclean spirit" or demon; St. Matthew (viii. 28) speaks only of a "devil." There was no distinction in the Jewish mind between good and bad demons, but it was otherwise with the Gentile conception of demons; therefore St. Luke points out the nature of the demon that was expelled. Luke ix. 42 may seem not to bear out this argument, but the previous description in this narrative of the results of the possession had sufficiently explained the nature of the "devil" (*δαίμωνιον*), which in the opening (ver. 39) is designated *πνεῦμα* (spirit); and the words of the narrative are a striking contrast to the account of the same incident in Matt. xvii. 15, where the son is described as being "lunatic" (*ὅτι σεληνιαῖςται*), a phrase calculated to encourage superstitious ideas in a Gentile reader, and therefore avoided by St. Luke. It is also worth calling attention to St. Luke's omission of the statement recorded by St. Matthew (ver. 21), that "this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting."

Another very remarkable example (the more remarkable, perhaps, because at first sight it may appear the contrary) is to be found in Luke xi. 14. We are here told that Christ was casting out a demon, "and it was dumb" (*καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν κωφόν*). Thus the character of the demon is described. But in the account given by St. Matthew of this or similar cases, does not he also use the word "dumb," and thus describe the nature of the possessing devil? If we examine the passage in St. Matthew, we shall find that he applies the word "dumb" to the man, and not to the demon which possessed him, which is an essential and notable difference from St. Luke's method of description, where it is the nature of the demon itself which is thus characterised and described. Matt. ix. 32 I take as the first example. There we read, "They brought to him a dumb man possessed with a devil" (*ἄνθρωπον κωφὸν δαιμονιζόμενον*). Here it is the man that is dumb, not the devil. To the Jewish mind, to be possessed of a demon was a bad thing in itself, and the Jewish reader would at once connect the dumbness and the possession of a demon as cause and effect.* The Gentile mind would not do so, there being in Gentile demonology good and bad demons; so St. Luke (xi. 14) describes the possession as that of a "dumb demon." The other passage is in Matt. xii. 22, 24. In the English version the point is not so clear—it being most natural to conclude from the English that the demon is here described as "blind and dumb"—as we read, "Then was brought unto him one possessed with a devil, blind and dumb." The original Greek (*τότε προσήνεχθη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός*), however, shows that the "blind and dumb" refer to the "possessed" man, and not to the demon, which is not mentioned personally at all. In fact, St. Luke, for the sake of the Gentiles, has to explain always that it was an evil demon of some kind, while the equivalent

words in St. Matthew are by him applied to the effect on the person possessed.

V. When St. Matthew appeals on various occasions to the commandments of the Jewish Law, we find no such reference in the parallel passage in St. Luke. To his Gentile readers such an appeal would be either weak altogether, or tend to convey an idea that through Jewish law the liberty of the Gospel of Jesus Christ should be attained. For example, St. Matthew (vii. 12) writes as our Lord's teaching, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." St. Luke in the same passage gives the word of Christ thus, "Do ye also to them likewise" (Luke vi. 31).

Again, St. Luke gives our Lord's rebuke to the Pharisees, "Ye tithe the mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God" (Luke xi. 42), where St. Matthew gives the additional reproach to a Jew, contained in the words, "Ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the Law, judgment, mercy, and faith" (Matt. xxiii. 23).

VI. In the account of the transfiguration of Christ we have in the different descriptive phraseology of St. Matthew and St. Luke a remarkable instance of the elaborate care with which the one adapted his narrative to the instruction of the Gentile, and the other to the instruction of the Jew. St. Matthew (xvii. 2) writes, "And he was transfigured [lit. *metamorphosed*]¹ before them." Knowing how such a phrase might be wrested to sanction erroneous teaching by a people who believed in every strange superstition about metamorphosis, St. Luke avoids the word that would be misunderstood, and says (ix. 29),² "The fashion of his countenance was altered."

A comparison of the report of the Sermon on the Mount³ (Matt. v. *et seq.*; Luke vi. 17, *et seq.*), as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, will show that St. Luke omitted several exhortations which, addressed to the Pharisees, were useless for, and, indeed, would be unintelligible to, Gentile readers. For example, St. Luke omits that earnest denunciation of the ostentatious charity of the Pharisees, which the Gentile converts, probably, did not share, and to whom there would be no point in such an allusion as that made to "the sounding of the trumpet" in giving alms, inasmuch as it referred to the manner in which some alms-givers rattled their shekels in the trumpet-shaped vessels at the door of the

¹ Καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἑμπροσθεν αὐτῶν.

² Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ προσέχεσθαι αὐτὸν τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον, κ. τ. λ.

³ I assume the two Evangelists to be recording the same sermon. The phrase "stood in the plain," is not contradictory to the statement of St. Matthew, that he "went up into a mountain." See Bengel in loc. *τόπον πεδίου*, "on a level spot." "This spot was not in the bottom of the valley, but half-way down the mountain, a more suitable locality for addressing a large audience than a completely level plain." See also Bengel on Matt. v. "Afterwards he came half-way down the mountain, and as he was coming down with his disciples, he met the people coming up, and sat down there to teach." Thus explaining the apparent difference between the statement of the one that "he was set," and the other that he "stood."

Temple into which they cast their alms, thus causing the trumpet to sound, so that men might be aware of their liberal casting in of offerings.¹

I have purposely in this paper confined my remarks to such varieties between the Gospels by St. Matthew and St. Luke—in regard both to the language used and to the relative prominence given by each to particular events—as may be accounted for by the different knowledge and habits of thought of the persons whose instruction was the primary object of each Evangelist.²

¹ For this interesting view of the meaning of this passage I am indebted to the Rev. S. Cox.

² Perhaps these points may be in some sort also a reply to such a remark as that of Keim, who says of the sources from which St.

There are, of course, many other striking contrasts in the various Gospel narratives which are attributable to other causes, of which I shall afterwards treat. The study of these contrasts between the language and styles of the various books of the Bible will, I hope, help to bring out strongly the individuality and independence of the inspired writers.

Luke derived his Gospel, that they "lay within the range of Jewish Christianity" (Dr. Theodore Keim's *Life of Jesus*). Surely the fact that St. Luke wrote for the Gentiles is (without sinister suggestions that much of the Gospel "appears altogether Pauline") sufficient to explain why, in St. Luke's Gospel, "humble faith and practical love of our neighbours are," as Dr. Keim says, "exalted above the law" (or, as I think it more accurate to say, put without any appeal to the law).

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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HAVING in former chapters sketched the life of Tyndale, we turn now to the examination of his work. We shall first notice his translation of the New Testament.

In our last article (page 125), some verses of St. Matthew were given in facsimile from one of Tyndale's Testaments. The specimen is taken from the first edition, from the sheets printed at Cologne in 1525, before Cochläus appeared on the scene to obstruct Tyndale's labours. These sheets, it will be remembered, were in quarto,¹ whereas the edition commenced at Worms was in octavo. The facsimile, therefore, represents the earliest English Testament ever printed—the first English translation of the New Testament made from the original.

Until recently it was supposed that no portion of this quarto Testament had escaped destruction. In the year 1836, however, a London bookseller accidentally met with a portion of an English translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, in black letter, bound up with another tract. The fragment consisted of thirty-one leaves. Seven of these contained a prologue, commencing, "I have here translated (brethern and susters moost dere and tenderly beloued in Christ) the newe Testament for youre spirituall edyfyng, consolacion, and solas." After the prologue we find a complete list of the books of the New Testament, and a woodcut representing an angel holding an inkstand into which St. Matthew dips his pen. Then follows the translation of rather more than two-thirds of the Gospel, the last words of the fragment being, "howe camyst thou in hydder, and" (Matt. xxii. 12). As now the prologue contains the very passages which were alleged against Tyndale by his enemies; as the list of books embraces the whole New Testament, and follows the peculiar arrangement which is adopted in Tyndale's octavo Testament; as it can be shown from the wood-

cut and from typographical evidence² that the fragment was printed (by Quentel) at Cologne before 1526; and as the translation agrees to a remarkable extent with that of the octavo Testament; there cannot remain the least doubt that in this fragment we have, as has been said, a portion of the first New Testament published by Tyndale, and that the eight sheets which it contains are part of the ten so hastily carried off from Cologne to Worms. Out of 3,000 copies printed, this alone is known to exist. It is now in the Grenville Library of the British Museum, and is commonly spoken of as the Grenville Fragment. This work is now rendered accessible to all, through the publication by Mr. Arber of an admirable facsimile edition: to the editor's excellent *Preface*, which contains many documents of great importance, we have frequently referred our readers.

Before entering into further detail respecting this earliest version, let us look at the companion volume, the octavo Testament issued at Worms in 1525. Of this edition we happily possess one complete copy—complete, that is, so far as the translation is concerned, for here also the title-page is missing. This copy, which is in the library of the Baptist College, Bristol, has been most carefully reproduced in facsimile by Mr. Francis Fry. It contains no prologue, or list of contents; but at the close, before the list of errors corrected, there is a short address to the reader, of which we shall have to speak presently. An imperfect copy of the same edition, preserved in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, contains about six-sevenths of the New Testament, and is defective both at the beginning and at the end. In 1836 Messrs. Bagster republished this translation, under the editorship of Mr. Ofor. Those who have not access to Mr. Fry's beautiful (but expensive) facsimile, will find this edition convenient, and sufficiently correct for most purposes.³ The same

² See Arber's *Facsimile*, pp. 65, 66.

¹ By an unfortunate misprint, the facsimile on page 125 appears as an extract from the octavo edition. For "octavo" read "quarto."

³ There is considerable inaccuracy in minor points, such as the spelling of words. In the course of nearly thirty chapters (taken from St. Matthew, the Acts, and the Epistle to the Colossians)

translation of the Gospels is given, together with Wycliffe's, in Bosworth and Waring's Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels. It will not be necessary to adduce at length the evidence on which we receive this Testament as Tyndale's. In the introduction to the facsimile, Mr. Fry fully proves that the book was printed by P. Schoeffer at Worms about the time at which Tyndale is known to have been in that city. In a later work Tyndale makes reference to the address to the reader which this volume contains; and a comparison of the translation with that of subsequent editions which bear Tyndale's name, is of itself sufficient to place the authorship beyond doubt.

As might be expected, the differences between the two editions of 1525 are very slight, so far as the translation is concerned. A careful collation of the Grenville Fragment with the corresponding portion of the octavo edition shows that, if we pass over variations in orthography and some manifest misprints, there are hardly more than fifty differences of text in 740 verses. Many of these are of very little consequence (as *to* for *unto*, *unto* for *to*, *which* for *the which*), but others show the hand of the careful reviser, omitting unnecessary words or improving the style. There is but little advance in correctness of translation, the emendations being balanced by almost an equal number of mistakes. The only alteration of real importance is found in Matt. xx. 23, where the quarto text has "is not mine to give you;" in the octavo Tyndale rightly removes the "you," which had come in from the Vulgate. That the Testament to which the Grenville Fragment belongs is of earlier date than the octavo, would be clear even if we had only internal evidence to guide us; for in more than forty out of the fifty places in which the two texts differ, the reading of the octavo is that which is found in Tyndale's later editions. In other respects the two Testaments of 1525 have much less in common. The brief epistle "To the Reader" stands in marked contrast with the lengthy prologue prefixed to the quarto edition, and the absence of notes in the octavo is a still more striking characteristic. Our specimen of the earlier work (p. 125) contains an explanatory comment in the outer margin, the inner being reserved for references to passages of Scripture, usually parallel passages in the other Gospels. As, however, these two Testaments so nearly agree in the text which they present, they are usually spoken of as one work, under the name of Tyndale's *first* edition of the New Testament.

The publication of unauthorised impressions of Tyndale's Testament, by printers in Holland, has already been referred to; these will require no further notice. In 1534, however, George Joye, the author of translations of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Psalms (not from the Hebrew, but from the Latin), took in hand a re-

vision of Tyndale's version, correcting it by the help of the Vulgate. Many of the alterations which Joye made were very offensive to Tyndale; though, no doubt, made with good intentions, they betray great weakness of judgment, and frequently depart widely from the meaning of the original text.¹ Perhaps it is to this unauthorised procedure that we owe Tyndale's distinct avowal that the translation of the New Testament (which had hitherto appeared anonymously) was from his hand. The revised version on which he had been long engaged was published in November, 1534, three months later than Joye's; and not only does the title-page contain Tyndale's name, but at the head of the Preface we find "W. T. yet once again to the Christian Reader." In this edition, usually known as the *second*, the text is accompanied by marginal notes. Besides the address to the reader, there is a separate prologue to almost every book, those prefixed to the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistle to the Romans being of considerable length. A translation of Epistles taken out of the Old Testament,² and a short exposition upon certain words and phrases of the New Testament, "added to fill up the leaf withal," are the remaining contents of the volume. A few copies of this edition are preserved in our great libraries; for example, those of the British Museum, St. Paul's Cathedral, the University of Cambridge, &c. In 1843 Messrs. Bagster published in their *English Hexapla* a careful reprint of Tyndale's Testament of 1534, taken from a copy in the Library of the Baptist College, Bristol.

"One of the few copies of this edition which have been preserved is of touching interest. Among the men who had suffered for aiding in the circulation of the earlier editions of the Testament was a merchant-adventurer of Antwerp, Mr. Harman, who seems to have applied to Queen Anne Boleyn for redress. The Queen listened to the plea which was urged in his favour, and by her intervention he was restored to the freedom and privileges of which he had been deprived. Tyndale could not fail to hear of her good offices, and he acknowledged them by a royal gift. He was at the time engaged in superintending the printing of his revised New Testament, and of this he caused one copy to be struck off on vellum and beautifully illuminated. No preface or dedication or name mars the simple integrity of this copy. Only on the gilded edges in faded red letters runs the simple title, *Anna Regina Angliæ*. The copy was bequeathed to the British Museum by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode in 1799."³

The final results of Tyndale's labours on the New Testament are found in the edition which was published about the time of his imprisonment. There is some difficulty in identifying this edition, as the same text appears in two forms, one bearing date 1535, the other

there are only four mistakes which affect the sense; whereas within the compass of fifty verses there are nearly thirty differences in orthography, &c., between this edition and Mr. Fry's facsimile. It should be said that the title-page inserted by Mr. Offor has no authority whatever.

¹ One copy of Joye's work has been preserved, and is now in the British Museum. For further particulars, see Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, pp. 46-48; Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, pp. 387-391.

² See above, page 124.

³ Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, p. 49.

1534 (that is, probably, the commencement of 1535); where the latter date is given, the initials "G. H." follow. It is probable that the edition "1534 (G. H.)" is Tyndale's genuine work, the other being a pirated edition. One circumstance has brought the book dated 1535 into special notoriety, viz., the extraordinary orthography of the words. A glance at the specimens which we give of the earlier editions will show how wonderfully the spelling of English words may be made to vary, but in the edition now under consideration there is a method in the madness which cannot fail to attract attention. In Col. i. 9—17, for example (see next column), we find *prayinge, fructfull, faether, haeth, maede, saeyntes, derknes, whoom, ruele, &c.* It has been suggested that the peculiar orthography was adopted intentionally; that Tyndale, wishing to adapt his work not only to his countrymen, but also to those of his own county, wrote the words according to the pronunciation current among the peasantry of Gloucestershire, that even the "boy that drove the plough" might learn to read the Holy Scriptures.¹ It appears certain, however, that the strange guise in which the words appear is the result of the employment of Flemish printers, the novel combinations of vowels being due to peculiarities of Flemish pronunciation. It is worthy of remark that Tyndale's last edition, though it has marginal references and (in part) short headings of chapters, is without notes. Two copies of the edition dated 1535 are preserved. That in the British Museum is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end; a complete copy may be seen in the Cambridge University Library. The text of this edition has not been republished.

The following specimens will illustrate the various forms of Tyndale's work on the New Testament, and will enable our readers to judge for themselves in regard to some interesting questions which remain to be considered. The first extract is taken from the second edition (1534), as printed in Bagster's *Hexapla*. The portion selected is Matt. xiii. 1—14, Tyndale's earlier translation of which verses has already been given. For the purpose of comparison, the later Wycliffite version of the same passage is added. The next extract is from the British Museum copy of the Testament of 1535; Col. i. 9—17 has been chosen, as a passage of some difficulty. Here also the reader may compare Tyndale's work with that of Purvey, some verses of the early version having been given on a preceding page.² The last passage from the New Testament is Heb. xi. 29—34, as it appears in the edition of 1535: we have assimilated the spelling to that of our ordinary Bibles, that the two versions may be more easily compared.

ST. MATTHEW XIII. 1—14 (TYNDALE, 1534).

The same daye went Iesus out of the house, and sat by the see syde, and moche people resorted vnto him, so gretly that he went and sat in a shippe, and all the people stode on the shoore. And he spake many thynges to them in similitudes, sayinge: Beholde, the sower went forth to sowe. And as he sowed, some fell by the wayes syde, and the fowles came and deuoured it vp. Some fell vpon stony grounde where it had not moche erth, and a nonne it

spronge vp, because it had no depth of erth: and when the sunne was vp, it cauth heet, and for lake of rotynge wyddred awaye. Some fell amonge thornes, & the thornes spronge vp and chooked it. Parts fell in good ground, & brought forth good frute: some an hundred fold, some sixtie fold, some thyrty folde. Whosoever hath eares to heare, let him heare.

And the disciples came and sayde to him: Why speakest thou to them in parables? He answered and sayde vnto them: It is geuen vnto you to knowe the secretes of the kyngdome of heuen, but to them it is not geuen. For whosoever hath to him shall be geuen: and he shall haue abundance. But whosoever hath not: from hym shal he takyn a waye even that he hath. Therefore speake I to them in similitudes: for though they se, they se not: & hearinge they heare not: nether vnderstonde. And in them is fulfilled the Prophesie of Esayas, which prophesie sayth: With the eares ye shall heare and shall not vnderstonde, and with the eyes ye shall se, and shall not perceave.

ST. MATTHEW XIII. 1—14 (PURVEY, 1388).

In that dai Jhesus gede out of the house, and sat bisidis the see. And myche puple was gaderid to hym, so that he wente up in to a boot, and sat; and al the puple stood on the brenke. And he spak to hem many thingis in parabis, and seide, Lo! he that sowith gede out to sowe his seed. And while he sowith, summe seedis felden bisidis the weid, and briddis of the air camen, and eeten hem. But othere seedis felden in to stony places, where thei hadden not myche erthe; and anon thei sprongen vp, for thei hadden not depesse of erthe. But whanne the sonne was risun, thei swaliden, and for thei hadden not roote, thei drieden vp. And othere seedis felden among thornes; and thornes woxen vp, and strangledeu hem. But othere seedis felden in to good lond, and gaueu fruyt, summe an hundred foold, an othir sixti foold, an othir thritti foold. He that hath cris of heryng, here he. And the disciplis camen nys, and seiden to him, Whi spekest thou in parabis to hem? And he answeride, and seide to hem, For to gon it is gounn to knowe the priyetes of the kyngdom of heuenes; but it is not gounn to hem. For it shal be gounn to hym that hath, and he shal haue plente; but if a man hath not, also, that thing that he hath shal be takun awei fro hym. Therefore Y speke to hem in parabis, for thei seynge seen not, and thei herynge heren not, nether vnderstonden; that the prophesie of Ysaie seiynge be fulfillid in hem, With heryng ge schulen here, and ge shulen not vnderstonde; and ge soynge schulen se, and ge shulen not se.

COL. I. 9—17 (TYNDALE, 1535).

For this cause we also, seuce the daye we harde of it, haue not cessyd praeyng for you, and desyryng that ye might be fulfilled with the knowledge of his will, in all wysdome & spiritual vnderstondinge, that ye might walke worthy of the Lorde in all thinges that please, beyng fructfull in all good workes and encreasinge in the knowledge of God, strenghted with all might thorowe his glorious power vnto all pacience and longe sufferinge with ioyfalmes, geuinge thanks vnto the faether which haeth made vs meete to be parttakers of the enleritaunce of saeyntes in light.

Which haeth deliuered vs from the power of derknes, and haeth translated vs into the kingdome of his deare sone, in whom we haue redempcion thorowe his blood, that is to easy forgoeuen of sinnes, which is the ymage of the inuisible God, first begotten of al creatures. For by him were all thinges created, thinges that are in heauen, and thinges that are in earth: thinges visible, and thinges inuisible, whether they be maieste or lordshippe, ether ruele or power. All thinges are created by him, and in him, and he is before all thinges, and in him all thinges haue there beyng.

HEB. XI. 29—34 (TYNDALE, 1535: SPELLING MODERNISED).

By faith they passed through the Red Seas by dry land, which when the Egyptians had assayed to do, They were drowned.

By faith the walls of Jericho fell down after they were compassed about, seven days.

By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with the unbelievers, when she had received the spies to lodging peaceably.

And what shall I more say? the time would be too short for me to tell of Gedeon, of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthae: also of David and Samuel, and of the prophets: which through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained the promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, of weak were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.

If our readers will now place side by side the extract on page 125 and the first of the passages just given, the

¹ See Vol. II., p. 21.

² See Vol. I., p. 82.

relation between Tyndale's first and second editions will be easily seen. In these fourteen verses there is no difference between the octavo and quarto of 1525 (except in spelling); the second edition exhibits seven changes—no inconsiderable amount of alteration for a passage of this nature and extent. In one case an oversight is corrected (*sixty* for *fifty*); in two or three others the original is followed more closely. A more graphic expression, "the thorns sprung up," takes the place of "the thorns arose:" here, however, the gain is more than doubtful, for now two different Greek words are rendered by "sprung up," and the hasty growth of the seed which fell on the stony ground is not distinguished from the "coming up" of the thorns. It will be seen that most of the alterations stood their ground, and are in the Authorised Version.

The second and third passages happen to illustrate the agreement amongst Tyndale's successive editions, rather than their difference, the only variations being found in Col. i. 14 ("the forgiveness" for "forgiveness"), Col. i. 17 ("before all" for "of all"), and in Heb. xi. 31 ("them that believed not" for "the unbelievers," and "after" for "when"). In fact,

not one of the examples here given fully illustrates the amount of revision bestowed by Tyndale on his earlier work. In a chapter of St. Matthew taken at hazard (chap. xxi.) we find that, whereas the two Testaments of 1525 differ in one word only, the second edition (1534) differs from them in forty or fifty places. In twenty of these the new rendering is nearer to the Greek, in three only is it less faithful than the former version; in more than thirty of these instances Tyndale's later rendering is preserved in the Authorised Version. Professor Westcott has compared the three editions in the First Epistle of St. John. He finds thirty-four changes introduced in 1534, sixteen more in 1535; in most instances the change was for the better.¹ Enough has been said to show that Tyndale, like Luther, was continually bent on the improvement of his work. At the same time, we need not go beyond the illustrations here given to be convinced of the excellence of Tyndale's *first* attempt, all the changes introduced by him at a later period affecting but a small portion of his earliest text.

¹ *Hist. of Eng. Bible*, pp. 309—312.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

III.—EARLY ATTENDANCE AT THE SANCTUARY (*continued*).

BY THE REV. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.



HE few principal articles which were considered necessary to constitute the furniture of the synagogue corresponded to those in the Temple. Foremost among them was the ark. It consisted of a wooden chest, which was placed against the wall opposite the entrance, towards which the praying congregation stood with their faces. This ark, which contained the Scrolls of the Law, was placed on an elevated base, with several steps leading to it. From these steps the priests pronounced the benediction, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee," &c. (Numb. vi. 24—26), on the great feasts and fasts. There was a canopy over the ark. In modern synagogues which possess a number of scrolls, there are several arks placed side by side against the eastern wall, as may be seen in the picture which illustrates this article. The recess containing the ark is called the Sanctuary, or the Holy of Holies (קדש הקדש). As this was considered the symbol of the Divine presence, the worshippers, on entering the synagogue, bowed in reverence towards the ark, saying, "But as for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy, and in thy fear will I worship [or bow] towards thy holy temple" (Ps. v. 7). In front of the ark was a reading-desk before which stood the angel of the congregation, or the one delegated to conduct the public prayer, with his face to the sacred shrine and back to the people, as exhibited in the illustration.

In the centre of the synagogue stood the rostrum or platform, which was capable of holding several persons.

From this platform the lessons from the Law and Prophets were read, discourses were delivered, and announcements made. The platform was raised above the top of the seats, so as to cause the voice of the reader to be heard by all. Hence Josephus tells us that when the multitude assembled together every seventh year on the Feast of Tabernacles, the high priest ascended the high desk, whence he was heard, and read the laws to all the people (*Antiq.* iv. 8, 12). It was from such a platform, capable of holding at least fourteen persons, that Ezra read the law. Thus we are told "that Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood, which they had made for the purpose; and beside him stood Mattithiah, and Shema, and Anaiah, and Urijah, and Hilkiah, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and on his left hand Pedaiah, and Mishael, and Malchiah, and Hashum, and Hashbadana, Zechariah, and Meshullam, and opened the book before the eyes of all the people, since he was above all the people" (*Neh.* viii. 4, 5). It was on such a platform that Christ "stood up for to read" the lesson from the Prophets on the Sabbath in the synagogue at Nazareth (*Luke* iv. 16, 17); and that St. Paul stood when he delivered the discourse on the Sabbath in the synagogue at Antioch, after the reading of the Law and the Prophets (*Acts* xiii. 14—16).

The seats of honour for the elders of the synagogue and for the doctors of the Law were the next important articles of furniture. These arm-chairs, which are alternately called in the New Testament "the chief seats" (*Matt.* xxiii. 6; *Mark* xii. 39), "the uppermost

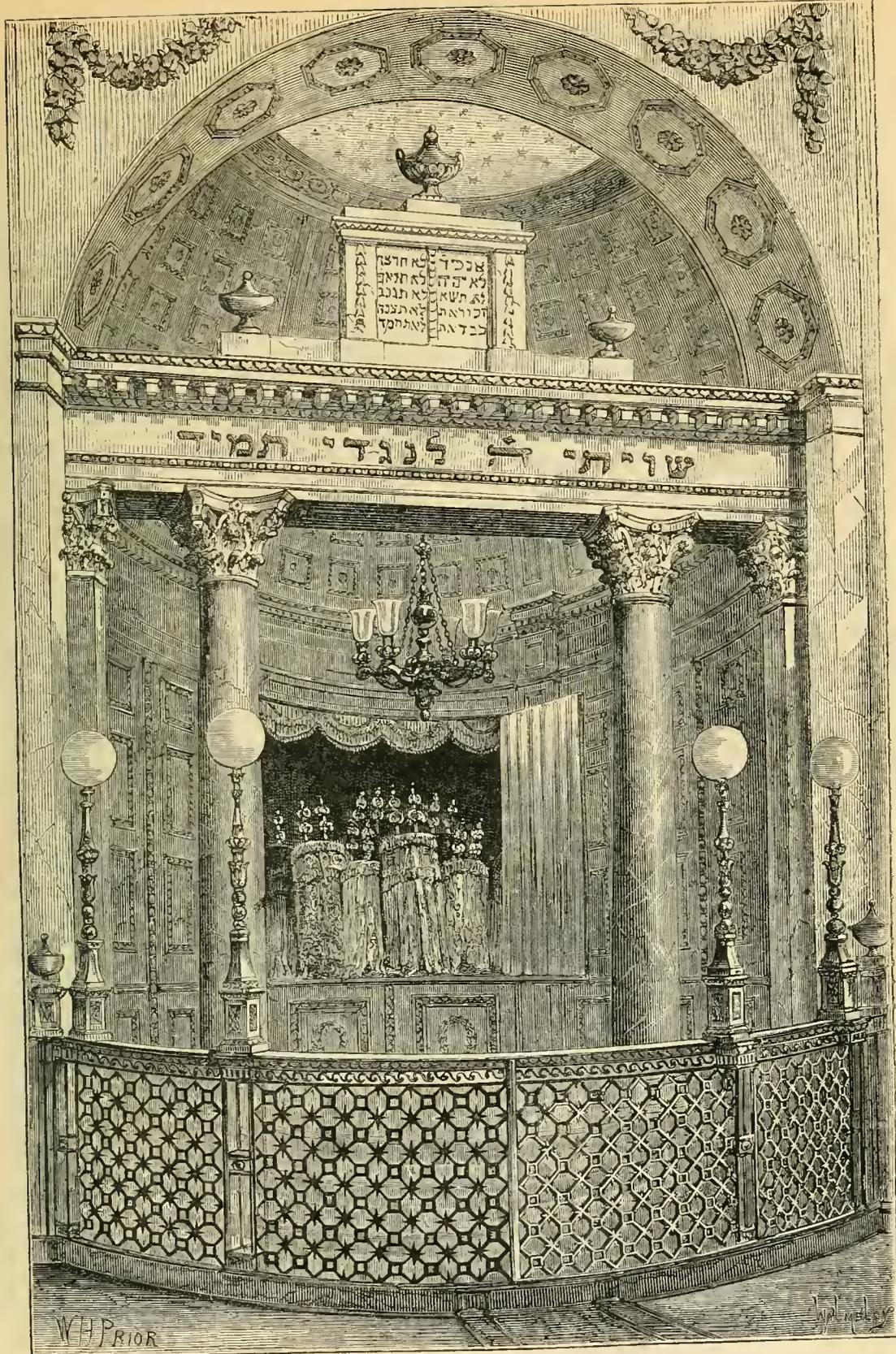
seats" (Luke xi. 43), and "the highest seats" (Luke xx. 46), were placed in front of the ark, opposite the entrance. As this was the uppermost part of the synagogue, and corresponded to the chancel in our churches, they are appropriately called the uppermost or highest seats. These elders sat with their backs to the ark and faced the people, whilst the worshippers stood with their faces to the ark, and hence face to face with the doctors of the Law. The materials of which these seats were made varied according to the size and wealth of the congregation. The Talmud tells us that in the synagogue at Alexandria there were no less than seventy-one of these seats of honour placed around the chancel somewhat in the manner of the stalls in our cathedrals, answering to the number of the members of the great Sanhedrin; and that they were made of gold (*Succa*, 81 b). How faithfully this custom was preserved may be seen from the description which Benjamin of Tudela, the celebrated Jewish traveller of the Middle Ages, gives of the principal synagogue at Bagdad. "Many of the Jews of Bagdad," writes this explorer in A.D. 1159—1173, "are good scholars and very rich. The city contains twenty-eight Jewish synagogues, situated partly in Bagdad and partly in Al-Khorkh, on the other side of the river Tigris, which runs through and divides the city. The metropolitan synagogue of the Prince of the Captivity is ornamented with pillars of richly coloured marble, plated with gold and silver. On the pillars are inscribed verses of the Psalms in letters of gold. The ascent to the holy ark is composed of ten marble steps, on the uppermost of which are the stalls set apart for the Prince of the Captivity and the other princes of the house of David." Before and at the time of Christ the common people as a rule had no seats (James ii. 2—4). If fatigued with a long journey, or otherwise unable to stand, the worshippers sat down on the ground with their legs crossed, as may be seen in the East to this day. The women, as in the Temple, were separated from the men. There was a kind of gallery, or one of the aisles screened off with lattice-work, with a separate entrance specially arranged for them. They could hear the service and see the worshippers of the opposite sex without being seen. This practice still obtains amongst the orthodox Jews to this day.

From the charge of our Saviour against the scribes and the Pharisees, that "they love the chief seats in the synagogue," some have supposed that one of the sins which the doctors of the Law committed was their occupying these places of distinction. Nothing, however, can be more erroneous than such a supposition. The ecclesiastical heads of the synagogue were surely no more guilty of pride because they deemed it right to occupy "the uppermost seats" than are the prelates and the dignitaries of our Church because they sit on a throne and in stalls in cathedrals. It is no disparagement of the humility which should attach to his office to say that we believe that a prelate in modern days would be quite as indignant in finding an ordinary worshipper occupying his throne as a scribe or Pharisee felt

in olden days if a layman took his uppermost seat. What Christ condemned was not the existence and occupation of such seats, but the inordinate love for the seat which surpassed the feeling of responsibility attached to the office. Thus the seats of distinction were introduced in the Christian Church even in the apostolic age, after the example of the synagogue. Indeed, the primitive Christians seem to have assigned the seats of honour in their places of worship to those who were attired in costly apparel, as appears from the rebuke administered by St. James: "If there come unto your assembly [or, literally, as the margin has it, *synagogue*] a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect to him that hath the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place, and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool, are ye not then partial in yourselves, and become judges of evil thoughts?" (James ii. 2—4.)

Against the wall where the ark stood there was suspended a lamp which burned day and night. This perpetual light was in imitation of the Tabernacle and Temple light. In accordance with the command that it must be "pure oil olive beaten for the light, which is to cause the lamp to burn always" (Exod. xxvii. 20), the Jews took the greatest care that the oil should be of the finest quality. As this light was considered the symbol of the human soul, of the Divine law (Prov. vi. 23; xx. 27), and of the manifestation of God (Ezek. xliii. 2), it was most religiously fed by the people. Whenever any special blessing or mercy was vouchsafed to a member of the congregation, or if he was afraid of some imminent danger, or was threatened with some loss, he generally vowed a certain quantity of oil for the perpetual light. This perpetual light is not only to be seen in many of the synagogues to the present day, but also existed among many of the nations of antiquity, and has been introduced both into the Christian Church and in Mohammedan mosques. The fact that in Jewish symbolism this light was the emblem of the Divine revelation, gave rise to the metaphorical designation of the apostles that they "are the lights of the world" (Matt. v. 14), the proclaimers of God's word.

In describing the different officers of the synagogue and their respective functions, it is absolutely necessary to make a distinction between the small synagogues in provincial places and the large synagogues in populous and wealthy towns. We have seen that according to the canon law, wherever ten Jews resided who had arrived at that age when they become members of the commonwealth of Israel, they were bound to form themselves into an *ecclesia*, or worshipping body. It stands to reason that in so small a congregation there could not be many officers. However, those that were required to render the service orderly the members themselves appointed. As a rule, the one who was rich enough to have a spare room in his house, and who thought it an honour to give it up as a place of meeting, became the chief or ruler of the synagogue. The most aged and revered of the congregation was requested by



THE ARK OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE, DUKE STREET, ALDGATE, LONDON.

the worshippers to become the leader of the Divine worship; whilst two or three others, who were known for their integrity and charity, were appointed to collect the contributions for the sanctuary at Jerusalem, to attend to any strangers, and to adjudicate any matters of dispute. Still these "village synagogues," as they were called from the paucity of their members, could not copy the Temple service. Indeed, the meetings for worship were frequently interrupted altogether, since the illness of any of the members, or their absence from home, occasioned either by public duties or private business, diminished the legal number requisite to constitute an *ecclesia*, when public worship was entirely discontinued.

The case, however, was different in towns. Here the office-bearers were not only more numerous, but the whole organisation was naturally more complete, following as closely as was practicable the pattern of the Temple arrangements. No place was called a town which had not ten inhabitants of independent means who could devote the whole of their time to the requirements of the synagogue. Thus the canon law declares, "a proper town is that which has ten independent residents; if it has less than this number it is a village" (*Mishna, Megilla* i. 3). These "ten men of leisure" (*batlanim*), as they are technically called, were as a rule selected to fill up the different offices required for the administration of the affairs of the synagogue, which embraced both the ecclesiastical and civil law. The offices to which they were elected, and the names which they obtained, are as follow:—

i. *The Chief Ruler of the Synagogue.*—The one of the ten who was most distinguished for piety, learning, experience, and business tact, was elected to be the chief ruler. The right of election to the office of "shepherd," as it is also called, was vested in the congregation. Thus it is declared that "no ruler or shepherd is to be appointed over a congregation unless he is agreed upon by the congregation." In accordance with the Talmudic practice of deriving every enactment from the Mosaic legislation, the spiritual heads of the nation appeal to Exod. xxx. 30 for support of this law. Here Moses tells the children of Israel, "See, the Lord hath called by name Bezaleel." From which the Talmud infers, "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses, 'Do you approve of Bezaleel?' To which he replied, 'Lord of the universe, if thou approve of him, then I am certain to approve of him.' Then God said to Moses, 'Go and tell it to the children of Israel;' and he went and told them, asking them, 'Do you approve of Bezaleel?' To which they replied, 'If the Holy One, blessed be He, and thou approve of him, we certainly approve of him'" (*Berachoth*, 55 a). Whatever we may think of the exegesis which deduces all this from the expression "see ye," taking it to be tantamount to "choose ye," it shows beyond a doubt that the people chose their own shepherds (*parnasim* = ποιμένες). We have already said that the most learned and experienced of the ten was elected to this office. But as the people at large who exercised their power of choosing

were not always competent to judge between the rival claims of the several members of the decade, the delegates of the Great Sanhedrin, whose seat was at Jerusalem, were sent into the different towns to examine the applicants and certify their fitness for the office. The chief ruler, with his colleagues, had to see to it that the service was conducted decently and in order, had to indicate when they should begin to invite any of the congregation whom they deemed proper to address the people (Acts xiii. 15), and indicated when the congregation was to say Amen.

ii. *Assistant Rulers of the Synagogue.*—Having selected the chief ruler, the next business was to choose other rulers to assist the supreme official, and to constitute a local sanhedrim or chapter, as it were. The number of these depended upon the size and population of the different localities. In a place which had only the requisite ten independent men to constitute a town, two were generally chosen to be the judicial colleagues of the chief justice, to aid him in the administration of the law, and the chief ruler had the principal voice in the appointment. These three, assisted by other four of the ten men of leisure, formed the judicial bench. In accordance with the Jewish practice, Josephus declares that Moses himself ordained that "seven men should judge every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness; and that every judge is to have two officers allotted to him" (*Antiq.* iv. 8, 14). As Church and State were identical with the Jews, these rulers of the synagogue had the administration of both the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the respective communities over which they were the *parnasim* or shepherds. Hence the apostles, following the example of the synagogue, as soon as the number of the disciples multiplied, also appointed "seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," to manage the affairs of the community (Acts vi. 1—6; xxi. 8).

iii. *The Three Almoners.*—The remaining three of the ten men of leisure were appointed official almoners. We have already described the necessary qualifications of these officers of the synagogue under No. ii., "Deeds of Charity and Benevolence" (see Vol. I., p. 252). Now apart from the alms which these functionaries had to distribute both daily and weekly among the poor of the towns in the synagogues of which they held their office, these almoners of the synagogues in the provinces, and especially in those congregations out of Palestine, had to make collections for the poor brethren who devoted themselves to study and contemplation at Jerusalem. This ancient practice is observed by the Jews to the present day. Delegated almoners from the Holy City are sent all over the world to collect, and the Jewish communities dispersed throughout the habitable world forward, contributions to the saints at Jerusalem. A striking illustration of this practice, which explains several passages in the New Testament, is related by Dr. Polak in his excellent work on Persia. "In 1854 a Jerusalem Jew came to Teheran to make this collection. When I asked him where else he was going

to, he replied that he was on his way to Turkistan and Afghanistan. On my calling his attention to the dangers to which European travellers are there exposed, and to the massacre of Stoddard and Cenelly, he replied, 'The difficulties of getting through I only find in Persia, where they demand a toll in every town through which I have to pass. As soon as I have crossed the frontier I shall obtain at each place a Jew to accompany me from one station to the other, and he will conduct me safely to each spot. I speak from experience, as I have already performed this journey.' After the lapse of two years he returned safely back, though not with very much money." The apostles strictly conformed to this practice, and sent their contributions to these "elders," presbyters, or almoners at Jerusalem. Thus we are told that "the disciples [of Antioch and its neighbourhood], every man according to his ability, determined to send relief to the brethren which dwelt in Judæa, which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul" (Acts xi. 29, 30). Again, St. Paul tells us, "I go to Jerusalem to minister to the saints, for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem" (comp. Rom. xv. 25-27 with Acts xxi. 17; comp. also 2 Cor. viii. 8 and Gal. ii. 10).

There is another circumstance connected with the manner in which these almoners received the contributions of the people to which we must advert, inasmuch as it illustrates the practice in this respect of the apostles and early Christians. Besides the daily and weekly poor-rates levelled by the almoners which have already been described (comp. Vol. I., p. 252, &c.), there were occasional demands upon the people's charity arising from the persecutions and loss of all things which the pious at Jerusalem suffered who clung to the very dust of the sacred city. The appeals to the congregations in the different provinces and out of Palestine were generally made on the Sabbath, when the worshippers, as a matter of course, were most numerous. As the Jews from time immemorial would not handle money on the Sabbath day, the almoners ordered the *chazzan*, an official whose functions we shall presently describe, to receive promises of certain sums, which were paid the following day. This custom of setting apart on the Sabbath what every one intended to give illustrates the passage in 1 Cor. xvi. 1-3. Here the Apostle tells the Christians at Corinth that with regard to the collections for the saints, "upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever you shall approve of by letters, them will I send to bring your liberality to Jerusalem." It will thus be seen that the Apostle not only urged the continuance of the ancient practice to give every Sabbath, but that the almoners were chosen by the members of the congregation.

These ten officials, who, as we have seen, had the administration of both the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the respective synagogues over which they presided, constituting the chapter as it were, are alternately called

in the extra-canonical Jewish writings and in the New Testament by the following names:—(1.) Presbyters or elders (*zakenim* = πρεσβύτεροι). This, indeed, was their natural and primitive title, since in the most ancient days old men were selected to fill those offices which were required to maintain the social fabric of the different communities. When books were of the extremest rarity, the aged of the respective tribes were the only depositories of the traditions of bygone generations. The old men, moreover, had most experience, and were the heads of large families, over whom they exercised supreme authority. "With the old is wisdom, and in length of days is understanding" (Job xii. 12). Hence, when information was required, they were appealed to to give it from the storehouses of their long memory. When God pleads with his ungrateful people, and wants to bring to their mind his unparalleled acts of loving-kindness in times bygone, he bids them "ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders [or aged ones], and they will tell thee" (Deut. xxxii. 7). When monarchs wanted advice they asked for it from the aged. "King Rehobeam consulted with the old men that stood before Solomon his father while he yet lived, and said, How do ye advise that I may answer this people?" (1 Kings xii. 6; 2 Chron. x. 6.) For this reason the hoary head was regarded as "a crown of glory" (Prov. xvi. 31); and the Israelites were commanded to "rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man" (Lev. xix. 32). The same reverence was paid to the aged among other nations of antiquity. In Egypt, Herodotus tells us, "young men, meeting their elders in the streets, gave way to them and stepped aside; and if they approached a place, the young men in it rose up from their seats" (Herod., ii. 80). The laws of Manu declare that "the spirit of life is ready to escape from a youth at the approach of an old man, but by rising and saluting him it is saved. A youth who accustoms himself to salute and reverence the aged has a fourfold gain in length of life, knowledge, fame, and strength" (Manu, ii. 120, 121). To this day both the Jews and the Egyptians rise up from their seats when an aged man enters the house.

Regarding, therefore, old age in so sacred a light, and as identified with matured wisdom, knowledge, and experience, and as a reward for a virtuous and godly life, the aged, as a matter of course, were from time immemorial chosen to fill the official positions in the community. To select a young man over the head of the hoary aged would be to commit the greatest indignity. Hence the terms "aged," "elder," or "presbyter" became identical with office-bearer among the different nations of antiquity (comp. Gen. i. 7; Numb. xxii. 7), and all the different officials in the synagogue were designated by the appellation "elders." To this day the sheikh [= the old man] among the Arabs is the highest authority in the tribe. Like many other expressions, the word in question was taken over by the Jewish Christians from the synagogue into the Church. And just as the term "elder" is, as we have seen, used in the synagogue for the whole body of officials, so in the

New Testament the apostles employ it to designate all the office-bearers in the church (comp. Acts xx. 17, 28; 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6; Titus i. 5, 7; 1 Peter v. 1—5). It is this identification of old age with office which has made the expressions *zaken* (זָקֵן) = elder, presbyter, like *gerontes*, *senatores*, and *patres* among the Greeks and Romans, and *Monseigneur* in the Catholic Church, synonymous with chief guide, counsellor, and judge in ecclesiastical and civil affairs.

(2.) The second name by which these rulers of the synagogue were called is *parnasim* (פָּרְנָסִים = ποιμένες), "shepherds." The term *parnas*, of which *parnasim* is the plural, is Aramaic, and is used in the Chaldee Paraphrase for the Hebrew *ro'eh* (רֹעֶה), "shepherd" (comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 5, 8, 23; Zech. xi. 15, 16, &c.). This appellation was in the Old Testament already given to God, who performs the office of tending and caring for his people in the highest sense (Ps. xxiii. 1; lxxx. 1 [2]), and then to his representatives, who exercised religious and civil care over the community. Thus God tells his repenting people that he has not only espoused them, but "I will give you shepherds according to mine own heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding" (Jer. iii. 15). As these rulers had to feed the poor with bread, and their respective congregations with knowledge and understanding, the title "shepherd" was appropriate to them. The Talmud declares that "every shepherd who tends his congregation in gentleness has the merit of leading them in the path for the world to come" (*Sanhedrin*, 92 a); and that "the Holy One, blessed be He, mourns over the congregation which has a shepherd who conducts himself haughtily towards his flock" (*Chagigga*, 5 b). From this custom of calling the administrators of the synagogue "shepherds" came the application of the name to those who bear office in the church.

The use of the word *pastor* instead of shepherd in the Authorised Version in several passages in the Old Testament, and in one instance in the New Testament, is very remarkable, and is of great importance to the study of the history of the English version of the Bible, and of the English language, inasmuch as it exhibits the sources whence the translators derived their vocabulary. Now the expression *ro'eh* (רֹעֶה) is rendered no less than fifty-eight times by "shepherd" in the Authorised Version, five times by "herdmen," and eight times by "pastor." In turning to the New Testament, we find that the equivalent Greek term *poimeen*

(ποιμήν), which occurs eighteen times, is translated seventeen times "shepherd," and in one solitary instance it is rendered "pastor" (viz., Eph. iv. 11). On examining the eight instances in which the Authorised Version discards the general term "shepherd" for the expression "pastor," the student will be struck with the fact that they are not only restricted to one book of the Old Testament, but to one portion of the book. All the eight instances are to be found in Jer. ii. 8—xxiii. 2, and are as follow:—ii. 8; iii. 15; x. 21; xii. 10; xvii. 16; xxii. 22; xxiii. 1, 2. The student of the English language will be still more struck with this phenomenon when he is told that, with one exception which will presently be noticed, the word "pastor" does not occur in the earliest English versions. It is not to be found in our first English New Testament made by Tyndal (1525); in the first English Bible made by Coverdale (1535); in the second Bible, which goes by the pseudonym Matthews' (1537); in Lord Cromwell's, or the Great Bible (1539); in the six different issues of this Bible by Archbishop Cramer (1540-1541); nor in the Bishops' Bible (1568). In all these versions both the Hebrew *ro'eh* and the Greek *poimeen* are translated "shepherd," or "herdmen." In looking, however, at the Geneva Bible, which derives its name from the fact that it was made and printed by our English Reformers who fled to Geneva (1560), the sudden appearance of the term "pastor" in our Authorised Version is at once explained. The Geneva Bible, which in all other passages both in the Old and in the New Testament translates the Hebrew word and its Greek equivalent "shepherd," renders it in these very instances by "pastor;" and our Authorised Version has simply taken over the exceptional rendering. The word "pastor," therefore, used to denote "a ruler" or "governor" in the English of the Bible language, dates no farther than the Geneva version (1560), which in its turn took it from the French Protestant translation likewise made and printed at Geneva. The English Geneva Bible, however, consistently renders the Hebrew word *ro'eh* by "pastor" up to Jer. xxiii. inclusive; whilst our Authorised Version only follows it to xxiii. 2, and hence incurs the charge of inconsistency of translating the same expression within four verses of the same chapter—viz., Jer. xxiii. 1—4, both "pastor" and "shepherd." The only other instance in which "pastor" occurs in the Geneva Bible and not in the Authorised Version is Eccles. xii. 11.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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STRUCTURE OF THE VERSE.

§ 1.—PRELIMINARY.

THE poet's sway over language is of twofold operation. He influences a nation's speech by his choice and usage of words, as well as by his power to combine them into lasting and harmonious verse. There is a poetic dialect and a poetic form.

It would be out of place in these papers on Hebrew poetry to do more than glance at the former of these. The peculiarity of diction in the poetical parts of the Bible is for the notice of Hebrew scholars alone. It would be useless to repeat from the grammars lists of archaic forms or usages of words, peculiar constructions, irregular inflexions, and other marks of a poetical style. It will be enough to repeat Bishop Lowth's remark that, as it is the nature of all poetry, so it is particularly of the Hebrew, to be totally different from common language, and both in the choice of words and the construction, to affect a peculiar and more exquisite mode of expression. But the phraseology of the poets, the bold ellipses, the sudden transitions of the tenses, genders, and persons, as well as a minute examination of the tropes and figures with which all poetry abounds, he considers beyond the scope of his lectures. We cannot do better than follow his example, by passing over all such questions to the much more important and more interesting inquiry into the nature and form of Hebrew versification. For this, little or no acquaintance with the language is necessary. It is one of the most distinguishing features of Hebrew poetry, arising naturally from the form which it assumes, that, unlike the verse of any other people, it loses no beauty in translation, and may be studied almost as successfully in a foreign as in its native dress.

Milton has said of eloquence and song, that the one charms the soul, the other the sense. But thought cannot clothe itself at all in adequate expression without conferring pleasure on the human ear, which listens for a music in prose no less than in verse. The Greeks, with the same exquisite sensibility to beauty of sound which made them seek for symmetry and grace in all objects of sight, called the pleasurable element which they detected in speech its movement or flow (*ῥυθμὸς*). We have adopted their word, and speak of the sustained movement of a line of poetry, or of an orator's period, as its *rhythm*.

The term need not even be confined to the description of articulate sounds. It has been said that the melodies and harmonies which poets have fancied in nature are all metaphorical, and that music is the creation of man.¹ But much of the pleasure which we experience from the sounds in air and sea seems due to the suggestion

of unconscious obedience to a subtle law of movement. If we listen long to running water we catch a definite pulsation in its flow. The waves beat out a certain rhythm on the shore. There was more than fancy in the ancient fable of the measured dance of mountain and grove when led by the lute of Orpheus.

Whatever may be the secret of the pleasure derived from natural sounds, it is certain that man, in all his movements of voice or body, falls into unconscious submission to some rhythmic rule. It seems to be a necessity in sustained human action that some strict law of interchange should regulate the succession of the parts. The ground of this necessity has even been found in the structure and functions of the human body, so that rhythm lies at the foundation of man's nature. In the pulsation of the blood, in the outward and inward flow of the breath, there is a wavelike movement which governs every effort made to give expression to the feelings of the soul. A certain balanced action, a constant interchange of movements measured one against the other—a rising and sinking, an alternation from strong to weak, from loud to soft—results from this unconscious obedience to a necessary physical law.² We call this parallelism of movement measure or time, or more generally rhythm. It extends to all activities of man. We see it in the swing of the body in walking, we hear it in the accent of the voice in speaking. The blacksmith makes a rhythm on his anvil. The sailor pulls at the rope in musical time. Presently intellect and will step in. The rhythmic tendency falls under government and becomes a power in artist hands. The waves of feeling or thought are taught to flow in regular succession. From the rhythmic movements of hand and foot we get the dance. Inarticulate sounds are arranged according to tune and time, and music is born. By skilful management of countenance, gesture, and voice, the orator impresses his own moods on his listeners, and we

" Hang to hear
The rapt oration flowing free
From point to point, with power and grace,
And music in the bounds of law."

At last the poet pours such passion into words, that we feel all the pulses of his being beating through the numbers of his verse, which yet in its impetuous flow discloses the presence of fixed and inviolable laws, which must become the more severe as the inspiration rises higher, and the emotion is kindled into more fervid glow.

The rhythm of poetry, then, is distinguished from that of prose by its regularity. Verse implies some kind of measure. In prose the range of rhythmic flow is so wide that we can only imperfectly anticipate it. The pleasure which we derive from verse is founded, in

¹ Haweis, *Music and Morals*.

² Hupfeld, *Psalmen*, Introduction.

great measure, on this anticipation. The cadences of prose depend entirely on the subject. In verse the subject must bend to some law; we know where the "dying fall" must come, we are prepared for the pause, we eagerly anticipate the rhyme.

The genius of a language determines what the laws of its verse shall be. In the classical tongues of Greece and Rome, metre (Greek, μέτρον; Latin, *numerus*) or measure depended on *quantity*. A metrical line consisted of a combination of syllables, arranged according to the length of time necessary for their intonation, and restricted as to the recurrence of *long* or *short* by fixed rules of prosody. English, and the modern languages generally, pay little or no regard to quantity. *Accent* takes its place. Accent properly refers to the pitch of the voice, but metrical accent (*ictus metricus*) is the stress laid on particular syllables in repeating the verse. The number of syllables, and the position of those accented, determine the different kinds of verse, to which modern ears demand the addition of the never-ending charm of rhyme. How far the Hebrew lent itself to any similar modulations has been for ages a vexed question, which can hardly be said to be definitely answered even at the present day. The claim set up for Moses by Philo. that he understood the theory of harmony, rhythm, and metre; and the opinion of Josephus that the Song of Moses was composed in hexameter verse, and that the various Greek metres are visible in the Psalms of David, may be dismissed as the pious wish of Jews to find in their ancient writings an anticipation of the literature and art of Athens.¹ Among the early fathers, Eusebius and Jerome applied terms borrowed from classical verse to Hebrew literature. The latter gives a somewhat minute account of the various metres observed in the different books. But his language leads to the conclusion that he recognised no more than a certain rough resemblance between Greek and Hebrew verse. He did not apparently maintain the existence of fixed metrical laws. The resemblance of the Hebrew verse composition to the classic metres is expressly denied by Gregory of Nyssa. Augustine confesses his ignorance of Hebrew, but adds that those skilled in the language believed the Psalms of David to be written in metre. Isidore of Seville claims for the heroic metre the highest antiquity, inasmuch as the Song of Moses was composed in it, and the Book of Job is written in dactyls and spondee.² Joseph Scaliger was one of the first to point out the fallacies of Jerome's method. Yet this scholar himself, in attempting to explain the nature of the rhythm in

the Books of Proverbs and Job, makes use of classical terms, comparing the verses to *dimeter iambics*.³ Gerhard Vossius says that in Job and in the Proverbs there is rhythm, but no metre; that is, regard is to be had to the number of syllables, but not to the quantity. In the Psalms and Lamentations, according to this scholar, not even rhythm is observed.

Opinions equally contradictory have prevailed in more modern times. The advocates of a Hebrew metrical system have been many and powerful, and even Bishop Lowth, who so completely refuted Hare's method, and whose own system, with certain modifications, has been universally received among scholars, hesitated to deny that the ancient Hebrews possessed rules of prosody analogous to those of Greece and Rome (Lowth, *Lect.* xix.). If his hesitation has been shared by other modern critics,⁴ and we must suppose that there were some laws of Hebrew versification which it is impossible to recover, there is an overwhelming concurrence of opinion on other points, which leave no doubt as to what were the essential features of Hebrew poetry. Quantity and metre, in the sense in which a Greek would understand the words, must be given up. Of rhyme proper Hebrew verse knew nothing. Instances of *assonance*, indeed, are common, and the appearance of the same suffix, sometimes in five or six words together, shows that the Hebrew ear, like the French, delighted in the frequent repetition of identical sounds; but there is nothing corresponding to the charm of a perfect rhyme at the end of a line, which is so delightful in English and German poetry.⁵ It bears a nearer resemblance to *alliteration*,⁶ which formed so marked a feature of early English poetry, and is practised

³ An iambus consisted of two syllables, a short and long (˘ ˉ). Foot is the name given to the combinations of long and short syllables (in English of accented and unaccented syllables). Metre, in its technical sense, denotes either a single foot in a verse, or a combination of two consecutive feet.

⁴ Cf. Taylor. "That a people so pre-eminently musical by constitution should have failed to perceive, or should not have brought under rule, the rhythm of words and sentences, could not easily be believed." (*Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 42.)

⁵ In Song of Solomon v. 1, out of eighteen words, twelve end in the same sound *ē* (ee), three in *u*, two in *in*, only one word being without a rhyme. Some of the Liturgical Psalms, as cvi., show a special tendency to this assonance.

⁶ Alliteration consists of the recurrence of words beginning with the same letter or sound. Spenser, among English poets, uses it most frequently. Lines of this kind are common in his poetry:—

"They wasted had much way, and measur'd many miles."

Alternate alliteration is the most pleasing:—

"Her dainty limbs did lay." (Spenser.)

Assonance is rhyme occurring in other parts of the verse than the end. The following lines from Tennyson's *Last Tournament* combine instances of assonance and alliteration:—

"Conceits himself as God, that he can make
Figs out of thistles, silk from bristles, milk
From burning spurge, honey from hornet-combs."

The following verses from Jeremiah (iii. 24, 25) will give an idea of Hebrew assonance:—

"Vehabhoseth achlah eth-yegiah avothenu minnurenu
Eth-zanam veeth-bekaram eth-beneyem veeth-benotheyem
Nishchevah bevasitenu
Uthchassenu ehelimathenu ebi layahovah Eloheynu
Khataanu anakhu
Venavothenu minnurenu vehad-hayom hazzeh
Velo shamaanu bekol Yehovah Eloheynu."

¹ The reader who is unacquainted with classical metres may see the common forms in the following distich, translated from Schiller by Coleridge:—

"In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery column;
In the pentameter aye falling in melody back."

By comparing the accented syllables (marked thus ') with the first syllable in hexameter and pentameter, which according to classical laws would be long, but in these verses must be passed rapidly over as unaccented, he will see the difference of quantity and accent.

² A dactyl is a foot composed of one long, followed by two short syllables (ˉ ˘ ˘); a spondee of two long (ˉ ˉ).

with such subtle and charming effect by modern poets. It is even doubtful whether any regard was paid to the number of syllables, as distinguished from words.

Herder says the syllables cannot be scanned, nor even counted. The laws of Hebrew accent are involved in the greatest obscurity.

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

THE LOCAL COLOURING OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE heading which I have prefixed to this part of the series of papers on the Coincidences of the Bible requires, perhaps, some explanation. What I mean is briefly this. In proportion as any writer has influenced the minds of his own generation largely, and through them has reached even those who have come after him for many centuries, we may expect to find him with quick and ready intellect, wide sympathies, living imagination. The letters of such a man, whether addressed to individuals or societies, will not be stamped with the dull uniformity of an official circular, nor the logical precision of a dogmatic treatise. They will bear traces of the emotions, associations, memories that gather round the place from which he writes, or the circumstances of his life at the time, or the special characteristics of those to whom his letter is addressed. The presence of such features in letters ascribed to him, the subtle links of thought, the allusive references to the history of persons or places, are, so far as they go, *prima facie* evidence of their genuineness. When it is shown in two or three instances that such phenomena mark the style of the man with a distinct individuality, then their presence in another instance is again, so far as it goes, a confirmation of any external evidence which there may be as to the authenticity of other letters which bear the name of the same writer. I find no better phrase to describe this characteristic than that of "local colouring." I propose, so far as I am able, to apply this test first to the epistles and afterwards to the recorded speeches of St. Paul. In doing so I shall, of course, have to notice coincidences that have already been pointed out by such writers as Paley and Mr. Birks, or in commentaries on the Epistles of which I speak, some, perhaps, that I have myself already dwelt on in the pages of THE BIBLE EDUCATOR or elsewhere. I can only hope (1) that in so doing I may bring them within the knowledge of many readers who have not hitherto been acquainted with them, and (2) that to those who will recognise them as more or less familiar, it may be a gain to see them as from a new point of view, differently grouped, converging to a new conclusion. I shall take the Epistles in what is generally recognised as their chronological order, and shall accordingly begin with

THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.

1. The city of Thessalonica, as a sea-port town on the shores of the Thermaic Gulf, had become under the later Macedonian kings, and yet more under the Empire, a

place of extensive commerce. As such it had attracted, just as Corinth did, a large Jewish population. While at Philippi, the Roman *colonia* or garrison town, there was only the out-door gathering by the river-side, where prayer was wont to be made, and where the worshippers consisted predominantly, if not exclusively, of women; while at Amphipolis and Apollonia there would seem to have been no Jewish residents at all, neither synagogue nor place of prayer; at Thessalonica there was, not as the Authorised Version gives it, "a synagogue of the Jews," but the synagogue, that which was resorted to not only by the Jews of Thessalonica itself, but by those who lived in other towns or villages within reach. Here, as in other cities where the two races were brought into contact, many of the Greeks were attracted by the higher faith, or purer morality, or mysterious claims of Israel, and enrolled themselves among those whom the rabbis called "proselytes of the gate," worshippers, that is, of the one true God, though not bound by the law of circumcision and other ceremonial rites, and whom St. Luke describes by the word "devout." As at Rome, and apparently at Philippi, many of these converts were women of the upper classes of society. As part of the population of the town, however, we have to note those whom our translators call "lewd fellows of the baser sort," literally, "men of the market-place," the *turba forensis* of the Roman orators, the "loafers" of modern Americanisms, the crowd of idlers hanging about for odd jobs or stray excitement, the material out of which mobs are formed at a moment's notice, or which swells, as soon as an opportunity is offered, the ranks of mendicancy and pauperism. Stirred up by the unbelieving Jews, these were the men who dragged Jason, the host of the Apostle and his companion Silas, and others, with brutal violence to the *politarchs*, or city rulers (that was the special title of the magistrates of Thessalonica), and charged them with turning the world upside down, proclaiming another king, one Jesus, in opposition to the authority of the Roman emperor.¹ Such a charge is always likely, in the nature of things, to be a distortion of the truth rather than a pure invention, and we might infer from it that over and above the summary of St. Paul's preaching which St. Luke gives, as setting forth that "Christ must needs suffer and rise again from the dead, and that this Jesus whom I preach unto you is the Christ" (Acts xvii. 3), he must have given special

¹ The Greek gives, we may note, the same word for the two titles.

prominence to the kingly office and character of the Lord Jesus. Finally, the impression left on the mind of St. Luke by what he had heard or seen of the Church of Thessalonica was on the whole less favourable than that of most other churches. They were "less noble," less ingenuous and earnest in their pursuit of truth than their neighbours of Berea, more disposed to accept or to reject what was put before them without a careful scrutiny. Such were the general features of the population which has become memorable as the first to which the great Apostle addressed any letter that is still extant—perhaps (though it would be a bold thing to affirm it positively) the first church with which he adopted the plan of communicating by epistles addressed to the society as a whole, as distinct from individual members of it. Let us see how far the "local colouring" of the epistles harmonises with them.

(1.) The dangers from without which St. Paul dwells on in the epistles (written, we must remember, from Corinth, and within a few months of his visit) were precisely such as the presence of an excitable mob such as that described in the Acts was likely to occasion. They "had received the word in much affliction" (1 Thess. i. 6). They had suffered at the hands of their own countrymen treatment like that which the disciples of Judæa had experienced there (1 Thess. ii. 14). They had shown "patience and faith" in all their "tribulations and afflictions" (2 Thess. i. 4). What St. Paul had seen in the case of Jason and his friends had been repeated afterwards.

(2.) But there were also, strange as it may seem, dangers from the presence of a portion of that class within the church. Attracted by the lavish alms of the church in the first days of its fervent zeal, they flocked in to be partakers of the daily or weekly dole. They were disorderly, "working not at all," yet meddling everywhere, having no proper business of their own, yet "busybodies" (2 Thess. iii. 11). By oral teaching when he was present (the "tradition" of 2 Thess. iii. 6), by strong injunctions in his Epistle, he sought to check these evils, and to enforce the great law of all organised benevolence, that "if a man will not work," *will* not work when he *can*, "neither shall he eat" (1 Thess. iii. 10). It was perhaps in consequence of what he had seen of this tendency that the Apostle adopted the rule of life which was so noble a contrast to this debasing idleness, and refused to accept any payment or support from any church during the time in which he was actually present. After he had left, if gratitude were strong enough, and they remembered him with affection, they might send tokens of their love; and so we find that while St. Paul was at Thessalonica, he twice received such offerings from the church of Philippi (Phil. iv. 15). But so long as he remained in any city no man should be able to taunt him with being a parasite at the tables of the rich, or living on the hard-earned gains of the poor. The labour might be hard, stretching into the hours of night as well as day, and the wages scanty, but the Apostle would by his own example make men feel that there was a dignity in the indepen-

dence of honest labour which they were in the habit of forgetting (2 Thess. iii. 7—9). That such taunts were aimed at the Apostle we see but too plainly. He has to defend himself against the charge of "pleasing men," of using "flattering words," of making his mission a pretence or "cloke" for covetousness (1 Thess. ii. 4, 5). So with clean hands he can call on them to resist the temptation that beset them, to "study to be quiet, and to do their own business" (1 Thess. iv. 11).

(3.) The narrative of the Acts taken by itself leads to the conclusion that the teaching of St. Paul at Thessalonica gave special prominence to the kingly office of the Lord Jesus as the Christ. The Epistles show that he proclaimed that office precisely in the form in which it was most likely to startle and disturb men's minds. It was not as a spiritual kingdom, divine, eternal, waiting for a distant manifestation, that he then thought or spoke of it. The times and the seasons were as yet unrevealed to him, and that which he believed and taught was that the coming of the Lord Jesus in all the glory and might of His kingdom *might* be expected within the lifetime of that generation. It is true that he checked the tendency to look upon it as immediate, that he looked for a fuller development of evil, for some visible leader of all the hosts of evil, for the epiphany of the "lawless one," the "man of sin," in all his mysterious terrors; for the yet more mighty and wonderful epiphany of the Lord, to conquer in the last battle of the great warfare that had been waged from the beginning, and to destroy with the brightness of His presence all that had opposed Him. But even in these anticipations of the stages of the great unfolding drama, the Apostle, it would seem, took no account of the long centuries and manifold changes which were to intervene between the beginning and the end. To him, with that want of perspective which seems to have been inseparable from the visions of all prophets, these great events might follow one upon another in rapid succession—it might be (and he prayed and hoped it might be) within the limits of his own lifetime.

The effect of that teaching on such a population as that of Thessalonica was naturally unsettling. As in the tenth century, when the belief that the end of the first millennium of the Christian era would also be the end of the world, led men to date charters and edicts with the words, "Appropinquante fine sæculi," and thousands forsook their ordinary employments for a wandering and unsettled life; so in this case the expectation of the second advent as close at hand worked in two ways for evil. It aggravated the tendency to a life of mendicant idleness. It stimulated the morbid excitability of terror or of hope. Voices were heard, claiming to be inspired utterances, proclaiming the nearness of that advent in far more positive terms than the Apostle had ventured to employ. The tendency, at that time so prevalent, to the manufacture of spurious documents, to prove whatever men wanted to prove, or injure any one they wished to injure, led some subtle foe or over-zealous friend to forge a letter with the Apostle's signature, asserting the certainty of the immediate coming of Christ and the closing of the

world's history (2 Thess. ii. 2). On one class of minds the expectation had a different influence. Buoyed up with eager expectations of their own blessedness, as still living upon the earth and sharing in the glory of the kingdom of the saints, they mourned with bitter hopeless sorrow for those who were snatched away by death, and so, as they thought, cut off from all participation in that glory, even though there might be reserved for them some share in a far-off resurrection. Against that dark imaginatiou the Apostle, even while he still clung to the belief in the nearness, though not the immediateness, of the coming, was guided to protest. To him that thought was destructive of the idea of the unity of the Church, of the communion of saints. His first utterance on what we call eschatology, the doctrine of the last things, is that which he was taught "by the word of the Lord," that "we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent [shall not, *i.e.*, in any way get the start of] them which are asleep" (1 Thess. iv. 15).

So far we have seen how the character of the population at Thessalonica affected the thoughts and language of St. Paul's Epistles to that Church. But there may be a local colouring traceable to the place from which as well as that to which an epistle is written; and there are at least some conspicuous influences of that colouring here. (a) He was writing from a city where the Church was conspicuous from the very first for its spiritual gifts, including especially that of prophecy, and the more marvellous power of "the tongues" which came to be known as pre-eminently "the Spirit." What he thought as to the relative worth of the two gifts we find developed fully at a later period in chaps. xii.—xiv. of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. But the germs of that teaching, the condensed expression of the same conviction, we find in the rule, "Quench not the Spirit, despite not prophesyings," of 1 Thess. v. 19, 20. As at Corinth, so also at Thessalonica, there was the risk that mere frenzy, or demoniac cries, or blasphemous anathemas (1 Cor. xii. 3), or wild predictions of the coming end, might simulate the form and claim the authority of spiritual utterances, and it was therefore

necessary to lay down the rule, "Prove [*i.e.*, test and examine] all things; hold fast that which is good." (b) A careful examination of the Epistles to the Corinthians would show that there was something approaching to a marked contrast between the character of his teaching in the two churches, both of which he had founded within a few months. The words in which he speaks of the second advent of the Lord (1 Cor. xv. 51, 52) are obviously such as he would use in proclaiming a truth which those to whom he wrote had not heard before. He shows them a "mystery" as the answer to their doubts and perplexities as to the resurrection of the body, into which they had not previously been initiated. That fact is, I venture to think, singularly suggestive. At Thessalonica he had made the terrors and the glories of that advent the chief topic of his preaching, and had found that it left men over-excited, and drew them from their wonted industries. He had been at Athens, and there had reasoned with those Greeks who "sought after" wisdom on their own ground; had met Epicureans and Stoics with a philosophy deeper and diviner than their own. He came to Corinth, uniting in its trade, wealth, culture something of the characteristics of either city, and there followed another, and, as the result showed, a more effective method. He neither stimulated the Jewish craving for signs from heaven, portents, and catastrophes, nor the Greek appetite for abstract speculation. When he began his work in that city, he determined, as by a new resolution of self-restraint, controlling his own desire to soar into higher regions, to know nothing and to preach nothing among them but "Jesus Christ and Him crucified" (1 Cor. ii. 2). He had learnt that the story of the Cross as showing forth at once the eternal Righteousness and the eternal Love was a mightier instrument for the conversion of the souls of men than any "excellency of speech or wisdom." With that he laid the foundation, reserving other doctrines and developments for the superstructure. That was the "pure milk" with which he nurtured those who as yet were babes in Christ, reserving for a later stage of growth the "strong meat" that belongeth to those that are of full age.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

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SACRED SEASONS (*continued*).

WE have already had occasion to notice the peculiar importance of the seventh month of Israel's sacred year, an importance appearing in the religious rites with which its very first day was introduced. The course of the month corresponded to its opening; or rather, the opening ceremonial was arranged with a view to the solemn seasons immediately to follow. Of these by far the greatest and most instructive was the Day of Atone-

ment, which fell on the tenth day of the month, which stood forth, from among all the sacred days of Israel, alone, distinguished by services altogether peculiar to itself, and unequalled in the clearness and impressiveness alike of its bearing on the past and of its typical relation to the future. All the lesser atonements of the year then reached their culminating point, while the holiness of God, the evil of sin, the completeness of the pardon offered to the sinner, and the blessed

consequences of restoration to the Divine favour were exhibited and brought home to the people with an even singular degree of distinctness and power. There is no sacred season of the Old Dispensation, too, whose "fulfilling" is more distinctly spoken of in the New Testament.

Upon the lesser features of the time it is unnecessary to dwell at any length. Like all the great days of Israel, the Day of Atonement was to be one of "holy convocation;" it was to be a sabbath of rest "from even"—that is, the evening of the 9th—"unto even," the evening of the 10th, and no work was to be done on it, under the penalty of being destroyed from among the people (Lev. xxiii. 27, 30, 32). The grand peculiarity of the day, however, apart from the more special services which marked it, was that it was a day when every Israelite was to "afflict his soul." The expression is a remarkable one, and is not to be resolved into an injunction to fast. In no one passage of the Old Testament, where the word thus rendered "afflict" frequently occurs, does it appear to be used in such a sense; while, on the other hand, fasting is denoted by a word not met with in the Pentateuch. No doubt it is true that in later times, when Israel had lost sight of the spiritual elements contained in the legislation of Moses, and had sunk into a carnality and worldliness from which prophet after prophet in vain endeavoured to arouse it, fasting became the chief observance by which the original precept was obeyed, insomuch that, as we learn from Acts xxvii. 9, the tenth day of the seventh month was especially distinguished as "the fast." But it was not so at the beginning. Not in any outward observance of that kind, however commendable, do we see the true significance of the act referred to here, but in such passages as the following—"How long wilt thou refuse to *humble* thyself before me?" "And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee forty years in the wilderness, to *humble* thee and to prove thee;" "*I am afflicted* very much;" "He was oppressed, and he *was afflicted*, yet he opened not his mouth" (Exod. x. 3; Deut. viii. 2; Ps. cxix. 107; Isa. liii. 7). Texts like these reveal to us the deep meaning of "afflicting the soul," taking us far beyond any mere act of fasting, and showing us that humiliation of heart and godly sorrow were required and valued long before the time when David said, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Such then was the general character of the day, and in this manner was Israel prepared for its special services. After the usual morning offering, after the "affliction" of the preceding evening and night, these services began.

As everything to be represented was to be represented in its highest potency and in its most striking form, the great duties of the day devolved not upon the ordinary priests, but upon the high priest alone. First of all, he had to bathe himself wholly, and not as the priests officiating at the common sacrifices, only partially, in water. Next he put on a dress used by him on no other occasion of the year. "He shall put on," it is

said, "the holy linen coat, and he shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh, and shall be girded with a linen girdle, and with the linen mitre shall he be attired: these are holy;"—or rather the holy—"garments; therefore shall he wash his flesh in water, and so put them on" (Lev. xvi. 4). The dress was thus entirely different from the ordinary high priestly attire, the splendour of the latter being laid aside, and plain white linen, such as that worn by the common priests, being substituted for its variegated colours and golden and jewelled ornaments. This circumstance has led to the idea that the change was designed to harmonise with the general humiliation and contrition of the day, as well as to denote a reduction, in accordance with it, of the decorations of the high priest to the style of an ordinary priest, the slight differences that still remained between the two being intended only to make the simplicity more complete, and to leave some mark by which the elevation of the high priest over others might be known.¹ It is impossible for many reasons to accept such an explanation. The fact that any difference at all was left between this high priestly and the common priestly dress, would itself be conclusive against the supposition that it was the object of the arrangement to equalise the two; but the whole idea of equalisation must be rejected when we remember that the very kernel of the services of the day was that the high priest alone was entitled to perform them. A central idea of this kind could not have been contradicted by the symbolism employed. Again, a garment of white is never in Scripture the garment of humiliation. It is rather the garment of completed holiness and heavenly glory. It is that given to the souls beneath the altar slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held; that of the multitude which no man can number standing before the throne and before the Lamb; that of the armies following Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords; that of the angels in heaven; nay, that even of the Son himself, whose raiment, when his glory broke through the veil of his humiliation, was "white as the light" (Rev. vi. 11; vii. 9; xix. 14; Matt. xxviii. 3; xvii. 2). It was, therefore, not in garments of humiliation that the high priest appeared on the day we are considering, but in garments symbolical of the perfect holiness to be possessed by one who would approach into the immediate presence of a holy God.

Having clothed himself in his appropriate dress, the high priest next proceeded to the selection of the victims. He supplied at his own cost a bullock, at the cost of the people two goats, for a sin-offering. The object contemplated by the choice of two goats instead of one must be afterwards more fully considered by us. In the meantime it is sufficient to observe that they were intended to express two parts of one complex idea which, in the nature of the case, it was impossible to express by one. It is a tradition of the Rabbins, in all probability correct, that the goats were to be in every respect alike;

¹ See among others Kurz, *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, Clark's Translation, p. 339.

and this at least was the prescription of the Law, that only by casting lots upon them could it be determined what part in the ceremonial was to be assigned to each. When the lot had been cast, one goat was set apart "for the Lord;" the other, it is said, "for Azazel" (Lev. xvi. 8), and both they and the bullock were then placed at the door of the tabernacle, to await the moment when they would be needed.

The preparations being thus completed, the offerings of the day began. First of all, the high priest offered the bullock as a sin-offering "for himself and for his house"—that is, for himself and the whole priesthood of Israel. Having slain the bullock and collected its blood in a basin, which he seems to have left standing for a few moments in the holy place, he took a censer "full of burning coals of fire from off the altar before the Lord, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten small." He then drew aside the veil separating the Holy of Holies from the holy place, and moved on no other occasion during the whole year but this, and passed into the innermost and most holy shrine. Casting the incense upon the burning coals, he filled the Holy of Holies with the smoke of the incense, sending a sweet savour throughout the house. Then he returned to the holy place for the blood of the bullock, and, again entering within the veil, sprinkled with his finger the blood upon the mercy-seat eastward, and seven times before the mercy-seat upon the ground. Thus the offering for the priesthood and for the most sacred part of the tabernacle or temple, in so far as it stood related to the priesthood, was complete. The offering for the people followed. It was made with the blood of the goat set apart "for the Lord" by lot, and which the high priest had in the meantime slain. The ceremonial was the same as before. The blood was sprinkled once upon the mercy-seat, and then seven times before the mercy-seat upon the ground, thus finishing the atonement for the people, and for the Holy of Holies in its connection with them.

The holy place now became the scene of the high priest's operations. Taking the blood of the bullock and of the goat, and excluding every one from the enclosure during the performance of the ceremony, he acted towards the altar of incense in the holy place exactly as he had done towards the mercy-seat within the veil, and with the similar result of atoning for and cleansing both the altar and the place in which it stood. The forecourt with its altar of burnt-offering now alone remained, and steps analogous to those already taken with the holy place and with the Holy of Holies were taken with them. "And he shall go out," it is said, "unto the altar that is before the Lord, and make atonement for it; and shall take of the blood of the bullock and of the blood of the goat, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about. And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it with his finger seven times, and cleanse it, and hallow it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel" (Lev. xvi. 18, 19). Thus the forecourt also was cleansed, and, as far as regarded the various courts and altars, and, by implication, the

utensils of the Temple, nothing further was needed to be done.

The most remarkable ceremony of the day, however, still remained to be accomplished. It took place with the second goat, which had been left standing all this while in its appointed place. The high priest laid both his hands upon its head, confessed over it "all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins," putting them upon the head of the goat, and then sent it away by the hand of a fit man, or rather of a man appointed, into the wilderness.

The leading parts of the ceremonial of the day were now finished; and, in expression of this, the high priest was instructed to return into the holy place, to put off the white linen garments in which he had been clothed, to bathe himself, and to resume his ordinary high priestly robes. He then offered his own burnt-offering and the burnt-offering of the people, burning along with these the fat of the two animals, the bullock and the goat, that had been slain for a sin-offering. Meanwhile the remaining parts of these animals had to be carried outside the camp, and there in a clean place consumed with fire. The person to whom this task was entrusted, as well as he who had led away the live goat into the wilderness, had finally, as themselves unclean, to wash themselves in water before they were permitted again to take their place among the people. When all this had been effected, festival sacrifices, similar to those which had marked the Feast of Trumpets on the first day of the month, were offered "for a sweet savour unto the Lord," one young bullock, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, all without blemish, together with their appointed meat and drink offerings, and one kid of the goats for a sin-offering (Numb. xxix. 8—11).

Having thus described as briefly as possible the ceremonial of this sacred season, it is necessary, before speaking of its fulfilment under the New Testament Dispensation, to advert to its meaning for those who were immediately concerned with it. That meaning is not difficult to ascertain except in one particular, which it will be well, therefore, first to notice. What are we to understand by the words "for the scape-goat," or, to employ the expression of the original, "for Azazel?"

The word "Azazel" occurs only four times in the Old Testament, and nowhere else. These four texts, too, are all within the compass of a single chapter, the 16th of Leviticus (vs. 8, 10 twice, 26), and not one of them is clear. The utmost diversity of opinion has, accordingly, prevailed as to the signification of the word. Without entering at any length into the controversy, it may be said that two classes of interpretation alone seem worthy of regard—the one, that which understands by the term the devil, or some evil spirit inhabiting the wilderness; the other, that which supposes either the wilderness as a whole or some particular part of it to be meant. It seems impossible to receive the former. However widely accepted, and that by scholars of not less piety than learning, difficulties attend it which, speaking for ourselves at least, we are unable to overcome. It is vain to plead on its behalf that the idea of an offering to

the devil is not intended to be expressed. The very contrast in Lev. xvi. 8, which is supposed to make it necessary to refer Azazel to a person, "one lot for the Lord, and the other lot for Azazel," must, if it lead us thus far, lead us further. We shall also have to interpret the preposition "for" in both these clauses in the same way, and as the idea of devotion is certainly in the one, it must be carried into the other. Such a conception, however, is not only against the whole analogy of Scripture, it is opposed to the clear teaching of this particular chapter, where we learn that the two goats constituted only one sin-offering (ver. 5), where we see that both were presented to the Lord in precisely the same way as His (ver. 7), and where we are even expressly told of the one now under consideration, that it was to be set before the Lord "to make atonement for him" (not as in our English Version, "to make atonement with him," ver. 10)—that is, to be itself an object in which atonement is carried out, so that, when it afterwards bears away the people's sins into the wilderness, it does so as accepted and holy in God's sight. Obligated, therefore, to abandon this class of interpretations, there seems no help for it but to take refuge in the other, which refers the word either to the wilderness as a whole or to some special part of it. It can hardly be the former, owing to the tautology which would thus be introduced into Lev. xvi. 10. We are compelled, then, to have recourse to the latter, and to understand the word to mean a portion of the wilderness more than ordinarily remote and desolate and wild.¹ The wilderness itself was not wholly wild. It was rather in many parts a place of pasturage for sheep and cattle, with grassy spots and pleasant nooks. Not to any of these was the second goat to be taken, but to one of its most lonely and rugged solitudes, far from Jerusalem, whence return to the abodes of men should be impossible, where it should never be heard of more. It cannot be pretended that even this interpretation is free from difficulties; but, whether accepted or not, the general idea to be attached to the words "for Azazel" seems clear. It is for final and complete removal.

Let us turn to the meaning of the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement as a whole.

The name of the day, a name expressly given it in Lev. xxiii. 28, is at once significant of its design. "It is," says Moses, "a day of atonement, to make an atonement for you before the Lord your God." It occupied, however, a ground entirely different from that of all the other atonements of the year. It was not, like them, for individual and scattered sins. Neither was it intended only to supplement them, to supply deficiencies by which they might have been marked, or to cover sins which might have been forgotten. It embraced not some sins only of some of the members of the congregation, but all the sins of all, from the high priest at its head to its meanest and most obscure member. In short, it was an atonement, in regard to all the sins of Israel, individual and complete. Nay, not only so.

Its efficacy was designed to extend to the tabernacle or the Temple itself, to all its parts, to the courts which Israel had trodden and, in treading, had defiled, to the altars on which its victims had been laid, to the utensils employed in the services engaged in on its behalf, to everything with which it had been brought into contact, and to which, therefore, it had communicated in a greater or a less degree its own uncleanness. "And he shall make an atonement," it is said, "for the holy sanctuary, and he shall make an atonement for the tabernacle of the congregation, and for the altar" (Lev. xvi. 33); while the reason of this is given in another verse of the same chapter (ver. 16), "because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions in all their sins," and because "the tabernacle remaineth among them in the midst of their uncleanness"—so wide, so comprehensive, so all-embracing was the atonement of this day. Everything, accordingly, was arranged in such a manner as to exhibit this idea in its sharpest lines and in its highest potency. Instead of the ordinary priests, the high priest, the earthly head and representative of the whole theocracy, could alone perform the prescribed rites. Instead of his ordinary dress, he had a special dress for the occasion, which is spoken of with a distinct emphasis in different passages as "holy garments," while the epithet "holy" is even extended to one of its parts (Lev. xvi. 4, 32). Instead of the holy place being used as the place for the appointed ministering, the Holy of Holies, so sacred that no foot might tread within it at any other season of the year, was entered by the high priest for the performance of some of his most solemn functions on that day. Instead of the blood of the sin-offering being sprinkled only on the altar to which it was usually applied, it was sprinkled on, or, if not on—for there is some little doubt upon the point—at least toward that covering of the ark of the testimony, resting under the wings of the cherubim, which was to Israel the peculiar and at other times unapproachable seat of the Almighty. Instead of offering only for others, the high priest then offered for himself also, and for the whole priestly family of the land. Instead of the many victims slain at the ordinary festival seasons of the year, one bullock alone was now slain for the priests, and one victim—though formally two goats were needed to embody the idea—for the people. Finally, an altogether special rite symbolised the complete removal of sin, while the very soil of the sacred enclosure, and the very materials employed in the worship offered there, were also atoned for and cleansed. No wonder that the day became, as it did become, the most memorable of the whole year. It was a point at which old things passed away and all things were made new.

We turn to the New Testament fulfilment of the services now considered by us. In doing so, no doubt can be left upon our minds as to that in which they are accomplished. Apart from more general expressions of the New Testament which point out their typical relation to the person and work of the Redeemer, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (chaps. ix., x.) has

¹ Compare Waugemann, *Das Opfer nach Lehre der Heiligen Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments*, i. 373, etc.

entered fully into the matter, and spoken of various particulars in which the fulfilment we are in search of has taken place. Like the festival seasons described in previous papers, this sacred season is fulfilled in the Lord Jesus Christ and in his Church.

In the first place, it is fulfilled in Christ himself; for as there was then a high priest mediating between God and Israel, so Christ is the great High Priest of the New Testament Israel, not indeed infirm and sinful, needing to offer up sacrifices for himself and the priesthood as well as for the people, and clothed in garments only symbolical of holiness, but who is "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners" (Heb. vii. 26). Again, as Israel's high priest went on the Day of Atonement within the veil, sending up from the censer in his hand the cloud of holy and sweet incense, and knowing that he might then stand accepted and heard beside the mercy-seat, so our High Priest has passed through the heavens into the immediate presence of God—his presence not as He dwells only symbolically upon earth, but as He dwells filling all space and time, in his own glorious abode. There He is our Advocate and Intercessor with the Father, and the Father heareth Him always. Still further, as there was then an offering for Israel, so Christ is the offering for us, who "not by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood entered once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us" (Heb. ix. 12). Thus is Christ at once the priest who offers and the victim who dies on our behalf. But more. As the offering for Israel had its own appointed efficacy, so Christ's offering has its efficacy too, only of a far higher kind, and that in a twofold aspect: in the first place, pacifying the conscience, so that "the worshipper once purged may have no more conscience of sins" (Heb. x. 2); in the second place, securing the fulfilment of the great promise of the New Covenant, "I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them" (Heb. x. 16), so that the people of God are sanctified not only outwardly, but inwardly, and are made new creatures in Christ Jesus. Therefore does the Christian's offering not need to be repeated every year. It is an offering made once and for ever. It so covers all the transgressions of the past, it so extends its atoning power to the remotest future, that, as "once in the end of the world Christ hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself," we no more look for another sacrifice, with all its humiliation and woe and suffering, but only for the glorious appearing of Him who "to them that look for Him will appear the second time without sin unto salvation" (Heb. ix. 26, 28).

Such are the leading particulars upon which the sacred writer dwells when he describes the fulfilment under the Christian Dispensation of the great Day of Atonement in Israel. He recognises the abiding, the eternal truth of the ideas which that day embodied. He sees the need, the validity, and the blessed effects of the offering for sin that was then presented; but he does not for a moment think that, because the Temple on Mount Zion is no longer what it was, all this has passed away. The

form has passed away; the ideas remain. They are only transferred to a higher sphere, translated into more perfect acts, productive of more glorious results.

It may indeed strike us with surprise that he makes no mention of that part of the ceremonial which is always felt to be the strangest and most difficult of interpretation, the sending away of the live goat into the wilderness. Surely the fact that he does not do so is in no small degree a proof that he does not behold in this any transaction of a separate and independent kind, any transaction between the people and an evil spirit whose abode was in the wilderness. Had such a thought been present to his mind, he could hardly, in dwelling so largely upon the different features of the antitype, have failed to notice that one which had so singular an expression given it in the type. Both himself and his readers would have felt that his exposition was incomplete, and the question would have been asked, what it was in Christianity in which an incident of so remarkable a nature found its substitute and fulfilment. That he says nothing of it must be regarded as so far at least a corroboration of the view which we have taken, that that incident occupied no ground different in its whole nature from the ground upon which the shedding of the blood of the slain goat rested; that the two goats are in reality one victim, devoted to the same purpose, accomplishing the same end; that if the one be, as it is, a type of the Redeemer, the other is not less so, though it presents a somewhat different aspect of his work; and that two goats are made use of instead of one, simply because it was impossible that, when one had been slain to atone for sin, it could be further employed to set forth the removal of sin into a place where it should be no more remembered, and from which it could never return to disquiet those who had been redeemed. That, we must repeat, and that alone, was the true meaning of the act. We have in the two goats nothing symbolical of the two natures of Christ, nothing of his death and resurrection. The one is only the expression of the truth that His blood cleanses from all sin, the other of the fulfilment of the promises enjoyed and the expectations cherished by the saints of old, "As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us;" "I, even I, am he that blot out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins;" "In those days and in that time, saith the Lord, the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none, and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found;" "Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? He retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy. He will turn again; he will have compassion upon us; he will subdue our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea" (Ps. ciii. 12; Isa. xliii. 25; Jer. i. 20; Micah vii. 18, 19).

But if the services of the Day of Atonement are thus fulfilled in Christ, they are fulfilled also in that Church which is his body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. One with Him who is at once the high priest and

the victim, the Church of the Redeemer passes with her Lord into the holiest of all, into the immediate presence of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God. The veil that separated her from the mercy-seat has been for ever rent in twain, and not once a year only, with awe and trembling at the unwonted privilege, but continually, with joy and confidence and freedom, she goes with prayer to the throne of grace to obtain "mercy and grace to help in time of need." She does this because she is *in* Christ Jesus, in whose death she dies, in whose eternal life she lives, in whose intercession she intercedes, and in whose being heard she obtains always an answer to her prayers. In Christ's one offering, first in that aspect of it presented by the slain goat, and then in that other aspect of it presented by the goat carrying all sin away into a land of forgetfulness, she is for ever perfected, assured that there is now for her no condemnation, and seeing all her sins cast into the depths of the sea. She is one with her Lord in his atoning sacrifice, and one with Him in his high priestly privileges; one with Him in his offering, in his righteousness, and in his joyful confidence in God; one with Him in his "strong crying and tears," and one with Him in his being heard because he feared. Her sacrifice is

ideally over; it has only in self-denial and self-sacrifice to be appropriated and made her own. Therefore if in one sense she has still to realise her position as a Church offering herself up upon the altar with her Lord, "filling up what remains behind of his sufferings," in another she beholds that work accomplished, and has only to re-clothe herself in her garments of glory and of beauty. In this sense a burnt-offering of praise alone remains for her, that burnt-offering which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews describes as her continual sacrifice of praise, "that is, the fruit of her lips giving thanks to his name" (xiii. 15).

It is for Christians then, as they transport themselves in thought to the Day of Atonement in Israel, and as they dwell upon the privileges of which God's ancient people must have felt that it was the source, to remember their own better portion, and to rejoice in their own higher privileges. Let them behold themselves in their position as the accepted children of God: let them make Abba, Father the key-note of their lives; and, enjoying the privileges, let them also live the life of God's children, the life of peace and joy and hope and liberty, the life of willing obedience and unquestioning submission to their Father's will.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

BY F. E. CONDER, C.E.

I. LINEAR MEASURES.

IT is impossible thoroughly to understand many parts of the Bible without a competent knowledge of the various metrical terms which are so frequently introduced.

We read of shekels and of talents; of omers and of ephas; of the Feasts of Lights¹ and of Tabernacles; of the second Sabbath after the first; of cubits, and of a Sabbath day's journey. Unless we can form some definite conception of the weights, the measures, the dates, or the distances that are indicated by these and similar words, we can only arrive at a dim and vague comprehension of the meaning of the sacred writers.

The Jews were a people to whom, above all others, incertitude on these points was intolerable. No ancient literature is so precise in its definitions, as to number and quantity, as the Hebrew tongue. The course of daily life was prescribed, in its minutest detail, to the Jews by a Law that was at the same time sacred, civil, and criminal. Nothing was held to be incumbent on a Jew, either to do or not to do, which was not prescribed by one of the 613 affirmative or negative precepts enumerated as contained in the Pentateuch. The exact bearing of these precepts was explained by the Oral Law. And to the prophets and sages, down to the death of Simon the Just, and to the judicial decisions of the Sanhedrin since the time of that great high priest, was ascribed a

power of explaining or supplementing the traditional Oral Laws, which combined the legislative and the judicial functions of our own constitution.

Thus, for example, the validity of the religious rites of the whole Jewish year hinged upon the due observance of the Great Fast—that of the tenth day of the seventh month. Had the ceremonies appointed for this fast been performed, through any error, on the wrong day, the whole nation would have been in the condition of a Roman Catholic nation lying under an interdict. No remedy for the breach of this great ordinance of the Law was possible until the next recurrence of the Day of Expiation. The determination of the proper commencement of the seventh month, involving the previous determination of the first lunar month of the year, was thus an annual duty of the most serious importance. Again, with reference to the Feast of Tabernacles, in which the escape from Egypt was commemorated, certain dimensions were proscribed for the booths, one of which each householder was obliged to erect for, and to inhabit during, the eight days allotted to that festival. Thus the legal determination of the standard cubit, and its aliquot parts, was a portion of the Oral Law itself. Again, with regard to the different baths required for legal purification—whether the total plunging bath, called the bath of Ezra, or the ablutions performed by pouring water over the hands or feet—the minimum quantity of water that was required

¹ A synonym for the Feast of Dedication (Joseph, *Ant.* xii. 7).

for legal purification was accurately prescribed; and thus the maintenance of the true standard of vessels of capacity was intertwined with the ritual of the Temple.

The units or primary dimensions of each several system of measurement—for length, for capacity, for weight, and for time—were all referred in the Oral Law to natural standards. An average grain of barley formed, as in English long measure and in troy weight, the unit of length and of weight. A large hen's egg was the unit of capacity. As to time, the construction of a calendar was forbidden for use in Palestine; and direct observation of the moon, and of the ripening of ears of corn, formed the appointed method for the determination of dates. The adoption of these standards, roughly approximate as they may appear when compared with the exactitude of mechanical science in our own day, has proved to be a more permanent and exact institution than that of any other ancient metrical system. In Egypt, and in Assyria, we depend exclusively on monumental evidence for any precise information as to the measures employed. But our knowledge of the natural standard specified by the Jewish Law, enables us not only to recover the actual scales of these ancient Hebrew systems, but to understand, as we might otherwise be unable to do, much of the metrical history of other peoples.

The first and simplest system of measurement is that which is called in the English language "long measure," or the determination of distances by linear measure. As to this, we have positive information from the great writers Moses ben Maimon and Obadiah de Bartenora, in their commentaries on the treatise *Erubin*, and on other parts of the Mishna. The various items have also been collected with much care by the Abbé Chiarini, and are to be found in the preface to his translation of the first treatise of the Talmud of Babylon. For linear measure, a double natural standard may be said to have been determined. For while, as we before said, the unit or primary dimension is identical with that of English long measure—viz., the barleycorn—every other dimension, in one of the systems or scales, is taken from the human body. The *digit*, of two barleycorns, is the average width of a finger. The *palm*, of four digits, is the width of the fingers when closely pressed together. The *cubit*, of six palms, is the length from the elbow to the end of the middle finger. The *cane* or *canna*, of four cubits, is the height of an ordinary man. We know that we are correct in identifying the length of the Syrian barleycorn with that of the English dimension, from the fact that the ancient substructures of the Temple, which have been recently explored by our Royal Engineers, have all been set out in cubits of sixteen inches, and are thus exactly commensurate with the two-foot rule of the English workman.

Three terms occur in the Bible, which are translated "hand-breadth," "span," and "half-cubit;" and the distinction between them has not hitherto been made clear. They are, however, distinct metrical dimensions. The smallest dimension, which we shall call the palm, is the width across the hand when the fingers are closed.

It is equal to four digits, or three English inches. The second, the hand-breadth, is the double of this dimension, being the width of the hand when the fingers are stretched apart. The third is the span, or width from the end of the thumb to that of the little finger, when the hand is expanded. These dimensions correspond with Greek measures, although the latter are on rather a larger scale. A fourth dimension on this scale corresponds to the length of the foot, and to the Latin *pes*. The Greek *pous* corresponds to the English foot of twelve inches, and not to any dimension in this scale. The *ameh*, smaller cubit, or cubit of five palms, has both a Greek and a Latin equivalent. It is said in the Talmud that this smaller cubit was used for the vessels of the Temple; the larger cubit, of six palms, being the land and builder's measure. This statement is confirmed by the Book of Ezekiel (Ezek. xliii. 16), where sixty palms (translated "twelve cubits") is given as the length of half of each side of the altar.

A distinct, but not incommensurate, system of linear measure is indicated in the description of the Temple which is contained in the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel; a description which, we are told by Maimonides, was taken as the guide for the rebuilding of the sacred edifice by Zerubbabel. In this account a cubit of one-twelfth greater length than the ordinary cubit is indicated by the measuring-reed of six cubits and a half. We are enabled to speak with certitude of the length of the reed or canna in question as being 104 inches, from the fact that the larger dimensions of the "noble sanctuary," as the site of the Temple at Jerusalem is called by the Moslem, have been so exactly set out by this *modulus*, or scale, that the large Ordnance plan (on the scale of $\frac{1}{800}$) might be thought to have been actually plotted on that standard.

In the longer measures of length—the chief importance of which was the determination of the limit of the Sabbath day's journey, or distance from his domicile to which a Jew might travel on the Sabbath—we have a scale of dimensions that are readily expressed in terms of English yards, feet, and inches. They differ from other European measures, whether Greek, Roman, Italian, Spanish, French, or German, but they are commensurate with our own. The length of the Sabbath day's journey was 2,000 paces, which is exactly 240 yards more than an English mile. The *mil*, or smaller Jewish mile, was half the former distance, being 1,000 English yards. The *resah*, or Jewish furlong, was the eighth of the mile, being the equivalent of seventy cannas, or 125 English yards. Thus, nothing can be more simple than the expression of Jewish measures of length in terms of the English foot.

With regard to the two dimensions which exceed the length of the Sabbath day's journey, they must be regarded as rather approximate than geometric. Palestine, at the present day, is almost without roads. There are remains of some noble Roman roads, which may possibly have followed the lines of earlier caravan routes; but the distance which a foot-traveller or a horseman would accomplish in a day depended, in a

great degree, upon the nature of the country he had to traverse. We have tabulated the day's journey as 160 furlongs, being ten furlongs more than the distance taken from the Talmud, for the sake of uniformity in the tables. The length indicated, which is $11\frac{4}{11}$ English miles, is ample for an average day's journey. From Raphia, on the southern frontier of Palestine, to Cæsarea, is a distance of seventy-five geographical miles, as the crow flies. The army of Titus marched this distance (A.D. 69) in five days. But this was the feat of a Roman army over the main line of communication of the country. It is consistent with the smaller distance as the ordinary limit of the traveller. We annex tables of Jewish linear measure.

HEBREW LINEAR MEASURES.

LARGER MEASURES OF LENGTH.

	Cane.	Resah.	Mil.	Sabbath Journey.	Parse.	Day's Journey.	Yards.
Cane	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Furlong (Resah)	70	1	—	—	—	—	125
Mil	560	8	1	—	—	—	1,000
Sabbath Day's Journey	1,120	16	2	1	—	—	2,000
Parse, Stage, or Horse-course	2,240	32	4	2	1	—	4,000
Day's Journey	11,200	160	20	10	5	1	20,000

SMALLER MEASURES OF LENGTH.

	Barley-corn.	Digit.	Palm.	Cubit.	Cane.	English Inches.
Barleycorn	1	—	—	—	—	.33
Digit	2	1	—	—	—	.66
Palm	8	4	1	—	—	2.66
Cubit	48	24	6	1	—	16.0
Cane	192	96	24	4	1	64.0

SMALLER MEASURES OF LENGTH, According to the Chaldean System.

No. in Scale.	Hebrew Name.	English Name.	Greek nearest Equivalent.	Roman nearest Equivalent.	English Inches.
1	Tupah	Palm	Doron	Palmus minor	3
2	Zereth	Handbreadth	Lichas	—	6
3	Sit	Span	{ Ortho- deron }	—	8
4	Regol	Foot	Spithame	Pes	10.7
5	Aneh	Small Cubit	Pygme	Palmipes	13.3
6	Gamad	Large Cubit	Pygon	Cubitus	16.

MEASURES RECORDED IN THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL, AND USED IN THE "NOBLE SANCTUARY."

	Ordinary Cubit.	Sacred Cubit.	Sacred Cane.	English Inches.
Cubit	1	1	—	17.33
Cane or Reed	$1\frac{3}{4}$ $6\frac{1}{2}$	6	1	104

Side of the Druphactos, or perforated fence round the Court of the Women } 500 Sacred Cubits = 722 English feet.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRÆLECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

NINEVEH.

PASSING by another great monument of Babylonian greatness, *al-Hymer* (the red), about eight miles N.E. of Hillah, scarcely inferior in size to the remains already described, but too distant to have belonged to the city itself, we proceed towards the site of the great capital of the Assyrian empire, the city of Nineveh. In doing this the traveller will advance in a direction nearly due north towards Baghdad, a distance of between fifty and sixty miles, impeded frequently on his way, if during the time of inundation, by the marshes created by the numerous canals, once the channels of wholesome irrigation, but now neglected, and fertile only in poisonous miasma. Of these the principal is the *Nahr-Malcha*, or royal river, probably "the river of Chebar" of Ezekiel, which connects the Euphrates with the Tigris, and which Herodotus describes as being navigable for ships. Its entrance into the Tigris is near the now ruined city of Seleneia. (Ezek. i. 1; Herod. i. 193; Plin. vi. 120; Ker Porter, *Trav.*, ii. 289.)

Baghdad, situate in long. $44^{\circ} 44'$, lat. $33^{\circ} 19'$, containing about 170,000 inhabitants, whose name is so familiar to all readers of the *Arabian Nights*, did not exist before A.D. 668, and is therefore only indirectly con-

nected with Bible geography. It lies on both sides of the Tigris, which is crossed by two bridges of boats, and the city, which has sometimes been called erroneously Babylon, is built in great part of bricks brought from the true Babylon and from the ancient Parthian capital, the city of Ctesiphon, which had originally derived its materials from the same prolific source, and of which a noble palace front still remains to testify to its former grandeur. (Leftus, p. 18; Layard, *Nin.*, ii. 175; Porter, ii. 261, 328.)

Baghdad, though still a great and important city, is much decayed from the splendour which it possessed when it was visited by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in A.D. 1164, at which time it was the residence of the Mohammedan Khalifs, and also of the Jewish "Prince of the Captivity," who under their protection exercised authority over the dispersed people in the greater part of Central Asia. There are still about 20,000 Jews in Baghdad, but, although they are more numerous than in Rabbi Benjamin's time, there is not now, nor for many centuries past has there been, any prince of the Captivity reigning among them. During the summer the heat is intense at Baghdad; the thermometer rises in the shade to 115° or even 120° of Fahrenheit, and the inhabitants



BAGHDAD.

are obliged to take refuge in cellars during the day-time. During the season of inundation the waters of the Tigris, augmented by those of the Euphrates brought by canals, sometimes rise to a great height and cause much damage. At such times the whole country round Baghdad is covered, and the city itself stands like a castellated island in the midst of a boundless sea. Should the railway be completed which has been long contemplated, and of which the electric telegraph, already existing, is perhaps the precursor, Baghdad will no doubt become an important station on the line. (Calmet, *Dict. de la Bible*, art. "Captivité;" *Early Trav.*, p. 98; Porter, ii. 258; Loftus, p. 7; Rich, *Narrative*, i. 1.)

From Baghdad, in order to reach Mosul, the traveller proceeds by land by the government postal route, in a direction nearly N.N.W., on the east side of the river, but at a considerable distance from it. It is a journey of about 250 miles, occupying nine days. The river is obstructed by rocks, and especially near Nimroud, the *Awaj*, by an ancient dam or wall, which impedes the upward navigation; and though this might be rendered passable for steam-vessels without much trouble, no pains to effect this have yet been taken by the Turkish Government. (Niebuhr, ii. 288; Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 7, 8.) The passage down the river to Baghdad is effected without difficulty in three or four days when the water

is high, and at other times in about fifteen days, and so cheaply that the river is commonly called the cheap camelier. Goods and passengers are conveyed on rafts called *kellek*, formed of trunks and branches of trees tied together with osier twigs, and supported on sheep or goat-skins, which are filled with air in the same manner as is represented on the existing monuments of Nineveh. The ordinary raft requires thirty-two or thirty-four of these, but larger ones require fifty, or sometimes even as many as 300 skins to support them. Care is taken to place the mouth of the skins upwards, so that if necessary they may be filled from above without disturbance of the raft. Passengers who can afford the expense are protected by a small hut raised upon the raft, covered with reeds and lined with felt; and when the destination is reached and the cargo disposed of, the materials of the raft are sold and the skins carried back on men's shoulders or by donkeys to Mosul or Tekrit, where the men usually reside who are employed in the navigation of the river. For crossing the river or for short distances, a circular boat, called *kufa*, is used, capable of holding three or four persons. It is made of willow-bark and coated with bitumen, exactly in the same manner as Herodotus described the boats on the Euphrates which carried wine to Babylon two thousand years ago. (Herod. i. 194; Nieb. ii. 281;

Porter, ii. 259; Layard, *Nin.*, ii. 96; *Nin. and Bab.*, 465; Chesney, *Exped.*, ii. 635; *Narr.*, p. 70.)

At Kerkuk, a dirty town about twenty miles S.E. of the Lesser Zab, and 150 miles from Baghdad, a Jewish tradition, unsupported by historical evidence, has placed the burial-place of Daniel and the "three children," his associates. (*Nieb.* ii. 275.) A short distance from Kerkuk are extensive bitumen pits. After crossing the Lesser Zab, about midway between it and the Greater Zab, is *Arbil*, a town situated on a lofty hill which, under the Greek form of Arbela,¹ was chosen to give its name to the great battle between Darius and Alexander, which decided the fate of the Persian empire, B.C. 331, but which was actually fought at Gaugamela, on the other side of the river Zab, on the banks of the Khazir, about six or seven miles distant. It was then that the rough he-goat of Daniel's vision finally smote the ram and broke his two horns of Media and Persia. (*Dan.* viii. 7, 20, 21; *Strabo*, vi. 737; *Arrian*, *Exp.* vi.; *Nieb.* ii. 278; *Rich*, *Kurdistan*, ii. 14; *Layard*, *Nin. and Bab.*, 208.)

After crossing the Zab, and also its tributary the *Khazir*, or *Khausser*, in approaching Mosul, great mounds are passed, which cover one at least of the sites belonging to ancient Nineveh, and presently, after a bridge of boats, approached by an arched viaduct, conducts the traveller into the city of Mosul. (*Nieb.* ii. 276, 286; *Rich*, ii. 14.) This is a large city, with a population of 100,000, including many Jews and Christians of various denominations. Its name has been supposed by some to contain the origin of our word "muslin," and some cotton manufactures of a coarse kind are at present carried on there. Rabbi Benjamin, already quoted, says (A.D. 1164) that it is an ancient and handsome city, and well fortified, the same as "Ashur the great" of Scripture, and that it is joined to Nineveh by a bridge. Although, he says, the latter lies in ruins, there are numerous inhabited villages and small towns on its site. It contains the synagogues of Obadiah, of Jonah, and of Nahum the Elkoshite. Dr. L. Rauwolff (A.D. 1575) says of "the famous city, Mosul" that it formerly went by the name of Nineveh. "I saw," he says, "just without the town a little hill that was almost dug through and inhabited by poor people, where I saw them creep in and out as pismires in ant-hills. In this place and thereabouts stood formerly the potent town of Nineveh, built by Ashur, which was the metropolis of Assyria to the time of Sennacherib and his sons." He then says that after its destruction it was rebuilt, but was finally completely destroyed by Tamerlane (A.D. 1390), "so that at this time there is nothing of any antiquities to be seen, as in old Babylon, save only the fort that lieth upon the hill, and some few villages which, as the inhabitants say, did also belong to it in former days." Sir Anthony Shirley, who travelled in this country a few years later, says that "Nineveh hath not one stone standing to give memory of the being of a town. One English

mile from it is a place called Mosul, a small thing, rather like a witness of the other's mightiness and God's judgment, than of any fashion of magnificence in itself." Pietro della Valle, early in the seventeenth century, speaks of Mosul and Nineveh as the same place; and lastly, the great Danish traveller, Niebuhr, who in his way to Mosul passed through the mounds on the left (east) bank of the Tigris, opposite to that town, speaks of them as covering the remains of Nineveh, but made no attempt to examine them. On the other hand, Cartwright, an English traveller, early in the seventeenth century, speaks of visiting the mounds not only here but elsewhere, and measuring the distances between them, and noting their agreement with the statements of Diodorus. (*Early Trav.*, p. 94; *Ray*, *Travels*, ii. 166; *P. della V.*, i. 429; *Purchas*, *Pilgrims*, ii. 1,387, 1,435; *Nieb.* ii. 286.)

Without accepting as strictly correct the statement of Rauwolff about the final destruction of Nineveh by Timur, we see that common opinion has constantly connected the remains in the immediate neighbourhood of Mosul with the site of the Nineveh of Scripture. If we inquire what we know about Nineveh, we shall find that in what may be called its personal history we know far less than we know of Babylon; but in what is circumstantial and visible far more. Going back to the Book of Genesis, we find that Nimrod² went forth from the land of Shinar to Asshur, and "built Nineveh and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah, a great city" (*Gen.* x. 11). The words "the city Rehoboth" may be explained "streets of the city," as may be seen in the margin; and if on this ground we decline to give Rehoboth a separate position, we have three cities in Assyria to be accounted for. What, then, was Assyria? It is described in *Gen.* ii. as a well-known region lying to the west of the Tigris, *i.e.*, that in the time of the writer of the Book of Genesis part at least of the whole country so situated was known to the Hebrews by that name (*Gen.* ii. 14; xxv. 18). In later times the name Assyria belonged more distinctly to the country on the left (east) bank of the river, though, as has been mentioned before, it was sometimes regarded as including the whole of the Mesopotamian district, and even besides this a vast extent of country lying to the west of the Euphrates. (*Plin.* vi. 117; *Strabo*, xvi. 736.) In its wider, not the widest, acceptation, the name Assyria may be regarded as including a region which reaches from Baghdad on the south to Armenia on the north, and from Mount Zagros on the east to the Euphrates on the west, a space containing about 100,000 square miles, or about the same extent as Italy, excluding Sicily and Sardinia.

In connection with Scripture history, excepting to the extent pointed out above in our account of Babylon, and the indefinite though very remarkable mention of Asshur in the prophecy of Balaam, and also an equally indefinite notice in the Book of Psalms of uncertain

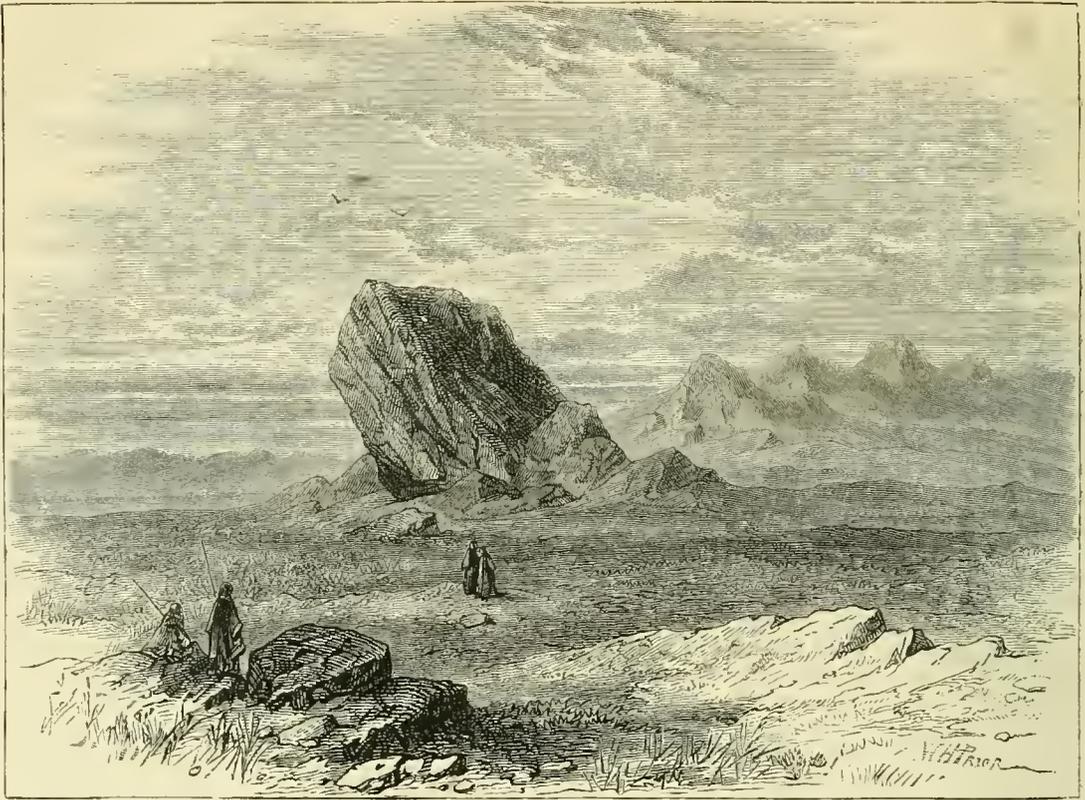
¹ It is perhaps well to remark that this place can hardly be Beth-arbel of *Hos.* x. 14, though M. Oppert thinks otherwise.

² See *BIBLE EDUCATOR*, Vol. I., p. 264.

date, we have no specific mention of Assyria until the time of Menahem, fifteenth king of Israel, B.C. 771, who overran the country west of the Euphrates as far as Tiphshah on that river, and was in return attacked and defeated by Pul, said to be a king of Assyria, but who, if he were not a Babylonian monarch, appears to have reigned over Babylon. Menahem only redeemed his kingdom from further punishment by the payment of a heavy tribute. (Numb. xxiv. 22; Ps. lxxxiii. 8; 2 Kings xv. 16, 19, 20; BIBLE ED., ii. 55; Rawlinson, *Ill. of Old Test.*, p. 123.) Another invasion, with results still more disastrous, took place, under Tiglath-pileser, in the reign of Pekah, who succeeded Pekahiah, B.C. 759; and in the reign of Hoshea (731—722 B.C.) the dissolution of the Israelite kingdom and the final captivity of the people, which has perhaps never been fully restored, and which "Israel in long captivity still mourns" (*Par. Reg.* iii.), took place at the conquest of the country begun by Shalmaneser, and completed, as it seems, by Sargon his son. This invasion was probably preceded by that invasion of Syria by the Assyrians, at the solicitation of Ahaz, which is mentioned in 2 Kings xvi., and which had been foretold by Amos forty years before. In the meantime, however, though no mention appears in Jewish history of the fact, an Assyrian inscription records the name of Jehu as paying tribute to a king of Assyria. If this be true, the Israelite kingdom would seem to have been in some degree dependent on the Assyrian, and the outbreak of Menahem would appear to be an act of revolt against the Assyrian lord to whom he had previously been subject. That supremacy extended, as we have seen above in the case of Ahaz, to Judah as well as Israel; but Hezekiah, son of Ahaz (B.C. 726), broke off the subjection to which his father had submitted, and was enabled by Divine interposition to escape from the danger with which the invasion of Sennacherib, son of Sargon, the conqueror of Egypt, threatened to overwhelm his kingdom. Lachish, indeed, and other cities of Judah fell, and the Assyrian monuments describe both in writing and in pictorial relief the sentence of the conqueror and the cruel treatment of his captives. Sennacherib, after the loss of his army, of which an account, much distorted by transmission, is given by Herodotus, is said to have returned to Nineveh, and after his death by assassination to have been succeeded by his son Esarhaddon, who, as we have already seen, repaired the blow which the empire had sustained in his father's time, and even extended his influence, if not his dominion, over Babylon as well as Assyria properly so called. (2 Kings xv. 29; xvi. 7; xviii. 7, 13, 14; xix. 8; Isa. xx. 1, 4; Amos i. 5; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 152, 613; *Monuments of Nin.*, pp. 21, 22, 23; Rawlinson, *Ill. of Old Test.*, 130; Herod. ii. 141; BIBLE ED., ii. 55.)

But even while the Assyrian power was at its highest the voice of prophecy was foretelling its fall. Passing by the well-known promises of deliverance to Hezekiah from the impending danger from Sennacherib's invasion, we have a forecast of ultimate retribution on Assyria expressed in general terms in Isa. x. 12. The principal

utterances, however, respecting Assyria and Nineveh its capital are found (a) in the narrative and prophecy of Jonah, whose date is uncertain, ranging from B.C. 860 to 780, but whose connection with Nineveh is still commemorated in the name given to one of the mounds opposite Mosul, *Nebbi Yunus* (the tomb of the prophet Jonah). It is from this narrative that we derive the historical description of the size of Nineveh—viz., as a city of three days' journey, and the notice respecting its population, which it is so difficult to reconcile to those dimensions (Jonah iii. 3; iv. 11). (b) Micah, whose date lies within well-ascertained limits—viz., about 750 B.C.—speaks of the wasting of Assyria and of the land of Nimrod (Micah v. 6). (c) Nahum (whose date is placed by Josephus in the reign of Jotham, but by St. Jerome in that of Hezekiah, *i.e.*, probably not later than 712, and perhaps as early as 750, though by some placed as late as 645 B.C.), the Elkoshite, whose name has been connected by popular Jewish tradition with *El Kosh*, a place a few miles north of Mosul, foretold the complete destruction of Nineveh, and the manner in which it would be effected. (Nahum ii. 6, 7; iii. 7; Joseph., *Ant.*, ix. 11, 3; Nieb. ii. 286; Rich, *Residence*, ii. 111.) (d) Still later and closer to the time of the capture of the city, Zephaniah, B.C. 630, foretells this and the desolation of Assyria (Zeph. ii. 13). (e) And lastly, Ezekiel (B.C. 598) speaks of this as an accomplished fact (Ezek. xxxi. 3). The book of Tobit informs us that Nineveh was taken by a combination between the Median and Babylonian forces, but from the uncertain date both of this book and of that of Judith, we gain but little information in addition to that which we otherwise possess (Tobit xiv. 15). But if the history of Assyria and Nineveh be less fully written in books than that of Babylon, this deficiency is more than compensated by the fulness of those monumental records resuscitated during the last few years, which have thrown so much light upon the history, not only of Nineveh, but also on that of Babylon. Less perishable than books, independent of the books which we possess, whether in sacred or profane literature, and therefore in this respect unimpeachable as witnesses, they often corroborate and sometimes materially explain that history. The treasures of information which they contain, written in a language "hidden in earthen vessels," and long regarded as beyond the reach of discovery, or 'graven "upon the wall" in the vivid and visible language of the sculptor, but long concealed from sight by the ruins which preserved them from destruction, it has been reserved for the present age to disinter and in great measure decipher. Surely in these great discoveries we must recognise the work of Divine Providence, reserving as is his custom the store of knowledge which He intends us ultimately to possess until his own appointed time, to be obtained in his own appointed way by means of the genius, and enterprise, and perseverance of the men on whom He bestowed these precious gifts, by which they have in their various lines of labour been enabled to unravel and illustrate "things kept secret" during so many ages of the world.



S ELEUCIA.

Let us, however, at once review the brief notices concerning Nineveh which are furnished by profane writers. Herodotus, after telling us that the Assyrian supremacy in Asia lasted 520 years, says that Nineveh was taken by the Medes, under Cyaxares, of which capture he promises an account in a future work, which either was never completed, or has been totally lost, and whose absence we have, therefore, unavailingly to regret. He mentions its site upon the river Tigris, and relates a story of a plan adopted by thieves for plundering the palace of King Sardanapalus by means of a tunnel connected with their own residence, the earth from which, as it was dug out, was thrown by night into the river. He also, as we have seen, mentions the invasion of Egypt by Sennacherib, and the manner in which, as he was told, it was defeated. (Herod. i. 95, 106, 185; ii. 141, 150.)

Diodorus, following Ctesias, says that Ninus, king of Assyria, having subdued nearly all Asia and Egypt, built a city which Diodorus, by a strange blunder, but one into which many others have fallen, describes as being on the Euphrates. It was 480 stadia (fifty-four miles) in circumference, the same size as Babylon according to Herodotus, but not, like Babylon, square in form, the larger side being 150 stadia long, and the shorter 90. The walls were 100 feet in height,

and wide enough for three chariots to drive abreast. There were 1,500 towers, each 200 feet high. The city was built by Semiramis, wife of Ninus, after her husband's death. The last king was Sardanapalus, who, when the city was in danger of being taken, raised a vast funeral pyre of treasures and furniture, on which he consumed himself, his palace, and all his family. Thus the Assyrian empire came to an end, having lasted 1,300 years. (Diod. ii. 1, 3, 27, 28.)

Strabo says that Nineveh was built by Ninus in the plain of Aturia, and that it was much larger than Babylon. He mentions Arbela, the fact of its name having been given to the battle of Gaugamela, and the bitumen pits in its neighbourhood. (Strabo, vi. 737.)

Nineveh is also mentioned by Pliny, as a renowned city on the Tigris (vi. 42); by Ptolemy, as an Assyrian town in the Tigris district (vi. 1, 3); by Pausanias, as an extinct city (viii. 33, 1); by Lucian, as so entirely destroyed that not a vestige is to be seen (*Charon*, vol. i. 359); and Xenophon, earlier than any of these latter writers by more than 400 years, says that the Greek army, in its march of retreat, came to the Tigris, on which was a large deserted city called *Larissa*, two parasangs (about seven miles) in circumference, having walls 100 feet high and 25 feet broad, built upon a platform of baked bricks 20 feet in height. Near it

was a stone pyramid, whose side was a *plethrum* (100 feet), and its height two *plethra*. Six parasangs (about twenty-one miles) from Larissa, he says, there was another town called *Mespila*, having near it a great fortification which was formerly inhabited by the Medes. This also had a platform of shelly stone 50 feet wide and 50 feet high, on which was raised a brick wall 100 feet high and 50 feet wide, and 6 parasangs (21 miles) in circuit. From his account we gather that the fortification was deserted, but the town inhabited. (Xen., *Anab.*, iii. 4, 10, 11.)

Arrian speaks of Nineveh as formerly a great and wealthy city (*Ind.*, p. 588). Tacitus (A.D. 97) mentions it as the very ancient seat of Assyrian government, which, as well as Arbela, was taken by C. Cassius in

the reign of Claudius (A.D. 50) (*Ann.*, xii. 13). The name *Mespila* has been thought to answer to Mosul, and Larissa to represent Resen of Gen. x. 11.

In the great pyramid of Larissa we may perhaps recognise the "tomb of Ninus" of Ovid's story of Pyramus and Thisbe, "Ninny's tomb" of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, which was the luckless lovers' "trysting-place;" but it is plain that, with the partial exception of Tacitus, all these writers speak of Nineveh as no more. By *Mespila* and Larissa Xenophon probably intends to describe places representing Nineveh and one of the other cities of the Ninevite district, but without any thought, as it seems, of the identity of either with ancient Nineveh. (Ovid, *Met.*, iv. 88, King's translation; Layard, *Nin.*, ii. 248.)

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS.—ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

"Then came to him the disciples of John, saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not? And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast. No man [or, but no one] putteth a piece of new [or unfilled, i.e., undressed] cloth unto [or upon] an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse [or, and a worse rent is made]. Neither do men put new wine into old bottles [i.e., leather bottles or skins], else the bottles break [or, the skins burst], and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish; but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved."—ST. MATT. ix. 14—17.

WE learn from the records of the three synoptical Evangelists that the incident here related took place in connection with the feast made by Levi, i.e., Matthew, on occasion of his call to follow Christ. The inquiry, "Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft?" or, as St. Luke records the words, "fast often and make prayers," appears in St. Luke's Gospel to have been proposed by the Scribes and Pharisees; whilst, in that of St. Matthew, it is ascribed to the disciples of John the Baptist. St. Mark, however, who represents both the disciples of John and also those of the Pharisees as proposing to our Lord the same inquiry, not only removes the apparent discrepancy in this particular instance, but also supplies a key for the solution of similar difficulties arising out of the insufficiency of the materials placed at our disposal.

It has been inferred by some, from the particular form of expression used by St. Mark, ἦσαν νηστεύοντες, which may be rendered "were fasting," that both the Pharisees and the disciples of John were observing, at the particular period in question, one of those fasts which were customary amongst the stricter portion of the Jews. It is true, indeed, that the only fast which can be alleged to have been enjoined by the Mosaic law was that of the great Day of Atonement, i.e., the tenth day of the seventh month; and even with regard to that

day the word which properly denotes fasting is not employed,¹ and it is only by a comparison of Lev. xvi. 29 with other passages in which the affliction of the soul consists in, or implies fasting (e.g., Ps. xxxv. 13; Isa. lviii. 3, 10), that Ibn Ezra and others have arrived at the conclusion that abstinence from food was specifically enjoined by the law of Moses even on that day. It is equally true, however, that, independently of the fasts enjoined by authority on occasion of public calamities, of which we read previously to the Babylonish captivity, the Jews in later times were in the habit of observing annual national fasts—(1) on the seventeenth day of the fourth month; (2) on the ninth day of the fifth month; (3) on the third day of the seventh month; (4) on the tenth day of the tenth month; and (5) on the fast of Esther on the thirteenth day of Adar. In addition to these annual fasts there were the bi-weekly fasts of the Monday and Thursday, which were observed either during a portion or during the whole of the year by the stricter sect of the Pharisees.

The words of St. Mark may be understood as referring to the observance of one of these bi-weekly fasts at the very time at which our blessed Lord and His disciples, together with "many publicans and sinners," were attending the feast made by Levi in his own house; or, inasmuch as similar words are commonly used by St. Mark to denote that which was habitual as well as that which was incidental, they may be understood as simply denoting the fact that, whereas the Pharisees and the disciples of John were in the habit of observing periodical fasts, our Lord's disciples disregarded them.

Having thus cleared the way for the discussion of the chief difficulties of this passage, we will now endeavour

¹ It is worthy of notice that the word נִצְרָה (*tsom*), which properly denotes fasting, does not occur under any form in the Pentateuch. It is first found in the books of Judges and of Samuel.

to explain the general drift of our Lord's parabolical reply to the inquiry made of Him, "Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not?"

And here it must be observed that our Lord's reply to the inquiry thus made of Him is of a twofold nature; first, special, as applicable to the existing circumstances of His disciples whilst He was with them; then general, as applicable to the entire genius of the Christian dispensation.

With regard to the former, our Lord, making use of the Baptist's similitude (John iii. 29), in which we recognise an echo of many passages in the Old Testament,¹ as well as a preparation for other portions of His own teaching and that of His apostles,² argues, by an appeal to the well-known customs of the Jews during the days of the bridal festivity, the incongruity of fasting and mourning at a time set apart for feasting and rejoicing; thus recalling to the minds of His inquirers the familiar words of the Preacher: "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven.

. . . A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance" (Eccles. iii. 1, 4).

In like manner, however, as St. Paul, in replying to the inquiries of the Corinthians, not only solves the particular questions propounded to him, but lays down at the same time general rules for the direction of Christians in all ages (1 Cor. vii. 29—32), so our blessed Lord not only solves the inquiry made by the disciples of John and the Pharisees, so far as it related to the existing circumstances of His own disciples, but proceeds, in a further answer to the same inquiry, to contrast the comprehensive character and genius of the Gospel with the local and temporary requirements of the Law of Moses and the ministry of the Baptist. He declares indeed, plainly and unequivocally, that though, in accordance with the teaching of their own Rabbins, it would be unseemly for the friends of the bridegroom to mourn whilst the bridegroom was still with them, there would be days of mourning intervening between the betrothal and the actual marriage, in which the Bridegroom should be taken away, and during which the friends of the Bridegroom should mourn. But He goes on to teach them—as though He would correct in the germ their imperfect and orroneous conceptions of the nature and design of the Gospel—that just as it was forbidden by the law of Moses (Deut. xxii. 11) to wear a mixed garment of linen and of wool, so there was a deeper and a more essential incongruity involved in every attempt to patch the old and tattered garment of the Law with the new and seamless robe of the Gospel. Just as the insertion of a piece of undressed cloth, which shrinks when wetted, and takes along with it a part of the old and worn garment, does but increase the rent which it is designed to mend; just as unfermented wine put into old skins bursts the skins, and perishes with them, even so our Lord declares that all

attempts to combine the bondage of the Law with the liberty of the Gospel involved a fundamental ignorance of the nature and design of both.

The two similitudes employed by our Lord seem to exhibit this truth in different ways.

The similitude of the old garment patched with the piece of new cloth seems more immediately applicable to external rites and ceremonies, such as the observance of those prescribed "days, and months, and years," which caused St. Paul to "stand in doubt" of the Galatian church, "lest he had bestowed upon it labour in vain."

The similitude of the new wine seems to have reference to the inner life and spirit—the very life and soul of the Christian dispensation, which could not be restrained within the trammels of the "worldly sanctuary" of Judaism. It is true, indeed, that men do not naturally discern the superiority of the Gospel over the Law; that those who have been accustomed to serve in "the oldness of the letter" do not easily discern and recognise the superiority of a higher service in "the newness of the Spirit." Their language for the most part is still, as in the days of our Lord and His apostles, "The old is good,"³ and they are unable or unwilling (*οὐδέεις . . . θέλει*) to perceive the excellence and to engage in the pursuit of the higher and the better.

The history of the Church in all after ages teaches how greatly this lesson was needed, and how imperfectly it has been learned.

As the Judaising teachers of apostolic times corrupted the Gospel by inculcating the necessity of observing the rites and ceremonies of the Law, so the popular creed and worship of the fourth century was, to a very considerable degree, little better than a Christianised form of paganism; the religion of Christ being dragged down to the level of the age, rather than the age being elevated to the standard of the Gospel. "A new system of Christian omens," says the late Dean Milman, "succeeded the old; witchcraft merely invoked Beelzebub, or Satan instead of Heeate; hallowed places only changed the tutelary nymph or genius for a saint or martyr."⁴ And the same writer describes the practical results of the diffusion of this spurious form of mythic and polytheistic Christianity in the following terms: "Thus in a great degree, while the Roman world became Christian in outward worship and in faith, it remained heathen, or even at some periods worse than in the better times of heathenism, as to beneficence, gentleness, purity, social virtue, and peace."⁵

The history of the Jesuit missions in China and Japan affords another illustration of the tendency which has existed in all ages to patch the old garment with the new cloth—to pour the new wine into the old skins.

The attempts of the Roman missionaries to build on the old foundations, and to turn to good account those pagan institutions in which they traced with astonish-

¹ E.g., Ps. xlv.; Canticles throughout; Isa. liv. 5; Jer. iii. 14; Hos. ii. 16 (to a portion of which prophecy allusion is made in Matt. ix. 13).

² E.g., Matt. xxii. 1—14; Ephes. v. 32; Rev. xix. 7.

³ The true reading of Luko v. 39 appears to be *χρηστός*, not as the received text, *χρηστότερος*.

⁴ *Hist. of Christianity*, book iv., chap. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*

ment a marvellous resemblance to their own, are abundantly familiar to the student of the ecclesiastical history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. So striking, even in minute particulars, was the correspondence in the rites of the old and the new religions, that the only conclusion which commended itself to the minds of those who failed in the attempt to transfer the old forms of worship to new objects, or who found to their dismay that, after a short trial, the old superstitions were too strongly rooted to be superseded by the new, was that the fathor of lies had designedly forestalled the missionaries by introducing into these countries "a profane parody on the institutions of the Catholic Church."¹

The general design, then, of our Lord in the parabolical teaching under consideration, seems to have been to warn His followers from the first of the danger to

¹ See *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, by Sir James Stephen, p. 220.

which they would ever be exposed of substituting a worship consisting in outward forms and observances in the place of a worship in "spirit and in truth."

Without any disparagement of the efficacy of fasting, or of any other means adopted with a view to bring the flesh into subjection to the spirit, and without any disparagement, scarcely need it be added, of the duty and efficacy of prayer, our Lord forewarns His followers from the first that that kingdom which He came to establish "is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;" that the rites and observances of the Law were designed to prepare the way for, and not to be incorporated into, the Gospel; that the old garments of the one cannot be patched with the new and seamless robe of the other; and that the new wine with which the Pentecostal presses of the Gospel burst out, can never be restrained within the old and effete bottles of a Law which "made nothing perfect," and of a covenant which "gendered to bondage."

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ZEPHANIAH.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

II.—THE CALL TO REPENTANCE.

(Chap. ii. 1 to chap. iii. 8.)

IN the first section of this poem Zephaniah denounces on the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem the doom which their idolatries and immoralities had provoked; he denounces that doom with a stern vigour and passion which give his words an edge so keen that even to this day they pierce and wound our hearts. But in the second section he changes his voice; he modulates it into a key more tender and pathetic. Tones of judgment and righteous indignation still fall on our ears; but under these, struggling up against them and through them, at times triumphing over them, we catch a strain of compassion. The threatenings of judgment melt into an invitation to repentance. The gracious intention of the Divine "doom" is disclosed. A fruitful rain falls on the soil through which the ploughshare has been driven. Healing balms are laid on the wounds that have been probed and searched.

Though his voice still trembles with indignation against "the sinners and their offences," the prophet calls on them to abandon their sins, to seek righteousness and humility; and, to induce them to repentance and amendment, he declares that the judgment which is soon to sweep across the whole earth, will reach its end only as "all the inhabitants of the earth, every one from his place," acknowledge Jehovah to be God and worship Him.

This is the theme of Part II., and it is wrought out thus:—*The Call to Repentance* is given in chapter ii.

verses 1—3; *Motives to Repentance* are supplied in chapter ii., verses 4—15; while, to give an added force to his call, the prophet shows *the Need of Repentance* by once more depicting the sins of Jerusalem in chapter iii., verses 1—8.

(1.) THE CALL TO REPENTANCE.

(Chap. ii. 1—3.)

"Prove and try yourselves,
O nation that dost not turn pale,
Before the decree bring forth
(The day cometh on like the chaff),
Before the burning wrath of Jehovah come upon you,
Before the day of Jehovah's wrath come upon you.
Seek ye Jehovah, all ye humble of the land,
Who do that which is right before Him;
Seek righteousness, seek humility:
Peradventure, ye may be hidden in the day of Jehovah's wrath."

The general contents of these verses may be summed up thus:—The men of Judah, with the fear of God before their eyes, are to consider and test themselves. They have been hardened and unabashed in their iniquity. The Divine judgment is coming on them to compel them to reflection, that they may put themselves and their modes of thought and action to the proof. It is coming quickly, so quickly that they must not think to escape it. Now, if ever, the occasion must be seized, the place for repentance must be found, occupied, secured. They have forgotten and abandoned the Lord their God; let them seek the Lord. They have been unrighteous; let them seek righteousness. They have been proud and self-confident; let them seek humility. In this radical change of spiritual character, attitude, bias, lies their only hope, their sole chance of escaping destruction.

But if we look a little more closely into these verses, and study the poetic forms in which Zephaniah has cast his thoughts, we shall find them to be singularly picturesque and impressive. His opening words, for instance, "*Prove and try yourselves,*" if literally rendered, would read: "*Gather yourselves together, and gather yourselves together.*" In the Hebrew the phrase consists of a single verb, which is repeated in order to give it force and emphasis, in order to indicate the urgency of the call. And this verb applies to human conduct an image taken from the gleaming of fields, the collection of stubble, the sweeping up of fallen branches and leaves. Read with its associations and suggestions, it implies that the men of Judah were to *collect* their spirits, now distracted by so many unworthy objects; that they were, so to speak, to sweep out of themselves that which was dead and worthless, to glean up the wheat, to burn up the stubble. That is to say, they are to take stock of themselves, to put themselves to the most searching and discriminating tests, to ascertain what they are and how they stand, to abandon that which is evil and to cherish that which is good.

But how are they to be induced to self-examination and self-correction? They are "*a nation which does not turn pale,*" a nation not easily daunted, not given to blench with fear. They are proud, stubborn, stiff-necked, unappalled by miseries and calamities which would bring races of a gentler strain to their knees.

Because they are so hard and stubborn, so insusceptible to fear, the greatest of all terrors is coming on them: the *yom Yehovah*, the day of the Lord, is at the very door, the day in which *all* faces turn pale. Let them not suppose that things will last their time, that there is no immediate peril, no instant need of repentance and amendment. "*The decree,*" ordaining execution of judgment, has passed; it is about to "*bring forth*" its terrors. The day of the Lord is even now driving up like "chaff" before the wind. How terrible, how insupportable, that swiftly approaching day will be when it breaks upon them is indicated by the flaming epithets, by the heavy dragging tones, by the solemn and emphatic repetitions of the lines which close verse 2: "*Prove and try yourselves before the burning wrath of Jehovah come upon you, before the day of Jehovah's wrath come upon you.*" How wide and searching its judgments will be, is indicated by the exhortation of verse 3: "*Seek ye Jehovah, all ye humble of the land, who do that which is right before him; seek righteousness, seek humility: peradventure ye may be hidden in the day of Jehovah's wrath.*" Not only are the proud to bend, and the sinful to repent, but even the humble of the land must seek humility; even those who do that which is right before God must seek righteousness; even those who are in correspondence with Heaven must rouse themselves to new ardours of godliness, to more strenuous endeavours after the Divine will and favour. If, indeed, they seek the Lord, in seeking humility and righteousness, when his judgments are abroad in the earth, they will be secure whatever the perils of the day, and at peace whatever its terrors.

For by his "*peradventure ye may be hidden,*" the prophet does not intend to cast any doubt on the security of the humble and the righteous. He intends, rather, to suggest the extreme rigour of the doom he foresees, the difficulty of escaping it, the improbability that a people so callous and proud will seek and find the sole refuge from the storm. All the more he urges them to seek it, nor has he any doubt that, if they seek, they will find. For why should the prophet call the sinful to repentance, if repentance were to be of no avail? why urge the good to new ardours of righteousness, if even these were to be of no avail?

Even thus early, then, we hear the tones of mercy and invitation blending with the tones of denunciation and rebuke, not dominant as yet, indeed, yet sounding forth no doubtful promise that the key, the mode, is changing, and that we shall soon be gladdened with a more cheerful and melodious strain. Even thus early we are taught, at least by implication and suggestion, that the judgments of God, however stern, however wide and deep of reach, are sent to summon the wicked to self-examination and repentance, and the good to more earnest and fruitful endeavours after that which is right before God.

(2.) *The Motives for Repentance* follow the *Call to Repentance*. And now, in chapter ii., verses 4—15, Zephaniah travels through the entire circle of doom, through the lands which encompassed Judah on every side, from east to west, from north to south. As he had opened his prophecy by denouncing a judgment which was to sweep across the whole earth, destroying man and beast, so now he shows in detail how this judgment is to fall on the entire world known to the Jews, on all the races with which they were familiar. Or, rather, he selects, as representatives of the world, four leading races: the Philistines on the west; the Moabites and the Ammonites—two tribes, but one race, since both were the descendants of Lot—on the east; the Ethiopians in the distant south; and the Assyrians far away in the north. He portrays the doom that is to fall on these races standing at the four points of the compass, thus filling the whole horizon with heavy clouds of judgment, and leaving us to infer that all the races included within these points will have to endure the pelting of the storm.

First of all, we have *the doom of the Philistines* (vs. 4—7).

"For Gaza shall be forsaken,
And Ashkelon become a desert;
As for Ashdod, they shall be driven out at noonday,
And Ekron shall be rooted up.
Woe to the inhabitants of the Tract by the Sea!
The nation of the Kerethites!
The word of Jehovah upon you:
O Canaan, land of the Philistines!
I destroy thee, so that no inhabitant remaineth;
And the Tract by the Sea shall become pastures,
With huts for shepherds,
And folds for sheep:
Yea, the tract shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah,
Thereupon shall they feed;
In the houses of Ashkelon shall they lie down at evening;
For Jehovah their God will visit them,
And turn their captivity."

On the west coast of Southern Palestine, between the Mediterranean Sea and the first range of mountains, there spreads a broad tract of fertile land, averaging, perhaps, some fifteen or sixteen miles in width. In this tract—the *Shephelah*, or “Low Country,” of Scripture, “the Maritime Plain” of modern writers—the Philistine clans took refuge, falling back on what seems to have been their ancestral seat, when they were driven by the Jews from the central plains. The whole region was highly cultivated by a somewhat crowded population, and was thickly dotted with large villages and fortified towns. Among these towns were five chief cities or commonwealths—Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath—which seem to have resembled the free Italian cities of the Middle Ages, such as Venice and Florence, and to have been independent states, as well as cities in which the civilisation of the time took its highest forms. Commonly, these five cities were banded in a confederation or league, for mutual defence; and their magnates, who formed the supreme council of the league, are well known to us by their Biblical title, “the lords of the Philistines.” All these cities, now at the mercy of the Scythian herds, were to be overwhelmed and destroyed in “the great day of the Lord;” the whole “Tract by the Sea,” of which these cities were the bulwark and the ornament, was to be depopulated, reduced to a desert, and then re-peopled by “the remnant of the house of Judah.” Here, on this rich soil, wasted by war, the elect remnant should find pastures for their flocks, and build huts for shepherds and folds for sheep.

Only four of these five cities are mentioned by the prophet (verse 4): Gath is omitted. If we ask, why? the answer supplies a valuable hint on the limits of inspiration. For the answer is, that a law of Hebrew poetry, the law of *parallelism*, which demanded that clauses and lines should go in couples, only allowed four to be mentioned. Try how you will, you cannot arrange five names in couples. And the inspiration of the prophet bowed to this necessity, submitted to this restriction: teaching us that the Divine inspiration may be, and is, limited not only by the infirmities of the human nature through which it works, but even by the laws of poetic speech, by the exigencies of literary form. “The spirits of the prophets are *subject* to the prophets.”

On all these cities there is to fall one doom; but to each of them that one and the selfsame doom is variously announced. To two of these, Gaza and Ekron, the doom is conveyed by a pun, or play on words, such as constantly recurs in Hebrew prophecy, even when its tones are most solemn and tragic; these flashes of humour rendering the darkness through which they dart the more profound. “Gaza shall be *forsaken*,” we read; but Zephaniah said, “*Azzâh* shall be *âzûbâh* (forsaken):” we read, “*Ekron* shall be *rooted up*;” but Zephaniah said, “*Ekrôn* shall be *tê âqêr* (rooted out, torn out of its soil):” in each of these clauses, the two leading words of the clause are from the same root, and the fate of the city is indicated by a pun on its name. To the other two cities the doom is announced in literal terms:

“*Ashkelon shall become a desert; as for Ashdod, they shall be driven out at noon-day;*” but the latter sentence contains an allusion which needs to be explained. In the sultry East, noonday is a period of repose. As exposure to the sun’s fierce rays often proves fatal, the Orientals commonly sleep through the meridian in the coolest and most shaded rooms. To say that Ashdod would be driven out *at noon*, was therefore to say, that when its inhabitants deemed themselves most secure, when evil was least expected and would prove most fatal, the judgment of God would overtake them.

From this detailed denunciation of doom, the prophet passes, in verse 5, to a general denunciation. “*Woe*” is to descend on all “*the inhabitants of the Tract by the Sea;*” “*the word of the Lord,*” the ban which He had pronounced, was to fall on them, and beneath the woes of this Divine ban they would wither away till no survivor was left. But here again Zephaniah uses terms unfamiliar to us, and even misleading, although they were chosen for the express purpose of giving point and force to his thoughts, and adding new weight to his denunciation. We do not see, at the first glance—how should we?—that “*the nation of the Kerethites*” is but another name for the Philistines; nor do we see why he should select an antique and obsolete name, such as “*Canaan,*” for “the land of the Philistines.” Nevertheless, his terms grow perfectly simple so soon as we get the clue to them. He calls the Philistines *Kerethites* (*gôî Kerêthim*), because this was the name of one of their great families or clans, the *Kretan* clan; and he selects this unusual epithet for the whole race to denote that it was devoted to *kârath*, or extermination. It is another instance of that habit of using the omens in names, of playing on etymologies, of which we have so many illustrations in Hebrew poetry. It is for a similar reason that he revives the ancient name *Canaan*, and applies it to one district of the land. He calls “the Tract by the Sea,” “the land of the Philistines,” *Canaan*, in order to convey the hint that its present inhabitants, like the aboriginal Canaanites, are doomed to destruction because the cup of their iniquity is now full.

In short, every epithet in this 5th verse is selected with a view of deepening the gloom of its terrible denunciation with veiled suggestions of a judgment beyond the power of words to express. The inspired poet is not content to say, *sans phrase*, that the Philistines are utterly to perish under the woes of the Divine ban; even this terror must be enhanced by terrors drawn from the latent omen of the Kerethite name and from the ancient Canaanite traditions.

In verse 5, then, Zephaniah has relapsed into his sternest, blackest mood. And yet, mark once more how moods of mercy struggle up against the tide of his burning indignation; how the tender tones of compassion blend with and sear above the tones of judgment. What soft pastoral images break upon us in verse 6! This once fertile Tract by the Sea, thickly dotted with the crowded hives of human industry, with fair cities inhabited by free brave men, afterwards a desert accursed by God and abandoned by man, “*shall become*

pastures, with huts for shepherds and folds for sheep." Through the mountain gorges the flocks of the restored Hebrews will descend on the green flowery plains, knowing no want, fearing no evil, because the shepherds go before them with staff and rod. And how the suggestions of peace and hope breathed by this verse are confirmed by the next (ver. 7)! As yet, indeed, we hear of no mercy for the Philistines; but we do hear, amid the thunders of judgment, a voice which speaks comfortably to Israel. A remnant of Judah is to be saved, and to possess the gates of its enemies. In chapter i., verses 8, 9, God had *threatened* to "visit" the men of Judah and Jerusalem; now he *promises* to "visit" them: the same Hebrew verb is used in both places; but now, by a slight change in the construction (*páqad* construed with an accusative of the person instead of with *al*), the verb itself shows that God is about to visit them in grace. And the grammatical hint is expanded in the words which follow: God is about to *visit* them that he may "*turn their captivity,*" as he turned that of Job, by giving them freedom for bondage, peace for war, wealth for want. The peace and abundance of this happier time are charmingly expressed in the opening clauses of verse 7. The prophet slightly changes the figure of the previous verse. There he had depicted the redeemed Hebrews as descending with their flocks on the pastures of the Tract by the Sea; now he speaks of them as themselves the flock of the Divine Shepherd. *They* are to "feed" through the day on the broad rich pastures which open on the blue waters of the Mediterranean, and are guarded by the lofty range of inland hills; and "at evening" they are to "lie down" in folds built from the ruined houses and temples of their fiercest and most inveterate foes; while He who neither slumbers nor sleeps keeps watch over them, that they may rest unalarmed.

This note of mercy toward Judah we shall hear again and again, amid the angry discords of the doom which destroys their enemies, until, at last, it swells into a song of mercy for all races, even for those who have been most hardy in their defiance of heaven.

From the doom of the Philistines, Zephaniah passes to (2) *The Doom on Moab and Ammon* (chap. ii. vs. 8—10).

"I have heard the abuse of Moab,
And the revilings of the sons of Ammon,
Who have reviled my people,
And boasted against their boundary.
Wherefore, as I live, saith Jehovah of Hosts,
The God of Israel,
Verily Moab shall become like Sodom,
And the sons of Ammon like Gomorrah,—
A region of nettles and salt-pits,
And a desert for ever:
The remnant of my people shall plunder them,
And the residue of my nation shall possess them.
This shall come on them for their pride,
Because they have despised and boasted against the people of
Jehovah of Hosts."

The prophet turns from the west to the east; and on the east, as on the west, the heavens are dark with portentous clouds. Beyond the Jordan, to the south of the land of Gilead (which was inhabited by the descendants of Israel), and therefore to the east of the

kingdom of Judah, from Gilead to the eastern coast of the Dead Sea, there stretched a fine mountain-land of pasture. The large downs which spread over and between its ranges were, from primitive times, a favourite haunt of the nomadic tribes. It was exactly adapted to their necessities, since it was capable of sustaining the vast flocks on which they themselves depended for support; while it gave full scope to the wandering habits which were in their very blood. To this day, that fertile and elevated district, forty or fifty miles in length by ten or twelve in breadth, the *Belka* of the modern Arabs, is no less eminently fitted for pastoral pursuits than the maritime plains of Philistia, on the opposite border of Palestine, are for the uses of agriculture. The descendants of Lot, afterwards known as the Moabites and the Ammonites, early took possession of this rich lofty pasture-land. From the first, they showed themselves hostile to the sons of Abraham; from the time of Balak, the Moabitish king who hired Balaam to curse the tents of Israel, they were for ever cursing Israel, till "*the abuse of Moab and the revilings of the sons of Ammon*" grew to be proverbial. Nor did they only revile the sacred people; they also "*boasted against their boundary,*" making raids into Gilead,¹ and even crossing the rapid Jordan to harass and plunder the inhabitants of Judah so often as these were weakened and distressed by foreign foes. The pride of these wealthy sheepmasters and shepherds, their loftiness, their haughtiness of heart, the arrogance and insolence of their bearing, are a constant theme of the Hebrew prophets.² This pride was to be humbled. Because they despised and boasted against the people of Jehovah-Zebaoth, a heavy doom was coming on them. They should be made like the ancient cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Those cities, once so proud, and so impious in their pride, were now entombed in the depths of the Dead Sea, the very sea on which the mountains of Ammon and Moab looked down. Even with *that* terrible warning always beneath their eyes, the sons of Moab and Ammon had despised warning; they had refused correction; they had nursed their pride, and cherished an insolent hostility and contempt for the people of Jehovah. They must take the result, the due reward, of their deeds in a fate like that of the ancient "cities of the Plain." Their rich pastures should be turned into a desert, a region of nettles and salt-pits, in which nothing would thrive. Jehovah pledges himself to inflict this destruction upon them with an oath: "*Verily . . . as I live . . . Moab shall become like Sodom, and the sons of Ammon like Gomorrah.*"

But even as we listen to this inevitable and terrible doom, we once more hear the voice of mercy. If there can be no escape for Moab and Ammon, at least the sons of Judah shall get good. "*The remnant of my people shall plunder them; and the residue of my nation shall possess them.*" A hundred years before these words were uttered, Isaiah had predicted that when the Lord had mercy on his people, and restored

Amos i. 13.

² Isa. xvi. 6; and Jer. xlviii. 29.

them to their own land, they should take strangers and possess them for servants and handmaidens, that they should "take *them* captive whose captives they were;" that "strangers should stand and feed their flocks, and the sons of the aliens be their ploughmen and vine-dressers."¹ And now Zephaniah predicts that, among the strangers and sons of aliens who should become the serfs of Judah, were their ancient enemies of Moab and Ammon. Just as the elect people are to find pastures in the Tract by the Sea, "with huts for shepherds and folds for sheep," to feed on the substance of the Philistines, and to lie down in the deserted houses of Ashkelon; so also they are to grow rich on the spoils of Moab and Ammon, and to reduce even these inveterate and insolent foes to bondage.

There is a promise in this doom, then, a promise bright with hope for as many of the Hebrews as were loyal to their Divine King. But does God care only for Hebrews? Is the whole world to be sacrificed to them? "Have we not all one Father," whatever our race or blood? and must not the universal Father have mercy and grace for all? So far from sacrificing the whole world to the Hebrews, when they finally refused to be the ministers and prophets of his saving truth to all the families of the earth, He sacrificed *them* to the good of the world. If they were chosen, it was that they might serve, that they might be a blessing to the human race; if they are cast away, it is because they were perverting the blessing that was in them to a curse. Terrible as are the judgments he denounces on heathen empires, Zephaniah reserves his heaviest doom for the elect race; "judgment begins at the House of God;" and whether he denounce judgment on heathen or Hebrew, he is sure that judgment is mercy, and the precursor of mercy—that it is but as the knife which wounds that it may heal.

And in verse 11 he gives us—abruptly, as it were, and before its time—his first full statement of the merciful Divine intention of the judgments he has been commissioned to pronounce. He stands on his tower of vision. He has glanced east and west to find the horizon dark with storms, which, if they are to bring new fruitfulness to the house of Judah, are to beat down other races to the dust. Artistically speaking, I suppose the prophet ought to complete the circle of doom, to carry our eyes to the storms lowering on the north and the south, as well as on the west and the east, *before* he relieves our hearts with the hope that there will be "clear shining after the rain," that, after the night of judgment, there will dawn a morning of benediction. But he can no longer refrain himself; the secret of mercy *must* have way and declare itself. And so, when he has but half completed his appointed round, he breaks upon us with the interjected song:

"Terrible is Jehovah over them!
For he famisheth all the gods of the earth,
That all the isles of the heathen,
Every one from its place, may worship Him."

This is the very climax of his poem; and in chapter

iii., verses 9 to 20, he reaches it in a more gradual and artistic way. *Here*, it seems to burst from him as though he could no longer restrain himself; no longer hide from us "the secret strain" which was making melody in his heart amid the loud uproars of doom. And surely it is a true melody "of the everlasting chime," surely it is in very deed "an eternal truth" which the faith of the prophet here makes "present fact" to him. Veiled behind the great natural forces of the universe, and those inscrutable but irresistible tides of thought, of social and political tendency, on and before which we are but as straws on the wind or bubbles on the sea, God often seems very "terrible over us;" he seems to be smiting down our "gods," all that we hold dearest and most precious. And when we are thus filled with the fear that bringeth bondage and hath torment, how shall we be recovered to the freedom of obedience and hope, unless we know that God is destroying the false objects of devotion which, ignorantly or wilfully, we have chosen for ourselves, in order that we may turn to Him in whom alone we can rest, and fix our hearts there where only our true peace is to be found? A mere *promise* of mercy in and after judgment would not suffice, for promises are conditional; and as we might only too possibly fail to satisfy the conditions of the promise, we should still be haunted by the fear lest, after all, we should miss the blessing of the promise. What we want, that which alone can meet our need, is a law, a general, an universal law. We want, we crave, to know that, apart from any goodness or constancy of goodness in ourselves, the Divine judgments *always* have a purpose and subserve an end of mercy. No special act or acts of grace will comfort us with hope like a law of the Divine government; favour or grace might fail us, but the law of God endureth for ever.

And the immense value of this verse consists in the fact that it reveals a law, a constant and invariable law, of the Divine government. The verse stands alone, and is complete in itself. It is, so to speak, a place of vantage, a point of rest, to which the prophet has risen, and from which he contemplates not simply the dooms of which he had spoken, or the dooms of which he is about to speak, but the whole course of the Divine Providence. And as he looks before and after, as he recalls the past and projects himself into the future, he finds *this* to be a law of human history, that the judgments of God are a necessary part of the scheme of redemption; that God intends them to recover men from error to truth, from sin to holiness. They answer to the convulsions and storms of the natural world, and serve to disperse the foul infections which brood over the homes of men, to raise them to happier conditions, and to pour round them a more vital air. God *is* terrible, he says, but terrible only that He may be merciful. He famishes the false gods, whose service is bondage, starves them out of the world, that men may freely worship the only wise and true God. For the moment, at least, the Hebrew Seer rises far above all local or national prejudices, and proclaims a blessing

¹ Isa. xiv. 2; lxi. 5.

which belongs, not to the Jow only, but to all the world.

"All the ISLES of the heathen," or "of the Gentiles," is an epithet taken from the islands and coast-lands of Europe at which the Hebrew ships had touched, and was commonly used by the prophets (e.g. Isa. xli. 1) to denote the whole of heathendom, all races save the Jewish race. It is a fashion of speech with all early travellers. In *The Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville*, for example; and in *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, many great countries, and even continents, are called "islands," simply because only their ports and coasts were known.

The "gods" of these heathen races were to be "famished" or "made lean" by Jehovah; that is, those who worshipped them, those who bountifully supplied their altars with sacrifices on which they grew fat, were to be destroyed or corrected by the Divine judgment. The altars would no longer steam with blood and wine; and the gods would pine away, and vanish into their original nothingness, when they no longer ruled in the imaginations of men, nor were sustained by their offerings. The false gods being starved, the true God would come forth from his place, unclotHe Himself of the terrors by which He had compelled the attention of men, reveal Himself in the fulness of his compassion, and win all the heathen races, every one from its place, to worship Him.

This is the law of the Divine method, of the way God takes with men. And the great comfort, the great value of it is, that it is a law, that God will act on it whatever men do or forbear to do. That there is a pure, Divine, Almighty will penetrating and pervading the whole course of the human story, working in and through all men toward a foreseen end of merey, an end which comprises the salvation of mankind—this is a solid ground on which to build our hopes, whether for ourselves or for the world. And it surely is very striking that this law should be stated *here*, that this light of life should arise in a darkness so profound; that, amid the harsh thunders of a doom launched against all the empires of the ancient world, we should hear a harmony so clear and sweet and full that it makes all discords tributary to itself; that even as the storm of judgment goes crashing round the whole horizon we should see, even for a moment, the gracious bow of hope shining in peaceful splendour across the darkened sky, making the very lightnings look dull and coarse before a beauty so pure, so supreme.¹

(3) *The Doom of Ethiopia* (verse 12).

"Also ye, O ye Cushites,
Slain by my sword are ye!"

¹ I never but once saw a flash of lightning strike right athwart the arc of the rainbow. Many of my readers may never have seen it. And to them it may be well to say that the figure here used is accurately true. On the autumn evening on which I saw the bow crossed by the lightning, the electric fire, which ordinarily looks so pure, intense, bright, grew positively gross and impure in contrast with the perfect and serene tones of the rainbow. The lightning looked *theatrical*—that at least was the impression it made at the moment; the rainbow alone was real.

At this point we are drawn back into the gloom from which we had for a moment escaped. Zephaniah has to complete his circuit. He has travelled east and west; he now completes his round by denouncing judgment on the nations of the north and south. At the south he merely aims a blow in passing; but it is curious to note how far it reaches. Zephaniah does not mention Edom, which lay immediately to the south of Judah, although the Edomites were the constant enemies of the Jews, and were therefore a constant mark for the denunciations of the Hebrew prophets. Nor does he invoke judgment on Egypt, the southern foe which had often warred against Israel, and the very name of which had become a type of insolent hostility to the chosen people. He travels to the utmost limit of his knowledge, and hurls his curt ringing anathema at *Cush*, or Ethiopia, the southernmost kingdom known to the Hebrews. Even the remote, but by no means "blameless, Ethiopians" are not to escape the judgment which is to sweep away "the sinners and their offences" from the whole earth. The "sword" of the Lord is to reach oven to them. As though he felt he could not linger, with a bold impersonation, Zephaniah speaks in the name of Jehovah—"Slain by *my* sword are ye," and addresses himself directly to the southern race—"Also ye, O ye Cushites." With this curt imperative proclamation of war against the south, Zephaniah passes on to elaborate—

(4) *The Doom on Assyria* (verses 13—15).

"And He will stretch his hand over the north,
And destroy Assyria;
He will also make Nineveh a barren waste,
An arid waste, like the desert;
And herds shall lie down in the midst of her,
Wild beasts of every kind in droves;
Pelicans and hedgehogs lodge on their capitals;
Birds sing from the windows;
Rubbish-heaps lie on the thresholds,
For the cedar-work is laid bare.
This is the city, the exulting city, the impregnable city,
Which said in her heart,
'I, and no other.'
How is she become a desolation,
A lair of wild beasts!
Every one that passeth by her shall hiss,
And swing his hand."

But why this haste? Why cannot the prophet tarry to impress the Ethiopian doom upon us by graphic touches such as those with which he has already stirred our imagination? The answer to this question I suppose to be, that, during the period of its culmination, Assyria *fascinated* the Hebrew prophets. Each in turn is moved to his loftiest utterances as he contemplates its splendours, the vastness of its dominion, the wisdom of its policy, the fierceness of its military ardour, the magnificence of its public buildings and works, its inexhaustible wealth, and the luxuriousness of its civilisation. From Isaiah onward, till "the goodly fellowship" is well-nigh complete, this vast Assyrian empire, and especially its capital city, drew and possessed their thoughts. There are few grander poems, even in the Old Testament, than the poems which depict its glory and foretell its doom. And Zephaniah, though he gives but three verses to it, rises to the full height of his

power as he handles this theme. There is indeed almost a modern tone in the graphic and picturesque phrases in which he depicts the judgment which is to fall on the great city in which so many Hebrew captives had wept, the exulting city, the impregnable city, which held itself to be sacred and unrivalled; in short, the *Paris* of the antique world.

Drawn from the distant and all but unknown Ethiopia in the south by the attraction of his approaching theme, Zephaniah hastens to depict the storm which was to sweep over the great northern empire.¹ Assyria, although so strong and so proud in its strength, is to be utterly laid waste. The mistress of the world, the most populous, warlike, ambitious, and cultivated of Eastern races, is to be exterminated. And Nineveh, its wonderful capital, so massively built, so splendidly and curiously adorned, so secure in its impregnable defences, is to become an arid and barren waste, over which men will pass without so much as dreaming of the ruins and treasures that lie beneath their feet. As he peers into the future, the progress of this incredible doom—its successive stages and salient features—rise and pass before the prophet's eyes. He sees the city, which now exults in the stir and tumult of her streets and wars, which accounts of herself as sacred and incomparable, and saith in her heart, "I, and no other!" that is, "I have no equal, no rival!"—he sees this proud inviolable city assailed, overcome, destroyed. Her forts and walls crumble down. Herds crouch where once ran broad streets loud with the wheels of traffic or the tramp of armies. Wild beasts wander and climb about the fallen stones, seeking a prey or finding a covert within its dismantled walls. Pelicans from the neighbouring marshes and hedgehogs from the adjacent fields make their homes in the sculptured capitals of her fallen columns. Birds perch and sing on the lintels of the broken windows. The thresholds of house and temple are littered with heaps of rubbish. The splendid marbles and massive stones of its palaces have been battered down, and the costly cedar ceilings and wainscots hang in ragged strips from sinking beams. And then the sand, borne by winds from the desert, gradually buries the wreck of former grandeur; hiding every trace of its magnificence. Then the grasses and nettles spring up in the sand; until, at last, the immense and stately city, which long dominated the thought and fired the imagination of the ancient world, becomes a mere jungle, a lair of wild beasts; and the traveller, hastening by, hisses with scorn and swings his hand, as who should say, "Well she deserved her fate! may she never rise again!"

In what sense, and to what extent, have these "dooms" on Philistia and Moab, Ethiopia and Assyria, been fulfilled? No doubt, in so far as the Spirit by whom Zephaniah was inspired *intended* them to be executed

in past ages of the world, they have been fulfilled, fulfilled to their utmost verge, although, except in the case of Nineveh, we cannot exactly trace out the historical fulfilment. Speaking broadly, and in general terms, the Tract by the Sea, the land of the Philistines, *was* turned into a desert by the successive invasions of the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Jews, and the Crusaders. Much of it, I believe, is in rough pasture to this day, though in parts it is once more cultivated and bears out its ancient reputation for fertility. The people of Moab and Ammon, too, *were* at last, after many vicissitudes, conquered by the Jews. The rich pastures of their downs have sunk, in many places, into a region of nettles and salt-pits, although these lofty grassy downs are still frequented by the Arabs and their flocks. But neither Philistia nor Moab, so far as we know, ever became the permanent possession of the men of Judah, and still less have their inhabitants been incorporated with the people of God. Preliminary and partial fulfilments of the prophet's words there have been; but the great, the spiritual, fulfilment is yet to come. When, at last, the Lord "turns the captivity of Judah," when the Israel, still rejected because still rejecting the Lord's Anointed, shall be restored, then we may expect that all the Gentile races, of whom the heathen of the ancient world were representatives, will be conquered and redeemed, and "all the isles of the heathen, every one from its place, will worship Him."

So, again, with the doom on Cush. We have no means of verifying, as the gainsayer has no means of disproving, its historical fulfilment. We have reason to believe, indeed, that "the Cushites spread along tracts extending from the Upper Nile to the Euphrates and the Tigris." And, no doubt, many of them were "slain by the sword" when the Assyrian empire was destroyed by the Medes and the Babylonians. But we cannot point to any definite period or event in which the prediction of Zephaniah was fulfilled.

The one doom which we know to have been carried out to the very letter is that on Nineveh. "That great city," through which Jonah travelled a three days' journey, was not simply the largest city of the ancient world. In the mouth of the Hebrew prophets, Nineveh was also the name of a district, twenty-five miles long by fifteen broad, which included four large cities, besides villages and forts, within its protecting walls; and about six centuries before Christ, this vast populous district was conquered and destroyed by the Medes (under Cyaxares) and the Chaldeans (under Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar). So complete was the destruction, that, with a startling abruptness, the great city vanished from the face of the earth, and its very ruins were hidden from the eyes of men. Only two centuries afterward, Xenophon, in the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand, passed over its site without so much as learning its name, though he heard some dim tradition of its former greatness and its fate. And till thirty years ago it remained buried in oblivion, as in sand. In 1766, Niebuhr stood on the bridge of

¹ Assyria was north-east of Judah rather than north. But probably because the Assyrian armies marched through Syria and the northern districts of Palestine, when advancing against Jerusalem, the Hebrew prophets commonly spoke of the Assyrian as "the Northerner," or as "him of the North."

the Tigris, and gazed on some mounds on the eastern bank, which he took to be acclivities wrought by the hand of Nature; but it was not till the year 1842 that Layard, Rawlinson, and Botta dug into these mounds, and exhumed and interpreted the remains which tell the story of the city's ancient greatness and luxury and culture with a power beyond that of words.

This doom, then, the doom on Assyria, was speedily

and literally fulfilled. But, surely, a larger fulfilment awaits it. For in Nineveh, as in other ancient empires, the Hebrew prophets saw the representative for the time then present of all the great world-powers which exalt themselves against God. Till the kingdoms of this world rise and merge into the kingdom of our God and of his Christ, the triumph of these ancient prophecies, their final and victorious fulfilment, will not have come.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

THE BEARDED VULTURE.

THE bearded vulture, or *lämmergeier* ("lamb-vulture") of the Germans (so called from the destruction the bird causes amongst sheep and lambs), the *Gypætus barbatus* of ornithologists, is with much reason identified with the Hebrew word *peres*, mentioned amongst the unclean birds in Lev. xi. 13, and Deut. xiv. 12, translated in our version by the word "ossifrage," i.e. "bone-breaker." The Hebrew word is from a root meaning "to break," and the bearded vulture well merits this name. Mr. W. H. Simpson has given an interesting account of this bird's habits in the *Ibis* (vol. ii., p. 282). He says, "He is not a demonstrative bird like the griffon, who may be seen sailing about at a great height in the air, sometimes alone, but more often in troops of from half a dozen to fifty, revolving in endless circles round each other, that no corner may remain unsewn. The *lämmergeier*, on the contrary, may be observed floating slowly at a uniform level, close to the cliffs of some deep ravine, where his shadow is perhaps projected on the wall-like rocks. . . Marrow-bones are the dainties he loves the best; and when the other vultures have picked the flesh off any animal, he comes in at the end of the feast and swallows the bones, or breaks them and swallows the pieces, if he cannot get the marrow out otherwise. The bones he cracks by taking them to a great height and letting them fall upon a stone. This is probably the bird that dropped a tortoise on the bald head of poor old Æschylus. Not, however, that he restricts himself or the huge black infant that he and his mate are bringing up in one of the many holes with which the limestone precipice abounds, to marrow, turtle, bones, and similar delicacies; neither lamb, hare, nor kid comes amiss to him, though his power of claw and beak being feeble for so large a bird, he cannot tear his meat like other vultures and eagles. To make amends for this, his powers of deglutition are enormous." Mr. Simpson, who was travelling in Greece, was told by a native that an old axe-head had been found in this bird's stomach, and humorously remarks that the meeting of the marrow-bones and cleaver must have been very affecting.

This vulture has the character of attacking such

animals as lambs, kids, and even sometimes men, and trying to force them down the cliffs. Mr. Gould says the *lämmergeier* "refuses flesh in a state of putrefaction unless sharply pressed by hunger; hence Nature has limited this species as to numbers; while on the other hand, to the vultures who are destined to clear the earth from animal matter in a state of decomposition, and thus render the utmost service to man in the countries where they abound, she has given an almost illimitable increase." This bird is not common in Palestine, though most of the ravines are peopled by a pair, and one or two, according to Tristram, may be observed in every day's journey. The same writer repeatedly watched a pair of *lämmergeiers* who had an eyrie close to the camp, passing and repassing in front of the tents for hours at a time, invariably dropping something upon a smooth ledge of rock hard by. For several days he imagined these were sticks the birds were carrying to their nests; but ultimately he discovered they were picking up snakes and tortoises, whose bodies and shells they were thus trying to bruise and break in pieces.

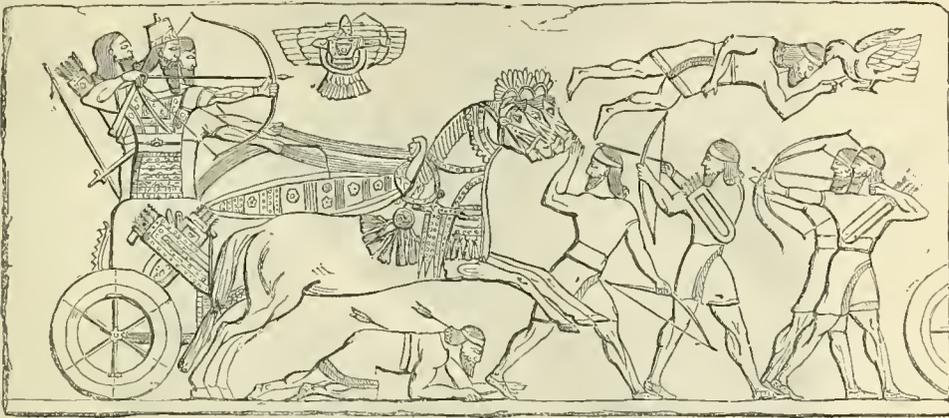
FALCONIDÆ.

The falcon tribe is very numerous represented in Palestine, some of the species occurring more abundantly than others. Of the eagles the following kinds have been observed:—*Aquila chrysaëus* or golden eagle, not common, being found for the most part in the northern mountain districts; the *A. mogilnik* or imperial eagle, not quite so uncommon as the last named, a noble bird, easily recognised by its dark plumage and white shoulders; the tawny eagle (*A. naevioides*); the spotted or rough-footed eagle (*A. nevia*), an occasional though very rare visitor to our own country; and Bonelli's eagle (*A. Bonellii*). These three last species are said to be tolerably common in Palestine, but nowhere in great numbers together; but by far the most abundant of all the eagles is the *Circæus cinereus*, or short-toed eagle, allied to the *C. brachydactylus*, the Jean-le-blanc eagle (Buffon) of the fir forests of Europe. Of this short-toed species Dr. Tristram says there are probably twice as many in Palestine as of all the other species together. The buzzard-like booted eagle (*Aquila pennata*) also occurs. Of the genus *Milvus* (kite) three species

have been noticed—viz., the common red kite or glead of this country (*Milvus regalis*), the *M. niger* or black kite, and the *M. Ægyptius* of Egypt and Arabia. The osprey or fishing hawk (*Pandion haliaëtus*) occurs in small numbers; three species of buzzard, of which the *Buteo ferox* is the most common, are found; and three of the large falcons, the peregrine (*Falco peregrinus*), the magnificent sakk'r (*F. saker*), and the lanner (*F. lanarius*), summer visitors to Palestine, too sparingly scattered, Dr. Tristram says, to claim a distinct notice among the unclean birds. Of the harriers (*Circus*) Dr. Tristram says four species are found; he speaks of the marsh (*C. eruginosus* and the hon (*C. cyaneus*) harriers¹ as very common; he thinks that the honey buzzard (*Pernis apivorus*) and the goshawk (*Astur palumbarius*) should also be included amongst the diurnal raptores of Syria.

articles of diet:—*Nesher*, *peres*, 'ozniyyáh, dááh, ayyáh, néts, and rákhám; the first two and the last have been already considered, and referred with much probability to the griffon vulture, or any of the large eagles, the lammergeier, and the Egyptian vulture respectively; it remains for us to consider the remaining names.

'Ozniyyáh is rendered "ospray" in our English version in the only two passages where the word occurs (Lev. xi. 13; Deut. xiv. 12). The Septuagint and the Vulgate give ἀλιετός (*haliaëtus*), "sea-eagle," whence our translators' bird, the "ospray." Etymologically the Hebrew word points to some bird either of *strong* sight or *great strength*. The *haliaëtus* of the old versions is no doubt identical with the *halaiëtus* of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, x. 3), who accurately describes the habits of the osprey. "It poises itself aloft, and the moment it catches sight of a fish in the sea below,



BATTLE-FIELD, FROM THE ASSYRIAN SCULPTURES.

To the right is a vulture picking out the eyes of a dead soldier; to the left is the emblem of the God Asshur; the figure in the circle is shooting an arrow against the enemies of Assyria.

Of the hawks or smaller birds of prey several species are found; our own pretty little kestrel or windhover (*Tinnunculus alaudarius*) is the commonest of all; the *T. cenchris* is only a spring and summer visitor; the common sparrow-hawk of our own country (*Accipiter nisus*) is plentiful, its favourite food being marsh-sparrows and turtle-doves; the little Eastern sparrow-hawk (*A. brevipes*) occurs, but not in great numbers; the hobby (*Falco subbuteo*), the red-legged hobby (*Falco rufipes*, Jen., *Brit. Vert. An.*), the *Falco Eleonore* and the black-shouldered hawk (*Elanus caeruleus*), occur here and there in pairs or small parties in woods and olive-gardens. The following Hebrew words occur as designating different kinds of diurnal birds of prey which the Jews were commanded to hold in abomination as

pounces headlong upon it, and cleaving the water with its breast, carries off its booty." The osprey occurs near the coast and the rocky parts of the shore, but not in very great numbers, the Lake of Gennesaret and the Jordan valley being avoided by it. While this bird may be denoted by the Hebrew name—and this has the support of the two old versions—it is probable it included other strong-winged raptorial birds, such as some of the eagles. Dr. Tristram thinks the short-toed eagle (*Circæetus cinereus*), so common in Palestine at this day, may possibly be included. This is a large and bold bird, with owl-like eyes, and feet and toes covered, chain-armor fashion, with hard reticulated scales, which serve to protect it against the bite of venomous snakes, upon which, with lizards and frogs, it feeds. "It is by preference a reptile feeder, and is consequently more scarce in winter, when it probably withdraws into the Arabian deserts for two or three months, during which the snakes and lizards hibernates in the colder regions of Palestine. It remains, however, on the coast and plains, where there are abundance of frogs to be had at all seasons. I do

¹ This word (also written *harier*), when applied to hare-hunting hounds, is clearly derived from the animal pursued; when it designates the family of diurnal-raptorial birds is from the A. S. *hergian herian*, "to plunder," "to vex." See Shakspeare, *Ant. and Cleo.*, iii. 3;

"I repent me much
That I so hurried him;"

and compare "harass."

not know a more magnificent-looking bird, as it sits with its great flat head bent down on its shoulders, its huge yellow eyes glaring around, and the bright spotting of its breast and abdomen as distinct as that of a missel-thrush. It is very noisy, and always betrays the neighbourhood of its nest by the loud harsh scream with which the male and female pursue each other, rising into the air and making short circling flights,

cially designated by the Hebrew terms *dââh*, or *dayyâh*, and *ayyâh*; the *dââh* is mentioned in the list of unclean birds (Lev. xi. 14; Deut. xiv. 13¹) and in Isa. xxxiv. 15; "There shall the *dayyoth* [A. V., 'vultures'] be gathered together." The root of the word points to some "swiftly flying" bird. There is a similar word in Arabic—viz., *h'dayah*, which is to this day the vernacular for "the kite" in North Africa. Many



OSPREY (PANDION HALIAËTUS).

after which they suddenly drop down, one to the nest, the other to a neighbouring post of observation. They will often dash down from the cliffs to the fields below, swoop for a few minutes like a harrier, and then, seizing a snake, set down and occupy some minutes in killing the reptile, after which they carry the prize away in their claws, not, like most eagles, devouring it on the spot. The nest is upon the rocks or in trees, and it rears one, rarely two young." (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 184.)

If this eagle was as common in Biblical times as at present, it would have very probably been included under one or other of the Hebrew names of the diurnal birds of prey.

The kites are by some writers supposed to be espe-

versions agree in rendering the word by a kite, as does Buxtorf in his *Chald. and Talmud Lexicon*; when *h'dayah* is used without the epithet "red" (with epithet "red" it refers to the *Milvus regalis*), the black kite (*M. ater*) is intended. This latter bird is extremely common in Palestine, excepting during the winter months. It is allowed to fly about unmolested, being a useful scavenger. The *ayyâh*, also by some supposed to denote some species of kite, is mentioned only in Lev. xi. 14, Deut. xiv. 13, amongst the unclean birds, and in Job xxviii. 7, where it is rendered "vulture:" "There is a path which no

¹ In this passage דָּאָה (*dââh*) occurs, γ by an error for ד.

bird of prey knoweth, and which the *ayyâh's* eye hath not seen." This verse is part of a beautiful and very poetical description of a mine whence the labour of man extracts various metals; the deep recesses are unknown to the bird of prey; and even the keen sight of the kite, proverbially distinguished for peculiar keenness of vision, is unable to see the hidden recesses. The singularly easy and graceful flight of the common red kite must have attracted the attention of the ancient people of Israel, as it has done that of more modern nations; the bird seems to glide smoothly along with little muscular exertion, now sailing in circles, governing the curve with its forked rudder-like tail, now stopping and remaining stationary, with tail widely expanded. Indeed, its gliding smoothly in flight is expressed in the old word *gleal* or *glede*, the Anglo-Saxon *glida*, from the verb *glidan*, "to glide." This bird is common in Palestine in the winter, but in the summer it leaves the lowlands for the mountains, to breed. Dr. Tristram's party found it breeding in Mount Carmel and in the hills of Northern Galilee. It received its specific name of *regalis* (royal) from the circumstance that King Louis XVI. was very fond of flying highly-trained falcons called "lanners" at this noble bird, with which the ordinary peregrine was hardly able to contend. The Hebrew word *dââh*, how-

ever, is generic, as is evident from the expression "after its kind," and probably is used more extensively still, so that perhaps buzzards and harriers may also be included.

The various hawks or smaller birds of prey seem to be denoted by the Hebrew name *nêls*, occurring in the list of unclean birds (Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15), where again the expression "after its kind" clearly indicates that the term is generic. The passage in Job (xxxix. 26), "Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom, and stretch her wings towards the south?" appears to refer to the migratory habits of the hawks, most of which in Palestine are migrants from the south, returning thither for their winter sojourn. The kestrel is one of the few that remain in the country all the year round, while the very closely allied smaller species (*Tinnunculus cenchris*) is only a spring and summer visitant. This little bird frequents the towers of mosques and churches, or the roofs of quarried caves. Dr. Tristram observed hundreds about the old English church at Lydda, said to have been built by Richard Cœur de Lion; it is entirely insectivorous in its habits, and may often be seen pursuing large insects, as cockchafers, towards evening. The claws in this species are white, in the kestrel they are black, a distinction which the Arabs have not failed to observe.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

BY THE REV. W. BENHAM, B.D., VICAR OF MARGATE.

AS the general scope and contents of the epistle will be considered elsewhere, we need only say here that this is the first, in order of time, of St. Paul's epistles. The Apostle's visit to Thessalonica is recorded in Acts xvii. 1-10. He passed from thence to Berea, to Athens, and to Corinth successively (Acts xvii. 10; xviii. 1). At Corinth he wrote the two Epistles to the Thessalonians.

i. 3. The first passage on which we remark is chap. i. 3. The Apostle is full of rejoicing on account of their "work of faith, labour of love, and patience of hope." He means that their *faith* is not dead and lifeless, but that it is a *working* faith; that their *love* is not mere sentiment, but moves them to *labour* for God; that their *hope* is not feeble and soon cast down, but *patient*. How he knows all this, having spent so short a time with them, we shall see from what follows, especially from chap. iii. 6.

Let us remark in passing that the expression "God and our Father" is a Greek idiom, the English equivalent to which is "God our Father."

i. 4. Their "election." The Apostle infers that they have been chosen or selected as God's people, from the fact that they have not only received the Gospel call (ver. 5), but have believed it, have experienced its power,

and have been sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and have much assurance—*i.e.*, strong confidence in God's mercy. There is an exact parallel in 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14.

i. 6. Their "affliction" arose from persecution of the Jews; and this affliction went hand in hand with "joy." For "the suffering that comes from without," as has been beautifully said, "cannot depress the spirit of a man who is faithful in a good cause. It is only when 'from within are fears' that the mind is enslaved. . . . The servant of Christ feels a sort of exhilaration at the contrast between himself and the world, similar to that of the seldier on the battle-field in the presence of danger and death. He is not like another man, but at once above and below others; he has the sentence of death in himself, and is yet more than a conqueror."

ii. 3. The Apostle tells them that the reason of his fearlessness in preaching was that he had no inward misgivings arising from base or unholy motives. He had the courage which a good conscience gives. Apparently this has reference to some form of evil prevalent in that day, in which professed spirituality was joined with licentiousness. He upbraids it elsewhere in the false teachers, and asserts his own freedom from it here.

ii. 8. "Our own souls"—*i.e.*, "lives"—which the preachers were ready to sacrifice as martyrs for their

hearers' sake. It is hardly needful to remind the reader that St. Paul's assertion of his care and tender solicitude is no selfish boasting, but uttered to magnify his office, and to stop gainsaying mouths, that the cause of the Gospel might not suffer.

ii. 14. He tells them that they were but followers of the mother church of Judæa in having to bear the persecution of their countrymen. And hereupon he digresses from his subject, as is so frequently the case, to speak of the Jews and their hatred to the Gospel. "They please not God" (rather, they are such as are displeasing to God), and they are also the enemies of man (ver. 15). And now they are filling up their sins; for having begun by rejection of the Gospel, they are now striving to hinder it in others. This is the history of sin. In the beginnings of evil men have hard work to overcome the voice of conscience, but as it goes on they are bound under a curse, and seem to writhe in the grasp of the enemy, as knowing that destruction is impending, and that they cannot ward it off.

There is one point to be noticed in the concluding words of the chapter. This was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, but the Apostle saw plainly that the catastrophe was now inevitable. The people even now, as we read in the narrative of Josephus, were in a state of frightful anarchy and misery. The wrath was already "come," but its bitterness was not past.

If it be asked how do we reconcile the stern words here with such passages as Rom. x. 1, the answer is not difficult to find. He was angry, as his Lord before him, at the hardness of their hearts; but there was a deep love and pity underlying this anger, deep down in his heart, and often welling up and overpowering the sterner feeling (cf. St. Matt. xxiii. 35—37).

Before passing on we may speak of one subject which has a great interest in early Church history, and which is referred to in this first Christian epistle. I mean the persecutions to which the Christians were subjected. There was a time, though it was short, when the Church was in favour with the Jewish people (Acts ii. 47). But this could not endure. The priests and rulers foresaw that the Gospel would militate against their worldly interests, and the preaching of Stephen that the Temple must give way to a building not made with hands—the Catholic Church—was the beginning of a continuous warfare. When the Gospel came into contact with the heathen world, the fierce fanaticism of the Jews again encountered it, and they made it their business to rouse the fanaticism of the heathen, hardly less fierce when once awakened. For Christianity was not contented, as other religions had been, to let things alone. It proclaimed uncompromising war against evil everywhere, and declared that its purpose was to convert the world. This is why even good emperors became bitter persecutors. They believed that reasons of state forbade the toleration of a faith which made war upon all other faiths; and the ignorant mass of people, as usual, were ready to follow their leaders into unreasoning cruelty and passion. Fanatic priests and idol-craftsmen feared for their gains; men of the world, who cared nothing

about the idols, were angry at the discussions in their families between believers and unbelievers; the ignorant multitude were furious on being told that they were to be enthralled in bondage, and to lose the pleasures and enjoyments of life. The new faith, it is true, was not yet made the subject of a state persecution, for it did not yet seem formidable enough to be made of importance; but local persecution went on everywhere unceasingly.

ii. 18. "Satan hindered us." All the Apostles' movements were overruled by God (Acts xvi. 6, 7). Yet here St. Paul says that he was hindered from going to the Thessalonians by Satan. Something evil, we know not what—opposition of some kind, brought about by the malice of the devil—stood in his way. We reconcile the two statements by remembering that though the *immediate* cause of the hindrance to the Apostle's present disappointment was Satan, God overruled it, as He does all things to those who love him, for good. He turns the wrath of man to his praise, and shows forth his power in overcoming all opposition.

ii. 19. "In the presence," &c. He means that his converts will be his crown of rejoicing in the day when Christ shall appear in his glory.

iii. 1. It is a matter of some interest to compare this passage with the narrative of the Acts. There (xvii. 14, 15) we read that St. Paul left Berea alone, sending a message to Silas and Timotheus to join him with all speed at Athens. But from the verse before us it appears that in his anxiety to hear news of his Thessalonian children, he either countermanded this direction, and sent a message to Timothy to go to Thessalonica first, or on Timothy's arrival at Athens, sent him immediately back on the same errand, and was left at Athens alone. If this was the case, the brief meeting at Athens is passed over in the Acts, which tells us that the re-union took place at Corinth (xviii. 5).

iv. 4. Much difference of opinion exists respecting the Apostle's expression, "possess his vessel." Some writers, as Dean Alford, Jowett, and Bishop Ellicott, interpret it as of the *wife*. Others, as Dr. Vaughan, Conybeare and Howson, and Bishop Wordsworth, make it the body; and this opinion we prefer. The word "possess" does not express the force of the original, which signifies "acquire," "gain possession of," and the sense therefore will be that every man must acquire the mastery of his body—by continued discipline must get it back from sin into his own power (cf. 1 Cor. ix. 27). The body must be mastered thus, not given up to the lust of concupiscence—*i.e.*, to lawless and ungoverned passion.

It was needful to dwell strongly on this, because sinful lusts were so common among the Greeks as to be regarded as not sinful at all. Parents made light of them in their children; moralists encouraged them.

iv. 5. "The Gentiles" here are unbelievers, as opposed to Christians (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 2).

iv. 6. The words "in any matter" should read "in the matter"—*i.e.*, in the particular matter under notice, thus decorously hinted at, and not named.

iv. 9. "Ye need not," because their actions proved that they had learned the divine lesson effectually.

iv. 11. We have here a hint of one of the evils which troubled the Thessalonian Church—namely, restlessness, the spirit of disorder. In the first excitement of their conversion, apparently the new believers had not accurately measured their position as regards the world. Some among them already looked upon themselves as raised above their fellow-men into a supernatural state. They left their daily employments, and looked so confidently for the speedy coming of Christ to judgment, that their only doubt was as to their departed friends having a share in the victory. Accordingly we have here, made yet more emphatic in the Second Epistle, an exhortation to them to be quiet, and do their work steadily, and work honestly towards those *which* are without—*i.e.*, the heathen.

iv. 13. He now passes to a subject of surpassing interest—the state of the dead. "Leave to the world which knew not Christ," he says, "that sorrow which has no hope. For as surely as Jesus died and rose again, so surely shall the sleep of his people have an awaking." The details of the passage before us, however, are by far the most difficult in the epistle. We have first to consider what is meant by the coming of Christ. One view, and that the most generally received, is that the Apostle at this time expected the end of the world speedily, and before his death; but that he modified his expectation as time went on, until he exclaimed at last, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." It may be so, but it does not seem to us probable. The Apostle shows in more places than one that he is in constant expectation of death, and in the Epistle to the Philippians speaks of departing and being "with Christ, which is far better."

Let it be remembered that the Thessalonians were acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures, and believed in their inspiration. They knew, therefore, that the Deliverer of mankind was also the King of Israel. They believed that his resurrection had proved Him to be so, and that His pouring forth of the Spirit at Pentecost was an assurance of His abiding presence. Then it followed that He was to be manifested as the King of all the earth, putting down evil and establishing righteousness. They knew that Christ himself had declared that He would so come before his own generation should pass away. St. Paul, therefore, was only taking for granted truth which they already knew when he spoke of the coming day of the Lord; and when he spoke of the wrath falling upon the Jews, he identified this as part of the work of that great day. He was only following the example of Joel, and Isaiah, and Ezekiel when he regarded all great events as parts of the one appearing or day of the Lord, though they might be separated from one another by years. And the fall of Jerusalem, the utter uprooting of the ancient Church of God, was the day of the Lord which he had especially in his mind; and yet it was only one of a series of events which shall follow age after age until the final consummation come. Whether he should live to see that catastrophe he knew

not; his Lord had said it should come in that generation, but he left this to God, only speaking of himself, as we should all do, as "we that are alive."

The imagery with which he clothes his vision is taken from our Lord's own words, and surely the trumpet did sound, and those who had ears to hear did hear it (cf. Zeph. i. 14—16; Zech. ix. 14; Matt. xxiv. 31). And they should not lose the vision of glory who had fallen asleep in Him; for they all live in Him, and therefore must partake in all his victories. We who live to see them on earth shall not prevent (*i.e.*, get advantage over) them that are asleep. All alike would share the same blessedness.

The words "to meet the Lord in the air" seem intended to discourage the carnal notion of His coming down as an earthly king, to reign visibly on the earth. His people will meet Him

"Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
Which men call earth."

Earth is no home for those who believe in Christ. Their citizenship is in heaven.

As if further to show that this judgment-day of the Lord was not to be the final consummation, he exhorts them not to let the expectation of it unsettle their minds, and cause them to neglect their daily duties. And in the Second Epistle he reiterates his exhortation with increased emphasis.

v. 1. Why have the Thessalonians "no need" that he should write of the times and the seasons? Because they knew that the Father had kept them in his own power (Acts i. 7). The principles were already laid before them; the details were for time to make known. Let the day of the Lord be when it would, it would be terrible to those living in sin, but not so to the children of the light. On this expression see Luke xvi. 8; John xii. 35, 36; Eph. v. 8.

v. 8. The children of the day have once for all put on² the Christian armour, and renounced their former sins. The spiritual armour in the present allegory is somewhat different from that in Eph. vi. 11, ff. Here the Apostle simply declares that the three Christian graces—faith, love, hope—form the defensive armour of the Christian. For "the figures of Scripture are not rigid, but elastic. Many a controversy would have been precluded by remembering this" (Dr. Vaughan).

v. 10. It will be noticed that as St. Paul passes on he somewhat varies his application of the word "sleep." In ver. 6 it means the sleep of *sin*; here it is of *death*. In one sense, he would say, all must sleep; but to those who obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ this sleep is not destructive. Those who wake and those who sleep live together with him (cf. John xi. 25; xiv. 19; Col. iii. 3, 4).

v. 14. "Feeble-minded" (cf. Isa. xxxv. 4; liv. 6; vii. 15).

v. 17. "Pray without ceasing." The *act* of prayer

¹ "A shout;" the original word signifies the signal-cry of a commander.

² The literal translation is not "putting on," but "having put on."

must, of course, be intermittent, though it should be frequent. But the *spirit* of prayer, of entire dependence upon God, is to be incessant.

v. 18. "In everything," in sorrow as well as in joy because both alike are overruled by God's providence for good (cf. Eph. v. 20).

v. 19. "Quench not the Spirit." We must remember that the outpouring of the Spirit was a new gift to men, and as it was enkindled in them by God, the Apostle exhorts them not to repress or smother it. Probably there is a special reference to the miraculous gifts of tongues and prophecy, which it was in the power of the possessor either to use or to neglect, and which therefore furnished a test of his faithfulness.

"Prophecyings"—that is, not the foretelling of future events, but the *forthtelling* of the Divine will. It was one of the miraculous gifts—the most desirable of all (see I Cor. xiv. 1—5), because it conveyed edification and comfort, and, unlike tongues, was for a sign, not to unbelievers, but to believers. Such powers were, of course, liable to abuse; weakness and imposture might easily

be mixed with them (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 2; 1 John iv. 1), and therefore the Apostle, while bidding the Thessalonians not to despise them, because they were a veritable Divine gift, adds, "But! prove all things"—*i.e.*, by Christ's rule, so as not to be led away by false prophecyings.

v. 23. Spirit, soul, and body are the three parts of man; two invisible, one visible. We must not too confidently undertake to distinguish between the two former, for we are told that it is one of the special attributes of the Word of God to do so (Heb. iv. 12). But we may understand generally that by the soul is meant the living principle, including the mental qualities; and by the spirit that yet higher being which is created to be united with the Spirit of God (cf. Job xxxii. 8).

v. 27. We have here, in St. Paul's first epistle, the tacit claim to be regarded as inspired. The epistle is to be read in Christian, as Old Testament books in the Jewish congregation.

¹ This word should be in the English version.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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HE first impression produced by the reading of these passages¹ will probably be one of surprise that there is so little difference between the English of 1525 and that of our ordinary Bibles. Two or three words or phrases are unfamiliar, but even these present no real difficulty; the sense is plain. This impression is strengthened when we pass from short extracts to whole chapters and books of Tyndale's version. In the Gospel of St. Mark and the Epistle to the Hebrews there are not more than eighty words (or, as some of these words occur two or three times, not more than ninety words in all) which are not found in our Authorised Version of the Bible; that is to say, there are not more than four strangers in every thousand words, or nine in every hundred verses. In the whole of Tyndale's New Testament the number of different words of this description is probably below 350. This number may seem high, amounting as it does to nearly a tenth part of the vocabulary of our New Testament, but many of the unfamiliar words occur once or twice only. We have, indeed, no right to speak of the words as unfamiliar, for comparatively few (such as *assoil*, *arcede*, *gobbet*, *grece*, *to pill*, *harberous*, *lowth*, *to disdain at*, *to disease*, *partlet*, *manqueller*) would cause the ordinary reader any embarrassment. Many of them differ very slightly from well-known Bible words, as *ignorancy*, *moistness*, *warmness*, *vantage*, *uncredible*, *temperancy*, *conspiration*, *frailness*, *prisonment*. A large number belong to the English of the present day; such are

emperor, *scruple*, *breakfast*, *farmer*, *tenant*, *gown*, *trifle*, *fiend*, *prompt*, *betoken*, *compile*, *friendless*, *rose-coloured*, *vainglorious*, *hangman*, *effusion*, *beseen*, *suspicious*, *to piece*, *to swarm*, *paschal*, *rightful*, *sermon*, *prelate*, *angrily*, *ineffable*, *parish*, *pith*, *Good Friday*, *Sunday*, *Whilsuntide*. The only surprise that can be excited by the occurrence of some of these words arises from their apparent modernness; we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that they are nearly a century older than King James's Bible.

On more attentive study, however, we discover that the familiar look which Tyndale's version wears (when once we have overcome the difficulty of the spelling) is not due to familiar vocabulary alone. Not words only, but phrases and whole sentences have rung in our ears from childhood. Take for example the passage given from chapter xi. of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and compare it with the common translation; not twenty words in the six verses do we find changed. This, as all will admit, is a passage of great beauty—a passage most happily rendered; but a glance will show that almost all the excellent points are due to the first translator. The other passages we have cited have, perhaps, undergone greater change, but in these also the well-known terms of expression are continually presenting themselves. It has been estimated¹ that, in our Authorised Version, about nine-tenths of the First Epistle of St. John, and five-sixths of the very difficult Epistle to the Ephesians are retained from Tyndale. When a new rendering has displaced Tyndale's the change has

¹ See above, page 262.

¹ Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, p. 165.

not always been for the better. It would be a gain, for instance, if in John x. 16 we still read "one flock," instead of "one fold;" if 1 Cor. xiii. set forth the excellence of "love," and not of "charity;" if in Rom. i. 18 St. Paul were not made to speak of "men who hold," but of "men who withhold" (or "hinder") the truth; or if "in the name" took the place of "at the name" in Phil. ii. 10, and "by Jesus" (or "through Jesus") were substituted for "in Jesus" in 1 Thess. iv. 14. In these and in other examples which might be adduced the earlier rendering (in substance) should be replaced. On the other hand, there is no doubt that, on the whole, the translation has gained largely in faithfulness under the hand of the loving labourers who followed Tyndale. Still greater has been the gain in rhythm and beauty of phrase, though even here Tyndale stands high. Happy turns of expression such as "singing and making melody in your hearts," "in him we live, move, and have our being," "turned to flight the armies of the aliens" (which are all due to Tyndale), with many others which might be quoted from sections of peculiar tenderness and charm of language (as Acts xx. 18—35; Eph. iii.; 1 Peter ii.), tell their own tale.

The connection between Tyndale's work and our Authorised Version has a less favourable side. If many of the excellences of the latter are due to the first translator, so also are some of its characteristic faults. The inconsistency of rendering so often alleged against our version (and not without reason) appears very strikingly in Tyndale, the same word being very frequently rendered in two different ways in the same verse or even line. Thus, in Matt. xxi. 23 we read, "By what *authority* doest thou these things? and who gavo thee this *authority*?" The Greek word is repeated, and the English reader receives the very impression which the Greek conveys. Tyndale, however, no doubt to avoid the repetition of a word, translates the Greek word in the first clause by "authority," in the second by "power." It is less surprising to meet with inaccuracies of other kinds. At so early a period of the revived study of Greek, the influence of the Latin language was naturally very great, and we cannot wonder if we find a translator neglecting the Greek article because it was necessarily passed over in the Vulgate (the Latin language having no definite article), or failing to perceive the exact force of tenses and constructions when the peculiarities of the same familiar language rendered it an unsafe guide. The real ground for wonder is that, with resources so imperfect, work so valuable should have been accomplished.

One characteristic of Tyndale's translation strikes the reader at once. No one can read the narrative portions of the Gospels, as presented in our Authorised Version, without remarking the multitude of connective words. *And, but, now, then* recur so often that we feel at once that we are reading a translation from some other tongue. The repeated use of a few of the simplest Greek conjunctions to dovetail together the successive portions of a narrative would have appeared monotonous to an

Athenian, and is really a peculiarity of the Hebrew language, naturally reproduced in Greek that was spoken or written by Jews. An idiomatic English translation might efface this feature of the original; a literal rendering seeks to present to the English reader every characteristic of the Greek which can be expressed without danger to the clearness or force of the sentence. In Tyndale's first essay he sacrifices literalness to English idiom, and very frequently neglects the connective word. In four chapters of St. Matthew (xviii.—xxi.) we find forty-four omissions of this kind in the course of 145 verses; in his second edition, however, Tyndale reduced this number to thirty-six. Scholars still differ as to the course which a translator should take, but Tyndale had a definite opinion on the subject, and the result is a clearly-marked feature of his work.

These various questions of translation suggest another important inquiry. What was the Greek text which Tyndale rendered into English? Without entering into any technical details, we may remind the reader that the manuscripts of the Greek Testament differ widely among themselves. Whilst agreeing so remarkably that (as was said by Bentley) not one article of faith or moral precept is either perverted or lost in the whole mass of various readings, yet they present many very interesting and very important variations, none of which will the reverent student of Scripture be willing to neglect. Until the year 1516 not more than six or seven chapters of the Greek Testament had been printed and published; the sacred book was accessible in manuscript only. In that year Erasmus's first edition of the Greek Testament was given to the world. It is obvious that the correctness of this printed text would depend on the excellence of the manuscripts from which it was derived. These manuscripts (five in number) are still at Basle,¹ where the volume was printed, and when the science of textual criticism began to be studied with care, scholars were at pains to examine them and estimate their value. Not one of these manuscripts is ancient. The most valuable of the five was written in the tenth century; to this manuscript, however, Erasmus seems to have attached but little value. In the Gospels Erasmus followed almost entirely a manuscript written in the fifteenth century. Before Tyndale's earliest translation was placed in the printer's hands, Erasmus had published three editions of the Greek text, the third bearing date 1522. Tyndale may have had in his possession manuscript copies of the Greek Testament, but there can be no doubt that he made full use of the results of Erasmus's labours, and that the printed text was the basis of his translation. As, however, the successive editions of this text differ among themselves in many places, we must carry the inquiry farther, and endeavour to ascertain which edition was the source from which the English version was derived. One well-known characteristic of Erasmus's third and most

¹ With the exception of that from which the Book of Revelation was taken. This manuscript was missing until 1869, when it was discovered by Professor Delitzsch in the library at Mayhingen, in Bavaria.

celebrated edition enables us to apply a very simple test. In 1 John v. 7, 8, "For there are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth], the spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these three agree in one;" the Greek words corresponding to those which we have placed within brackets are contained in no manuscript earlier than the fifteenth century, and were not inserted by Erasmus in his first and second editions. As the missing clauses were found in the Latin Vulgate, their absence from the Greek text gave rise to much controversy. Erasmus's reply to his objectors was, that as soon as any Greek manuscript containing the words should be discovered, he would insert them in his text.

One "British manuscript" (probably the "Montfortian manuscript," in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century) was found to answer this requirement; and Erasmus fulfilled his promise, giving the words a place in his third edition. If now we turn to Tyndale's octavo Testament, published three years later, we find the controverted clauses given without any mark to indicate a doubt of their genuineness,¹ almost as they stand in our Authorised Version. Here, then we have a clear proof that our translator made use of the third edition of Erasmus's Greek Testament. We must not hastily assume that this edition was the basis of Tyndale's whole translation. It may easily be shown that Tyndale's work agrees with no one of Erasmus's editions.

For example, a peculiarity of his first is the omission of several words in Acts ii. 30, and in Tyndale's first Testament these words are wanting;² on the other hand, nearly twenty passages might be quoted in which Tyndale differs from Erasmus's first edition and agrees with his second. A very clear mark of the second edition is the substitution of "ye envy" for "ye kill," in James iv. 2; in all other

editions, earlier and later, Erasmus set aside this reading, which had no other authority than his own conjecture, and restored "ye kill;" Tyndale has "ye envy" not only in his first edition, but also in his revised version. Where Erasmus's second and third editions differ, Tyndale seems to agree with the second more frequently than with the third. It appears clear, then, that Eras-

mus's second edition (1519) was that with which Tyndale was most familiar; but that on the appearance of the third, which contained so remarkable an addition as that in 1 John v. 7, 8, he followed the authority of Erasmus in this passage, and possibly in some others. Before Tyndale's revision was published, Erasmus had given to the world a fourth edition (1527), in which the text of the Book of Revelation was materially

improved by the use of the Complutensian Polyglott,³ which had been prepared from better manuscripts. Unfortunately, Tyndale appears to have made no use of this edition. In Rev. xiv. 1, "havyng his fathers

name written in their forehedges," he has one of its improved readings, "written" instead of "burning;" but as he gave this rendering as early as 1525, it is evident that he obtained it from some other source, most probably from the Vulgate. If this reading was taken from the Latin, it would not be a solitary instance of the kind. In Matt. i. 18, for example, the word "Jesus" is omitted in Tyndale's first edition, though no Greek manuscript leaves out the word, and the Vulgate must have been the authority which Tyndale followed. To the same influence we must attri-

bute the absence of the doxology from the Lord's Prayer, as given in the first Testament. In both these instances the words omitted were restored in the revision of 1534. In later translations, as well as in Tyndale's, we shall find that the influence of the Latin versions sometimes led to the adoption of readings not found in the Greek text which the translators possessed. Not infrequently, as has been already explained,⁴ these

vision of the almightye/and when he saith
downe hath his eyes opened. Ze him but
not notw/3 beholde him but not nye. There
shalt come a starre of Jacob and ysea cepter
of Israel./which shalt smyte y coostes of Mo:
ab and vndermyne all the chuldern of Seth.
And Edom shal be his possession/and ypos-
session of Seir shal be their enemyes/and Is-
rael shall doo manfully. And out of Jacob
shalt come he that shall destroye the remnait
of the cities.

NUMBERS XXIV. 16—19: TYNDALE (1531).

¶ The next sondaye after the vii. daye The
Epistle.

I will prayse the D lorde/that though
thou were angre with me/yet thyne an esai. vii.
ger is turned/and thou hast comforte
me. Beholde God is my saluacion; I will be
bolde therfore and not feare. For the lorde
God is my strength and my prayse wherof
I synge/and is become my savoure. And ye
shall drawe water in gladnes oute of the wel-
les of saluacion. And ye shall saye in that da-
ye: geve thankes unto the lorde/call on his na-
me: make his dedes knowne amonge the he-
then: remember that his name is hie. Lyfte
up. Synge vnto the lorde/for he hath done
excellentlye/and that is knowne thowow ou-
te all the worlde. Trye and showe thou in-
habiter of Zion/for great amonge you is the
holye of Israel.

ISAIAH, CHAP. XII.: TYNDALE (1534).

¹ In his revised translation (1534), Tyndale prints the disputed words in different type and in a parenthesis.

² Perhaps the omission is due to the influence of the Vulgate.

³ See above, Vol. I., p. 258.

⁴ See Vol. I., p. 83.

readings have been since discovered to rest on high authority, being confirmed by ancient manuscripts not known or not appreciated in the sixteenth century. This question, however, is only one branch of another, much wider and more important—what influence did the Vulgate and other translations of Scripture (by Erasmus, Luther, and others) exert upon Tyndale's version? This question must be reserved until Tyndale's work upon the Old Testament has been reviewed.

Before we pass away from our present subject a word must be said on the order in which the books of the New Testament are placed. The list of books preserved in the Grenville Fragment is very curious. As far as the Epistle to Philemon the arrangement does not differ from that of our own Bibles, but this Epistle is immediately succeeded by those of St. Peter and St. John.

So far, the books are numbered from 1 to 23. After the 3rd Epistle of St. John there is a break in the list, and the names of the four remaining books, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Apococalypse, are left without numbers, and most carefully kept apart from those which precede. This arrangement is Luther's; the four books were placed last by him because, in his judgment, they stood below the other books in rank and importance. It is clear that in 1525 Tyndale accepted in the main Luther's opinion on this point. In his Testament of 1534 the order remains unchanged; but the break in the list before the Epistle to the Hebrews has disappeared; and in his prologues Tyndale distinctly admits, and even argues for, the authority of the three Epistles as portions of Holy Scripture.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE :—(2) ORIGIN OF ISRAEL (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. WILLIAM LEE, D.D., ROXBURGH.

III. EARLY HISTORY.

THE circumstances under which Israel came into existence as a nation are familiar to every reader of the Bible. Little, indeed, can be added to the information on this subject which lies on the surface of the sacred narrative. Nor have we much reason to regret that the extra-Biblical materials of our knowledge of the times in question, while abundantly illustrating many collateral topics, and, as far as they go, corroborating the Scriptures, leave us to depend for the early history of Israel on her own national records.

1. The period with which we are here concerned begins with the migration of Abraham. Up to the time of that event the Bible contains the history of mankind rather than of any one people. It is true that, from the first, we have the same distinction which existed in the case of Israel, and exists even now, between the Church and the world. In other words, there was "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people" (1 Peter ii. 9), before Israel, as there has been since Israel. Even antecedently to the Flood, Cain's evil seed—a race not without some material civilisation, but destitute of true religion—are found in Jabel, "the father of such as dwelt in tents and have cattle;" Jubal, "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ;" Tubal-cain, "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron" (Gen. iv. 20—22); and there are also found the children of Seth, whose characteristic distinction it was that they "called upon the name of the Lord" (Gen. iv. 26), and, like Enoch or Noah, "walked with God" (Gen. v. 24; vi. 9). Nor is the history of this chosen line, of the pre-Noahic period, unlike that of the Church in other ages. That "the sons of God," and "the daughters of men," of Gen. vi. 1,

represent the descendants of Seth on the one hand, and of Cain on the other, is the interpretation which is now generally received by Biblical scholars, as it is that which, in earlier times, was maintained by Theodoret, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Jerome, Augustine; by Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin (*Dict. of Bible*, s. v. "Noah"), all of whom, likewise, conclude from the whole passage that, in process of time, there began to be then, as there has been ever since, an admixture of the holy seed with the seed of the wicked, by which the Church became contaminated with the errors and vices of the world; and that one result was that prevailing corruption of manners, extending even to the Sethites, which provoked the judgment of the Flood. A comparatively pure element, however, continued to subsist in the midst of the almost universal depravity which ensued; and in Noah himself the Church, no less than the race, was kept alive in those days when both appeared to be threatened with extinction. But if the Church of Christ, like Christ himself, was thus "before Abraham," its history in those early times does not belong exclusively to Israel.

2. The migration of Abraham was not only the commencement of the history of Israel, but it was itself the result of a revelation made to that patriarch (Gen. xii. 1; cf. Gal. iii. 8; John viii. 56)—the first of many similar revelations which, as time went on, were with more and more fulness, and in more and more explicit terms, vouchsafed to himself and his posterity—as to the great purpose for which Israel was called into existence as a nation, and the special part they were destined to fulfil in relation to the providential government of the world, which demands our special attention.

That the final aim of the existence of Israel was one

of transcendent importance—one, too, in which “all the families of the earth” had an equal interest, being no other than the introduction and establishment of the kingdom of Christ—is a part with which it might appear we have here little concern. Rightly to estimate, however, even the ethnical position and character of the Israelites, it is obviously indispensable that we should always keep in mind the peculiar work for which, both by prophecy and history, we know they were specially set apart by God.

It is the more necessary to keep the true mission and aim of the seed of Abraham in view, because otherwise it is impossible to account for the extraordinary and unprecedented privileges conferred on them. There are certainly no results, beyond those connected with that mission and this aim, to justify their claim to be regarded as the peculiar people of God, and as a nation which had been dealt with as God never dealt with any other nation. Apart from their relation to the spiritual kingdom of Christ, they from first to last never made any great figure in the world's history. They formed a nation very much like other nations of the earth. They had the same pursuits as their neighbours—merchandise, politics, trade, literature; the same distinctions of rank; the same relations, amicable or hostile, with the rest of the world; they were animated by the same pride of race, the same patriotism, the same ambition for national greatness, the same passions generally. And as far as they had no higher aims, they made no higher, and as a rule only reached much lower attainments than many other nations. For a brief period, in the reigns of David and of Solomon, worldly glory appeared to be within their reach. There seems to have been no natural inaptitude in the race of Israel, preventing them from arriving at distinction in any of the pursuits of life. In modern times, men of Jewish blood have been found in the very first ranks among the cultivators of science, the arts, and literature; indeed, in every pursuit open to them they have kept pace with all competitors; and the reign of Solomon, above all, was one in which the capacity of the people for a distinguished position among civilised nations seems to have asserted itself so strongly as to attract the notice of other Eastern peoples. The promise thus excited was not fulfilled. The momentary splendour faded amidst the troubles of the disruption of the kingdom which followed the death of that monarch. Upon the whole, many other nations have been more prosperous; have, by policy or force of arms, acquired greater power and wider territories; have, within the sphere of action common to them all, exercised more influence on the world's history. Other nations have done more to promote intellectual culture; to advance the physical sciences; to extend commerce; to perfect the useful arts, as well as what are called the fine arts; to further the progress of philosophy, jurisprudence, political economy; and to enrich the world with masterpieces in architecture, painting, sculpture, and some departments of literature. As a nation, the only distinction which can be claimed for Israel is that already noticed. Nor, according to the

Bible, was any other distinction ever contemplated. Temporal blessings were conditionally promised, the condition being fidelity on their part in carrying out their true destiny; but even with this limitation mere worldly greatness was not an achievement which they were at any time encouraged to hope for. Any promises which appear at first sight to point to such a result will be found, on investigation, to require to be interpreted figuratively as looking forward to a kingdom which is not of this world—the kingdom of Him who was a greater even than Solomon, and in whom there is neither Jew nor Greek, for all are one in Him.

Nor, let it be added, is any other reason for even the most extraordinary of the instances of God's distinguishing favour to the chosen seed required.

3. It was only after a protracted delay that the nation came into existence. “Men,” says Bishop Butler, “are impatient, and are for precipitating things; but God is deliberate in all his operations.” A nation is not born in a day; nor, in the case of Israel, was there, in this respect, any miraculous interference to hasten the progress of events. Apart, indeed, from the rapid increase of the people in Egypt—an increase not attributed in the Bible to other than natural causes—the facts indicate a providential purpose to retard, rather than to precipitate, the entrance of the children of Israel on their national existence.

The true chronology here, as elsewhere, is undetermined; but even accepting the lowest computation, the period from the departure of Abraham out of Haran to the Exodus was no less than 430, and to the Conquest about 470 years (cf. Gal. iii. 17; Gen. xv. 13; Exod. xii. 40; Acts vii. 6).

Though long delayed, the time, however, came at length when Israel should enter on her promised inheritance. Nor were the intervening years without result. On the contrary, these years were among the most important in the history of Israel; their influence, indeed, at once on the character of the nation and its after history can scarcely be over-estimated.

The principal events must be very briefly recapitulated. (1.) Among these the sojourn in Egypt deserves a prominent place. The extent of the influence of Egypt on Israel is a question not without difficulty. That a single family should have grown up into a great nation, and at the very period of their history when they were necessarily most susceptible to impressions from without, should, on the lowest calculation, have passed upwards of 200 years in the midst of a people like the Egyptians, a people possessing the oldest civilisation, and the civilisation the most advanced of any people of antiquity, without direct influences being produced, the results of which must have continued to be manifested in after years, is inconceivable. Two considerations must certainly be taken into account as serving to modify our estimate of the probable results. (a) In Egypt the Israelites appear to have been, in a great measure, isolated from the bulk of the native population, having been from the first assigned, with that express object (Gen. xlv. 34), a special territory for their exclusive

occupation, and a territory which seems to have been situated in a frontier province (Gen. xlv. 23, sq.; xlvii. 1, 11; Exod. xiii. 17, 18), probably (*Dict. of Bible*, s. v. "Goshen") scarcely forming a part of Egypt proper. And (b) the bondage was fitted to excite a strong prejudice in the minds of the Israelites against everything connected with the land of their oppressors. Some influence, however, was inevitable. As far as can be judged from the Biblical history, the people carried away with them from Egypt fewer traces of the civilisation of that country than of its superstitious beliefs and usages. Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts vii. 22). He had enjoyed singular advantages for acquiring an intimate knowledge of their arts and sciences, their civil institutions and political government (Exod. ii. 10); and we have not any reason to believe that this providential arrangement was without a purpose, and did not form part of the training by which the future lawgiver of Israel was fitted for the office assigned to him by Providence. How far—if at all—it influenced the character of the polity and constitution which he was inspired to introduce, has long been a matter of doubtful controversy (cf. Spenser, *De Legibus Hebræorum*; Witsius, *Ægyptiaca*; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*; Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*; and later authorities cited in Wiener, *Realwörterbuch*, s. v. "Gesetz"). In any case, some of the most characteristic customs of the Egyptians, as their rites of burial, their mode of writing, their style of architecture, appear never to have taken root among the Jews. On the other hand, however, as in the land of bondage itself they served the gods of Egypt (Josh. xxiv. 14), so afterwards, not only in the wilderness (Exod. xxxii. 1; Ezek. xx. 6, 7), but long after their establishment in Palestine, even down to the Captivity (1 Kings xv. 26; Ezek. viii. 17; cf. Warburton, *Div. Leg.*, iv. 86), we find how reluctant they were to leave off the idolatries brought from that country (Ezek. xxiii. 8). In the Bible itself, it is chiefly as an occasion of trial and probation that the sojourn in Egypt is spoken of. In this respect it resembled the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, when God in like manner "humbled his people and proved them" (Deut. viii. 2); and though, temporally, the result may have been to bring to light the native tendency to evil in the hearts of the people, its influence, whether for good or evil, must have been very great. No doubt that influence was upon the whole beneficial. Trial we know to be one of the great means by which both nations and individuals are prepared for the highest services in which either can be employed. (2.) Another great event in the early history of Israel belongs to the times which immediately followed the Exodus. It was within a year or two after the Exodus, and nearly forty years before

the Conquest, that the law was given which provided for Israel that peculiar polity and those moral and ceremonial and civil laws and institutions, under which, with non-essential modifications, the Israelites always continued as a nation to be placed, and which must always have had the greatest effect on their national character and the accomplishment of their destiny. (3.) Last but not least among the events of this period must be mentioned the series of signs and wonders and mighty miracles which not only distinguish the history of Israel from all other histories, but are not by any means otherwise than exceptional even in the annals of this nation itself. It was, indeed, only at this time, when the theocracy was established, and in the time of Elijah and his successor Elisha, the period of its restoration, that, except during the personal ministry of our Lord and in the Apostolic age, miracles, in the received sense of the term, could be said to form a conspicuous, or even an appreciable element in the national life of Israel (cf. Trench, *Notes on the Miracles*, 45). The miraculous dispensation under which the people were at this time placed, has a direct relation to their ethnical history. It has been well observed, that "there is as much need of an admission of the supernatural element [in the history of Israel] for understanding their national character, as there is for understanding the narrative of its fortunes and misfortunes" (Isaac Taylor, *Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry*, p. 117, quoted in Leathes' *Boyle Lectures*, 1868, p. 252).

A single word in conclusion as to the general condition of this the most memorable of the races of Palestine, at the moment that they took possession of that territory. The people were already in point of numbers a great nation. There is no reason to think they were less numerous at the Conquest than at the Exodus (cf. Exod. xii. 37; Numb. i. 46; xxvi. 51), when it is computed that they formed a population of about 2,000,000. The distinction into tribes already existed, and had been recognised even in Egypt (Exod. vi. 14). They had a standing army, consisting of all Israelites above twenty years of age; an army regularly organised (Numb. i. 3; ii. 2; x. 14; xxxi. 6); and an army which was inured to hardships and in some measure to war, as well as brought thoroughly under discipline in the prolonged and trying march through the wilderness. The forms of worship and ceremonial observances with which we are familiar in their later history had been already instituted. Their civil no less than their moral and ecclesiastical code was, as to all its leading provisions, already fixed. They had courts of justice and officers for the administration of the laws (Exod. xviii. 25). In short, before they crossed the Jordan, they were already a nation, which only wanted a territory to take at once its place among the nations of the earth.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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THE two specimens given in fac-simile on page 302 are taken from originals in the British Museum. The former is one of the Epistles from the Old Testament which are appended to Tyndale's New Testament of 1534; the second is from the first edition of Tyndale's Pentateuch. There are two copies of the latter work in the British Museum: one (in the Grenville Library) is perfect; the other wants a few pages, which have been supplied in fac-simile. In this edition each of the books of the Pentateuch has its own title-page, but in no case does this page contain the date of publication or the printer's name. The only information on these points is supplied by a note at the end of Genesis: "Emprinted at Malborow in the lande of Hesse, by me Hans Luft, the yere of oure Lorde M.ccccc.xxx., the xvij. dayes of Januarij." The Books of Genesis and Numbers are in black letter; Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, in Roman. It seems clear from these indications that the five books were published and circulated separately; whether they were collected by Tyndale and issued by him in one volume, we do not know with certainty. Each book has its own prologue. The preface to Genesis is headed, "W. T. To the Reader," and opens with a reference to the writer's translation of the New Testament. To this document we have already referred,¹ as affording trustworthy information respecting Tyndale's labours before he left England for the Continent. The initials "W. T." stand at the head of every page of the prologues to Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. In Exodus several full-page illustrations are introduced, representing the furniture of the tabernacle, the dress of the high priest, &c. Each book is furnished with marginal notes, keenly controversial in spirit, and vigorous in language; everywhere the writer is bent on tracking out and exposing the errors and corruptions of Rome. Are the sons of Aaron commanded not to "make baldness upon their head" (Lev. xxi. 5), at once follows the comment, "Of the heathen priests then took our prelates the ensample of their bald pates." Where the text brings before us the self-sacrificing spirit of Moses (Exod. xxxii.), Tyndale is ready with a parallel and a contrast: "O pitiful Moses, and likewise O merciful Paul (Rom. ix.). And O abominable Pope with all his merciless idols." Though such comments as these cannot but remind the reader of Luther, it has been shown by Mr. Domans² that they are altogether different from the notes in Luther's Pentateuch: in this respect they differ widely from the marginal annotations in Tyndale's first Testament, which were in great measure taken from the German.³

In the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral we find a volume very similar in character and contents to that which has just been described. It contains the Pentateuch in the form of five separate books, with different title-pages and prologues, and printed in different descriptions of type. Here, however, the Book of Numbers alone is in black letter; Genesis is in Roman, and plainly professes to be "newly correctyd and amendyd by W. T., M.D. xxxiiii." It is clear then that we have before us a new edition of the translation of Genesis; but whether the translation of the other books has been in any way altered is very doubtful. Even in Genesis the changes introduced are probably of no great magnitude. In the earlier edition Gen. iv. 7 is rendered thus: "Wotest thou not yf thou dost well thou shalt receive it? But & yf thou dost evell, by & by thy synne lyeth open in the dore. Not withstanding, let it be subdued unto the, and see thou rule it." In the corrected edition *dost* is twice changed into *do*, but in other respects the rendering is unaltered. The later translation of Gen. xx. 16, a difficult verse, is as follows: "He shall be a conerynge to thyne eyes vnto all that ar with tho, and vnto all men an excuse." The earlier text reads, "and vnto all men, and an excuse." The two translations have not as yet been compared throughout.

It is generally believed that Tyndale proceeded much farther than the Pentateuch in the translation of the Old Testament, and that in a Bible published the year after his death all the books from Genesis to 2 Chronicles (inclusive) are from his hand. The evidence in support of this opinion will be given when we come to speak of "Matthews' Bible." The only portion of the Old Testament which appeared in Tyndale's name, besides the Pentateuch and the "Epistles," was the Book of Jonah (1531). The prologue to the translation (which is five or six times the length of the book itself) is well known, but the translation was until very recently supposed to be entirely lost. As lately as 1848 the editor of Tyndale's works for the Parker Society did not hesitate to maintain that Tyndale had never published a version of Jonah, but a (so-called) prologue only. In 1861 all doubts were set at rest, a copy of the translation being discovered by Lord A. Horvey, now Bishop of Bath and Wells; a fac-simile edition was published by Mr. Fry, in 1863.

To illustrate more fully Tyndale's labours on the Old Testament, we append the whole passage in Numb. xxiv. of which the extract above described is a part, and also some verses from the 4th chapter of Jonah.

NUMBERS XXIV. 15—24 (TYNDALE, 1531).⁴

¹⁵ And he began his parable and sayed: Balaam the sonne of Beor hath sayed, and the man that hath his eye open hath sayed,

⁴ The verses are marked for convenience of reference; in Tyndale's Pentateuch, as in his New Testament, there are no divisions except those of paragraphs and chapters.

¹ See above, Vol. II., p. 22. ² *Life of Tyndale*, p. 238.

³ See Westcott, *History of English Bible*, p. 153; Domans, p. 129.

16 and he hath sayed that heareth the wordes of God and hath the knowlege of the most bye and beheldeth the vision of the allmightie, and when he falleth downe hath his eyes opened. 17 I see him but not now, I behelde him but not nye. There shall come a starre of Jacob and ryse a cepter of Israel, which shall aunte the coastes of Moah and vndermyne all the childern of Seth. 18 And Edom shalbe his possession, and the possession of Seir shalbe their euimyes, and Israel shall doo manfully. 19 And out of Jacob shall come he that shall destroye the remnaunt of the cities.

20 And he loked on Amaleck and began his parable and sayed: Amaleck is the first of the nacions, but his latter ende shall peryshe utterly. 21 And he loked on the Kenites, and toke his parable and sayed: strouge is thi dwellynge place, and put thi nest apen a rocke. 22 Neuerthelater thou shalt be a burnynge to Kain, untill Assur take the prisoner. 23 And he toke his parable & sayed: Alas, who shall lyue when God doeth this? 24 The shippes shall come out of the coste of Cyttim and subdue Assur and subdue Eber, and he him selfe shall peryshe at the last.

Jonah iv. 1—5 (TYNDALE, 1531).

Wherefore Jonas was sore discontent and angre. And he prayed vn to the lorde, and sayd: O lord, was not this my sayenge when I was yet in my contre? And therefore I hasted rather to fle to Tharsis: for I knew well yough that thou wast a mercifull god, ful of compassion, loug yer¹ thou be angre and of great mercie, and repentest when thou art come to take punishment. Now therefore take my life from me, for I had leuer² dye then liue. And the lorde said vn to Jonaa, art thou so angrie? And Jonaa gatt him out of the cite and sate him downe on the est yde therofte, and made him there a bothe, and sate thervnder in the shadowe, till he might se what shuld chaunce vn to the cite.

Let us now examine these passages in detail, taking first the verses from Numb. xxiv. This passage, we may say, has been selected solely on account of its intrinsic interest, and because it well tests the powers of a translator. As in the extracts from Tyndale's New Testament, so here, we notice much that is preserved in our Authorised Version; we may easily calculate that nearly seventy words out of every hundred have remained unchanged. Even a hasty comparison, however, will reveal some important differences (of interpretation, and not merely of phraseology) between the two versions. The renderings which will strike the reader most forcibly are the present tenses in verses 16 and 17 (*heareth, hath, beholdeth, I see, I behold*); the last few words in verse 16 ("when he falleth down hath his eyes opened"); the substitution of *coasts* for *corners*, and *undermine* for *destroy*, in verse 17; of *is* for *was* in verse 20; and of *put* for *thou puttest* in verse 21; the omission of "shall have dominion and" in verse 19; and the changes in the first half of verse 22: in verse 18 the meaning intended is probably the same in both versions. Now in most of these points of difference Tyndale's version clearly deserves the preference. In verses 16, 17, an accurate modern translation would come very near to Tyndale's. Both *coasts* and *corners* (verse 17) are possible renderings of the Hebrew word, and either is preferable to the renderings found in the Vulgate and Luther's version. The translation *undermine* (verse 17) is interesting as an attempt to render the Hebrew word with great exactness—an attempt not suggested by either of the versions just mentioned, or by the Latin version of Pagninus. The omission in verse 19 seems to be due to a different reading of the Hebrew, probably incorrect, but not without some critical support. Commentators still differ in opinion as to the choice of *is* or *was* in verse 20. The

same may be said of *put* and *is put* in verse 21; the rendering of the Authorised Version ("thou puttest") cannot stand, unless as a free translation, following the sense rather than the form of the original. In verse 22 our common version is probably right, but it is interesting again to note in the word "burning" Tyndale's effort to keep close to the Hebrew. The general results of a careful comparison of Tyndale's version with the Authorised in this passage may be stated as follows:—There are in these verses about seventeen differences of some importance; in eleven of these Tyndale is probably right. In three of the eleven he agrees with Luther and the Vulgate, in three more with the Vulgate against Luther; in five he has the support of neither of these versions. The instances in which Tyndale is wrong are of less moment. Once he follows a different reading of the original text, twice he inserts *and*, twice omits *and* or *also*, once reads *which* in the place of *and*; in verse 19 he has *cities* for *city*. In minor points the Authorised Version has some advantage: for example, *took up* is better than *began* or *took*, and *knew* (verse 16) is more literal than *hath*. It should be said that in one of the important variations (*put*, in verse 21) Tyndale's translation may be due to the Latin version of Pagninus. Surely nothing can be clearer than that in this passage (and we repeat that the verses were selected for their internal character alone) Tyndale has played the part of the careful, able, and honest translator, using all available helps, but studying the original for himself with independent judgment.

The second passage is of a different cast. There are no difficulties of account in Isa. xii., and hence the differences between Tyndale's version and the Authorised consist almost entirely in the phraseology. It is therefore with some surprise that we discover the verbal agreement between the two versions to be no greater than in the passage last examined. Here again Tyndale's translation often shows close attention to the original; whereas he is frequently at variance with the Vulgate, and the extent of his divergence from Luther is really remarkable. In the third passage, Jonah iv. 1—5, hardly more than half the words in our version are found in Tyndale's, though here also there is not much room for serious difference in interpretation. The translation "Art thou so angry?" differs both from Luther and from the Vulgate.

We may at present dismiss from consideration Tyndale's translations from the prophetic books; though interesting in themselves, they are of little importance for our present purpose in comparison with his version of the Pentateuch. Of this it would not be right to form a judgment from an examination of one passage only. Indeed, this passage taken by itself gives an inadequate impression of the extent to which our version is indebted to Tyndale in the Pentateuch. The more difficult the passage chosen as a specimen, the larger is the amount of variation which different translations will exhibit. If we take the last twenty-four verses of Deuteronomy, we shall find that, in the first half of this portion, which is difficult, we owe to Tyndale about two-thirds of the

¹ Ere, before.

² Rather.

Authorised Version; in the second half, a plain narrative, the debt is largely increased, amounting to eighty-six words in every hundred. A study of difficult verses, taken from such chapters as Deut. xxxiii. and Gen. xlix., confirms the conclusions already expressed in regard to Tyndale's position as a translator. No one will suppose that the characteristics which we have discovered in Tyndale's Pentateuch will be wanting in his New Testament. Here, however, we cannot go into detail; the limits of our space will not permit more than a statement of the results of examination. The translations accessible to Tyndale in the New Testament were Luther's, the Vulgate, and the Latin version of Erasmus, which accompanied his editions of the Greek text. A careful examination of continuous passages of some length, and also of isolated verses of peculiar difficulty, leads us to the same conclusion as in the former case. Alike in the Old Testament and in the New, Tyndale had before him the best of existing translations, and every page shows that he was largely influenced by them; but all who scrutinise his work with care will testify that Tyndale's version was made neither from the German nor from the Latin, but most undoubtedly from the original tongues.

It may be thought that too much stress has been laid on Tyndale's independence. Seldom, however, has any translator been so completely misjudged as Tyndale has been. One cause of this misapprehension is no doubt to be found in the vigour and warmth (to use no stronger terms) of his controversial works. The unprejudiced reader who looks at his writings as a whole will do justice to Tyndale's deep religious feeling and fervent zeal for the truth; but it is no matter of surprise that those who were the objects of his unsparing attacks should have depreciated his labours and misunderstood his character. Their assertions, unhappily, have been repeated by later writers, who in their haste have mistaken the statements of partisans for authentic history. It was natural for More to connect Tyndale's New Testament with Luther; but we may well be astounded when we find a modern historian of note describing Tyndale's translation as "avowedly taken from" Luther's and from the Latin Vulgate, and another affirming that "Tyndale saw Luther, and under his immediate direction translated the Gospels and Epistles while at Wittenberg." More recently still Tyndale has been classed among certain translators who, whilst professing to carry out the idea of forming an English Bible from the original languages, "seem chiefly to have worked for the printers, and to have translated chiefly, in the end, from Luther's German Bible and the Vulgate." It is therefore still necessary to insist on the internal evidence which so strongly supports the claim which Tyndale everywhere makes (by implication, if not openly) to have had resort to the original Scriptures. When he made his first attempt to obtain the countenance of Bishop Tunstal as a translator of the Greek Testament, he offered an English version of Isocrates as a token of his competence. More himself allowed and appealed to Tyndale's knowledge of Greek.

One of the most celebrated scholars of that day¹ spoke of the Englishman who was translating the New Testament at Worms as a man "so learned in seven languages—Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, and French—that, whichever he spoke, you would think it his native tongue." Tyndale speaks familiarly of the peculiar constructions of Hebrew, and the extent to which they influence the Greek of the New Testament;² his remarks on the translation of Greek and Hebrew into English³ will command the assent of all who are acquainted with the properties of the languages in question. In his Pentateuch he explains many peculiar words—such as *Abrech* (Gen. xli. 43) and *Zaphnath-paaneah*—in such a way as to show familiarity with the subject; his explanations not unfrequently differ from those found in the two versions to which he is supposed to be in bondage, and not always for the worse. But enough has been already said to show how baseless are the reflections which are cast on Tyndale's work as a translator of Scripture. His independence in this respect really stands in frequent and marked contrast with his close adherence to Luther in many of his prologues, notes, and expositions of Scripture. To use the words of one who has examined this subject with the greatest care, "Tyndale availed himself of the best help which lay within his reach, but he used it as a master and not as a disciple. In this work alone he felt that substantial independence was essential to success. In exposition or exhortation he might borrow freely the language or the thought which seemed suited to his purpose, but in rendering the sacred text he remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar."⁴

One of Tyndale's adversaries must receive more than a passing notice. We have already referred to Sir T. More's violent attacks upon Tyndale and all who were supposed to be confederate with him. In the folio edition of More's works, more than a thousand pages are taken up with this controversy.⁵ More's skill in Greek is not doubted, and as little can any one question his eagerness as a disputant; if then Tyndale's translation of the New Testament were bad and false, by such an opponent the defects must surely be brought to light. It is no small testimony to Tyndale's substantial accuracy that More occupies himself so largely with his adversary's doctrines, so little with the translation. In this, it is true, he discovers many errors, as the following quotation will show, but the same passage will also reveal the method of reckoning employed:—

"So had Tyndale, after Luther's counsel, corrupted and changed it from the good and wholesome doctrine of Christ to the devilish heresies of their own, that it was clean a contrary thing. 'That were marvel,' quoth your friend, 'that it should be so clean contrary; for to some that read it it seemed very like.' 'It is,' quoth I, 'never the less contrary, and yet the more perilous. For like

¹ Hermann von dem Busche, usually known as Buschius. See Arber, *Preface*, p. 25.

² *Works*, vol. i., p. 463.

³ *Works*, vol. i., p. 148.

⁴ Westcott, *Hist. of English Bible*, p. 164. ⁵ Demaus, p. 231.

as to a true silver groat a false copper groat is never the less contrary, though it be quicksilvered over, but so much the more false, in how much it is counterfeited the more like to the truth, so was the translation so much the more contrary in how much it was craftily devised like, and so much the more perilous in how much it was to folk unlearned hard to be discerned.' 'Why,' quoth your friend, 'what faults were there in it?' 'To tell you all that,' quoth I, 'were in a manner to rehearse you all the whole book, wherein there were found and noted wrong or falsely translated above a thousand texts by tale.' 'I would,' quoth he, 'fain hear some one.' 'He that should,' quoth I, 'study for that, should study where to find water in the sea. But I will show you for ensample two or three such as every one of the three is more than thrie three in one.' 'That were,' quoth he, 'very strange, except ye mean more in weight; for one can be but one in number.' 'Surely,' quoth I, 'as weighty be they as any lightly can be. But I mean that every one of them is more than thrie three in number.' 'That were,' quoth he, 'somewhat like a riddle.' 'This riddle,' quoth I, 'will soon be read. For he hath mistranslated three words of great weight, and every one of them is, as I suppose, more than thrie three times repeated and rehearsed in the book.' 'Ah, that may well be,' quoth he; 'but that was not well done. But, I pray you, what words be they?' 'The one is,' quoth I, 'this word *priests*; the other, *the church*; the third, *charity*.'¹

This was the head and front of Tyndale's offending. He had discarded some of the familiar ecclesiastical words, employing common words in their place. For *church* he uses *congregation*, as More's friend Erasmus had (sometimes) done before him; for *priest* he uses *senior*, as a less ambiguous word; *grace* gives way to *favour*, *confess* to *knowledge* (that is, *acknowledge*), *penance* to *repentance*. "Senior," Tyndale admits, "is no very good English;" and in his later editions he puts *elder* in its place. Whatever judgment may be passed on Tyndale's procedure, his defence deserves consideration;² surely at a time when so many injurious and false notions were attached to the words in question, a translator might well take refuge in simple terms of undoubted signification. Even should the older terms be restored at length, to have been reminded of their proper meaning would be a gain to every reader.

One other point remains, a point referred to in an earlier paper,³ but left for consideration in this place. Was Tyndale indebted in any degree to the early English versions of Wycliffe, Hereford, and Purvey? It is hardly possible that he can have been unacquainted with these versions, though, as we have seen, they were not printed for two or three centuries after Tyndale's age. A very able writer on the English language, Mr. G. P. Marsh, considers it certain that "Tyndale is merely a full-grown Wycliffe." "His recension of the

New Testament is just what his great predecessor would have made it, had he awaked again to see the dawn of that glorious day of which his own life and labours kindled the morning twilight. Not only does Tyndale retain the general grammatical structure of the older version, but most of its felicitous verbal combinations, and, what is more remarkable, he preserves even the rhythmic flow of its periods, which is again repeated in the recension of 1611. Wycliffe, then, must be considered as having originated the diction and phraseology which for five centuries have constituted the consecrated dialect of the English speech; and Tyndale as having given to it that finish and perfection which have so admirably adapted it to the expression of religious doctrine and sentiment, and to the narration of that remarkable series of historical facts which are recorded in the Christian Scriptures."⁴ On the other hand, Tyndale must be heard in his own cause. "Them that are learned Christianly," he says,⁵ "I beseech . . . that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit" (that is, imitate), "neither was holpen with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the Scripture beforetime." These words do not disavow all knowledge of the earlier version, but they distinctly deny that that version served as a basis for the new work. A comparison of the two translations (if we bear in mind that they are *translations*—one avowedly taken from the Vulgate, the other frequently influenced by the Vulgate) fully, we think, confirms Tyndale's statement. Again and again we meet with startling resemblances, but on examination it becomes evident that the Vulgate has supplied the connecting link. At first sight it appears strange that in Col. i. 13 both versions should have the word "translated;" that in both we should read "pinnacle of the temple" in Matt. iv. 5; "comprehended" in John i. 5; "tribulation and anguish" in Rom. ii. 9: for in none of these examples is there anything in the Greek which compels the adoption of one particular English word. When we observe that the familiar Latin words are *transtulit*, *pinnaculum*, *comprehenderunt*, *tribulatio et angustia*, we understand at once the coincidences in the English. We are, however, willing to admit that this explanation will not account for every instance of affinity between Tyndale and Wycliffe. Many of the earlier renderings must have become current phrases; proverbial sayings from the New Testament could hardly fail to present themselves to the new translator in their familiar guise. Hence we cannot be surprised to find that "mote" and "beam" are common to both versions of Matt. vii. 3; that "God forbid" is used in both, though the Greek phrase is altogether different in form; that the promise of the "Comforter" remains unchanged, though the Latin translations either retain the Greek word (the "Paraclete") or express it by "Advocate;" that in Matt. vii. 6 both Wycliffe and Tyndale adopt a

¹ More's *Dialogue*, book iii., ch. 8. See Arber, *Preface*, p. 55.

² See his *Works*, vol. i., pp. 16—24 (Parker Society).

³ See above, vol. i., p. 83.

⁴ *Lectures on the English Language*, p. 447 (Murray).

⁵ In the Address to the Reader, added to the octavo edition of his New Testament (1525).

rendering (not suggested either by the Greek or by the Latin) which refers the "trampling" to the "swine," the "rending" to the "dogs;" or that in the 14th verse of the same chapter both speak of the "gate" as "strait," of the "way" as "narrow." We might even concede to Mr. Marsh that Wycliffe and his coadjutors had in some degree succeeded in fixing the general character and style of an English version of the Bible, and that through their labours Englishmen had been taught to look for simplicity and literalness of rendering instead of idiomatic paraphrase. When all this allowance has been made—and in making it we are convinced that we have rather enhanced than depreciated the just rights of the older versions—Tyndale's claims on our gratitude remain unimpaired; he is still the father of our present version. The labours of his successors effected many improvements in detail, but the plan and spirit of the work have been left unchanged. Mr. Froude's well-known words, if understood of the whole rather than of each part, if read with the recollection that Tyndale was cut off before his cherished task was

finished, and that others entered into his labours and made his work complete, are as just as they are eloquent:—

"Of the translation itself, though since that time it has been many times revised and altered, we may say that it is substantially the Bible with which we are all familiar. The peculiar genius—if such a word may be permitted—which breathes through it—the mingled tenderness and majesty—the Saxon simplicity—the preternatural grandeur—unequalled, unapproached in the attempted improvements of modern scholars—all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man—William Tyndale. Lying, while engaged in that great office, under the shadow of death, the sword above his head and ready at any moment to fall, he worked, under circumstances alone perhaps truly worthy of the task which was laid upon him—his spirit, as it were divorced from the world, moved in a purer element than common air."¹

¹ *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 84.

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.

BY JOHN STAINER, M.A., MUS. D., MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; ORGANIST OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

INSTRUMENTS OF PERCUSSION.

TZELTZELIM, METZILLOTH.

THESE words, which are found about a dozen times in the Old Testament, are, with only one exception, rendered "cymbals" in our version. This name fully describes the form of the instrument, for *cymbal* comes direct



Fig. 84.

from the Greek *κύμβαλον* (*cymbalum*), which in turn comes from *κύμβος* (*cymbus*), a hollowed plate or basin.

Now, although there are in use among most nations a large number of varieties of this instrument, differing in *size*, yet there are only two having any broad dis-

tinction in *form*. Of these, the one was almost identical with our modern soup-plate (having a somewhat larger rim); the other had a hollow commencing at the very rim, and terminating in an upright handle, giving it the appearance of a hollow cone, surmounted by a handle. Both sorts were in use among the Assyrians. The comparatively flat cymbals were played by bringing the right and left hands, each of which held one plate, sharply together at right angles with the body. Of the conical-shaped cymbals, one was held stationary in the left hand, while the other was dashed upon it vertically with the right hand. Fig. 84 shows an Assyrian in the act of striking this last-mentioned form of the instrument. Sculpture also shows people striking the flatter instruments in the manner above described. The ancient Egyptians also used cymbals made of copper, with a small admixture of silver. Most fortunately a pair of these was discovered in the tomb of a priestly musician named Ankhaphê, close by his mummied body. These are given in Fig. 85. The perforation in the top is, of course, for the purpose of passing a loop of cord through as a handle. A leather strap is used for this in modern instruments. These ancient specimens are about five inches in diameter, and are said to be almost identical, both in form and size, with those used in Egypt at the present time.

In Ps. cl. 5, two sorts are evidently pointed out: "Praise Him upon the loud cymbals; praise Him upon the high-sounding cymbals." Bearing this in mind, it is very interesting to find that the Arabs have two distinct varieties, large and small; for the "loud cymbals"

of the Psalmist would certainly be of a larger diameter than the "high-sounding" cymbals. In the Prayer-book

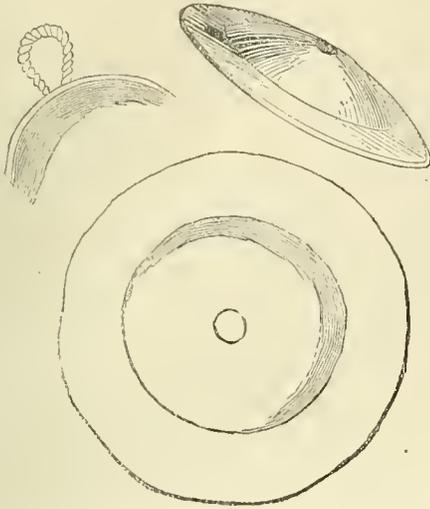


Fig. 85.

version of this Psalm, the real distinction between these two species is unfortunately not made plain: "Praise Him upon the well-tuned cymbals; praise Him upon the loud cymbals." The Arabs use their large cymbals in religious ceremonies, but the smaller kind seem to be almost limited to the accompaniment of dancers. In India, instruments of this class are called *talan*. There is also a smaller species called *kintal*. The Bayaderes dance to the *tal*.

The Turks, as would be expected from their Asiatic origin, inherit a system of music chiefly founded on the Persian. They have always excelled, not only in the use of instruments of percussion, but also in their construction. From the fact that the foot-guard of the Sultan were formerly called janissaries, music chiefly consisting of a combination of the sounds of instruments of percussion has been called "janissary music." The efforts of Frederic II. to obtain genuine music of this sort for German use are well known. Turkish cymbals still hold a high value, and are manufactured in that country in very large quantities, for exportation westward.

Gongs, though perhaps less strictly musical instruments than cymbals, must be classified with them; and many nations celebrated for the manufacture of one, are equally famous for producing the other. The Chinese and Burmese, for instance, use both cymbals and gongs, the latter being sometimes suspended on cords in a series of different sizes, so as to produce their national scale when struck in rotation.

Fig. 86 shows a specimen of Indian cymbals; Fig. 87, one from Burmah. The joining together of the two plates by means of a cord does not appear to have been at any time a common custom in Europe.

The Greeks and Romans, by whom cymbals seem to have been shaped strictly in accordance with what the

name implies, so as to have been hollow hemispheres of metal, used them in the rites connected with the worship of Bacchus, Juno, and Cybelé. But, as has been the case with other musical instruments, the name *cymbal* has been in the most extraordinary way applied to instruments of a totally different construction. The Italians, at one period, called a common tambourine by this name, and even went so far as to apply it to the *dulcimer*! We have in a previous article traced the growth of a dulcimer through various stages, till it reached the form of a harpsichord: the reader, therefore, will not be astonished to find, at a later date, "cymbal"

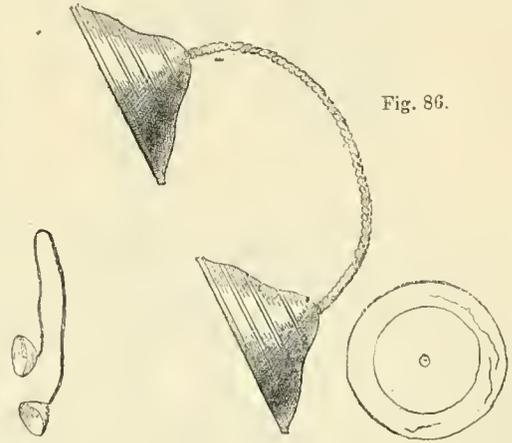


Fig. 86.



Fig. 87.

used for harpsichord. But this is not all. As the pianoforte was the direct offspring of the harpsichord, the pianoforte part in a full score is to this day sometimes marked *cembalo*, or "the cymbal part." It seems to be a matter for much regret that musicians should feel bound, by habit or fashion, thus to perpetuate a title which is not only unmeaning, but absolutely incorrect. It is difficult to understand in what respect the dulcimer was thought to bear any resemblance to cymbals. Some say that because it was struck with hammers, it might with justice be called an instrument of percussion; but it is more probable that the peculiar clang caused by hitting wire strings with little wooden mallets, gave some fanciful resemblance between the "ringing" tone of both instruments. In modern military bands, cymbals are used as of old, a plate being held firmly in each hand by a leather thong, and by swinging the hands together the plates clash. In modern orchestras the instrument is generally used thus: one plate is horizontally fixed (rather loosely) on to the top of an upright drum; with his left hand the player holds the other plate, and with his right hand a drumstick. Thus, not only can one performer play both instruments simultaneously, but the tone and clang of the cymbals are much intensified by being in close connection with the vibrating skin and frame of the drum.

Cymbals, in a somewhat unexpected manner, came to

be associated with the tambour. For as they became reduced in size it was found possible to insert several pairs inside the *rim* of the tambour, so that their clatter should either join the rhythmical beating of the tambour, or be heard alone when the tambour is held by one hand, and made to swing rapidly from side to side, a diameter being its axis. These "petites cymbales" were occasionally fixed to the thumb and forefinger of both hands, which were then clapped together, as shown in Fig. 88. Hence they came to be called *castanets*,

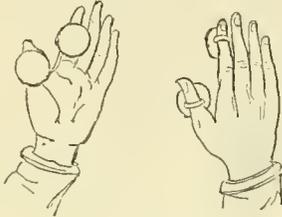


Fig. 88.

from their similarity to the old toy—hardly worthy of the name of a musical instrument, although it was used with dancing—which consisted of *chestnuts* attached to the fingers (as in Fig. 88), and beaten together; the words *chestnuts* and *castanets* both being derived from *castanea* (Lat.), and *κάστανον* (Greek), the name of the plant. But in process of time, pieces of ivory or mother-of-pearl were substituted for chestnuts. Hence the bones which we see rattled between the fingers of supposed negroes are dignified with the name *castanets*, and can in some sense trace their pedigree to the ancient cymbals. Hence, too, we get an explanation of the old word *nakers* or *nackers*, which was applied to castanets by Chaucer, and used commonly at a later period. Evidently it alludes to the material of which they were made, *nacre* being the French, and *nacar* the Spanish for "mother-of-pearl." Very small cymbals have occasionally been used in the modern orchestra. Berlioz, who gave so much attention, and devoted so much talent, to the increasing of the resources of a band, used, in a symphony, a pair not bigger than the palm of the hand, and tuned them at an interval of a fifth apart. It should be stated that in playing cymbals, not only in Europe, but in Asia, it is not usual to strike them edge against edge, as the Assyrian appears to be doing with his conical cymbals in Fig. 83, but to make one plate only partially overlap the other. If the former method be adopted, the vibrations of the plates are very liable to destroy each other, owing to the extent of the contact of the two surfaces; if the latter, the plates have more "play" when in vibration.

In the Holy Scriptures the use of cymbals is solely confined to religious ceremonies—the bringing back the ark from Kirjath-jearim (1 Chron. xv. 16, 19, 28); at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (2 Chron. v. 13); at the restoration of worship by Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxix. 25); at the laying the foundation of the second Temple (Ezra iii. 10); and at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 27). This would lead us to

suppose that cymbals were not commonly used as an accompaniment to dancing among the Jews. Certain Levites were set aside as cymbalists, as described in 1 Chron. xvi. 42, and elsewhere. They are mentioned in Ezra iii. 10, as being used with trumpets (*chatzozerah*) only, but in most other instances are described as being used with harps and other Hebrew instruments. There is deep meaning in the allusion of St. Paul to this instrument in 1 Cor. xiii. 1. Inasmuch as it gives out a shrill and clanging sound (*κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον*), and is incapable of being tempered or tuned so as to form ever-varied chords with those musical instruments which surround it, it too well illustrates the hollowness and emptiness of character which, while making noble professions with the tongue, lacks that gift of charity which, if it truly glowed in us all, would soon attune all the discords of this world into such a sweet harmony as were worthy of heaven itself.

The one instance, before alluded to, in which the word *tzeltelim* has been translated otherwise than by the word "cymbals," occurs in Zech. xiv. 20, where it is rendered by "bells:" "In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD." The margin here has another reading—"upon the *bridles* of the horses;" but if the word be understood in a musical sense or not, it is in no way to be considered as badly rendered by "bells." For the Eastern custom of having little plates of metal attached to the caparisons of horses, so as to produce a jingling noise, is well known. And if these plates had a circular indentation, they would be little cymbals; and if the indentation grows deeper, and the rim be gradually bent into a circular outline, a little bell is the result. This gradual change of metal plates into bells is interesting and important. The indentation of cymbals would be found to add to their vibrating power and sonority, and as this indentation became exaggerated, nothing would be more probable than that they should eventually be formed into half-globes. This form, as has been before remarked, is actually to be found in Roman and Greek sculpture. Then again, in course of time, these half-globes or, as they might be truly called, these hemispherical *bells*, would be found to be shrill and noisy in tone. Then again would naturally follow the experiments, as made in Europe, of moulding the rim slightly *out-turned*, and thickening its metal. Here at last we have a real bell with the so-called *sound-bow*, or thick lip. But here it should be observed that Europe is the birth-place of modern bells; they seem not to have existed as musical instruments until the Middle Ages. Of the bells of the Bible, therefore, we have but little to say. They were noisy accoutrements, not capable of being arranged so as to produce the consecutive sounds of a musical scale. The care bestowed upon their form and construction, particularly in Holland and Belgium, led to the casting of those rich and mellow-toned instruments whose sounds ever stir deep emotions in us, whether of joy or sorrow. England was not slow to adopt so appropriate and useful an addition to her many church towers, and

learnt to make use of them in a way even now imperfectly understood on the Continent—namely, that of hanging them on the axis of a wheel, and ringing them by a complete swing. The most ancient bells yet discovered are found not to be castings, but to consist of a plate of metal, bent round, and rudely riveted where the edges met. Bells, then, are closely allied to cymbals, but when mentioned in ancient authors, are not to be looked upon as musical instruments. The Assyrians used them, as did the ancient Chinese, and not a few have been found in Irish bogs, or in the drift. If, then, the “bells on horses” were not little cymbals, they were not more than toy-bells, such as are to be often heard in our own country lanes, when the miller’s team is lazily led along under the autumn sun, warning any wagoner coming in an opposite direction to draw near the hedge and allow a free passage. *Phaamon* is the name used in Exod. xxviii. 33, for such bells on the priests’ garments: “And beneath upon the hem of it thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the hem thereof; and *bells of gold* between them round about: a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the hem of the robe round about. And it shall be upon Aaron to minister: and his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not.” In Exod. xxxix. 25, we read—“And they made them . . . as the Lord commanded Moses.” These are the only two passages in which *phaamon* occurs.

MENAANEIM.

Once only is this word met with in Holy Scripture—in 2 Sam. vi. 5: “And David and all the house of Israel played before the Lord on all manner of instru-

Now, the word *sistrum* (σειστρον) comes from a Greek verb *σειω*, having an almost identical meaning. There is, therefore, a very good reason for believing that the word *menaaneim* refers to an instrument which vibrated when shaken or rattled. One of the two classes of sistrums exactly answers to this description. Through an upright frame of metal, supported on a handle, several metal rods are passed and fixed in their position, generally by bending the extremities. On them are placed loose metallic rings. Fig. 89 shows two examples



Fig. 90.

of this instrument which are preserved in the Berlin Museum. The position of the rings in this illustration may perhaps lead to the supposition that they are fixed by the centre; this is not the case. They, of course, should lie loosely on the bars. Fig. 90 shows Egyptian priestesses in the act of playing on this kind of sistrum

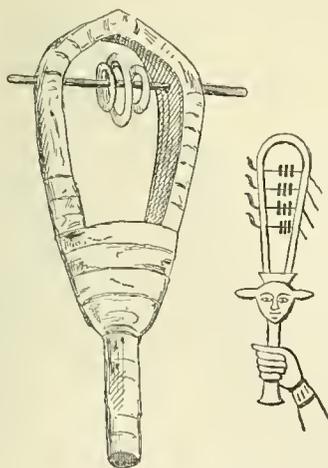


Fig. 89.

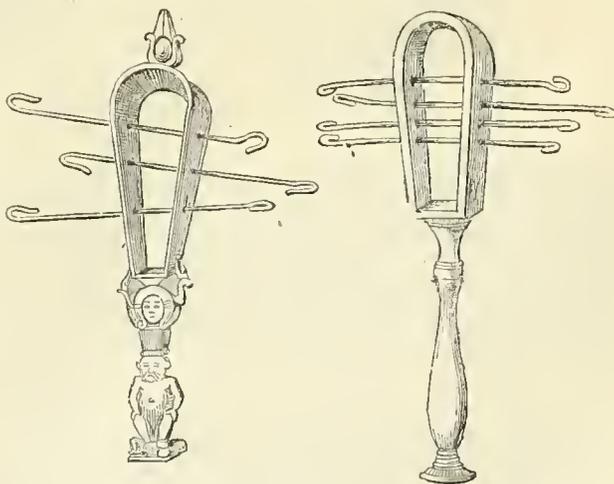


Fig. 91.

ments made of fir wood, even on harps, and on psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals.” Although translated here “cymbals,” the root of the word in Hebrew points to the old Latin root *nuo*, whence *nutu*, “to sway to and fro, to vibrate.”

at a religious ceremony. The second kind of sistrum, above mentioned, had metallic bars, *without rings*. Hence, it has been thought by some that the bars were of graduated length, and gave a series of musical sounds when struck by some hard substance held in the

other hand of the player. Fig. 91 represents two of these. Their Egyptian name is doubtful, but the word *kem-kem* is thought to apply to them, although the Coptic version translates the "sounding brass" of 1 Cor. xiii. 1 by *kem-kem*. Others think it applies to the tambour. Rosellini has deciphered the word *sescesch*, and interprets it as "sistrum." If the rods were really in proportional lengths, and were struck the tones of a sistrum of this class would be more determinate than those of cymbals. The Romans used it, or at least were aware of its existence and uses, fairly true representations of it being found on some of their medals. This may have been the *crecum crepitaculum* of their poets. As the sistrum often, among the Egyptians, accompanied rites of a very wanton and lascivious character, there is something intensely sarcastic in the description of Cleopatra leading her forces to battle to the sound of the sistrum—

"Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro."
(Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii. 696.)

The close connection between musical instruments of apparently very divergent species has been often remarked; it is not surprising, therefore, to find a link



Fig. 92.

between cymbals and the sistrum. Fig. 92 shows two ornamental bars of metal held, one in each hand of the performer, which, when struck together, produce a loud clanging sound to mark the rhythm of a dancer. The fact that they are clashed together gives them a relation to cymbals, while their form—that of vibrating rods—renders it difficult to place them otherwise than under the head "sistrum."

SHALISHIM.

This word occurs only in 1 Sam. xviii. 6. It has been variously described as a triangle, a sistrum, and by some—a fiddle! The root implies the numerical value of three. "And it came to pass as they came, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, that the women came out of all cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet King Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music" (margin, "three-stringed instruments"). Whatever may be the antiquity of the

viol family, it is difficult to believe that an instrument, which must have been in very common use—as the people flocked together who could play it, "from all cities of Israel"—should be only incidentally mentioned once in the whole course of Jewish chronicle. The notion that all the women of Israel were experts on a three-stringed fiddle is certainly novel, but, to say the least, very doubtful. A triangle it might have been, but it is more probable that it was a sistrum, either with three rings on each bar, as in Fig. 89, or with three vibrating bars, as in Fig. 91.

TOPH.

Fortunately there is but little doubt as to the nature of this musical instrument. It was a tambour, timbrel, or hand-drum. All nations seem to have possessed drums of various kinds, but always of a comparatively small size. It remained for modern Europeans to produce the gigantic specimens which are to be found in our orchestras. Few, who have been present, can forget the huge upright drum, far exceeding the height of its upstanding player, that adds its deep rolling bass note to the mass of sounds which are heard at the Handel Festivals in the Crystal Palace. Such drums were never dreamt of by the ancients. The necessity for



Fig. 93.

having portable instruments would have excluded them from use, even if their presence had been thought desirable. Modern tambours, or tambourines, as we more usually term them, are invariably round in shape; those of the ancients, especially of the Egyptians, were sometimes oblong or square. Fig. 93 exhibits both kinds in use. They were one of the chief ingredients of their funeral lamentations, which seem to us to have been strangely prolonged. It is said that such ceremonies, when a prince died, lasted as many as seventy days. They then sang, or uttered their mournful cries, to a tambour accompaniment. But the Egyptians also had drums of two other kinds. One consisted of a wood or copper cylinder covered at both ends with parchment, which was beaten at both ends with the hands, just as the tom-tom of India is played. The Egyptian "long-drum," as it may be called, was, both as to size and shape, very similar to this tom-tom, which is not unfrequently to be seen in the hand of some poor wanderer

from that distant empire, who is begging about the streets of London. Fig. 94 shows the manner in which it was carried and beaten. The other instrument of



Fig. 94.

this class is peculiarly interesting, as being evidently the prototype of our modern kettle-drum. It was called *darabooka*, and was formed by stretching parchment over the open end of a basin of metal or earthenware. When, as was the case in ancient times, this kind of drum was small and easily carried, the termination of the hollow bowl by a handle was ingenious and useful. But as their size increased, the handle had to give place to three feet, and the metal bowl could be rounded—a form greatly to the advantage of free vibration. Our kettle-drum is therefore little else than a very large *darabooka*, standing on a tripod, instead of terminating with a handle. The *darabooka* is shown in Fig. 95.

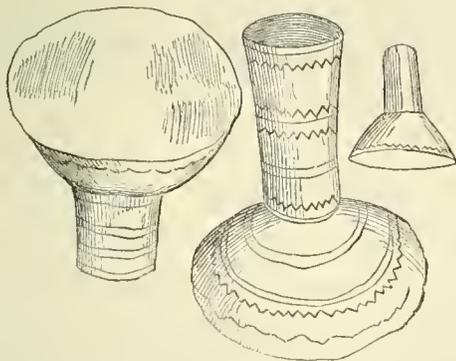


Fig. 95.

The Assyrians appear to have used the tambour, and also a drum, suspended by a cord round the neck (see Figs. 96 and 97). But the instrument they thus carried seems not to have been beaten, like the Egyptian long-drum and the Indian tom-tom, at both ends, but only at its upper surface.

Two questions arise with regard to ancient drums and tambours. Was the parchment or head of the drum rigidly fixed, or was it capable of being tuned? The reader is no doubt well aware that to the edges of the head of a modern drum is attached, in the case of a side-drum, a series of cords, and in the kettle-drum a metal ring, by means of which the parchment can be tightened or loosened, and consequently a power of

regulating the pitch is obtained. Probably the head was fixed, and the ancient drums and tambours could not be tuned. The lines which cross the long-drum of the



Fig. 96.

Fig. 97.

Egyptians in Fig. 94, look very much like the cords which cross the cylinder of our side-drums, but these cross-bars are evidently only a rude attempt at ornamentation. The second question is, had the ancient tambours little bells, plates of metal, or castanets, inserted in the rim, as we have in our tambourines—probably they had. Fig. 98 shows an Arabian tambour

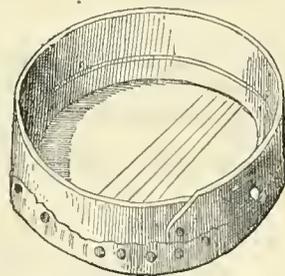


Fig. 98.

called *bendyr*. There are holes in the rim of this which unmistakably suggest the probable insertion of some sort of pulsatile contrivance or other. Moreover, it is known that such appendages were not strange to the Greeks. The *bendyr* also contains five strings stretched across the inner surface of the head, as seen in the illustration, for the purpose of reinforcing its tone. Such a construction seems to have been introduced in comparatively late times. Stretched strings were formerly used for a like purpose in instruments of several other kinds, notably in the stringed instrument called *viola d' amore*, in which metal strings were stretched under those of catgut, passing under the finger-board and through the middle of the bridge, which was pierced to receive them. The Arabs have three varieties of tambour, besides that called *bendyr*. One of them, the *mashar*, smaller than the *bendyr*, has no reverberating strings, and has metal rings instead of castanets. Another, the *tir*, has, like the *mashar*, no stretched strings, but has four copper castanets. The fourth

kind has only two castanets. Goatskins generally form the head of these Arabian tambours, which are chiefly played by women, as was the case among the ancient Egyptians. The Arabians have drums, not unlike kettledrums, and they may be seen playing them on horse-back or camel-back, just as the kettledrums are carried and played by the hands of our cavalry

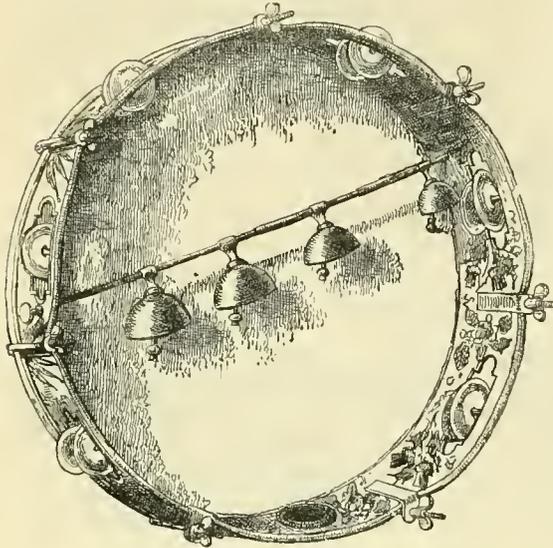


Fig. 99.

regiments. Fig. 99 shows a very beautiful specimen of an old tambour, exhibited in the Kensington Museum, which has not only castanets in the rim, but bells suspended in the interior.

It is impossible to say whether the Hebrews used

drums as well as tambours. Most probably the latter only were known to them. Its antiquity is proved by the fact that mention is made of it in conjunction with the *kinnor*, in the passage once before quoted (Gen. xxxi. 27), where Lahan rebukes Jacob for having left him stealthily, whereas an honourable departure would have been accompanied with songs, *toph*, and *kinnor*.

It was a *toph* which Miriam took in her hand when she led the song and dance on that wondrous day when Israel saw the "great work" which God had done, and thankfulness burst forth from side to side as they answered one another—"Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously" (Exod. xv. 1). Very different were the feelings which filled the breast of Jephthah when his only child came forth with *toph* in hand to welcome his victorious return from unequal fight with Ammon. Among the instruments which the company of prophets bore, who met the future King Saul, was a *toph* (1 Sam. x. 5), and the same instrument was ere long to be a source of jealousy and chagrin to him when the women of Israel praised the youthful hero David on his return from slaying the giant; and it was part of the music which graced the return of the ark from Kirjath-jearim. That the use of the timbrel was not limited to religious ceremonies, is plain from the allusion in Isa. v. 12. It seems not to have been carried in warfare. On the contrary, in the following passage from Isaiah (xxx. 32) its mention is apparently intended to show the cheerful peace which should everywhere follow on the smiting of the Assyrian—"And in every place where the grounded staff shall pass, which the Lord shall lay upon him, it shall be with *tabrets* and harps." The *tabret* has now been excluded from sacred buildings, having given place to the more solemn and imposing drum.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRECENTOR OF LINCOLN.

THE Books of Samuel form one continuous historical work, of which the division into two is merely artificial. Of this division we have other examples in the kindred Books of Kings and Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah (anciently reckoned by the Jews as one book), besides the notable one of the Pentateuch. The separation was probably introduced for the sake of convenience, with the view of breaking up a somewhat unwieldy whole into more manageable portions. In the Hebrew MSS. the two books form one; and Origen, quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25), expressly states that the division was unknown to the Jews in his day. They were also printed as one in the earlier editions of the Hebrew Bible. The first in which the present division is adopted is that of Dan. Bomberg, in 1518. We owe the existing arrangement to the Greek Septuagint version, whence

it passed to the Latin Vulgate, and from that was adopted by our translators in the Authorised Version, in which they are entitled "The First and Second Books of Samuel, otherwise called The First and Second Books of Kings." The second alternative title is adopted from the Latin Vulgate, *Liber Regum*. The title in the Septuagint, with a slight variation, is "The First and Second Books of the Kingdoms." The appropriateness of either designation for the great historical work, which, beginning with 1 Samuel, runs on continuously to the end of 2 Kings, is evident. Both "Kings" and "Kingdoms" fitly characterise the contents of these books, in which we find the whole history of the kings of God's chosen people, and of the kingdoms over which they ruled, from the first establishment of monarchy under Saul to its final extinction in Hoshea and Zedekiah. The name by which this portion of the Bible is known to English

readers is the same by which the work was designated among the Jews, by whom it was called "the Book of Samuel," or "Samuel" alone. According to modern usage, such a title would indicate the author. But although the Talmudists, with their wonted disregard of common sense, have asserted that Samuel was the writer of the whole work, and in the spirit of prophecy narrated events happening long after his death,¹ it would be a mere waste of time to stop to prove that our books must have had another author than the prophet whose name stands as their title, whose death is recorded in chap. xxv. of the former of them. Here Biblical and modern usage entirely differ. It is very rarely indeed that the historical books of the Old Testament afford any indication of the authors by whom they were composed; and the names they bear—*e.g.*, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esther, &c.—have reference to the person or persons who occupy the leading place in the narrative, and have nothing to do with the authorship. It is very possible that the earlier chapters of the First Book of Samuel may embody writings proceeding from the pen of Samuel himself, such as those indicated under the term "Book of Samuel" (1 Chron. xxix. 29),² but it would be quite erroneous to conclude that this was the reason why the books were called by his name. The true reason, doubtless, is, that Samuel stands out in them as the great central figure, guiding and controlling all the events of the earlier part of the history by his personal influence during his life, and whose power and spirit survived, even after his death, in that monarchy which he was God's chosen instrument of calling into existence, and moulding into shape by his counsels and commands (1 Sam. x. 25). To adopt the words of Keil,³ "the title, 'the Book of Samuel,' was intended to indicate that the spirit of Samuel formed the soul of the true kingdom in Israel, and that the earthly throne of the Israelitish kingdom of God derived its strength and perpetuity from the Spirit of the Lord which lived in the prophet."

The Books of Samuel, according to the Hebrew division, belong to the first section of the second of the three great classes to which the Jewish doctors assigned the books of the Old Testament—the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms (Luke xxiv. 44). The class of "the Prophets" was subdivided into *priores* and *posteriores*. While the latter—the *posteriores*—embraced the writings of the prophets properly so called, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, under the former—the *priores*—were found the historico-prophetic books of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings.

¹ In the *Baba Bathra*, quoted by Keil, it is affirmed that Samuel wrote the book that bears his name, and also Judges and Ruth.

² "New the acts of David the king, . . . behold, they are written in the book of Samuel the seer." Here it deserves notice that the Hebrew word translated "book" is the same (*di'brai*, דיברתי) with that rendered "acts" at the beginning of the verse, and really signifies "words," and then "deeds," "acts." It would have been preferable if our translators had employed the word "acts" throughout the verse, employing the "Acts of Samuel" as the title of a book, in the same manner as the "Acts of the Apostles" is used in the New Testament.

³ *Biblical Comment, on the Books of Samuel*. Introduction, p. i.

The title "prophetic" was given to these books, not simply or chiefly because they had prophets or prophetic persons for their authors, but on account of the prophetic spirit which pervaded them. Indeed, we must carefully bear in mind in reading the Old Testament, that the whole of the history of God's chosen people had a distinctly prophetic character, looking onward and leading up to the grand consummation of God's purposes for mankind in the establishment of the kingdom of Christ, and the foundation of his Church—the true spiritual Israel. We are not to look in them for a continuous history, such as we are accustomed to in the annals of the kingdoms of this world. Long periods are dispatched summarily or passed over in complete silence, while others are narrated at considerable length. This varied mode of treatment is not to be explained by the comparative wealth or poverty of the materials at the writer's command, but depends on their value and importance for the great end in view—the development of the Divine plan as set forth in the national life of the chosen people. The events described are not selected capriciously. Critical epochs are chosen—turning-points in the history of the people, on which their future fortunes depended for weal or for woe, according as they obeyed or resisted God's revealed will. Thus the narrative illustrates the Divine law of retribution, in the variation of the fortunes of Israel, in exact correspondence with their changing relations to their theocratic King; while we watch how certainly national disaster follows apostasy, and prosperity attends faithful adherence to the covenant of God. This, which is the leading principle of these historico-prophetic writings, and which gives them their chief value for us, and for all future time, is nowhere more plainly to be traced than in the Books of Samuel. "They are not," in the words of Bishop Wordsworth, "a congeries of ill-digested materials, or of fruitless repetitions, but a *prophetic* history of real events preparing the way for the priesthood and kingdom and prophetic office of Christ, and foreshadowing them. They hold a place of their own, and perform a peculiar work, not only in relation to the Hebrew nation, but in a higher function, as preparing the way for Christ. The holy Apostle St. Peter marks their character in this respect when he says, 'All the prophets from *Samuel* . . . have foretold of these days'—the days of Christ and the Gospel" (Acts iii. 24). The eye does not rest on the persons and events recorded, and stop there; but seeing in them illustrations, as striking as they are unmistakable, of the principles of God's moral government of mankind, and the great ends of all his dealings with them, is led onward to Him of whom every righteous king, true prophet, and holy priest was a type, in whom God's will has been fully declared, and His purposes summed up—"the Lord's Anointed," "the Son of David," "Christ, the King."

SUBJECT.

The First Book of Samuel, after a gap of uncertain length, takes up the thread of Jewish history where it was dropped in the Book of Judges, at the close of the

history of Samson (Judg. xvi.).¹ The Philistines are still formidable enemies of Israel, strong enough to put their armies to the rout, and inflict crushing loss upon them (1 Sam. iv. 2, 10). The chief authority, both religious and political, is concentrated in the person of the aged Eli, at once high priest and judge. Nothing is heard of any high priests during the disordered period of the Judges. The last who has appeared on the scene is Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron (Judg. xx. 28). Indeed, the high priesthood was an office, whose value nationally was inseparably linked with the personal character of its holder. The successors of Phinehas may have been men without any force of character, devoting themselves mechanically to the ritual observances belonging to their office, unqualified to act as the guides or counsellors of the nation. No reference is made to them in any of the emergencies of Israel. Perhaps they may have shared in the deep moral corruption of that dark age, and thus early have given an example of the truth uttered by Hosea centuries after, "Like people, like priest" (Hos. iv. 9). If this be so, it may help to explain the otherwise obscure fact of the transference of the high priesthood from the elder house of Eleazar to that of Ithamar, Aaron's younger son. It was to this junior branch that Eli belonged. The concentration of religious and civil authority in his person was a preparation for that great revolution in the history of the chosen people, which is the leading subject of the Books of Samuel—the establishment of monarchical rule. In the events of his administration we see traces of that union of the twelve tribes in one confederacy, which was confirmed by the central judicial power subsequently vested in and exercised by Samuel. Thus, step by step, the narrative leads us on to the introduction of kingly power. We watch the scattered tribes gradually coalescing in a nation. We see them resigning the independence when "every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Judg. xxi. 25), the consequences of which had been moral degradation, national weakness, and intestine feuds, and contentedly acquiescing in the judicial authority of the wise and holy Samuel. And thus we are prepared for the demand of the tribes, newly awakened to the evils of dissension and the strength of combined action, that jarred so painfully on the sensibilities of the aged prophet; but which, though to his mind it meant not only ingratitude to himself, but disloyalty to their Divine Head and King (1 Sam. viii. 7; x. 19; xii. 1—3, 12),

¹ The two disconnected narratives—viz., that of Micah and his house of idols (Judg. xvii., xviii.), and that of the outrage on the concubine of the Levite, and its terrible consequences (Judg. xix.—xxi.)—which stand as an appendix to the Book of Judges, though placed at the end of the book, belong chronologically to the beginning of it. It is evident from the first narrative that the events recorded in it took place upon the completion of the settlement of the tribes, and were, perhaps, anterior to the death of Joshua (Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 1, 7, 27—29); while the civil war with Benjamin was waged while Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, was still alive (Judg. xx. 23). The Book of Ruth also narrates events belonging to the early period of the occupation of Canaan, if we are to accept literally the statement that Boaz was the son of Salmon and Rahab, "the harlot" of Jericho.

he carried out with so much of true disinterested patriotism. We look with sympathy and admiration on the aged prophet contentedly retiring into private life, and employing the whole weight of his influence, both with the newly-appointed monarch and the people he had ruled, to secure the success of the new institution. We watch with sorrow the gradual decay of the bright hopes with which Saul's rule began, as he becomes wilful, headstrong, the prey of jealous and vindictive passions, a murderer repeatedly in will if not in deed; and after a rapid decline of his political power, falls, with all his sons, in the total rout of his army by the Philistines—whom, in earlier and better days, he had so often vanquished—on Mount Gilboa, with which the first book closes. The main interest of the latter part of the first book, and the whole of the second, centres in David. David, indeed, "the man after God's own heart" (1 Sam. xiii. 14; Acts xiii. 22), the typical monarch of God's people, the foreshadowing of his greater Son, the King Messiah, is the chief subject of both books. Whatever else is narrated has reference nearer or more remote to him and his monarchy, as typical of the kingdom and person of Christ. The history of the high priest Eli and his sons is simply preparatory to that of Samuel, while the importance of Samuel himself is not absolute, but relative, as introducing David's kingdom; and all coalesce and find their fulfilment in Him in whom the priests, prophets, and kings of the Hebrew dispensation culminate—the Lord Jesus Christ. This perpetual reference to Him of whose days "Samuel and all the prophets that follow after foretold" is the golden thread uniting the separate parts and sections of these books into one organic whole. Here, no less than in the more distinctly predictive portions of the prophetic writings, "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy" (Rev. xix. 10).

In this connection it is important to notice that in the Book of Samuel we find the first record of the prophetic office as an institution in the Jewish Church. Moses, it is true, is called a prophet (Deut. xviii. 15, 18); and Aaron, in an earlier passage, has the same title given to him as his brother's spokesman or mouthpiece (Exod. vii. 1). After the death of Joshua, a nameless prophet addresses the people at Bochim (Judg. ii. 1). Another unnamed prophet appears in the days of Gideon (Judg. vi. 8). Deborah, who judged Israel, was a prophetess (Judg. iv. 4). A prophet is also mentioned in an early chapter of these books (1 Sam. ii. 27). But the prophets did not exist as an established order before Samuel. He was the founder of the prophetic class. In his time we first meet with those "schools of the prophets," and companies of the "sons of the prophets," of which he was probably the head (1 Sam. x. 5, 10; xix. 20), which are so continually recurring during the progress of the Jewish history (1 Kings xx. 35, 41; xxii. 6—23; 2 Kings ii. 5, 7, 15; iv. 1, 38; vi. 1; ix. 1). These books present to us not Samuel alone, but Gad, Nathan, and Heman, Samuel's grandson (1 Chron. vi. 33), besides David himself, exercising the gift of prophecy, and introduce us to a new power, which never entirely

ceased in the Jewish Church till Malachi closed the prophetic canon.

CONTENTS.

The contents of the Books of Samuel may be divided into four principal portions. I. The history of Samuel's life and administration (1 Sam. i.—xii.). II. The history of Saul's reign, from his election to his final rejection by God (1 Sam. xiii. 1—xv. 35). III. The history of David from his anointing as Saul's successor (1 Sam. xvi. 1.) to Saul's death (2 Sam. i. 27). IV. David's kingdom, first over Judah, and then over all Israel (2 Sam. ii. to the end of the Second Book). These four main divisions may be separated into the following subdivisions or sections:—I. (1.) Samuel's birth, dedication, and call, and his recognition as a prophet of the Lord (1 Sam. i.—iii.). (2.) The capture of the ark; its restoration; Samuel's victory over the Philistines, and a general summary of his administration as a judge (1 Sam. iv.—vii.). (3.) The desire of the Israelites for a king; the introduction of Saul; his anointing, election, and confirmation as king; and Samuel's farewell address (1 Sam. viii.—xii.). II.—The subdivisions in the second section are—(1.) Saul's military operations against the Philistines, and his first act of disobedience (chap. xiii.). (2.) His victory over the Philistines through the prowess of Jonathan, and the danger of the latter from his father's rash oath (chap. xiv.). (3.) His second act of disobedience in the war with Amalek, and his final rejection (chap. xv.). III. (1.) David's anointing by Samuel; his selection as Saul's minstrel; his victory over Goliath; and his subsequent relations to Saul and Jonathan (chaps. xvi.—xviii.). (2.) Saul's jealousy of David; David's flight, and his life among the Philistines, and as an outlaw among the mountains of Judah (chaps. xix.—xxvii., xxx.). (3.) Saul's application to the witch of Endor; his defeat and death (chaps. xxviii., xxxi.). IV. (1.) David's mourning over Saul and Jonathan, and his anointing as king over Judah in Hebron, while Ishbosheth is made king of Israel by Abner (2 Sam. i., ii.). (2.) Abner's desertion of Ishbosheth; Ishbosheth's murder; David's anointing as king over Israel (chaps. iii.—v. 5). (3.) The establishment of David's kingdom at Jerusalem; the removal of the ark thither; his domestic and external relations (chaps. v. 6—x.). (4.) David's adultery with Bathsheba, and murder of Uriah (chaps. xi., xii.). (5.) The crimes of his sons; the rebellion and death of Absalom; and the revolt of Sheba (chaps. xiii.—xx.). (6.) The book closes with a series of unconnected documents, affording no definite note of time. (a.) The famine sent in punishment of Saul's massacre of the Gibeonites, and the expiatory sacrifice of his grandsons (chaps. xxi. 1—14). (b.) Warlike achievements against the Philistines (vs. 15—22). (c.) David's psalm of thanksgiving, found with scarcely any variation in Ps. xviii., and his last prophetic words (chaps. xxii.—xxiii. 7). (d.) The list of his mighty men (chaps. xxiii. 8—39). (e.) David's sin in numbering the people, and the consequent pestilence (chap. xxiv.). It is remarkable that the book terminates before the

death of David, and leaves that event to be narrated in the First Book of Kings.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.

An early date is by almost universal consent assigned to the Books of Samuel. It is admitted by all competent authorities that its composition was considerably anterior to that of the Books of Kings. In style "it is one of the best specimens of Hebrew prose in the golden age of Hebrew literature."¹ The diction is pure, simple, and forcible; Chaldeeisms are hardly to be found in it. The identity of style through the whole indicates that it is the work of one author; but we have no means of determining who that author was, or when he lived, beyond the evidence afforded by the purity of the language that his epoch was an early one. That he must be placed at some considerable distance from the events recorded follows from the explanations of expressions and customs which had passed out of use—*e.g.*, "a seer" (1 Sam. ix. 9); the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 Sam. x. 12; xix. 24); the dress of princesses (2 Sam. xiii. 18); and by the formula, "Unto this day" (*e.g.*, 1 Sam. v. 5; vi. 18; xxx. 25; 2 Sam. iv. 3; vi. 8; xviii. 18). The use of this phrase in the notice that "Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day" (1 Sam. xxvii. 6) evidently points to an authorship subsequent to the separation of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. But we must acquiesce in Keil's decision, that "all other marks which have been adduced to fix the date of composition now preceding are wholly unconvincing."²

The Books of Samuel bear distinct evidence of being, to a certain extent, a compilation from earlier sources, though the unity of style shows that they must have been works of the same age, or that the compiler adapted them to the style of the age in which he was writing. The only source actually named is "the Book of Jasher" (*i.e.*, "the Book of the Upright"), from which David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, entitled the "Song of the Bow," is quoted (2 Sam. i. 18). If the conjecture that the Book of Jasher was a collection of historical poems be well grounded, it is possible that the other poetical compositions contained in the Books of Samuel may have been borrowed from it. But, notwithstanding the learning and ingenuity which has been devoted to this book, our knowledge of its contents and character is still too indefinite to allow us to say whether these ancient odes are derived from that, or from other sources. These poems consist of—(1.) Hannah's song of thanksgiving on Samuel's birth (1 Sam. ii. 1—10). (2.) David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19—27). (3.) David's dirge over Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34). (4.) David's song of thanksgiving for God's deliverance, identical, with some few minor verbal differences, with Ps. xviii. (2 Sam. xxii.). (5.) "The last words of David" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1—7). There is no reasonable doubt that the whole of these are genuine poetical utterances of the

¹ Hon. E. H. B. Twissleton, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii., 1128.

² Keil, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, i., p. 247.

persons whose names they bear, and that the occasions of their composition are correctly assigned.

Passing from the scanty domain of poetry to the more copious one of history, we are directed to the probable source of a large portion of the narrative in the mention (1 Chron. xxix. 29) of a series of historical records bearing the names of the prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad. "Now the acts of David first and last"—*i.e.*, the events of his entire reign—"behold, they are written in the Acts of Samuel the seer, and in the Acts of Nathan the prophet, and in the Acts of Gad the seer."¹ A further source is indicated in "the Chronicles [literally, 'the words of the days'—*i.e.*, a contemporary record] of King David" (1 Chron. xxvii. 24). Other historical documents of a similar character would naturally be at the command of the compiler as materials for his work. The vividness and clearness of the descriptions, the life-like portraiture of the persons engaged, and the frequent mention of minor details, filling up the picture, show the documents employed were to a great extent contemporaneous with the events.

Distinct traces of the composite character of the Books of Samuel appear in the brief summaries which wind up several of the historic sections. Of this usage we have examples in the summary of Samuel's government (1 Sam. vii. 15—17); the catalogue of the wars of Saul's reign, and of his family (xiv. 47—52); the brief record of David's kingly power, and of his chief officers (2 Sam. viii. 15—18); the similar list (xx. 23—26). A just survey of the book shows that the compiler, whoever he may have been, did his work with real ability, and with a distinct purpose. As regards the alleged contradictions, it may be safely asserted that, if they exist at all, they are so insignificant that they would be deemed undeserving of notice if they were found in an ordinary secular history.² More may at first sight seem capable of being urged in favour of the supposed duplicate narratives of the same events, such as the two accounts of (1) the origin of the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 Sam. x. 9—12; xix. 22—24); (2) the rejection of Saul as king, for his disobedience to the divine command (xiii., xv.); (3) David's first introduction to Saul (xvi. 14—23; xvii.); (4) David's having forborne to take Saul's life when it was in his power (xxiv. 3—15; xxvi. 7—12); (5) Saul's death (xxx. 1—6; 2 Sam. i. 1—16), &c. But a more careful examination of the circumstances of the events recorded, displaying amid general similarity the most complete diversity of details, and a fuller acquaintance with the genius of Hebrew historical composition, satisfactorily prove that these apparently conflicting traditions are either narratives of similar but really distinct events,

or are examples of that system of repetition which, however much at variance with the more artificial rules of Western nations, is of frequent occurrence in the simpler compositions of early Eastern authors.³ "It is quite consistent with the genius of Hebrew narrative," writes the Bishop of Bath and Wells, "for the narrator to pursue his theme to its ultimate consequences in respect to the leading idea of his narrative, and then to return to fill up the details which had been omitted,"⁴ thus producing the appearance of a double and conflicting version of the same event.

Certain passages in the Books of Samuel are almost or quite identical with portions of the Books of Chronicles. These are the defeat and death of Saul and his sons (1 Sam. xxxi.; 1 Chron. x. 1—12); the anointing of David in Hebron, and the capture of Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 1—10; 1 Chron. xi. 1—9); details of the family and wars of David (2 Sam. v. 11—25; 1 Chron. xiv.); the bringing of the ark from Kirjath-jearim, and the smiting of Uzzah (2 Sam. vi. 1—11; 1 Chron. xiii.); the translation of the ark to Jerusalem, and Michal's contempt of David (2 Sam. vi. 12—23; 1 Chron. xv. 25—29); David's resolve to build a house of God, and his communications with Nathan on the subject (2 Sam. vii.; 1 Chron. xvii.); David's wars, and his officers (2 Sam. viii.; 1 Chron. xviii.); the insult passed on his ambassadors by Hanun, and his campaign against the Ammonites (2 Sam. x.; 1 Chron. xix.); the conclusion of the campaign, and the capture of Rabbah (2 Sam. xi. 1; xii. 26, 30, 31; 1 Chron. xx. 1—3); the giants slain by David's mighty men (2 Sam. xxi. 16—22; 1 Chron. xx. 4—8); the names and deeds of his mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 8—39; 1 Chron. xi. 10—47); the numbering of the people, and the plague (2 Sam. xxiv.; 1 Chron. xxi. 1—27). It has been questioned whether these passages were borrowed by the later writer of the books from the earlier, or whether both writers were indebted to the same historical sources. There can, however, be little doubt that the former of these hypotheses is correct, and that the writer of Chronicles had the Books of Samuel before him as he wrote; and that they were used by him freely, but not slavishly, as the basis of his narrative. The remarkable differences of treatment in the two works, shown now in omission and abbreviation, now in addition and amplification, may be more properly considered when speaking of the Books of Chronicles.

³ The pregnant words of the late Professor Maurice relative to the theory of duplicate narratives are well worth serious attention. He is commenting on "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 Sam. x. 12; xix. 24). "It is the fashion of our times to suppose that these must be two versions of the same fact preserved by different chroniclers, and brought together by some careless compiler. I venture to think that that solution of the difficulty is not a necessary one, not even the most probable one. I believe that there occur events in most of our lives—events often separated by many years—which look as if one was the repetition of the other. . . . And if so, a faithful biographer will be careful to record such pairs of events. He will find them especially useful in making the life of his hero intelligible. They will give his reader, though he may not know why, a sense that he is meeting with an actual man, not merely with a man in a book." (*Prophets and Kings*, pp. 17, 18.)

⁴ *Speaker's Commentary* (1 Sam. xvi. 21), vol. ii., p. 317.

¹ As has been already remarked, the word rendered "book" in the Authorised Version, *divrei* (literally, "words"), may be more correctly translated "acts."

² The supposed discrepancies and contradictions brought forward by De Wette and Theinus have been carefully sifted by Keil. *Introduction to Old Testament*, vol. i., pp. 235 ff., and their general worthlessness satisfactorily shown. The greater part of them indicate a forgone conclusion to disparage the authority of the sacred record.

In the poetical portions of the book, besides 2 Sam. xxii., which is identical with Ps. xviii., Ps. cxliii. 7—9 is almost a repetition of 1 Sam. ii. 5—8, while in Ps. lxxxix. 19—37, and Ps. cxxxii. 11, 12, we read several passages found also in 2 Sam. vii. 10—16.

The writer of the Books of Samuel evidences too intimate an acquaintance with the facts recorded in the Pentateuch to be explained on any other supposition than that he had those books before him. The mention of Rachel's sepulchre (1 Sam. x. 2) carries us back to Gen. xxxv. 19, 20; Jacob's going down into Egypt (xii. 8) to Gen. xlv. The narrative of the Exodus is frequently alluded to with great fulness of detail: the cry of the people; the call of Moses and Aaron; the plagues of the Egyptians; hardening of their hearts; their letting the people go; the coming forth from Egypt—are spoken of as well-known historical facts, and not only by the Israelites, but also by the Philistines (1 Sam. ii. 27; iv. 8; vi. 6; xii. 6—8). The promises to Aaron are recorded (ii. 27—30). We find the legal enactments of the Pentateuch spoken of as in regular observance; we have the sacrificial regulations as to burning the fat, and the portion of the priests (ii. 13—16, 28); the vow of the Nazarites (i. 11); the law of the shewbread (xxi. 4, 5); of blood revenge (2 Sam. xiv. 6, 7). There are distinct references to the books of Joshua and Judges in the mention of the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 2), and of the deliverances wrought by Barak, Gideon, and Jephthah (1 Sam. xii. 9—11), and of the death of Abimelech (2 Sam. xi. 21). A minute examination of the sacred text shows several words and expressions derived from the earlier books. Thus Hannah's words, "Neither is there any rock like our God" (ii. 2), remind us of the frequent use of the "Rock" in Moses' song (Deut. xxxii. 4, 18, 30, 31); while verse 6 is almost a quotation from the same song (ver. 39). "The Strength of Israel will not lie," &c. (1 Sam. xv. 29), is almost identical with Balaam's words (Numb. xxiii. 19). The phrase "A deep sleep from the Lord" (1 Sam. xxvi. 12, 25), is found also in Gen. ii. 21; xv. 12. The argument as to the date of composition, derived from these references to, and coincidences with, the earlier books, is not one that can be lightly set aside.

The quotations from and references to these books in the New Testament are not very frequent. But they occur quite as often as their historical character would warrant us in anticipating, and with sufficient frequency to stamp their genuineness. The "Magnificat" of the Blessed Virgin is founded upon Hannah's exultant song

of thanksgiving, with which it presents some remarkable parallels in expression. Our Lord refers to the high priest giving David the shewbread (1 Sam. xxi.) in Mark ii. 25, 26; Luke vi. 3, 4. The description of David, as "a man after God's own heart," is quoted by St. Paul (Acts xiii. 22) from 1 Sam. xiii. 14. Heb. i. 5 is a quotation from 2 Sam. vii. 14, to which also there is a reference in 2 Cor. vi. 18. Rom. xi. 1, 2, seems derived from 1 Sam. xii. 22.¹

Among the characteristic words and phrases of these books, the most remarkable are "the anointed of the Lord," מָשִׁיחַ, "the Messiah of Jehovah," "the Lord's Christ" (Luke ii. 26), which we find in 1 Sam. ii. 10, 35; xii. 3, 5; xvi. 6; xxiv. 6, 10, &c. &c., used for the first time of a king (the title of Messiah, anointed, had been already given to the high priests, Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16), and thus typifying the true Messiah, or "Christ of God."

In this book also the title of "Lord of Hosts"² ("Jehovah Sabaoth"), so common afterwards, occurring upwards of 260 times in the Old Testament, meets us for the first time (1 Sam. i. 3, 11). The nation of Israel is designated "the inheritance of Jehovah" (1 Sam. xxvi. 19; 2 Sam. xx. 19; xxi. 3). "God do so," or "the Lord do so," is employed as a strong negation (1 Sam. iii. 17; xii. 44; xx. 13, &c.).

It is impossible to define accurately the period of time embraced by the Books of Samuel. The length of Saul's reign is given (Acts xiii. 21) as forty years. An equal period is assigned to David's reign (2 Sam. v. 4). The third period, from the birth of Samuel up to the election of Saul, cannot be determined with any precision, but it can hardly have covered less than fifty years. This would make the whole time included in the history 130 years.

¹ The similarity is more evident in the Septuagint than in the Authorised Version; οὐκ ἀπέσται κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ in Samuel; οὐκ ἀπέσται ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ in Romans.

² The name "the Lord of Hosts," "Jehovah Sabaoth," has been variously explained. The current modern view, based on the fact that it appears in the sacred books contemporaneously with the appointment of a king who should go out before them, and lead the hosts or armies of Israel, assigns to it a military significance. According to this view, "the Lord of Hosts" meant no more than the Divine leader and commander of the armies of the nation, who "went forth with them" (Ps. xlv. 9) to overthrow the followers of the false gods of the nations around. The earlier view, however, which identifies the "hosts" with the angels conceived of as God's army, or with the heavenly luminaries of which the angels were supposed to be the rulers and guides in their courses through the sky, is probably the more correct. Compare, for the former, 1 Kings xxii. 19; Ps. ciii. 21; cxlviii. 2. For the latter, Gen. ii. 1; Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3; Isa. xxxiv. 4. It deserves notice, however, that there had been already a revelation of God to Joshua under a somewhat similar title, "Captain of the host of the Lord" (Josh. v. 14).

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

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SACRED SEASONS (*continued*).

ALTHOUGH the Feast of Trumpets, the Day of Atonement, and the Feast of Tabernacles carried the special ideas connected with the sacredness of the first day of each month, with the various offerings for sin, and with the three great annual festivals to their highest, their culminating point, they did not exhaust the singularly important services of the seventh month of Israel's year. That month, sealed as it was with the covenant number, stood in yet other respects alone and unapproached by any other month of the calendar. In particular, it was the month with whose first day every seventh year, what we know as the Sabbatic year, with whose tenth day every fiftieth year, what we know as the year of Jubilee, began. These two sacred seasons we have now to speak of, and we take first—

THE SABBATIC YEAR.

The regulations regarding this year are to be found in different parts of the Pentateuch, of which the principal are Exod. xxiii. 10, 11; Lev. xxv. 1—7; Deut. xv. 1—11; xxxi. 10—13. It began with the beginning of the month Tisri, at the end of every period of six years, standing to these in a relation exactly similar to that occupied by the Sabbath day towards the preceding six days of the week. For six years successively the Israelites were to engage with diligence in all the labours of agriculture, sowing their seed, pruning their vineyards, and gathering their fruits; but the seventh year was to be a sabbath, when they were neither to sow their fields, nor prune their vineyards, nor reap what harvest might grow of its own accord, nor gather the grapes from their undressed vines. The year was to be one of rest unto the land (Lev. xxv. 3—5). During a whole year, therefore, the toils of cultivation were to be suspended; and only when the year expired at the beginning of the next following Tisri, a month nearly corresponding to our October, were these toils to be resumed, and work, so far as it was agricultural, to be proceeded with as before. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this prohibition of labour extended to any other kind of work than that connected with the produce of the ground. The people might still occupy themselves with hunting, fishing, manufacturing cloth for their garments and tents, constructing and repairing their buildings, and so on. The year was not to be a season of idleness. Even the reaping of what grew spontaneously in the fields, or the gathering of such fruits as were spontaneously produced in gardens, orchards, and vineyards, must not be thought to have been prohibited. The injunction of Lev. xxv. 5, when compared with the declaration of xxv. 6, that "the sabbath of the land," that is, what grew of itself during the

land's sabbath, was to be "meat for them," distinctly implies that these things were to be used, and, if to be used, they must have been collected in the ordinary way. The prohibition only means that they were not to be gathered as a common harvest, associated on the one hand with the thought of labour, and reserved on the other for the proprietor of the soil. There was thus scope for a large measure of activity and industry during the year, and any impression that the people were forbidden all employment must be dismissed. Nor would the arrangement tend, as has often been supposed, to bring famine into the land; for, in the first place, the people, knowing what the arrangements of the year were to be, would be led beforehand to make the necessary provision for the want of their regular harvest, and would be more careful in laying up in store the produce of preceding years. Then there was a positive blessing promised to the land, for the words of Lev. xxv. 20, 21, though apparently belonging in their particular connection to a conjunction of the Sabbatic and the Jubilee years, would yet seem to contain a general promise always applicable to the former even by itself, "And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? behold, we shall not sow, nor gather in our increase. Then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year; and it shall bring forth fruit for three years." It has further to be considered that in the fertile soil of Palestine, while a system of irrigation was in existence, even the spontaneous growth of a year would be no inconsiderable harvest. And, finally, we cannot put entirely out of view the thought of the benefit that would accrue to the land from thus lying fallow for a season, at a time when the scientific operations of husbandry and the importance of a regular manuring of the soil were probably little understood. However extraordinary, therefore, and full of risk for the sustenance of life such an arrangement as that of the Sabbatic year may seem to us, there is no cause to think that it would be attended with the dreaded consequences. With proper precautions food would still be abundant in the land, and the promise, associated indeed with the very institution of which we are speaking, would be fulfilled to Israel, "The land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall eat your fill, and dwell therein in safety" (Lev. xxv. 19).

We have referred to the chief characteristic of the year before us, but it had others which must also be noticed. Among these the most striking, and the most intimately connected with its special character, was that as to the right to, and the disposal of, those spontaneous fruits of the ground of which we have already spoken. These, although to be gathered, were not to be individual, but common, property. As it is distinctly expressed in the Book of Exodus, "Six years thou shalt

sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof; but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still, that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard and with thy oliveyard" (xxiii. 10, 11; comp. Lev. xxv. 6, 7); that is, no man, not even the owner of the field or of the garden, had any special claim upon the fruits of it that year. It was for all, for rich and poor, the master and the servant, the foreigner, and even the beast. There was, in short, for the time, the institution of a community of goods, as far at least as these were connected with the productiveness of the soil, when "all were of one heart and one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common" (Acts iv. 32).

A second characteristic of the sabbatic year consisted in this, that it was forbidden to exact certain classes of debts during its course: "At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release. Every creditor that lendeth ought unto his neighbour shall release it; he shall not exact it of his neighbour or of his brother; because it is called the Lord's release" (Deut. xv. 1, 2); while, immediately afterwards, encouragement to obey the precept is given in the words, "For the Lord shall greatly bless thee in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it" (xv. 4). From these verses we may gather the true meaning of the characteristic in question. It was not a release of all debts, but only of such as were secured upon the land or upon its crops; and if we may judge from the analogy of modern times when properties are small, as well as from the frequent references to loans in the Old Testament, such debts must have been extremely common. Other debts having no connection with the soil, or not secured upon it, probably did not come under the operation of this law. It seems even possible that the debts thus remitted were only such as had been incurred in consequence of poverty. The words "save when there shall be no poor among you" ought rather to be rendered, "save when there shall be no poor with thee," that is, no poor man concerned in the transaction.¹ When a debtor was in circumstances to pay his debt, it might be exacted even during "the year of release." Not dependent upon the produce of the soil for that particular season, he was able to pay, and had no claim to be excused. The same rule was applied to foreigners. They could hold no property in the soil of Palestine. Their income was drawn from other sources, and they were therefore under an uninterrupted obligation to discharge their debts. Once more, there is no cause to think that the debt even of the poor Israelite was completely cancelled by the sabbatic year. It was only remitted for a time. "He shall not exact it of his neighbour or his brother," are the words of the commandment, "because it is the Lord's release;" and again, "That which is thine with thy brother thine hand shall release," where, as has been

well pointed out, the word "release" is identical with that used in Exod. xxiii. 11 of the land itself, "But the seventh year thou shalt let it rest," thus implying that the release in question must have been for the year, not total and final.²

A third and last characteristic of the sabbatic year was that at the Feast of Tabernacles which fell in it the Law was to be read in the hearing of all the people. They were to be gathered together, men and women and children and strangers, that they might hear and learn, and fear the Lord their God, and observe to do all the words of His law (Deut. xxxi. 12). It is of this reading of the Law by Ezra that so interesting an account is given in the Book of Nehemiah (viii. 1—12).

Such, then, were the distinguishing characteristics of the remarkable sacred season of Israel now before us, and the questions arise, What was its meaning to Israel? What is its fulfilment now?

As to the first of these two questions, it is of supreme importance to observe that the institution was, in its main character, neither civil nor economical, but essentially sacred. Various purposes of the former kind, already incidentally alluded to, may indeed have been served by it. It may have taught the lesson of the great value of accumulating corn, so that not only at that but at any time dearth might be prevented. It may have improved the fertility of the soil by giving it a septennial rest. It may also have been a period of refreshment and quickening for those whose toils in agriculture and vinedressing, under the burning summer sun of a southern sky, must have been more than usually severe. All these ends may have been answered, but none of them explain sufficiently the language of the Mosaic law regarding the sabbatic year. There it comes before us as an essentially sacred institution, founded on religious ideas and designed to promote religious ends. It is spoken of with the utmost reverence, is associated with the rest of the Sabbath day, and is represented as emphatically dedicated to God. Its object, therefore, was certainly religious.

When we inquire more particularly what this religious object was, we find it mainly brought before us in the words, "But in the seventh year shall be a Sabbath of rest unto the land, a Sabbath for the Lord;" and again, "The land is mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (Lev. xxv. 4, 23). "The land is mine," that is the keynote of the whole. It was a land "given" to Israel by the Lord (Lev. xxv. 2; Exod. xx. 12), not won by its own prowess or to be regarded as its own possession, but a land of which God himself was the true proprietor, and all whom He had chosen to place as settlers in it tenants at His will. From this fundamental idea the different parts of the institution flowed.

In the first place, it was thus that a periodical interruption to the labours of the soil, that a periodical rest for it according to the sacred number of the covenant, came in. This idea had already found expression in the fourth commandment in regard to time. "The seventh day

¹ *Speaker's Commentary on Deut. xv. 4.*

² *Speaker's Commentary on Deut. xv. 1.*

is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates" (Exod. xx. 10). No one was entitled to use time for his own purposes. No part of time belonged to man as his own property. God alone was the proprietor of it. It was He who gave man six days out of every seven that in them he might labour and do all his work; and in token that it was so, He reserved the seventh day to Himself, forbidding work on it, and requiring that in its rest, the holy rest belonging to it as His, not only the head of the household, but the lowest servant and the meanest animal owned by him should share. The Sabbath was a witness not only that one day but that all days were God's. Now what each day was to the labouring man or beast the whole year was to the soil. Spring was its morning and autumn its evening. From its morning even to its evening it went forth to its labours, and its periodical round of labour was performed in a year. As, therefore, by claiming the Sabbath day, God had signified that the time of all men and animals belonged to Him and that He had a just claim upon it, except in so far as, in distinctly giving them six days in which to labour, He had remitted His claim, so by demanding the seventh year, the seventh working day of the land, He showed that it too was His. The demand was a perpetual token and proof to Israel that, when the people sat down under their vines and fig-trees and gathered in their harvests, they were pensioners on the bounty of One who had settled them in these pleasant places, and could at once dispossess them if He chose to do so.

In the second place, it was thus that, when the land was claimed by the Almighty, it was claimed for rest. Again, this was the foundation of the fourth commandment, "for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it" (Exod. xx. 11). In Him there was not merely working, there was repose. There was the thought of something finished as well as of something in progress. Such was His rest, and as all that is His must share with Him what He is and has, not only the heads of households, but the lowest servants and the meanest animals in their possession were to rest on the seventh day. So then also the land must rest. When its six working days, its six years of labour, are over, it too must enjoy its sabbaths.

In the third place, it was thus that the crop of the seventh year was not to go into the barns or storehouses of the ordinary proprietor of the fields. It was God's. It was the harvest of His year; and, whatever it amounted to, no hand of man had helped to produce it. No plough had been put into the soil. No seed had been sown. The very vines and fruit-trees had not been pruned. Here then God was visibly, palpably, the only Author of the crop, and to Him it must belong. But, if it belongs to Him, if He has not assigned it to any one in particular, it must be distributed according to that great principle of His government which leads Him to

watch over and to care for all. Does He not make His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and send His rain on the just and on the unjust? Does He not care for the servant as well as for the master, for the small as well as for the great, for the poor as well as for the rich? Does He not cause grass to grow for the cattle, as well as herb for the service of man; give the stork the fir-trees for her house; send His springs into the valleys, that by them the wild asses may quench their thirst; give drink to every beast of the field? Nay, do not even the young lions roar after their prey and seek their meat from God (Ps. civ.)? How then, when He takes the produce of the fields into His own hands, can it be for any other than for all, for man, and for his servant, and for his maid, and for his hired servant, and for the stranger that sojourneth with him, and for his cattle, and for the beasts that are in his land (Lev. xxv. 6, 7)? It is in the very nature of the case that distribution shall be made according to this rule, when we start with the idea that the land is God's.

In the fourth place, it is thus that particular debts are to be remitted for a year. They rested on the land, but the land is the Lord's, and how can either it or its produce be taken for the debt?

In the last place, it is with this fundamental idea that we must also connect the reading of the Law at the sabbatic year's Feast of Tabernacles. There is no special connection in idea between the reading and the particular feast itself. It is because the Feast of Tabernacles falls at the very opening of the sabbatic year that it is hallowed for this purpose. Had the sabbatic year begun in April, we cannot doubt that this reading would have been connected with the Feast of Unleavened Bread. As it is, the first great solemnity which falls after the opening of the year, when all the people are gathered together, is made use of for the purpose. And that purpose is not merely testimony to the God with whom Israel has to do: it is also positive instruction. The great septennial Sabbath has begun and, like the ordinary Sabbath, it must be more than a time of rest. It must be a time of spiritual quickening, that the people may be brought nearer Him whose day, whose year, it specially is.

All the arrangements of the time, in short, lead us back to this, that the land is the Lord's. Because of this, it must enjoy its Sabbaths, and be employed as it is.

We turn to the second question proposed, What is the fulfilment of all this now? Here it appears to us that the fulfilment we are in quest of is not to be sought in anything connected with the soil simply as soil. We may certainly accept the statement of Keil, adopted by Oehler, that from the leading arrangement of the year "Israel as the people of God was, on the one hand, to learn that the earth, though created for man, was yet not created for the simple purpose that he should extract its strength for his own use; but that it was holy to the Lord, and had a part in this sacred rest: on the other hand, that the congregation of the Lord was not to find the purpose of its life in labour bestowed upon the earth without ceasing, and in the sweat of its face (Gen.

iii. 17, 19), but in a thankful enjoyment of those fruits which, without toil of its own, its Lord bestows upon it now, and will continue to bestow upon it, so long as it strives to be faithful to His covenant and to quicken itself by His law."¹ But the thought of any restoration of the land as land to its state before the fall is too limited an application for the Church of Christ. The land in Israel is the representative not merely of property of a similar kind that may be possessed by a Christian man, but of property of every kind which he may own. As therefore the lesson of the sabbatic year to Israel was that the possession it most highly valued—viz., property in land—was not its own, but God's, the lesson of the fulfilment to us is that all our property of every kind belongs to Him who by the right of redemption claims to Himself both us and what we have. It is not of the soil only, when we may own it, that we are stewards; we are only stewards of all that we possess. The Christian, in giving himself to God, gives also his goods, whatever they may be. He does not say of anything he possesses that it is his own. He acknowledges the Divine claim upon himself and everything that he has; and in so far as he retains it he does so in the spirit of God's holy rest, regarding it as consecrated to Him, and to be used in whatever manner He may direct, for His glory, and the good of His truth and kingdom upon earth. That this is the real fulfilment of the sabbatic year will appear still further if we consider the analogy, already hinted at, between the distribution during its course of the spontaneous productions of the soil and the events which immediately followed the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost. Compared with Pentecost, there is nothing exhibited in act in the New Testament between which and one of the leading arrangements of the sabbatic year so close a resemblance can be pointed out. It is even difficult not to imagine that we see the specially Jewish spirit of that year working in those who, just brought under the fresh power of Christian love, and desirous to express it in what to a Jew was the most striking way, parted with their land. It is at all events curious that it was "*land*" that Barnabas sold when he brought the money and laid it at the apostles' feet (Acts iv. 37); and again the possession sold by Ananias and Sapphira was of the same kind, "But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the *land*" (Acts v. 3)? But while this was the case we

are yet distinctly informed that Christians had *all things* common, and that none of them said that *ought* of the things he possessed was his own. The first burst of Christian affection extended a principle which had been shadowed forth previously upon a more limited scale.

Again, therefore, we see the fulfilment of the common sharing of the produce of the field and of the garden during the sabbatic year. It is in the spirit of the Pentecostal season of the early Church. But that spirit takes different forms. It did not long retain the form in which it comes before us in the Acts of the Apostles. Yet it will not be denied that later ones assumed by it are quite as true, or that, when the Christian feels for others as for himself, when he gives food to the hungry and water to the thirsty, when he forgets not "to do good and to communicate" according as necessity arises, he is exhibiting that very spirit of the Christian Church which once took shape in a community of goods. The Christian spirit in its generosity, liberality, beneficence, ruling in the breasts of the Christian community, making the glad man helpful to the sorrowful and the rich man helpful to the poor, making all feel as brethren, and shedding its benignant influence on everything with which Christians come in contact, is the true fulfilment of that common eating by man and bird and beast which was one of the great characteristics of the year before us.

If what has been said be true, it is not necessary to ask how the more subordinate arrangements of the season are fulfilled, for they pass simply under the scope of its more general idea. The remission of debts, for example, is simply one part of that Christian spirit which may not indeed always take this particular form, but which will never exact cruelly of a brother, which will rather sacrifice itself than break the bond of love; while the solemn reading of the Law reminds us that we too are in covenant with God, and that only when we keep our covenant can we either enjoy the privileges or exhibit the spirit of those who are "called and chosen and faithful."

It is unnecessary to say more. We see in the sabbatic year the shadow of the time when not the seventh crop only should be claimed by One who had redeemed His people out of Egypt and given them the promised land, but when One who has redeemed us from all evil claims as His own all that we possess, and when, reminding us of His own great love, He says, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another."

¹ Keil, *Archæologie*, i, p. 373; Oehler, in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, xiii., p. 211.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

ORDERS XVII.—XXI. ELATINEÆ, HYPERICINEÆ, MALVACEÆ, TILIACEÆ, AND LINEÆ.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE Water-peppers (*Elatineæ*) are a small order of marsh annuals scattered over the globe, and represented in England by two minute and somewhat rare plants, which form a moss-like turf on the margins of lakes and ponds that often extends for some distance under the water. Their acrid properties have suggested for them their popular English name of Water-peppers, though they more resemble small chick-weeds. A single species closely allied to one of the British forms has been observed by Kotschy near Joppa.

The St. John's Worts (*Hypericineæ*) are a group of plants, generally of a shrubby character, which are almost confined to the temperate regions of the earth, being found only on mountains in warmer climes. They have usually smooth leaves, with immersed pellucid glands, and conspicuous yellow flowers. Their ornamental appearance has given them a favourite place in shrubberies. The nine British species, belonging to the large genus *Hypericum*, are chiefly found on dry situations in hedge-banks or in copses. A dozen species of the same genus occur in Palestine, chiefly in the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges. Only a single one (*H. lanuginosum*, Lam.) has been observed in the lower country, and this has been detected in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and on Mount Carmel. The common British species (*H. perforatum*, Linn.) found in all our copses, woods, and hedge-banks, occurs on the shores of Syria and on Lebanon.

The Mallows (*Malvaceæ*) form a considerable group of prominent plants found all over the world except in regions of extreme cold. They are generally shrubs, yet small herbs are found in the order as well as some of the largest trees, such as the enormous baobab of Africa, and the scarcely smaller one of Northern Australia. The flowers are often large and brightly coloured, and the style is always surrounded by numerous stamens united to form a tube around it. The leaves are large and more or less divided. The plants are furnished with a considerable amount of mucilage, but have no special virtues. They supply, however, a large quantity of textile materials, sometimes from the strong fibres of the bark, but chiefly from the fine soft filaments which cover the seeds of the cotton-plants.

Although represented by only five species of indigenous plants, the Mallows form a somewhat conspicuous portion of our native flora, because two species with large lilac or purple flowers are everywhere common by roadsides and in waste places. The others are less common: one, the tree-mallow, is found on rocks by the sea-side; another, the marsh-mallow, occurs in maritime marshes in the south of England.

Some eighteen species are known in Palestine, and three of these are British, two being the common way-

side mallows (*Malva rotundifolia*, Linn., and *M. sylvestris*, Linn.) and the other the marsh-mallow (*Althæa officinalis*, Linn.). The gay pink-flowered shrub, which is so familiar an ornament of our shrubberies in autumn, called *Althæa frutex*, is a Syrian plant. It is the *Hibiscus syriacus*, Linn., a plant which, though it grows so freely with us, appears to have become extinct in the localities where it was formerly observed in Syria. The plants in this order which are of most importance to man are those belonging to the small genus *Gossypium*, which have their seeds covered with the long hairy filaments called cotton. One species (*G. herbaceum*, Linn.) is a native of India, and its natural distribution westwards extended probably to Southern Arabia. It has been always used for the manufacture of cloth in India. Four centuries before our era Herodotus refers to this plant in his account of the products of India, when he says that "the wild trees in that country bear fleeces as their fruit, surpassing those of sheep in beauty and excellence, which the Indians make garments of" (lib. iii., cap. 106). The use of cotton in Persia and Southern Arabia is probably as ancient as in India. The date of its introduction into Egypt cannot be determined; there is reason to believe that it was known to the Egyptians before the time of the Greek conquest, B.C. 333, but only as an imported material, for the late Mr. Yates has established that the cotton-plant was not grown in Egypt before the thirteenth century.¹ Much has been written as to the supposed use of cotton by the ancient Egyptians. Up till the middle of last century it was believed that the cloth employed for wrapping mummies was linen, but at that time (1750) Rouelle, in his memoir on mummies, declared that the cloth of every mummy he had examined was made of cotton. This opinion was supported and confirmed by Forster, who had the help of the celebrated botanist Solander in his examination of different specimens of mummy-cloth preserved in the British Museum. At the time of this inquiry (1770) the microscopic differences between the filaments of cotton and flax had not been detected, and as the method by which the determination was arrived at has not been recorded, it is impossible to judge of the value of the characters on which these observers trusted. Subsequent investigations appeared to furnish additional evidence in confirmation of those opinions, which were generally adopted by writers until Thomson began his series of exhaustive researches in 1820. After many years of labour, he published the results, which showed that all the specimens of mummy-cloths he had been able to obtain, amounting to about 400 different pieces, were linen. (*Philosophical Magazine*, Nov. 1834.)

¹ *Texturinum Antiquorum*, by James Yates, p. 471. The reader will find in this learned and exhaustive treatise a complete history of the raw materials employed by the ancients for weaving.

The value of the microscope as an instrument of scientific inquiry had greatly advanced since the time of Solander, and Thomsen secured the assistance in his investigations of the eminent microscopist Francis Baner, whose remarkable work is scarcely now surpassed, notwithstanding the many improvements made in the microscope during the last fifty years. He showed the characters by which the fibres of linen can be distinguished from the filaments of cotton, and decisively settled that mummy-cloth was made only of linen.

The conquest of Alexander made the Greeks acquainted with cotton. The wool-bearing trees of India surprised his soldiers, and the accounts of these wonders by his admiral Nearchus, and by Aristobulus, one of his generals, have been preserved. To this expedition we are indebted for the singularly accurate description of the cotton-plant and its method of cultivation given by Theophrastus, the disciple and successor of Aristotle, and the friend of several of Alexander's officers. He says, "The trees from which the Indians make cloths have a leaf like the black mulberry, but the whole plant resembles the dog-rose. They plant them in the plains, arranged in rows, so that they look like vines at a distance. They bear no fruit, but the capsule containing the wool is, when closed, about the size of a quince; when ripe it expands so as to let the wool escape, which is woven into cloths." (*Hist. Pl.*, lib. iv.) The Eastern name for cotton was introduced into the languages of Europe when the substance itself became known. The Sanskrit *karpasa* is converted into *karpas* (क॒र्पास) in Esth. i. 6 (a term certainly of foreign origin), into *κάρπασος* of Greek authors, and *carbasus* in the Latin language. The only reference to cotton in Scripture is in the passage just quoted, which contains an account of the decorations of the royal palace of Ahasuerus and its courts on the occasion of a great festival given to his people. The sense is obscured in the Authorised Version by *karpas* being rendered "green" instead of cotton, the passage reading, "Where there were white, green, and blue hangings," instead of hangings of white and blue cotton cloth. The translators have followed the Chaldee paraphrase, although the true meaning had been given both in the Septuagint and the Vulgate. Even if cotton were not at that time a product of Southern Persia, it is more than likely that when the Persian empire extended to India, and its court possessed every luxury, the brightly-coloured hangings of the neighbouring country would form part of the furnishings of the palace.

The opinions advocated by Rosenmüller and others, that the *shesh* and *buz* of the Old and the *βόσσος* of the New Testament mean cotton, are not established by any of the arguments advanced in their support. Excepting the single reference to cotton under a foreign name, and in connection with a foreign palace, there is no reason for supposing that the writers of the Old or New Testament were acquainted with it.

At the present day cotton is somewhat extensively cultivated in Palestine, the species being *Gossypium herbaceum*, Linn. A small proportion of the produce

is made into cloth, but the principal portion is exported to France. The Arab women are almost entirely clad in blue cotton that has been spun, woven, and dyed by their own hands (Tristram, *Nat. Hist. Bible*, p. 441).

The Linden family (*Tiliacee*) comprises a large number of tropical trees, and some herbs, all of which possess fibrous barks. The lime or linden-tree is the only British member of the family. The fibrous material called bass or bast, so largely used by gardeners, is the tough inner bark of this tree. The flora of Palestine has also a single representative of the order, *Corchorus olitorius*, Linn., an annual shrub some ten feet high, belonging to a genus of tropical plants which finds its northern limits here. The young shoots are used as a potherb; it is cultivated in Egypt and Syria for this purpose, and being thus employed by the Jews, it is called the Jews' mallow. Its fibre is the textile material called jute, which has been extensively imported into Britain in recent years. The principal portion of the jute of commerce is derived from *C. capsularis*, Linn., an allied species. Many persons have supposed that the plant mentioned by Job, and translated in the Authorised Version "mallows," is this Jews' mallow. The word *malluach* (מַלּוּאָח) occurs only in Job xxx. 4, where the patriarch bemoans the condition to which his afflictions have brought him, making him the derision of those "whose fathers I would have disdained to have set with the dogs of my flock," and who "for want and famine were solitary; fleeing into the wilderness in former time desolate and waste; who cut up mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for their meat." It is not possible to determine with certainty the particular plant referred to; but there are two considerations which appear to exclude the *Corchorus*. The name of the plant is derived from *melach*, "salt," and must be considered as applied to a saline plant; while the miserable people who were driven by famine to use it as food, obtained it in the wilderness. Tristram found the Jews' mallow "common on the salt plains near Jericho;" it is, however, neither a saline plant nor a true desert plant, being found all over the tropical world in cultivated or waste places. It is more probable that the plant is one of the saline Chenopodiaceous plants that are common on the salt desert regions around Palestine, have a bitter saline taste, and are used as food in seasons of scarcity.

The Flax family (*Linac*) consists of a small group of herbs found principally in temperate regions, in no way remarkable except for their valuable fibrous bark, which, when prepared, forms the flax of commerce. Besides the common flax, only known as a cultivated plant, or as an escape from cultivation, the British flora contains four indigenous species of this order. These are the all-seed (*Radiola millegrana*, Smith), one of our smallest flowering plants, found in damp sandy places, but often overlooked from its minute size; the white-flowered purging flax so common in pastures; and two blue-flowered species allied to the cultivated flax. Boissier records eleven species of *Linum* from Palestine, besides the common flax (*L. usitatissimum*, Linn.), which is

there, as with us, extensively cultivated for its fibre. Flax was the most important of all the fibre-producing plants to the ancient inhabitants of Egypt and Syria. It is frequently referred to in the Bible, and various names are applied to the plant and its raw or manufactured products. 1. The most general term is *pishtah* (פִּשְׁתָּה), the primary meaning of which is the plant itself, and then it was applied to the products, being used with the same latitude of meaning as we use the word

hands (Judg. xv. 14). It is further used to denote the flax when made into wicks for lamps, "The smoking flax shall he not quench" (Isa. xlii. 3); into measuring lines, "Behold a man with a line of flax in his hand, and a measuring reed" (Ezek. xl. 3); and into the dresses of the priests, "They shall be clothed with linen garments" (Ezek. xlv. 17). 2. Of the less comprehensive words the first used is *shesh* (שֵׁשׁ), generally translated "fine linen." This word is probably of Egyptian origin,

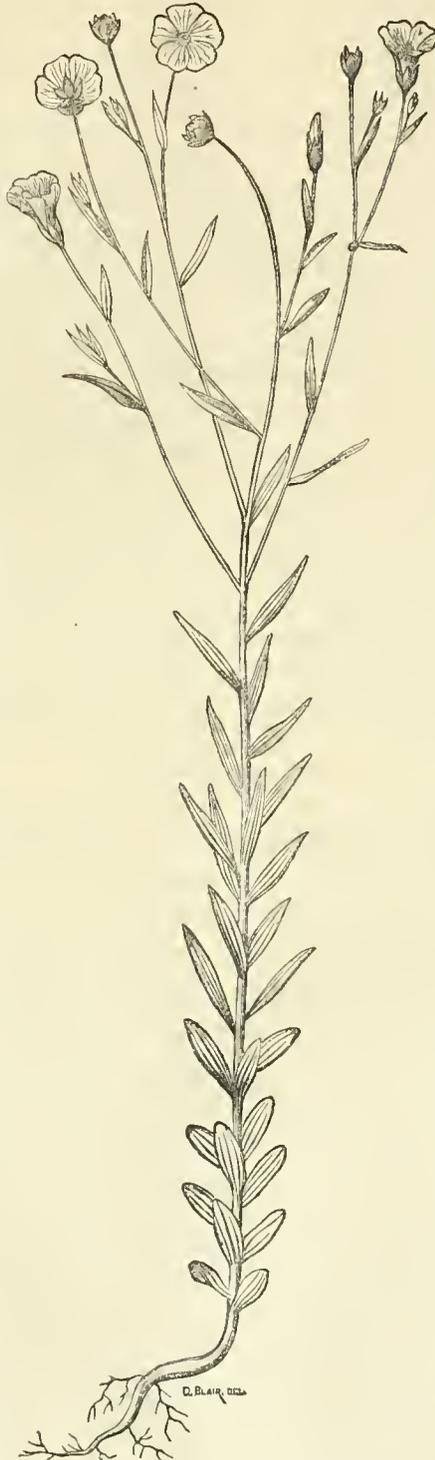


Gossypium herbaceum, Linn. Cotton. (Esth. i. 6) One-third the natural size.

"cotton" at the present day. It is applied to the plant itself in the account of the seventh plague sent by God on the land of Egypt. The flax crop was ready to be harvested when it was completely destroyed by a terrible hail-storm (Exod. ix. 31). The word is also applied to the plant in the narrative of Rahab's protection of the two spies, when she hid them under the bundle of flax which was drying on the house-top (Josh. ii. 6). The flax, or raw material in the first stage of the manufacture, is designated by the same word when it is recorded that the new cords with which his brethren bound Samson, so as to deliver him to the Philistines, "became as flax that was burnt with fire," and fell from his

and was employed to characterise the yarn made from the flax. It has been thought that it may be the same word as the Hebrew numeral six, and that it was applied to the yarn because it was composed of six threads; others hold that it is derived from a root meaning white, and was appropriately applied to flax because of its colour when prepared. When Pharaoh made Joseph ruler over Egypt, he "arrayed him in vestures of fine linen" (*shesh*) (Gen. xli. 42); so also among the offerings for the tabernacle presented by the children of Israel from the materials they had brought out of Egypt were "fine linen" (Exod. xxv. 4); and of the same material were made the curtains of the tabernacle,

with the door curtains, and the veil that enclosed the holy place (Exod. xxvi. 1, 31, 36). 3. *Bad* (בד) is a word employed in describing the linen dresses which were worn in religious ceremonies, and may refer to the cloth made from the *shesh* or yarn. The tunic, turban, and drawers of the priests, which in Exodus (xxxix. 27, 28) are ordered to be made of *shesh*, are in Leviticus (vi. 10) to be made of *bad*, establishing that these were the same material, if the words were not precisely synonymous. In the preparation for the erection of the tabernacle, the wise-hearted women are said to have spun "fine linen" with their hands; and this continued to be the occupation as well as the dress of women in the days of Solomon (Prov. xxxi. 22, incorrectly rendered "silk"), and afterwards (Ezek. xvi. 10, 13). 4. *Butz* (בז) is always translated "fine linen," and is employed to designate the robes worn by kings (1 Chron. xv. 27) and rich men (Esth. viii. 15), and the official dresses used by the Levite choir when the ark was brought into the Temple (2 Chron. v. 12), as well as the veil of the Temple (2 Chron. iii. 14). The word is probably of Assyrian origin, and is applied to "fine linen" obtained from the East (Ezek. xxvii. 16), while *shesh* is employed to designate the "fine linen" brought to the market at Tyre from Egypt (ver. 7). The *βύσσος* of the New Testament is obviously the Greek form of this word, and is similarly employed to designate costly dresses, like that worn by Dives (Luke xvi. 19), and those in which the Lamb's wife and the armies in heaven are arrayed (Rev. xix. 8, 14). The word is synonymous with the *λίνον* of Rev. xv. 6, in which the angels were dressed who were the bearers of the seven last plagues. On the other hand, the Greek *λίνον* is used as the equivalent of *pishlah* in the



Linum usitatissimum, Linn. Common Flax.
(Exod. ix. 31.) Half the natural size.

rendering of the prophetic account of our Saviour, "the smoking flax shall he not quench" (Matt. xii. 20). 5. *Sadin* (סדין) is applied to the cloth made from linen, and is used in speaking of the thirty sheets which Samson promised his companions at his marriage if they declared his riddle (Judg. xiv. 12, 13), as well as of the dresses made from this cloth (Isa. iii. 23; Prov. xxxi. 24). 6. *Etnn* (עטן) occurs only once, where it is said to be a product of Egypt (Prov. vii. 16). The *ᾠδύνη* of the New Testament is the Greek form of this word. It is used to characterise the great sheet let down from heaven in Peter's vision at Joppa (Acts x. 11), which accords very well with the use of the word in the passage in Proverbs. The diminutive form *ᾠδύσιον* is employed by John to designate the linen clothes in which Joseph wrapped the body of Jesus (John xix. 40; xx. 5, 6, 7). Matthew and Mark employ the word *σινδών* for the same linen cloth, while Luke uses both words in the same passage. He says, Joseph "went unto Pilate and begged the body of Jesus, and he took it down and wrapped it in linen (*σινδών*);" and afterwards, in describing the visit of Peter to the empty grave, he writes, that "stooping down he beheld the linen cloths (*ᾠδύνια*) laid by themselves" (Luke xxiii. xxiv.). The only other reference in the New Testament to linen is in the account, by the Evangelist Mark, of the remarkable incident that occurred in Gethsemane at the betrayal of the Lord, when a young man who was following Him left his only covering, a linen garment (*σινδών*), in the hands of his captors, and fled away naked (Mark xiv. 51, 52). 7. Our translators have interpreted *mikveh* (מיקוה) as meaning linen yarn. The word occurs only in the account of the goods brought from Egypt by the merchants

of Solomon (1 Kings x. 28). Various and different explanations have been offered of this word. Gesenius renders it "troop;" Boehart makes it "tax;" and the Septuagint, Vulgate, and other early versions, construe it as the name of a place in Arabia Felix or Central Africa. Amid such diversity, and with nothing to assist in arriving at a decided opinion, we may set aside this word as at most doubtfully connected with linen. There can be little doubt that all the other words enumerated above refer to the flax-plant or some of its products. Dr. Royle has suggested that *shesh* is not linen, but hemp, because the Arabic name for this plant, *husheesh*, is the same word, with only the aspirate prefixed. There is, however, no evidence whatever of the cultivation of hemp in ancient times, either in Palestine or Egypt. Besides, as we have seen, the use of *shesh* as a synonym of *pishtah*, *bad*, and *butz*, establish that these were all the same.

The use of flax as a textile material in Palestine and the neighbouring countries dates from the earliest times. Joseph was arrayed in fine linen when he was elevated to be ruler over Egypt. The reference to the miraculous destruction of the flax crop establishes that the cultivation of flax was an important branch of agriculture in Egypt before the Israelites left that country. Egypt was, indeed, the great centre of the linen manufacture in ancient times. The principal part of the dress of the people was made of linen, and it was the only material used for the dress of the priests. The city of

Panopolis was inhabited by linen-weavers. All the mummy-cloths are composed exclusively of linen, and though the finest specimens are coarse compared with what can be produced at the present day, they are fine considering the appliances for preparing and weaving which were in use at that time. There are several interesting representations of the cultivation and preparation of flax preserved in the sculptured tombs of Egypt. Rosellini figures one from the Shummer tomb, and Hamilton another from the Grotto of El Kab. In these the plant is seen to rise straight from the soil, and to reach about the middle of the body of the husbandmen. It is pulled up by the roots, and bound into bundles or sheaves to be carried to the man who separates the seed from the stem by means of a simple rippling instrument. It was then exposed to the action of water and the sun, in order to separate the fibres from the rest of the stem. It was for this purpose that Rahab had placed the stalks of the flax on the housetop, which she employed to hide the spies.

The early cultivation of flax in Palestine is testified to by this narrative of the spies' visit to Jericho, showing, as it does, that it was an important article of husbandry there before the Israelites got possession of the country. In comparatively modern times it has been superseded as the material for the ordinary dress of the inhabitants of Syria by the cotton-plant, which supplies, with less care in the cultivation, and less trouble in preparation, an equally valuable substance.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRÆLECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

NINEVEH (*continued*).

NHUS for more than 2,000 years did the site of this ancient and great city lie neglected. Its ruins from time to time were used for military purposes, by Cassius, as mentioned above, by Heraclius, before his attack on the Persians in 627 A.D., perhaps by Timur, and even as late as the eighteenth century, when Nadir Shah occupied them as a station to bombard Mosul (A.D. 1743); but they were till lately remembered by name in the immediate neighbourhood less for their own sake than for containing the supposed tomb of Jonah, the foreign prophet of the city's destruction (Nieb., ii. 291). Till the year 1820 scarcely any attempt had been made to examine the ruins, either there or elsewhere, of the Assyrian cities, but in that year Mr. Rich, so often mentioned before, visited and surveyed carefully, and to some extent examined the mound on which is situated the village of *Nebbi Yunus*, and the mosque supposed to cover the prophet's tomb, and also the adjoining one of *Koyounjik*. He also visited the village of Nimroud, about eighteen miles from Mosul, and which he thought to be Xenophon's Larissa, and where, as well as at Koyounjik, he found inscribed bricks and stones and

other remains. Mr. Rich died in 1821, and the ground thus broken remained untouched for twenty years. In 1839 and 1840 Mr. Layard visited Nimroud and also *Kalah-Sherghat*, fifty miles lower down the river; but it was not until 1843 that M. Botta, French consul at Mosul, having begun excavations at Koyounjik, was induced to transfer his operations to *Khorsabad*, a village fourteen miles to the N.N.E. of Mosul. (Rich, ii. c. 12—17; Nieb., ii. 297; Vaux, *Nin. and Persepolis*, p. 194.) The first-fruits of M. Botta's researches were announced to the world in April, 1843, and in spite of great difficulties, arising partly from the extreme unhealthiness of the place, and partly from the ignorant hostility of the inhabitants and of the Turkish authorities, were continued until 1845 with results most interesting and important. Encouraged by M. Botta's success, our countryman, Mr. Layard, was induced, though at first with little support from home, to undertake similar researches in other localities, but from want of funds was obliged to delay his operations till late in 1845. They were carried on at intervals until 1852 with wonderful success; the results both of these researches and of those of M. Botta have been published in several

volumes both in France and in England, and the sculptures which they were enabled to recover from the ruins are deposited in the great national museums of the respective countries. The chief places that have been examined are (1) the great mound opposite Mosul, on which stood the village called *Koyounjik* (little lamb) now destroyed, and its neighbour *Nebbi Yunus* (Prophet Jonah); (2) *Khorsabad*; (3) *Nimroud*, eighteen miles to S.E. of Mosul; (4) *Kalah-Sherghat*, fifty miles lower down the river than Nimroud; (5) *Baasheika*; (6) *Karamles*; (7) *Shereef Khan*. From these three places last mentioned the results obtained are less important than from the other sites, in all of which, but especially the first three, remains have been excavated of the most valuable kind, and most of them in the highest state of preservation, chiefly of palaces which appear to have served also as temples, usually raised on platforms of brickwork answering to the description given above by Xenophon of Mespila. The long narrow halls of these edifices, entered through portals flanked by huge statues of winged lions or bulls of solemn and majestic aspect, were lined with slabs of alabaster or limestone, engraved with forms and figures which were sometimes coloured, "images of Chaldeans portrayed with vermilion," pictures on stone in low relief of battles and sieges; the horrible tortures of the captives, and their attitudes of abject submission, hunting expeditions, ships and naval operations, the various incidents of war or of the chase, the exploits, the amusements and the triumphant crimes of these mighty hunters before the Lord, the descendants, either by birth or succession, of Nimrod, the great founder of their empire. Among them were figures of men and animals from various countries: Jews from Lachish, Israelites from Samaria, Phœnicians from the sea-coast of Palestine, Persians from Susiana; lions from Mesopotamia, camels of the ordinary kind, and also the two-humped Bactrian, the Indian elephant, the large and small Indian monkey, the rhinoceros, the large antelope, and the bull of India, the ostrich of Arabia; and where the sea was represented, figures of fish and marine creatures, testifying to the acquaintance of the Assyrian nation, "the Chaldeans, whose cry is in the ships," with maritime affairs, and their intercourse with other nations by sea. Eminent among the figures of royal conquerors and commanders is that of Sennacherib, whose name is read in inscriptions which also contain the names of Sargon, Tiglath-pileser, and perhaps Pul, kings of Assyria; of Jehu, king of Israel, and of the unfortunate Manasseh, king of Judah, names familiar to us in the Scripture narrative, on which these mute yet living records are a faithful and eloquent commentary.

The early history of Assyria is beset with much difficulty, which it is not worth our while here to attempt to unravel. Herodotus, as we have seen, says that the Assyrian empire in Upper Asia lasted for 520 years, until the Medes revolted, who were followed in their defection by other nations. With him Berosus in the main agrees, but from what time this period is to be dated is by no means certain. It is clear, however,

that for some time the authority of Assyria extended over Babylon; that the Babylonians shook it off, probably about 747 B.C., the era, as it is called, of Nabonassar, king of Babylon; but that they again became subject to it, until they took part with the Medes in the attack on Nineveh which ended in its destruction and the dissolution of the empire, either in 625 or 606 B.C. The inscriptions tell us of a king Sardanapalus, not the one whose name is so familiar to us as the very type of sensual luxury, but one of an earlier date, who overran Western Asia; and of his son Shalmaneser, still greater as a conqueror, to whom Jehu, king of Israel, appears to have paid tribute. They tell us also of Pul, grandson of the last-named king, and mentioned above, who, if the interpretation of the inscriptions compared with the statement of Berosus is correct, appears to have reigned at Calah from 800 to 750 B.C., and to have held sway over Babylon; also of Tiglath-pileser, the "tiger" monarch, his war with Syria and Israel, and his protection of Ahaz. (2 Kings xvi. 9—16; Ainsworth, *Trav.*, ii. 142; Rawlinson, *Ill. of O. T.*, p. 126.) Shalmaneser, second of the name, to whom Hoshea paid tribute (2 Kings xvii. 3), is not mentioned; but Sargon, who, if he was not his son, was perhaps a usurper, and who, if the records are rightly understood, appears to have been the king who carried Israel into captivity, and placed them in Halah and Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes (2 Kings xvii. 6; Rawlinson, pp. 127, 130). Sargon appears to have built palaces both at Nimroud and at Khorsabad, to which latter place, according to Arab geographers, the name Sarghun belonged down to the period of the Mohammedan conquest (Layard, *Nin.*, i. 149). His son Sennacherib (702—680 B.C.) is doubtless the best known of Assyrian kings, and during his reign the empire reached its climax of prosperity. The records preserved in tablets found at Koyounjik, where he built a vast palace, tell us in great detail of his conquests; of his defeat of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon (2 Kings xx. 12), and of the Egyptians, and of the tribute exacted from Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 14; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 139—146, 159, 160). His son Esarhaddon built a palace at Nimroud, one also at Nebbi Yunus, and one at Shereef Khan (Layard, pp. 160, 598—621, 654). Memorials are found of his son at Koyounjik, and of his son and grandson at Nimroud. It was probably during the reign of this last prince, whose name appears to have been Saracus, that the Median revolt, supported by Babylon, took place which ended in the destruction of Nineveh (Tobit xiv. 15; Joseph., *Ant.*, x. 5, 1; Berosus, p. 89; Pusey, *Introd. to Nahum*, p. 366; Layard, pp. 452, 599). The manner in which, according to Diodorus, the capture was effected corresponds in a remarkable manner to the Scripture prophecies, and is confirmed in one respect at least by the condition of the remains themselves. He says that the city was entered during an inundation of the river, which by a mistake he calls the Euphrates, in the third year of the siege. This broke down the wall and made an entrance for the enemy, and the king, as has been

mentioned above, destroyed himself and his palace by fire (Diod. ii. 27). What does Nahum say? That "the gates of the rivers shall be opened," and "the palace be dissolved;" that "the gates of the land shall be set open to the enemy;" that the city should be destroyed by fire; that Nineveh should be laid waste, and that, lastly, there should be no healing for the "bruise" of Assyria. It is to be noticed that in his description the prophet uses the word *Huzzab*, a word which, if not intended to denote the queen of Assyria, as representing the kingdom, may perhaps be a geographical term for the country watered by the Zab. (Nah. ii. 6, 7; iii. 7, 13, 15, 19). Zephaniah says that Nineveh should be made "a desolation, dry like a wilderness;" that flocks should "lie down in the midst of her;" and that when the "cedar-work"—*i.e.*, of the roofs and ceilings—should be "uncovered," the "cormorant and bittern" should lodge in the buildings (Zeph. ii. 13—15). In reference to these prophetic descriptions, it may be remarked (1) that the river Khausser passes through the mound of Koyounjik, and that after rain it becomes an impetuous torrent, capable of effecting great mischief; (2) that the Tigris, which now flows half a mile from the mound, frequently changes its course, and may thus have been the cause of the breach in the city walls, the opening of the river-gates which admitted the enemy into the city; (3) that manifest traces of fire, especially of cedar-wood destroyed by fire, are evident at Nimroud, at Khorsabad, and at Koyounjik; and the complete destruction and desolation of the sites is verified not only by the silence of writers and the general ignorance of travellers respecting them, but by their actual state at the present time. (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, 77, 357; *Nineveh*, i. 149; ii. 121; Ainsworth, *Trav.*, ii. 142, 143.)

Where, then, was Nineveh, "of that first golden monarchy the seat," and which of the great mounds of ruins is it that covers its site? Is Nineveh to be found at Koyounjik, or at Nimroud, or at Khorsabad? One view would place separate cities at each of those places, arguing that if Koyounjik represents Nineveh, Khorsabad was to it what Versailles is to Paris, or Hampton Court to London, and that Nineveh was in fact a group of cities known by a common name. (H. Rawlinson, quoted by Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, 638; Oppert, p. 67.) The other view, which is Mr. Layard's, would include the three places above mentioned, together with *Sheref-Khan* and *Karamles* in the circuit of Nineveh, whose dimensions would then answer pretty nearly to those of Diodorus and to the city of three days' journey of Jonah. Nimroud in this view represents the original site of the city, whose founder also built the edifice at Baasheika, and founded a new city at Kalah Sherghat. Later still, palaces were built at Khorsabad and Karamles, and the largest structure of all was built by Sennacherib at Koyounjik. Besides, at these more distinguished sites, remains have been dug up at various places over the whole area. This extended view of the size of Nineveh was entertained by Cartwright, mentioned above, who says, "It seems by the ruinous foundation, which I

thoroughly viewed, that it was built with four sides, but not equal or square. For the two longer sides had each of them, as we guess, 150 furlongs, the two shorter sides 90 furlongs, which amounted to 480 furlongs of ground, which makes threescore miles, accounting eight furlongs to an Italian mile." (Layard, *Nin.*, ii. 243, 247, 248; *Nin. and Bab.*, 640; Pusey, *On Jonah, Intr.*, p. 253; Purchas, *Pilgrims*, ii. 1,435.) On these vast dimensions we may remark nearly to the same effect as was done in speaking of Babylon, *viz.*, that it is certainly possible to imagine an area of the size described above, a parallelogram of 18 miles \times 12 miles, loosely occupied by vast palaces and detached buildings, thinly inhabited, and containing a large space of ground not covered by buildings, but under cultivation, and the whole surrounded by a wall 54 miles long; but that the other theory, *viz.*, of an aggregate of towns incorporated under one general name, seems more consistent with probability, and not repugnant to the description given in the prophecy of Jonah. But if we regard Nineveh as occupying the whole of this vast parallelogram, where are we to place Asshur, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, and Resen? As to Asshur there is perhaps no difficulty, for we shall easily accept this name as denoting the country at large rather than any single town, identical with Aturia, the name given by Strabo to a province of Assyria, and applied by Arab geographers to Mosul, to Selamiyah, to the province of Mesopotamia, and even till lately to Nimroud (Layard, *Nin.*, ii. 345). Rehoboth-Ir we shall probably regard with the margin of our Bibles and with St. Jerome as denoting, not a separate city, but the "streets of the city," *i.e.*, of Nineveh (Hieron., *Quæst. in Gen.*, vol. iii., p. 954 (320)). There remain, therefore, Calah and Resen, the latter "between Nineveh and Calah, a great city." It has been variously identified with Selamiyah, five miles north-west of Nimroud, with Nimroud, and with Larissa of Xenophon, though this last opinion throws little light on its actual position; while Calah has been thought by some to be represented by Holwan, on the river of that name, an affluent of the Diyaleh, but is more commonly thought to answer to Kalah-Sherghat, in which case Resen may perhaps be placed at Nimroud (Layard, *Nin.*, i. 4; Oppert, p. 83; H. Rawlinson, in *Geogr. Journal*, vol. ix., p. 35; Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, vol. iii., pp. DCCLIII. and 2). It is perhaps impossible now to come to a positive conclusion on either of these opinions; but the general statements of history, both sacred and profane, have been amply verified by the discoveries which have been made within the region to which these places must have belonged, and within which there is ample room for all of them, whether collected within a single enclosure or dispersed more widely over its surface. But their sites, wherever they may be assigned, have become a desolation; the great cedar of Lebanon, exalted above all the trees of the field has been cut off by strangers; his branches are fallen and his boughs broken, and the people of the earth have gone from his shadow and have left him (Ezek. xvii.). The

descendants of the ancient Assyrians, those determined and cruel warriors who subdued Asia and even penetrated into Egypt, the Kurds of modern Assyria,

“are scattered upon the mountains,” while men of other races inhabit the towns or wander among the regions once fertile and populous, but now wasted and desolate.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

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THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—1 ST. JOHN.

“THE SIN UNTO DEATH.”

“ . . . There is a sin unto death. I do not say that he shall pray for it.”—1 JOHN v. 16.

THERE are two passages intimately connected in the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, St. Matthew xii. 31: “Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men;” and the one we are about to consider from the First Epistle of St. John.¹ The saying of our Lord and the written words of the beloved apostle at first sight seem to point to a creed harsher and less loving than that which is usually believed to be the sum of the teaching of the Gospel of Jesus.

They are no doubt most weighty sayings, and calculated to exercise deep influence on the minds and actions of thinking men. Wrongly understood, their influence may be, often has been, most mischievous, calculated to drive the shrinking trembling soul rather to despair than to repent; while, rightly understood, they will only powerfully lead the poor erring one to lean more entirely on the Everlasting arms; they will mightily persuade the sorrowful and repentant to trust more closely in the blood of their Saviour and Redeemer Jesus as their only hope.

Before setting forward what we believe to be the true meaning of this hard saying of St. John, which after all was but the repetition of a truth he had heard from his Lord's own lips, let us at once dismiss all idea of watering down and weakening the statement which so many have attempted but in vain to do. And first, in the words, “There is a sin unto death,” we declare without hesitation “death” is used in its deepest and most awful signification. The reference is not merely to physical death, to the death of the body, but to “death eternal,” whatever that may be. It refers plainly to something utterly unconnected with this life and this world. And secondly, we must give up the not uncommon interpretation which sees in the second clause, “I do not say that he shall pray for it,” no positive command not to pray for the sin unto death, but merely a recommendation not to ask God for what will hardly be granted. But the context of the passage

clearly shows us, that just as there are cases of sin in which God wills we should pray one for another, so too there is a sin for which God wills no prayer should be made. What now is this changeless, hopeless sin, for which no prayer may be offered by man to God?

The idea of the existence of an unpardonable sin, “*ε*, sin unto death,” has worked on the minds of all Christian men with greater or less influence from the very earliest days of Christianity; and the words of St. John we are now dwelling upon doubtless served as the foundation-story of many of those gloomy and cheerless conceptions of the Divine nature we find in the Gnostic creeds, and somewhat later in the teaching of the Montanists and Novatians. Basilides, the Gnostic, says Clement of Alexandria taught that not all sins, but only sins committed involuntarily or through ignorance, were forgiven.² The Montanists denied that there was any remission of certain great sins committed after baptism. The error of the Novatians³ (third century) principally consisted in their denying to the Church the power of restoring to communion those who had lapsed in time of persecution. (This lapsing in persecution has been frequently supposed to have been *the* sin against the Holy Ghost.) But from the first days of Christianity by far the greater number of those eminent men who have been permitted by the providence of God mainly to mould and influence the Church of Christ on earth in her government and her discipline, have struggled to combat this mistaken notion concerning an unpardonable sin. Cyprian of Carthage, Ambrose of Milan, Athanasius of Alexandria, and Augustine of Hippo, may be cited as among the most famous of the early Catholic theologians who earnestly and successfully opposed this fatal error.

The question respecting forgiveness of deadly sin, and the consequent restoration of the sinner to communion with his fellow-believers, divided the followers of Christ from the first days into two distinct parties: the one, resting on the few condemnatory sentences of the Saviour, and on such texts as we are now considering, was ever too ready to judge its fellow-men with a severity as unjust as it was pitiless; the other, with a better comprehension of the mind of Christ and the spirit of His teaching, shrunk from pronouncing a positive and final judgment here, and preferred ever to win the sinner to repentance rather than to drive

¹ To these two a third may perhaps be added (Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6), where men are warned of the impossibility of repentance in certain unhappy cases, after a deliberate course of sin.

² Clem. Alex., *Stromata*, iv.

³ Cf. Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 43.

him to despair. The great system of ecclesiastical discipline—slowly elaborated as the Church developed—which punished men by depriving them for a long or short period of all the benefits and privileges of holy baptism by banishing them from the society and communion of the Church, by excluding them from public prayer and praise, by preventing them from receiving the eucharist, and from entering a church even to hear the Scriptures read till the days of their repentance were fulfilled, may be regarded in some way as a compromise¹ between the two parties—the one desirous of judging sinners with a stern and cruel harshness; the other wishful rather to win back the erring to the fold. Into these two parties the Church of the first days, roughly speaking, may be said to have been divided.

Still, in spite of the general condemnation on the part of the Catholic Church of all stern and cruel interpretations of St. John's words, there remained deep seated in the hearts of many earnest Christians a fear, often undefined but constantly present, that in some way or other the awful unforgiven sin may have been committed either in their own persons or by some closely and dearly connected with them. The great teachers of the Church, aware of this wide-spread feeling, set themselves to show that such statements were groundless, and were based upon a complete misapprehension of the grave and weighty statements of the Apostle.

Before, however, considering the meaning of St. John's solemn words, all doubt must be removed respecting the persons to whom the Apostle was referring.

They were "brothren," men and women, who had voluntarily joined the company of those who believed in Jesus. Thus we may decide at once that to all the heathen world, to all those who stood outside the pale of Christianity in this and every other land, no reference whatever is made in this passage. The sinner in this case must be one who has made shipwreck of his faith. What now, must we conclude, is this "sin unto death," for which there is no remission, and for which men may not pray? Different schools of thought in different ages have suggested deadly heresy, or complete apostacy from the faith, or falling away in times of persecution, or denying the Godhead of the Lord Jesus, or refusing to accept the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Ghost, or lightly and even injuriously speaking of God, coming under the general head of blasphemy, which by the laws of Justinian was reckoned a capital offence, and was to be punished with death. But for each and all of these surely repentance is possible; surely for those unhappy ones who do these things and even glory in them, prayer is not forbidden. Witness the fall and conversion of Peter the blasphemer, of Paul the persecutor; witness the prayer of a dying Stephen, and of One greater even than that blessed martyr, whose

last holy breath breathed out prayer for those hapless men who were watching with an unholy joy the agony of the cross.

The sin against the Holy Ghost, the sin unto death, is none of these; nor is it indeed any one conceivable sinful act; but it must be looked for in a life which, after having received the knowledge of the truth, casts away faith and love, and without looking back, untouched by remorse, or sorrow, or repentance, unswervingly holds on its lightless, loveless course till death parts soul and body. So in the main thought the greatest and most revered of the early Christian teachers. So Chrysostom, whom we may regard as the exponent of the mind of the Greek Church on this subject, understands the sin unto death when he asks, "Is there no remission for those who repent of their blasphemy against the Spirit? How can this be said with reason? for we know it was forgiven to some that repented of it; many of those Jews which blasphemed the Holy Ghost did afterwards believe, and all was forgiven them." So in unmistakable language the opinion of the Latin Church is declared by Augustine, whose words are held in equal honour by all theologians, Protestant as well as Romanist.

Augustine's exposition of the Epistle to the Romans treats of the question of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost as "the sin unto death" for which there was no remission, and gives us still further insight into the deep searchings of heart of the early Church in the matter of "the sin unto death," and shows us even if we had not abundant proof already in the schisms of Novatian and Montanus, how divided in opinion here the early Christian teachers must have been. His words in this treatise on the mere utterance of blasphemous expressions against the Holy Ghost are most weighty. "To speak blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is not put to denote barely *the uttering it with the tongue*, but the conceiving it in the heart, and expressing it in actions; for as they are not rightly said to confess God who do it only with the sound of their lips, and not with their good works, in like manner he who speaks the unpardonable word against the Holy Ghost is not presumed to say it perfectly unless, as well as say it, he despairs of the grace and peace which the Spirit gives, and determines to continue in his sin."³

The contest between the two parties must have been bitter and of long continuance, more bitter, perhaps, and involving far deeper interests than men are willing now to concede. Throughout the long fierce struggle the (orthodox) Catholic Church was ranged on the side of moderation and of gentle forbearance to all sinners, however desperate. We have quoted some extracts from the opinions of some of her most distinguished teachers respecting that deepest of all sins, the sin unto death, the sin against the Holy Ghost, and from these opinions we gather this conclusion—*The early Church*

¹ Many, we know, declined all compromise, and separated themselves from the great body of believers. This misapprehension respecting unpardonable sin held a foremost place, as we have noticed, among the peculiar tenets of the Montanists, the Novatians, and of some of the Gnostics.

² St. Chrysostom, Hom. 42 in St. Matt. xii.

³ *Expositio in Rom.*

declined to decide positively that the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, the sin unto death, could ever be consummated while life remained in the body. While the sinner lived, so long was he capable of pardon; "and even though men had begun in any degree to commit the sin unto death, they were still capable of pardon, if they did not render it unpardonable by their own obstinacy and wilful impenitency to the hour of death,"¹ after which there was no forgiveness for it.

If men continued in their sins, and died impenitent, the Church considered the "sin unto death" was consummated. "They died excommunicate, and so had neither the solemnity of a Christian burial, nor the suffrages of the Church after death, being struck out of her diptychs, and no memorial ever after being made of them, as of persons desperate and entirely out of God's favour."²

This seems to have been the deliberate judgment of the Latin and Greek Churches of the first centuries in the matter of the practical bearing of that great text we are now considering, upon the life and work of the Christian community.

With the gradual relaxation of Church discipline public attention seems in great measure to have been withdrawn³ from the consideration of the "sin unto death." The burning controversies excited by the exaggerated and unreal doctrines of such heretics as the Montanists, the Novatians, and certain of the Gnostics, slowly died out, when the sects which had originally kindled them then ceased to exist. But although the memorable words of St. John ceased after the first few centuries perhaps to occupy the Church's special attention,⁴ still, in all ages, in spite of decisions of Church councils, in spite of the thoughtful teaching on this subject which at different times and from various centres has emanated from many of the most learned and pious of the fathers of the Church, the words of St. John and his Divine Master have been and still are pondered over by the believer in private. Again and again have they stirred up in many a troubled heart weakened by sin and suffering hot thoughts suggestive of keen and bitter anguish; again and again have they aroused such questioning as, "Is it possible that I, after all, am one of those guilty ones for whom no

prayer is heard, no blessed communion of saints exists, for whom the love of God is dead for ever?"

For these we draw our answer in great measure from the wells of early Christian thought and learning, from the collected writings of the many great Greek and Latin fathers who first came face to face with these and such like awful questionings, from men like Cyprian and Ambrose, from men like Basil and Chrysestom, from the saintly Augustine. Those used their deep learning, their devoted piety, their bright warm eloquence, to counteract the false impressions of God's love and mercy foolish and erring men were sowing in their days deep and broad in the fields of Christianity; and listening to the words of these true-hearted, loyal defenders of Catholic truth, we explain unhesitatingly, that "sin unto death" is committed only by that unhappy one who, having once learned the truth as it is in Jesus, deliberately forsakes the covenant of his God, throws off all self-restraint, and plunges into what he knows and feels to be deadly sin and shame, casting aside every holy prompting, stamping down every reproachful memory of a happier past, and stifling every remorseful feeling, gives himself up to a life of selfish unbelief till the dread summons comes, when he passes away from the midst of us with heart untouched, hard, impenitent to the last.

To whom now should the Christian man or woman pray for such a sin? a sin indeed unto death. To that God mocked at, dishonoured, defied to the last? In whose name and for whose sake should the prayer for pardon be offered? Could men plead the blood of that Jesus whose power and Godhead, once acknowledged, was denied; whose love, once believed in, was deliberately rejected?

The sinner who sins even what men fear to be "the sin unto death," may we pray for, ay, even hope for. Yet again he may turn with weeping and with mourning, and once more seek his Master's face, and live. But for the "sin" unrepented, may no man pray? *It* has no remission neither in this world nor yet in the world to come; for the sin unto death is the deliberate, the final rejection of Jesus the Redeemer, our Lord, our Love, our God.

We must not, however, close our "study" of this strange hard passage without calling attention to the two different Greek words St. John uses in this 16th verse, both implying here a request from man to God for a pardon for sin—(a) For "the sin not unto death," he shall ask (*airḗseti*). (b) For "the sin unto death" I do not say that he shall pray for it (*ἑρωτήσῃ*).

(a) *airéō* (*peto*)—used in the first clause of the verse for a legitimate request, favourably allowed, if not enjoined, by God—is the word constantly employed when an inferior seeks to obtain a favour from a superior, a subject from the ruler, man from God.

(b) While *ἑρωτάω* (*rogo*, occasionally *interrogo*)—used in the second clause of the verse for a request not approved or sanctioned by God—is the word ever used by an equal addressing an equal, as a king desiring a

¹ Compare Bingham, *Christian Ant.*, book xvi., chap. vii., "Of the Unity and Discipline of the Ancient Church."

² *Ibid.*

³ Although the question of the "sin unto death" was never a foremost question for mediæval Christianity, still the schoolmen have raised six several species of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost—viz., despair, presumption, final impenitency, obstinacy in sin, opposing and impugning the truth which a man knows, and envious malice against the grace of the brethren. (Cf. Bingham, *Antiquities*, chap. xvi.)

⁴ At the period of the Reformation, among the sects which then arose, the Anabaptists were conspicuous for their revival of some of the Novatian errors in respect to extreme rigour in refusing repentance to the lapsed. The 11th Article of the Confession of Augsburg and the 16th Article of the Church of England seem in great measure directed by the Reformers in Germany and in England against the old error revived by the Anabaptists. Compare the Bishop of Winchester on Article XVI. of the Church of England.

favour from a king (Luke xiv. 32). It implies an equality which lends authority to the request.

Of these two words the former, *αἰτεῖν*, is never used by our Lord in His own requests to God, but always *ἑρωτᾶν* is employed by Him on those occasions, as becomes an equal addressing an equal. (Cf. St. John, xiv. 16; xvi. 26; xvii. 9, 15, 20.) Never is *ἑρωτᾶν* used in the New Testament of the prayer of man to God, of a creature to the Creator.¹

¹ Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, 1st

The silent eloquence of this change of words, the substitution of the *ἑρωτᾶν* for the *αἰτεῖν*, conveys a mute reproach, and more forcibly than any argument tells us how the asking for forgiveness—if there be forgiveness—for “the sin,” is no request which a created being may offer to its Maker; tells us how the asking for pardon—if there be a pardon—for the “sin unto death” has passed out of the realm of *prayer*.

series, sect. xl., where these two words are admirably discussed; and Dusterdieck, *Comm. on Epp. of St. John*.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ZEPHANIAH (*continued*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

II.—THE CALL TO REPENTANCE (*continued*).

Chap. ii. 1, to Chap. iii. 8.

THE NEED OF REPENTANCE.—To give additional force and emphasis to his summons to repentance, the prophet reverts to and completes the description of Jerusalem, given in chapter i, verses 4—13. Once more, his pencil labours to depict the vices and corruptions of that sinful city, in which the Lord Jehovah daily set forth his righteousness and truth, in which, therefore, there burned and shone a steadfast light. That the citizens of Jerusalem and their leaders hated this light, that they wilfully turned from it and shrouded themselves in darkness because their deeds were evil—this as it was their deepest guilt, so also it was the last and most conclusive proof of their need of repentance.

That it is Jerusalem which is described and addressed in the first eight verses of chapter iii. is beyond a doubt; for, though we might take at least ver. 1 as a continuation of the denunciation against Nineveh which closes chapter ii., it is impossible to read the subsequent verses, which expand and interpret the first, in that sense. They can only refer to Jerusalem. For no other city could be *reproached* with not having trusted in Jehovah nor drawn near unto God; in no other city did He set His justice in the light, morning by morning, and plead with man. “Only fear thou Me; accept correction.”

Here, then, we have the final appeal to Jerusalem (chapter iii., verses 1—8).

“Woe to the rebellious and polluted city,
The oppressing city!
She hath not hearkened to the voice;
She hath not accepted correction;
She hath not trusted in Jehovah;
She hath not drawn near to her God.
Her princes are roaring lions in the midst of her;
Her judges are ravening wolves
Who leave no bones for the morning;
Her prophets are boasters, traitors:
Her priests profane that which is sacred,
And violate the law,
Jehovah is just in the midst of her;
He doeth no wrong; [failing:
Morning by morning He setteth His justice in the light, not
But the unjust know no shame.

I have cut off the nations:
Their battlements are laid waste;
I have devastated their streets,
So that no person passeth through them:
Their cities are laid waste,
So that no man is in them, no inhabitant.
I said, ‘Only fear thou Me,
Accept correction,’
That her habitation might not be cut off,
According to all that I had appointed concerning them:
But they rose up early to corrupt all their doings.
Therefore wait for Me, saith Jehovah,
In the day when I rise up to the prey;
For it is just that I gather the nations,
And call together the kingdoms,
To pour out on them my fury,
All the heat of my wrath:
For by the fire of my zeal
Shall the whole earth be consumed.”

The appeal opens with a brief denunciation of “woe,” which contains three epithets that Jerusalem should have been the last city in the world to deserve. Chosen of God to be His people, “a holy people, zealous of good works,” instead of doing His will, its inhabitants straitened and hardened themselves against Him; instead of being a holy people, they were stained with the foulest vices; instead of loving and serving one another, they oppressed and devoured each other. Jerusalem is a *rebellious city*, a *polluted city*, an *oppressing city*.

These epithets are explained and vindicated in verse 2. “She hath not hearkened to the voice” of God, as uttered in the law of Moses, and in the remonstrances and appeals of the prophets. “She accepts no chastisement,” so that even the infinite patience of Jehovah is exhausted, and He is weary of correcting her in vain.¹ And as law and punishment have failed of their proper effect, so also have promise and invitation. She has no faith in the gracious offers of Divine mercy, does not “trust” them nor Him who makes them, nor suffer them to “draw” her “near to her God.”

As, however, we listen to the successive counts of this terrible indictment, we become aware of an undertone of grace and pity. The words sound as though they were set in sighs. The Divine purpose of God’s

¹ Compare Isa. i. 5.

varied dealings with men comes out in the very phrases in which He confesses and laments that His purpose has not been reached. If He speaks, it is that men *may* "hearken to the voice;" when He corrects, it is that they may "*accept* correction," and suffer Him to show them His love. His aim is to win their trust. He draws near to them that they may "draw near" to Him. He does not command simply that He may get His will of us, but that our wills may be fixed in the love and service of the truth. He corrects us, not for His pleasure, but for our profit, that we may become partakers of His holiness, and yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness. And when, with tender infinite regret, He finds that these the ordinary ministries of His goodness have failed to produce their due effect upon us. He betakes Himself to exceptional means, and pierces our hearts with an overmastering "woe," only that we may feel our need of Him, and learn that we cannot do without Him, and accept the love He waits to lavish on us.

The constant and more gentle ministries of Divine grace had failed on the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Instead of drawing near to their God, they "drew back from Jehovah," neither seeking nor asking after Him. And their leaders, civil and ecclesiastical, exaggerated the popular sins, presented them in their most flagrant types. Their "*princes*," whom Zephaniah, himself a prince, must have known well, and whom he had already depicted² as betraying their heathen proclivities by their foreign apparel, he now describes as rushing open-mouthed, like "*roaring lions*," on the poor and those who had no helper. The "*judges*," whose very function it was to minister justice indifferently to all men, instead of checking the insolence and rapacity of the nobles, displayed a still more ignoble and insatiable greed: if the princes were roaring lions, the judges were "*ravening wolves*," who left no bone of their evening prey for the hunger of the morning. Their "*Prophets*," the very tribunes of the people, were "*boasters*," *i.e.*, men who "boiled over" with frivolous and insolent speeches, and "*traitors*," or "men of treacheries," *i.e.*, men who were faithless apostates from their God and King. The "*priests*," whose office it was to consecrate that which was common, and to teach men the law of the Lord, reversed their functions; they "*profaned that which was sacred, and violated the law*" they were ordained to administer (verses 3, 4).

With a people so ungodly and so incorrigible in their ungodliness, with princes who plundered those whom they should have protected, judges who wronged those whom they should have righted, prophets who apostatised from the God to whom they should have borne witness, priests who profaned that which was holy instead of sanctifying that which was profane, Jerusalem might well be denounced as a rebellious, a polluted, and an oppressing city.

What aggravated their guilt till it became intolerable, and put them beyond all mercy save the "mercy of

judgment," was (1) that God had given them a pure law of life, and Himself administered it among them: (2) that, in the destruction inflicted on neighbouring kingdoms, He had constantly warned them of the inevitable results of violating that law: and (3) that He had not spared to correct *them* so often as they went astray, and to plead with them, and to urge them to repentance and obedience.

(1) He had given and administered a pure law of life among them (verse 5). "*Jehovah is just in the midst of her; He doeth no wrong: morning by morning He setteth His justice in the light, not failing.*" The simple exquisite beauty of these phrases, their perfect form, is their least though it is their most obvious charm. It is their soul of meaning by which our souls are moved; and, above all, by the contrast they suggest. In the polluted and oppressive city, whose princes were roaring lions and their judges ravening wolves, there sat a King and a Judge, of whom it might be said, "His work is perfect; all His ways are righteous; a God of truth, and without iniquity, just and right is He;" a King and Judge who respected no man's person, and did no man wrong, whose righteousness and truth came back day after day with the morning light—as certainly, as clearly, with as bright a promise of good. In other cities, such as Gaza or Nineveh, the presence, the authority, the law of God were but obscurely revealed; men were left to grope after the Unknown if haply they might find Him, to infer a spiritual Presence from the operation of physical laws, to deduce a Divine rule from the imperfect and confused utterances of reason and conscience. But at Jerusalem, God and His will were "*set in the light*;" the history of the chosen race, the services of the Temple, the voices and scriptures of the prophets, the national habits of thought, and manner of life loudly proclaimed God to be their God and His will their law. Who should know Him, if they did not? and who do His will if they disobeyed it? Where should princes be princely and judges just, if not in the city in which Jehovah reigned? What prophets should be faithful if not those whom He had called, and what priests holy if not those whom He had ordained? Had they been capable of shame, would they not have been ashamed that, with so pure a light of goodness in their midst, they had wrapped themselves in darkness and come to hate the light which reproved their deeds? "*But the unjust know no shame.*"

(2) Their guilt was still further aggravated by the fact that, in the judgments inflicted on neighbouring nations for their sins, God had constantly warned the men of Judah and Jerusalem of the inevitable and miserable results of sin (verse 6). They had seen race after race cut off, the battlements of their fortified places laid waste, their cities battered down, their streets reduced to such ruinous desolation that no man dwelt in them, no man so much as passed through them. And what were these Divine judgments but the law of God "writ large," and illustrated on a scale so vast and impressive as to arrest the attention of the most heedless, and to rouse a saving fear in the stubborn and impenitent?

¹ Chap. i. 6.² Chap. i. 8.

But even these glaring and portentous illustrations of the wrath of God against evil, and all who cleave to it, had been wasted on the stiff-necked nation, "the nation that did not turn pale."¹ They had stood under these shocks and alarms unmoved, or moved only for the moment. And now what was there, short of a judgment more severe than any they had ever yet seen or known, that could constrain them to penitence, and through penitence to righteousness, through righteousness to peace?

(3) *A more severe judgment*: for another aggravation of their guilt was that, much as they themselves had already suffered, they had not accepted correction, nor learned that beginning of wisdom—the fear of the Lord (verse 7). It was not only that they had seen "a day of the Lord" darken over other lands, and His judgments desolate heathen cities. They had themselves been visited with days of judgment. God had smitten them again and again, till the whole head was sick and the whole heart faint, till, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, the whole body politic was bruised and wounded and sore. As they looked back on the past, their whole history was full of Divine chastenings. And what was the meaning of these chastenings? what were they sent to say? They came to say, "*Only fear God, accept correction,*" let it produce its natural effect on you, and all shall be well. God had sent these corrections in order that their "habitation might not be cut off," that the land and the city might be spared, that He might not be compelled to execute the sentence which their sins had compelled Him to pronounce, that He might not have to use the axe which He had laid at the root of the tree.

No words could be more simple and direct than these; none could state more plainly the merciful and Divine purpose of judgment, the true function of the miseries men are called to endure. These judgments and miseries come to teach us the fear of the Lord, that is, to save us from all fear. So soon as we accept them as corrections of our sins, their end is answered; henceforth there is no anger in them, no injurious pain, but only a Divine love and goodwill. And if no statement of the meaning and function of suffering can be more plain than this, surely none can be more consolatory. For, according to Zephaniah, it comes only for our good, for our highest good—to teach us the true wisdom and to make us perfect. When once we "accept" it, its end being reached, there is no reason why it should not either pass away or be changed into the stay and stimulus of our life.

On the other hand, if, instead of being accepted, it be resisted, it hardens and depraves those whom God sent it to teach and bless. In place of mending their ways and making them good, the Jews of Jerusalem yet further corrupted their ways when God chastened and afflicted their souls. Before, they had been content to give the day to disobedience and mutiny. Now, as if the day were not long enough for the sins they were

eager to commit, "*they rose up early*" in the morning "*to corrupt all their doings,*" so shameless were they, so incorrigible.

Despising the chastenings of the Lord, hardened and depraved by them, there was nothing left them but a judgment they could not despise. And, therefore, the summons to repentance fitly closes, as it began,² with an invitation to the humble and righteous of the land; and with a threatening, such as that with which the prophecy opened,³ of a doom which shall sweep away the impenitent sinners and their offences, a fire that shall consume the whole earth. As the prophet had exhorted the humble to seek humility, and those who did right to seek righteousness, so now Jehovah Himself calls on them to wait for Him and His salvation (verse 8). But how do we know that it is this elect Remnant who are here addressed? We know it simply because the Hebrew words translated "*wait for me*" are not used ironically or menacingly, but imply a believing and hopeful attitude in those who are to wait. It is good for which they are to wait, not evil. And this pious remnant, faithful among the faithless, the prey of "roaring" nobles and "ravening" judges, the scorn of prophets in whose wicked mouths the very truth was changed into a lie, and of priests whose ministry desecrated that which was holy, the derision of a people who swore both to Jehovah and by their Malkam—did not they sorely need consolation and hope? If it was some comfort to them to hear that judgment was about to fall on those who oppressed and mocked them, as to their stern Hebrew blood no doubt it was; if it was a still greater comfort to know that they themselves should be hidden in an inviolable Refuge in the day of Jehovah's wrath; the greatest of all comforts was, to learn that the judgment which would sweep through the whole earth was to cleanse and sanctify the whole earth, and that on some distant but most happy day the sinful and scattered sons of Israel were to be restored to the land of their fathers, and Jerusalem be made the joy and praise of all lands. And even this great consolation, as we shall see in the next section, was implied in the invitation now addressed to them: "*Therefore, wait for me, saith Jehovah*"—wait in an attitude of faith and hope.

But it is the lesser comfort of retribution to which verse 8 gives prominence. These good men, oppressed by so many evils, must at times have felt their faith in the Divine Providence grow perilously weak. When they saw elders wax rich by plunder and judges with bribes, when they saw prophets win favour by prophesying falsehood and priests by prostituting themselves to the service of idols, it must have been hard for them to rest in the conviction that there was a Judge of all the earth, and that all He did was right. As the dismal scene of national apostasy and vice unfolded itself before them year after year, as wave after wave of foreign invasion broke over the land, and the innocent suffered with the guilty, it must have been very hard for them to hold fast their faith, that it was well with the

¹ Chap. ii. 1.

² Chap. ii. 3.

³ Chap. i. 3.

righteous, that the providence of God was just and kind. To reward them for their fidelity in evil times, to deepen and invigorate their faith, Jehovah assures them that He is about to clothe Himself with judgment, and to overwhelm guilty Jews and guilty heathen with a destruction from which there shall be no escape, save by the renunciation of guilt. "Wait for me," he virtually says; "wait yet a little longer, O tried and faithful souls! The day is at hand on which I will rise up to

seize my prey. Your hearts have not misled you. It is but just that I should gather the nations, and call together the kingdoms, and pour out the fury of my zeal upon them, all the heat of my wrath against sin. Wait yet a little while, and ye shall see the whole earth swept with the consuming fires of my insulted love, that, out of the ruins, there may come forth a new heaven and a new earth, in which righteousness and peace shall dwell."

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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STRUCTURE OF THE VERSE (*continued*).

§ 2.—PARALLELISM.

"Amant alterna Cæcææ."—VIRG., *Ecl.* iii. 59.

FINDING all attempts fail to build up a system of Hebrew verse on the analogy of the classical languages of Greece and Rome, scholars began to question Biblical poetry more closely, to make it give up the laws of its own structure. Dismissing the hope of finding a regulated recurrence of measured syllables, they listened for the music of the verse in the succession of sentences rather than in the succession of words. Single lines show no certain indications of a rule of quantity or accent guiding and regulating the flow of thought, but when two or more verses¹ are taken together there is found to be a rhythmical proportion or symmetry between them, which, while it admits the greatest range and freedom of treatment, and lends itself with such elasticity to the varying hues of emotion that it is impossible to make a perfect classification of all instances, yet exhibits a definite law of structure, of which it is easy to discover the normal form. The general character of this verse is expressed by the names which have been given to it. It has been called a "rhyme of sentiment," a "rhythm of thought," "verse rhythm." Bishop Lowth employed for it the mathematical term *Parallelism* (*parallelismus membrorum*), a name which has been generally adopted since his time. The word is all that could be wished to suggest the essential peculiarity of Hebrew verse, in which the lines are so balanced one against the other that "thought corresponds to thought, in repetition, amplification, contrast or response."² This correspondence expresses itself generally in the outward form and sound, and is sometimes so close that the second of two verses is a complete and perfect echo of the first. But the method has its origin in the same rhythmical necessity which in other languages opposes long syllables to short, accented words to those which the voice passes over lightly and without emphasis. It is the rhythm of Hebrew thought expressed in sound, the

natural wavelike movement of the poetic mood conformed to the genius of a language, which flows in short lively sentences and puts a sentiment in each. If one sentence balances another, the Hebrew ear is satisfied. We might make a rough analogy by comparing the rhythmic movement of verse to the time-beats of a clock or watch. Other languages divide the verses into measured feet, as a watch ticks off the seconds; but Hebrew opposes line to line with the longer, more solemn, and more majestic beat of the pendulum of a large clock.

That parallelism is not confined to the poetry of the Bible, but appears in it as a special form of a very general poetic feature, there are abundant examples in the literature of every country to prove. It has been said indeed to be essential to all poetry. Cicero has remarked that where words or sentences directly correspond, or where contraries are opposed exactly to each other, or where words of a similar sound run parallel, the composition will in general have a metrical form, and rise in this respect above a prosaic style. The Hexameter has been described as a continuous parallelism, where the poetic flowers, which in Hebrew verse grow on separate stems, are woven into an unbroken wreath.³ The pleasure derived from a Pentameter depends on the even balance of its two members. Rhyme is a parallelism of sound. But all poetry offers examples far more closely analogous to the special form of Hebrew verse. Poets of all countries have delighted in repetition and antithesis, both in form of expression and thought. The Homeric repetitions of epithets, phrases, lines, and even of whole passages have been accepted as the rule of Epic verse. The conversations carried on in the Greek tragedies by alternate lines (*στίχοι οὐβλα*) afford examples of a kind of parallelism, not very dissimilar to that of sententious Hebrew sayings. The following lines from the conversation of Apollo and Death in Mr. Browning's adaptation of the *Alcestis* of Euripides will show how the verse gains in liveliness and picturesque effect by the admixture of this element of parallelism, which appears not only in "the rapid interchange" with which "each plied each," but also in the correspondence of form and

¹ Verse and line are used here, and generally in this paper, as synonymous terms.

² Davidson's *Introduction to the Old Testament*: Psalms.

³ Herder, *Geist der Ebr. Poesie*.

repetition of terms or play on words, which forms so striking and powerful a detail of Hebrew poetry :—

- “ What need of bow were justice arms enough ?”
 “ Ever it is my wont to bear the bow.”
 “ Ay and with bow, not justice, help this house !”
 “ I help it, since a friend’s woe weighs me too.”
 “ And now,—wilt force from me this second corpse ?”
 “ By force I took no corpse at first from thee.”
 “ How then is he above ground, not beneath ?”
 “ He gave his wife instead of him, thy prey,
 “ And prey this time at least I bear below.”¹

The following examples from Virgil show that the Latin poets felt the increased emphasis which is gained in poetry by repetition, and may help to explain why Hebrew verse is so perfect a vehicle for the solemn and stately thoughts it was chosen to express. The poets of other nations assume, in passages intended to bear a formal and judicial tone, a style which was usual and natural to the prophets and poets commissioned to declare the judgments of God to Israel :—

- “ Pan etiam, Arcadiâ mecum si iudice certet,
 Pan etiam Arcadiâ dicat se iudice victum.”²
 “ Cantantes licet usque (minus via lædit) eamus ;
 Cantantes ut eamus, ego hoc te fasce levabo.”³

But it is in modern poetry that we must seek for the nearest approach to the parallel style of the Hebrews. In this as in almost every other direction, the literature of the Jews has influenced that of modern Europe. English and Hebrew specimens will be placed side by side as we proceed. But the following magnificent passage from Shakespeare’s *Richard II.*, containing as it does some most perfect examples of the different forms of parallelism, will show how powerful an aid to pathos it may become in skilful hands, and will prepare the reader to recognise in it the source of much of the vigour and vividness of Hebrew poetry :—

- “ I give this heavy weight from off my head,
 And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand,
 The pride of kingly sway from out my heart ;
 With mine own tears I wash away my balm,
 With mine own hands I give away my crown,
 With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,
 With mine own breath release all duteous oaths ;
 All pomp and majesty I do forswear ;
 My manors, rents, revenues, I forego ;
 My acts, decrees, and statutes, I deny :
 God pardon all oaths that are broke to me !
 God keep all vows unbroke are made to thee !
 Make me, that nothing have, with nothing grieved ;
 And thee with all pleased, that hast all achieved ;
 Long may’st thou live in Richard’s seat to sit,
 And soon lie Richard in an earthy pit !
 God save King Henry, unking’d Richard says,
 And send him many years of sunshine days.”

It is the opinion of some scholars that Moses brought the art of poetry from Egypt. This view may derive some support from specimens of verse discovered among Egyptian inscriptions. The following Threshing-song has a rhythm not unlike that of the Carol of the Well in the book of Numbers :—

- “ Thresh ye for yourselves,
 Thresh ye for yourselves, O men,
 Thresh ye for yourselves.
 Thresh ye for yourselves
 The straw which is yours,
 The corn which is your master’s.”⁴

This parallel structure of Semitic poetry was, however, of native growth. We do not need the evidence of the poetical relics of the patriarchal times to prove this fact. There is abundant confirmation of it in the style of Hebrew speech. In that the unity and simplicity of the Semitic character is reflected. The rounded period of classical and modern languages was unknown to the writers of the Old Testament. They wrote as a child talks. Their sentences are not long and elaborate structures, composed of dependent members and finished with artistic completeness ; but short and simple propositions, fitted together with no greater art than is represented by the copula *and*, which in Hebrew serves the purpose of many conjunctions. No grammatical law determines the end of the sentence. The author pauses from want of breath, not because the sense requires it, sometimes when it almost forbids. Thus Hebrew eloquence is a lively succession of vigorous and incisive sentences, producing in literature the same effect which the style called arabesque produces in architecture.⁵ Hebrew wisdom finds its complete utterance in the short pithy proverb. Hebrew poetry wants no further art than a rhythmical adaptation of the same sententious style.

It has already been remarked that Hebrew is a language rich in the elements of poetry. The root-words are nearly all borrowed from natural objects. The vocabulary takes us back to the infancy of the world, when every sensation was fresh and vivid. The poetic style continues the impression. The poet of the Bible seems to stand at the beginning of time, watching, with mingled curiosity and awe, the energy of creative power. He presides over the shaping of the primal world. He hears the Creator’s voice and sees His will take form. “ He looks from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,” and still the same consciousness of an Almighty Power surrounds him. “ God spake and it was done.” Still the same sense of one Eternal Presence ruling and controlling all remains with him. “ Thus saith Jehovah. Heaven is my throne and earth is my footstool.” These are the prime intuitions of Israel, the foundation of his religion and philosophy, and they are reflected even in the style of his poetry. Through the whole Bible there runs one dominant and persistent tone, which the balanced movement of the verse sustains and makes

⁴ Sir J. G. Wilkinson’s *Ancient Egyptians*. Parallelism seems to be a marked feature of Russian popular song. I extract the following from a Review :—

- “ Ah, thou dear child of mine !
 Did I but possess my old strength,
 I would go forth into the wide court,
 Seize the Tartar by his ruddy curls,
 Fling the Tartar into the deep vault,
 Feed the Tartar on yellow sand,
 Give the Tartar water from the swamp to drink.”

⁵ Cf. Réuan, *Les Langues Sémitiques*, p. 21.

¹ Balaustion’s *Adventure*, p. 27.
² Virgil, *Eclogue iv.* 58. ³ *Ibid.*, ix. 64.

resonant through all the varieties of rhythm which are suggested by unfettered lyric song, so that in the rise and fall of the measure we continuously hear the creative word and deed, the heart and hand of God in unison. "Let there be light, and there was light."

Bishop Lowth has thus explained his use of the term *parallelism*.¹ "The correspondence of one verse or line with another, I call parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it or drawn under it, *equivalent*, or *contrasted with it in sense*, or *similar to it in the form of grammatical construction*, these I call parallel lines; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms." Here are three notes of parallelism (indicated by the italics), viz., equivalence of thought, antithesis of thought, and similarity of construction, marking respectively the three chief varieties of this style which the Bishop distinguishes—the *synonymous*, the *antithetic*, the *synthetic*.

These distinctions are useful, and will be observed as far as possible in these papers. But more recent scholars have introduced various modifications of Lowth's system. These will be consulted where they serve to give a simpler and more natural account of Hebrew verse-structure.²

Let us take the opening of the sublime song of Moses at the end of the Book of Deuteronomy:—

"Give-ear, O-ye-heavens, and-I-will-speak;
And-hear, O-earth, the-words-of-my-mouth."

The hyphens are introduced to mark the phrases which represent one Hebrew term. The twofold symmetry in these lines must strike every ear. The second member is an echo of the first, both in thought and sound. And yet it is not a mere repetition of it. In the opposition of the earth to the sky, in the varied form of the prophet's appeal, where each term is different and yet makes a true balance to the corresponding term of the preceding line, we get all the charm of freshness and change. The dullest ear will distinguish the rise and fall, the wave-like motion, which is essential to musical rhythm. Each sentence is contained in a line and ends with it. In other languages a fixed recurrence of feet or rhymed syllables would mark the conclusion of the verse. Here voice and sense pause together, and the ear is satisfied with this natural cadence, which is doubtless improved in the original by the equality of the words in the two parts of the verse.

Two distinct points thus engage our attention—the thought, and the form in which it is expressed. That parallelism will be most complete where the symmetry is preserved in both. The above distich may be regarded in both aspects as an example of standard

rhythm. But a variety of modifications occur as one or the other rises into greater prominence.

Our classification will embrace *simple* and *complex* parallelism. Simple parallelism consists of verses of two members only, complex of more than two.

I. Simple parallelism admits of arrangement under three heads, according to the degree in which the harmony of feeling and form is preserved in the two members of the distich.

The most perfect form exhibits a symmetry both in thought and expression, but will divide into two classes (corresponding to Lowth's synonymous and antithetic) according as this proportion is one of *resemblance* or *contrast*.

Many varieties are found of each of these classes. Thus, of verses that are synonymous, the second line may repeat the first like an echo, or reproduce it with more or less variation, or amplify and extend it by illustration, explanation, or addition. The following may be taken as typical forms of each of these three varieties:

"Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
Ye wives of Lamech, listen to my speech."
(Gen. iv. 23.)

Here the equivalence of both thought and sound is close and complete.

"Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow;
Though they be red as crimson, they shall be like wool."
(Isa. i. 18.)

Here, while the resemblance of the thought is so close as to make the two propositions identical in meaning, there is more variety than a mere repetition affords.

"I will sing unto Jehovah, for he hath triumphed gloriously;
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."
(Exod. xv. 1.)

Here the parallelism is plainly of another kind. The second member does not repeat the first, but explains it. The enemy, which is first spoken of in general terms, is afterwards more particularly described. The principal term of the first member recurs in the second for more complete development. The following passage from Ps. xlix. affords in the first couplet an example of this kind of parallelism in convenient proximity to a verse in which the proportion is one of similarity:—

{ "Wherefore should I fear in the days of wickedness,
{ When the sin of them that would overthrow doth compass me about.
{ Of them that put their trust in their goods,
{ And boast themselves in the multitude of their riches,
{ But surely none of them may redeem himself,
{ Nor give a ransom for himself to God,"

The last couplet supplies an instance of another variety of the same kind of parallelism. By introducing the word "God," only implied in the first line, the second member completes the sense, which else would be left imperfect.

But the most frequent of all the forms which fall under this division is that in which the proportion is one of progression. Indeed, this feature is claimed by Jebb in his *Sacred Literature* to be almost universal in Hebrew verse. He objects that Lowth's name

¹ Dissertation prefixed to Lowth's Translation of Isaiah. Cf. his Lectures.

² De Wette, followed by Ewald and Davidson, have given the most complete and satisfactory analysis of verse-forms. Delitzsch has some valuable remarks in the introduction to his *Psalms*. Schoettgen's system, given in Smith's *Dict.*, art. "Poetry," is an exhaustive analysis and a useful guide to a classification. That article should be studied for the history of the various methods.

synonymous is inappropriate to describe the commonest forms of parallelism, for the second clause, with few exceptions, "diversifies the preceding clause, and generally so as to rise above it, forming a sort of climax in the sense."¹ The same peculiarity had been noticed by Lowth himself in his fourth Lecture, where he says, "The Hebrew poets frequently express a sentiment with the utmost brevity and simplicity, illustrated by no circumstances, adorned with no epithets (which, in truth, they seldom use); they afterwards call in the aid of ornament; they repeat, they vary, they amplify the same sentiment." Jebb not only calls attention to the frequency with which the poets of the Bible resort to this style, but also discovers in it a valuable provision for marking with the nicest precision the moral differences and relations of things, and notices how fine an instrument was put into the hands of the inspired bards of Judæa to utter and preserve for the world the external truths of morality and religion. The name which this writer proposes to substitute for *synonymous* is *cognate*.

As a striking instance of the powerful way in which this element of progression may be introduced, we may take the following verses from the song of Deborah. The whole ode is indeed one fiery march of impetuous verse, for which no better name than *progressive parallelism* could be found. The greater part, however, is of a complex kind. This passage strictly belongs to the present group of *simple parallelisms* :—

{ "Jehovah, when thou wentest forth from Seir,
 { When thou marchest out of the field of Edom,
 { The earth trembled and the heavens dropped;
 { The clouds also dropped water;
 { The mountains melted before Jehovah,
 { Even that Sinai before Jehovah, God of Israel."
 (Judg. v. 4, 5.)

Here the gradations from *wentest forth* to *marchedst out*, from *Seir* to *field of Edom*, from *heavens* to *clouds*, from the general *mountains* to the particular and emphatic *that Sinai*, is very fine and impressive. And the general feeling of progression in the rhythm is exquisitely maintained by the addition of the words *God of Israel* to the name *Jehovah*. Every better feeling which an Israelite had—his poetry, patriotism, and religion, and his historic sense as well, are touched in the fine art of these lines :—

"The mountains melted before Jehovah,
 Even that Sinai before Jehovah, God of Israel."

The sense of rapid movement in this kind of verse is often attained by the repetition in the second sentence of part of the first. As we have already seen, this device is common in all poetry, and often leads peculiar emphasis to a passage. The following instances of the Hebrew method of employing it may be added to Deborah's ode, which is throughout constructed on this principle :—

"Thy right hand, O Jehovah, is glorious in power;
 Thy right hand, O Jehovah, hath dashed in pieces the enemy."
 (Exod. xv. 6.)

{ "My voice is unto God, and I cry aloud;
 { My voice is unto God, and he will hearken unto me.
 { I will remember the works of Jehovah,
 { Yes, I will remember thy wonders of old.
 { The waters saw thee, O God;
 { The waters saw thee; they were seized with anguish."
 (Ps. lxxvii. 1, 11, 16.)

There is still remaining a variety, which it is convenient to class among those forms of parallelism which we are considering. The proportion of thought is not always one of similarity or progression. The sense sometimes trails itself out, as it were, through both members of the verse. The rhythm of such verses is less animated. There is a manifest intention of parallelism, but the charm of the echo is gone. We are apparently very near to prose in verses like this :—

"He blesseth them so that they multiply exceedingly
 And suffereth not their cattle to decrease;
 Again, when they are diminished or brought low
 Through oppression, through any plague or trouble,
 He poureth contempt upon princes,
 And maketh them wander out of the way in a wilderness;
 Yet helpeth He the poor out of misery;
 He maketh him households like a flock of sheep;
 The righteous will consider this and rejoice,
 And the mouth of all wickedness shall be stopped."
 (Ps. cvii. 38—42.)

The alphabetical poems, which will be noticed in a future paper, show how the Hebrew poets of the later ages tried to supply to this kind of verse something of the definiteness wanting from the lax nature of their parallelism.

The following examples, chosen from the different poetical books of the Bible, falling all of them under the class of parallelisms under discussion, may be referred by the student to its different varieties. It may be remarked from them that the degrees of completeness of the parallelisms vary considerably. The parallel lines sometimes consist of three or more synonymous or similar terms, sometimes of two. This is generally the case when the verb or nominative case of the first sentence is to be carried on to the second or understood there. Sometimes only one term in each line corresponds. The first two examples should especially be noticed as exhibiting very perfect and graceful specimens of lines composed of two propositions, the second member distinctly answering to the first, like two syllables in an echo.

{ "Bow thy heavens, O Jehovah, and descend;
 { Touch the mountains, and they shall smoke;
 { Dart forth lightning, and scatter them;
 { Shoot out thine arrows, and destroy them."
 (Ps. cxliv. 5, 6.)

{ "And they shall build houses, and shall inhabit them;
 { And they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof;
 { They shall not build, and another inhabit;
 { They shall not plant, and another eat;
 { For as the days of a tree shall be the days of my people,
 { And they shall wear out the works of their own hands."
 (Isa. lxx. 21, 22.)

{ "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak;
 { And hear, O earth, the words of my mouth.
 { My doctrine shall drop as the rain,
 { My speech shall distil as the dew,
 { As the small rain upon the tender herb,
 { And as the showers upon the grass."
 (Deut. xxxii. 1, 2.)

¹ Sacred Literature, p. 35.

"I shall see Him, but not now;
I shall behold Him, but not nigh."
(Numh. xxiv. 17.)

"Jehovah, when thou wentest forth from Seir;
When thou marchest out of the field of Edom."
(Judg. v. 4.)

{ "O Jehovah, in thy strength the king shall rejoice;
And in thy salvation how greatly shall he exult!
The desire of his heart thou hast granted unto him;
And the request of his lips thou hast not denied."
(Ps. xxi. 1, 2.)

{ "Because I called, and ye refused;
I stretched out my hand, and no one regarded;
But ye have defeated all my counsel;
And would not incline unto my reproof."
(Prov. i. 24.)

{ "Surely with joy shall ye go forth,
And with peace shall ye be led onward;
The mountains and the hills shall burst forth before you with
song;
And all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.
Instead of the thorny bushes shall grow up the fig-tree,
And instead of the bramble shall grow up the myrtle;
And it shall be unto Jehovah for a memorial,
For a perpetual sign which shall not be abolished."
(Isa. lv. 12.)

{ "Like mighty men shall they rush on;
Like warriors shall they mount the wall;
And every one in his way shall they march;
And they shall not turn aside from their paths."
(Joel ii. 7.)

"And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament;
And they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever
and ever."
(Dan. xii. 3.)

{ "God came from Teman,
And the Holy One from Mount Paran.
His glory covered the heavens,
And the earth was full of His praise."
(Hab. iii. 3.)

"For my memorial is sweeter than honey,
And mine inheritance than the honeycomb."
(Eccles. xxiv. 20.)

{ "Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest?
Or who hath stretch'd the line upon it?
Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened?
Or who laid the corner-stone thereof;
When the morning stars sang together,
And all the sons of God shouted for joy?"
(Job xxxviii. 5, 6, 7.)

"My soul doth magnify the Lord,
And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."
(Luke i. 46, 47.)

{ "And the Spirit and the bride say, Come.
And let him that heareth say, Come.
And let him that is athirst come,
And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely."
(Rev. xxii. 17.)

"The ploughers ploughed upon my back,
And made long furrows."
(Ps. cxix. 3.)

"The righteous shall inherit the land,
And dwell therein for ever."
(Ps. xxxvii. 29.)

"Rise up, Balaam, and hear,
Hearken unto me, thou son of Zipper."
(Numb. xxiii. 18.)

These varieties of parallelism might be illustrated in nearly every particular from English poetry. Shakespeare, among our older poets, and Tennyson among modern, make frequent and powerful use of it. The reader may refer back to the passage already given from *King Richard II.* for instances of its employment to increase dramatic effect, for it is in the stately language of the drama that room is chiefly found for the exercise of this form of the poetic art. The following instances might be multiplied to almost any extent from the works of Tennyson:—

"The slow sweet hours that bring us all things good;
The slow sad hours that bring us all things ill."
(*Love and Duty.*)

"I heard the ripple washing in the reeds,
And the wild water lapping on the crag."
(*Morte d'Arthur.*)

"There will I enter in among them all,
And no man there will dare to mock at me;
But there the fine Gawain will wonder at me,
And there the great Sir Lancelot muse at me;
Gawain, who had a thousand farewells to me;
Lancelot, who coldly went, nor had me one;
And there the king will know me and my love,
And there the queen herself will pity me,
And all the gentle court will welcome me,
And after my long voyage I shall rest."
(*Elaine.*)

It is interesting to see, from Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*, if that poem really represents the rhythm of Indian song, how largely the parallel form enters into the musical feeling of the wild tribes of America. We shall more than once go for illustration to this graceful poem. The following passage echoes Old Testament prophecy both in form and spirit:—

"I am weary of your quarrels,
Weary of your wars and bloodshed,
Weary of your prayers for vengeance,
Of your wranglings and dissensions.
All your strength is in your union,
All your danger is in discord;
Therefore be at peace henceforward,
And as brothers live together.
I will send a Prophet to you,
A Deliverer of the nations,
Who shall guide you and shall teach you,
Who shall toil and suffer with you.
If you listen to his counsels,
You will multiply and prosper;
If his warnings pass unheeded,
You will fade away and perish."

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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NOCTURNAL BIRDS OF PREY.



Of the owl family (*Strigidae*) the following species are inhabitants of Palestine: the great owl (*Bubo ascalaphus*), the tawny owl (*Syrnium aluco*), the little owl (*Athene Persica*) the scops owl (*Scops giu*), the white or

we may reasonably expect several allusions to these nocturnal birds of prey in the sacred writings.

The following Hebrew words have been rendered owl in the Authorised Version:—*Bath-haya'anah*, *yanshuph* or *yanshoph*, *côs*, *kippôz*, and *lilith*. The first word designates, without doubt, an "ostrich," and

TAWNY OWL (*Syrnium aluco*).

barn owl (*Strix flammea*)—all of which are pretty common—the Indian fish owl (*Ketupa Ceylonensis*), the long and short-horned owls of our own country (*Strix otus* and *S. brachyotus*). The grotesque expression produced by the arrangement of the feathers of the face, the peculiar voice, the habit of flying by night, their frequenting ivy-covered ruins and places of solitude, have all contributed to engender superstitious feelings in the minds of many people. Owls are in popular belief birds of darkness, death, and ill-omen, as Shakespeare says—

"Out on ye owls, nothing but songs of death!"

In the minds of the Orientals this idea has always been fully as prevalent as in those of Western people, and

will be considered when we come to treat of that bird; the last-named word, which, in the text of Isa. xxxiv. 14, is translated "screech-owl," is more correctly given in the margin as "night monster;" the remaining words, there is some reason to believe, denote some kinds of owls. But besides these, there is another Hebrew word, *tachmâs*, occurring in Lev. xi. 16 and Dent. xiv. 15, as one of the birds that were to be held in abomination by the Israelites, and translated "night-hawk" in our version, which also, we think, denotes some owl.

Yanshûph occurs in Lev. xi. 17, Dent. xiv. 16, as one of the unclean birds; it is rendered "great owl" by our version; it occurs once more (Isa. xxxiv. 11, where it is translated "owl") in the prophet's graphic description of desolate Edom: "The owl also and the raven shall

THE EAGLE-OWLS (*Bubo maximus*).

dwel in it." The Septuagint and the Vulgate read *ibis*, *i.e.*, the *Ibis religiosa* of Egypt, to which Dr. Tristram objects, inasmuch as "the ibis is strictly a bird of the reedy marshes and mud flats, the very last to be thought of among the ruins of Petra." This is quite true, but it must be remembered that in the same scene of desolate Edom water-birds such as the pelican

and the bittern are introduced. The description is very similar to the one in Isa. xiii. 20—22, xiv. 23, and Zeph. ii. 14, which Delitzsch says is founded upon this one. It was a favourite idea of the Hebrew prophets to introduce into the picture of a waste desert land pools or marshes here and there, to serve to add to the scene of desolation. Thus, of Babylon it is said,

"I will make it a possession for bitterns and marshes of water." When a country is liable to inundation from a river, hollow places full of water would remain. Moreover, the prophet does not specially mention Petra. The judgments of Jehovah were to be directed against Bozrah and the land of Idumea (Isa. xxxiv. 6). Still, we do not think that the ibis is intended by the word *yanshûph*, but the great eagle-owl (*Bubo maximus*), or rather the *B. ascalaphus*, the Syrian and Arabian representative of the European species. The Targum renders *yanshûph* in Isaiah by *kippophîn* (pl.) (Syriac, *kufîfo*), i.e., "eared owls," which are frequently mentioned in the Talmud as birds of ill-omen. The singular noun *kippophu* occurs in Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 16, as the representative of the Hebrew *yanshûph*, which may, we think, be fairly identified with the eagle-owl, a magnificent species inhabiting ruins and caves in every part of Palestine, "as in tombs in Carmel, robbers' caves near Gennesaret, the hermit caves above Jericho, among the ruined cities of southern Judah, and in the desert wadys near Beersheba, among the temples of Rabbath Ammon; in fact, everywhere where man has been and is not." It occurs also very abundantly in the rock tombs of Petra. Where there are no rocks, the eagle-owl burrows in the sand-banks and lays its eggs there. Its cry is a loud, prolonged, and very powerful hoot, which brought vividly to Dr. Tristram's mind a sense of desolation and loneliness, as he stood at midnight among the ruined temples of Baalbek.

Some kind of owl, it is thought, is intended by the Hebrew word *côs*, translated "little owl" in Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 16, where it is mentioned amongst the unclean birds. It occurs also in Ps. cii. 6: "I am like a pelican of the wilderness: I am like an owl of ruined places" (A. V., "desert"). The Hebrew word *côs* means a "cup" in some passages of Scripture, from a root meaning to "receive," "to hide," or "bring together;" hence the pelican, "the cup," or "pouch-bird," has been suggested as the bird intended. In this case the verse in the Psalm would be rendered thus: "I am become like a pelican in the wilderness, even as the pouch-bird in the desert places." But the fact that both the pelican and the *côs* are enumerated in the list of birds to be avoided as food is against this theory, unless the word changed its meaning in the Psalmist's time, which is improbable. The expression *côs* "of ruined places" looks very much as if some owl were denoted. The Arabic definitely applies a kindred expression as one of the names of an owl, viz., *um elcharab*, i.e., "mother of ruins." The Septuagint gives *νυκτικόραξ* as the meaning of *côs*; and we know from Aristotle that the Greek word was a synonym of *âros*, evidently, from his description of the bird, one of the eared owls. Dr. Tristram is disposed to refer the *côs* to the little *Athene Persica*, the most common of all the owls in Palestine, the representative of the *A. noctua* of Southern Europe. The Arabs call this bird "boomah," from his note; he is described "as a grotesque and comical-looking little bird, familiar and yet cautious;

never moving unnecessarily, but remaining glued to his perch, unless he has good reason for believing he has been detected, and twisting and turning his head instead of his eyes to watch what is going on." He is to be found amongst rocks in the wadys or trees by the water-side, in olive-yards, in the tombs and on the ruins, on the sandy mounds of Beersheba, and on "the spray-beaten fragments of Tyre, where his low wailing note is sure to be heard at sunset, and himself seen bowing and keeping time to his own music."

The Hebrew word *kippoz* is found in one place only, viz., Isa. xxxiv. 15: "There (in Idumea) shall the *kippoz* [A. V., "great owl"] make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow." Some bird is evidently intended, and not a darting snake, as argued by Bochart and others, from the sole fact that the Arabic *kippaz* is used by Avicenna to denote a "darting tree-serpent," from a root meaning "to spring forward." Gesenius, Fürst, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Delitzsch, Benisch, in the *Jewish School and Family Bible*, Lesser, Samuel Sharpe, and Cheyne, all read "an arrow snake." We presume that the *Eryx jaculus* (Dandin), a harmless sand snake common in Palestine, is intended. But the expression "make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow," clearly alludes to some bird. It is true that the boa or python-snake occasionally broods over its young, but it is unlikely that such an act was known to any of the sacred writers. Dr. Tristram thinks that the word is possibly an imitation of the cry of the scops owl (*Scops giu*), called *maroof* by the Arabs, common about ruins, caves, and the old walls of towns. He adds that its note is well represented by the name *kippoz*. Against this idea is the fact that the scops owl is a very small and pretty little bird, and would hardly be brought in with howling jackals, dancing satyrs, child-stealing night fairies (*lilith*) to add to a scene of desolation.

Lilith, rendered "screech-owl" in the text of Isa. xxxiv. 14, is more correctly given as "night monster" in the margin. This creature of the night was a female demon (*shêdîk*) of the popular mythology; according to the legends it was a malicious fairy that was especially hurtful to children, like the ghouls of the *Arabian Nights*. *Lilith* was to find a home in company with dancing satyrs in deserted Edom. On an earthen bowl from Babylon, now in the British Museum, there is an inscription in the ancient Chaldee language, which contains an amulet or charm against these *lilith* or night monsters, and other demons, of which the following is a translation:—"This is a bill of divorce to the devil and to . . . and to Satan, and to Nerig, and to Zachiah, and to Abitur of the mountains, and to . . . and to the night monsters (*lilitha*), commanding them to cease from Beheran in Batnaium, and from the country of the north, and from all who are tormented by them therein. Behold, I make the counsels of these devils of no effect, and annul the power of the ruler of the night monsters. I conjure you all, monsters . . . both male and female, to go forth. I conjure you, and . . . by the sceptre of the powerful one who has

power over the devils and over the night monsters, to quit these habitations. Behold, I now make you cease from troubling them, and make the influence of your presence cease in Beheran of Batnaium and in their fields. In the same manner as the devils write bills of divorce, and give them to their wives, and return not unto them again, receive ye your bill of divorce, and take this written authority, and go forth, leave quickly, flee and depart from Beheran in Batnaium, in the name of the living . . . by the seal of the powerful one, and by this signet of authority. Then will there flow rivers of water in that land, and then the parched ground will be watered. Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah." There are a number of these terra-cotta bowls in the British Museum; they seem to have been used as divining cups. (Compare Gen. xlv. 5: "Is not this it . . . whereby my lord divineth?") See on this subject, Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, 509—526, and a recent paper by Mr. Rodwell in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. ii., pt. 1, p. 114—118.



"LILITH"—EARTHEN BOWL, INSCRIBED.
(BRITISH MUSEUM.)

The Hebrew word *tachmās*, occurring only in the list of unclean birds (Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15), and translated "night-hawk" in our version, more probably denotes an owl of some kind. By "night-hawk" our translators probably meant the "night-jar" or "goat-sucker" (*Caprimulgus*), of which three species are known in the Holy Land. This bird (*C. Europæus*) has been the subject of many superstitions, and absurd properties have from the time of Aristotle been ascribed to it. It utters a strange dismal cry resembling the sound of a spinning-wheel, only heard at night; hence the name of the bird, "night-jar" or "night-churr."

The LXX. and the Vulgate render the Hebrew word by γλαίξ and *noctua*, i.e., "an owl." The derivation of the Hebrew term from *chāmas*, "to act violently," Arabic *chamash*, "to wound the face with the claws," points to some bird of prey. It is curious to note, in connection with this, a popular belief in the East that there is some kind of owl which glides stealthily into bed-chambers at night, and tears the flesh off sleeping children. Hasselquist says this owl is of the size of the common owl; he calls it *Strix orientalis*, which, he tells us, the Arabs in Egypt call *massassa* and the Syrians *hana*. The women are much afraid of this infant-killing owl, and carefully watch their houses lest the cruel bird should gain admittance through an open window (*Travels*, p. 196). It is not improbable that *tachmas* may mean the screech-owl (*Strix flammea*) common in Palestine, it being easy to understand, as Tristram says, "how the light plumage, ghost-like, noiseless flight, and unmusical screech of the bird heard suddenly in the stillness of the night, almost always in the ruins and caves which

local superstition has peopled with "ginnis" or sprites, should have earned for it this evil character." But it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion as to the bird denoted. The name of the owl occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions as *its-tsur mu-si*, i.e., "bird of night" (*W. A. I.*, ii. 37, line 30b). *Tsulamu*, *tsalamdu*, or *tsal-lam-mu*, also stands for "an owl."

Compare Shakespeare:—

"Yesterday, the bird of night did sit,
Even at noonday, upon the market-place,
Hooting and shrieking."—*Jul. Cæs.*, i. 3.

THE MINERALS OF THE BIBLE.

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THE minerals named in the Bible may be classed in three groups: (1) Gems, or precious stones; (2) those connected with metals, mining, and metallurgy; and (3) mineral substances not referable to either of the preceding classes.

I. PRECIOUS STONES.

From time immemorial precious stones have excited curiosity and commanded admiration. Brilliant and

richly-coloured gems have a strange fascination. They blaze on the brow of beauty, and deck the crown of royalty. Imagination has vested them with strange, fantastic, and mystical powers. Religion has claimed them for her service.

Most of the precious stones named in the Bible are included in three distinct lists—the description of the high priest's breastplate (Exod. xxviii. 17; xxxix. 10); the account of the ornaments of the king of Tyre in

Ezek. xxviii. 13; and the apocalyptic vision of the foundations of the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 18—21). Besides these passages, there are others in which particular stones are referred to: *e.g.*, Rev. iv. 3; Job xxviii. 19; Gen. ii. 12; and others.

To identify the Hebrew and Greek names used in these passages with the names of modern mineralogy is in many cases no easy task. Most probably in those early times, when the ritual and priestly dresses, as described in the Book of Exodus, were determined, Egypt and Arabia were the only countries through which the Israelites could obtain a knowledge of gems. Subsequently the commerce of Phœnicia and Ezion-geber (1 Kings ix. 26; xxii. 48) on the one hand, and the Babylonian captivity on the other, opened to them a knowledge of the treasures of the East. And later still, the conquests of the Greeks and Romans must have had some effect upon the nomenclature of the precious stones.

Among the ancients mineralogical science was in a very crude condition. The names and description given by Pliny, Theophrastus, Epiphanius, and other writers, are conflicting and embarrassing. But through their aid many points can be set definitely at rest with regard to the exact character of ancient gems.

A second means of determination is found in the etymology of Hebrew and Arabic roots. The ancient names of many of these precious stones are derived from some physical character they possess: *e.g.*, the Hebrew name of the sardius, or sardine stone, is *ôdem*, from a root signifying "to be red," a derivation which manifestly excludes all stones which are not red. There is, moreover, every reason to believe that the modern Arabic names have not been substantially altered for at least 2,000 years; and this affords us a further clue to exact determination, on account of the resemblances between Hebrew and Arabic.

A third and still more important aid to identification is found in a comparison of the original texts of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and Josephus. The Septuagint is the Greek version of the Old Testament made in the third century B.C. at Alexandria. The Vulgate is a Latin text of the Bible, made under the direction of Jerome, at the close of the fourth century A.D., not exclusively by translation from the Septuagint, but from the original Hebrew. The names of the stones given by these three versions are in full agreement, the order in three cases, however, being changed. This agreement is remarkable. Josephus undoubtedly saw the breastplate in the Temple services repeatedly. In Jerome's time it was still to be inspected in the Temple of Concord at Rome. And if we had any guarantee that Josephus and Jerome were acquainted with minerals, the agreement of these three lists would go far to settle many disputed points. Even without this guarantee we have here a valuable aid in determination.¹

The account given in Exodus of the breastplate shows

that the names of the children of Jacob were engraved upon the stones thereof, and also upon the two stones worn upon the high priest's shoulders. The account of Josephus, which is even more precise, is as follows:—"There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod at the shoulders to fasten it, in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob, in our own country letters and in our own tongue, six on each of the stones on either side; and the elder sons' names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also there were upon the breastplate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty; and they were an ornament not to be purchased by men because of their immense value. . . . The names of all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honour of a name in the order according to which they were born" (*Ant.* iii. 7. § 5). The ancient Israelites must therefore have known something of the art of engraving hard stones. There is an old rabbinical legend that Moses engraved the stones of the breastplate by means of a worm called *shâmîr*. But this word occurs three times in the Old Testament in passages where nothing but a very hard stone will suit the meaning. In two of these it is rendered "adamant" in the English version, in the third "diamond" (Ezek. iii. 9; Zech. vii. 12; Jer. xvii. 1). There can be no question that the Israelites possessed the knowledge of engraving stones. In Gen. xxxviii. 18 we find mention of the signet of Judah; in Gen. xli. 42 we learn that the ring of Pharaoh was placed upon Joseph's hand when he was made ruler over the land; and the stone of the den in which Daniel was given to the lions was sealed with the signet of Darius and with the signet of his lords (Dan. vi. 17). Indeed, we are not left to infer the existence of stone-engraving from these passages; for in Jer. xvii. 1 there is explicit reference to engraving with the point of an adamant (*shâmîr*). History and archæology alike show that both the Egyptians and the Assyrians possessed this knowledge, and doubtless the ancient Israelites likewise.

But how was this engraving accomplished? Pliny explains that in his day fragments of diamond were used for the purpose, just as in our day the same material is used for cutting glass. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the diamond was known either to the Egyptians or to the Assyrians; and it is much more probable that the adamant of the Old Testament is the *corundum*, which is simply the compact form of what is popularly known as emery powder. This is the hardest of stones next to the diamond, has been used in India from time immemorial for gem-cutting, and can be shown to have been in extensive use for this purpose in early historical times. It is certain that the diamond was not, as our English version makes it, the sixth stone of the Jewish breastplate; partly on account of the size of the stones as narrated by Josephus, and partly because it would have been utterly impossible for the ancient lapidary to carve upon the hardest of all stones

¹ Jerome cannot be credited with any special mineralogical knowledge, as he speaks with praise of the work of Epiphanius, which abounds in absurd errors.

the letters of the Hebrew name of the sixth son of Jacob.

The stones of the breastplate were arranged in four rows of three in each row. But in the lists given in the different versions there are some slight differences in the order. The most curious variation is that the *yásh'p'heh* or *jasper* is the twelfth stone of the Hebrew list, but the sixth of the Septuagint and Vulgate. Rosenmüller conjectures that the Greek translator of the Septuagint in his Hebrew manuscript must have found this transposition of *yá h'p'heh* from the twelfth to the sixth place, and of *yahalóm* from the sixth to the twelfth place. But even if this supposition be correct, there are other difficulties attending the exact identification of the three stones, named in the Hebrew, *yahalóm*, *shóham*, and *yásh'p'heh*, which are rendered in our English Bible "diamond," "onyx," and "jasper." The translation "diamond" is undoubtedly wrong, for reasons already stated; and there can be little doubt also that the Hebrew names represent the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper. There is a clear etymological connection between *yásh'p'heh* and jasper. *Yahalóm* and *shóham*, then, represent the onyx and the beryl. But which is which? Braun, Michaelis, Eichhorn, and others maintain, on etymological grounds, that the *shóham* is the onyx: others maintain from other considerations that *shóham* is the beryl. The word is used in Gen. ii. 12 to describe a product of the land of Chavilah; in Job xxviii. 16 as a most precious stone classed with sapphire and gold; and also in 1 Chron. xxix. 2 as collected by David for the Temple. *Yahalóm*, derived from a root connected with hardness or toughness, would apply to either stone, and as it is used only in Exodus, is of very little aid in determination. The latest and most ingenious attempt to identify *shóham* is that of Sir Henry Rawlinson in his paper "On the Site of the Terrestrial Paradise" read before the British Association in 1870. He believes that the term really applies to *alabaster*, quarries of which existed just outside the Euphrates alluvium. We must, however, remember that this word *shóham* first appears in the very earliest records of the human race (Gen. ii. 12) as describing a product which was highly valued. Before any reference to metal-working, we find the stone *shóham* highly prized. Why? Manifestly because it was the material of the only known cutting implements, tools, and weapons—the tough, sharp-edged, flinty mineral which in its finer varieties became subsequently a precious stone valued for other reasons. Such stones are found in the alluvial gravels of rivers, and the river Pison in the land of Chavilah was pre-eminent in this particular. These considerations, together with the philological reasons assigned by Braun, Michaelis, and Eichhorn, appear to us conclusive of the question that the *shóham* in early days represented the tough and flinty varieties of the same quartz mineral whose finer varieties were in later times prized for ornamental purposes. It is a singular confirmation of the view here expressed that an Arabic word for "arrow" is derived from a cognate root. The *shóham* stone is the arrow stone.

The variation in the order of the stones prompts

the inquiry whether the breastplate which Josephus repeatedly saw, and which Jerome might have seen in the Temple of Concord, was identical with that of ancient times. If the whole of the original stones were preserved, the order also must have been kept, in consequence of the names engraved upon them. But it is not by any means unlikely that in the great vicissitudes of the Hebrew nation, some of the original stones may have been lost, and have been replaced by others. There is, so far as we are aware, no record of any such loss, nor of any appearance on the breastplate indicative of such replacement; and this therefore is a mere conjecture which may have no foundation in fact.

There is another question closely connected with the possibility of changes subsequently made in the original stones of the breastplate—viz., whether the so-called *Oriental* stones which form our most precious gems were known to the ancient Israelites. These gems—ruby, topaz, sapphire, emerald, &c., with the prefix "*Oriental*" to distinguish them from other different stones—all consist of crystallised alumina, and owe their different colours to small quantities of different metallic oxides. Allusion has already been made to the *shámír* of the Hebrews as the rough and subcrystalline corundum which was used for engraving other stones. These various Oriental stones are crystalline forms of the same mineral; just as the diamond is the crystalline and transparent form of opaque and dull carbon.

There is not a tittle of evidence to show that these Oriental stones were known to the Egyptians, nor even to the Assyrians. The classical nations subsequently to the Christian era, as shown by the writings of Dionysius Periegetes, were acquainted with them. And it is probable that the Phœnician merchants, even in the times of the Assyrian and later Egyptian kingdoms, may have imported these precious stones from the far East. Ezekiel speaks of the Arabian merchants dealing in all manner of precious stones. But whatever may have been the case in the times of Ezekiel and subsequently, it is highly improbable that in the early times of the Hebrew nation these Oriental stones were known to them. This improbability, as respects the breastplate, is rendered the greater by the fact that all these stones are excessively hard, and that even the *shámír* or corundum would fail effectually to carve on them the names of the sons of Jacob.

The question whether there were any of these Oriental stones appears to us to rest entirely on the previous question, whether the stones were fixed in the time of Moses and never altered subsequently. If so, the evidence is strong against the presence of the Oriental gems, as there is not a shadow of testimony that they were known at such times, and distinct proof that they were unknown in Egypt, Arabia, and Assyria. If we are confined to the times of Moses, we are limited also to the stones known in the countries with which he was acquainted. But in the time of Solomon a great change came over not only the commerce of the Hebrews, but also over the paraphernalia of the Temple worship. It may be thought that the religious feeling and intense

reverence of the Hebrews would prevent all change in regard to so precious and sacred a relic as the high priest's breastplate; and this argument must be allowed as far as it goes. It may be said that there is no evidence of such changes, and that such a thing was far too important to have been done without some record. The reply to this is obvious: there are distinct records of extensive commerce in precious stones in the times of David and Solomon. Thus, in David's charge to Solomon we find these words: "Now I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God the gold for things to be made of gold, . . . onyx stones and stones to be set, glistening stones, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious stones and marble stones in abundance" (1 Chron. xxix. 2; see also 2 Chron. v. 1). When all things, then, were made now, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the breastplate shared in the improvement.

But waiving this question as one of mere conjecture and probability, we pass to consider in detail the stones which may possibly be represented by Oriental gems. We have to do, of course, with the original breastplate of Moses, not with any possible changes which took place in it afterwards; and we shall see that, apart from the general considerations already adduced, there is in each case strong evidence in favour of stones that were not Oriental.

We begin with the stone named in Hebrew *sappîr*. The modern sapphire is the crystalline corundum, an Oriental stone. And it has been thought by many that the Biblical references to sapphire demand transparency and brilliancy. The Hebrew root *sâphar* means to "engrave" or "to write," and accordingly *sappîr* might mean either the "thing which engraves," or "the thing which is engraved." If the former, the stone in all probability would be some variety of the hard corundum. But as the Hebrew derivatives from the root are the terms for a "book," a "writing," an "engraving," and so forth, the latter meaning above named is the most probable. The Talmud states that the tables of the Law were made of *sappîr*. The Biblical references to sapphire make it represent "the pavement of *sappîr*" under the feet of the God of Israel "like the body of heaven in purity" (Exod. xxiv. 10), and also the throne of God above the firmament of heaven (Ezek. i. 26). All these references and allusions suit most completely the stone which is well known to have been the sapphire of the Greeks and Romans, viz., the lovely blue *lapis lazuli*, or stone from which the pigment called ultramarine is made. Pliny's description of it is "refulgent with spots of gold, of an azure colour sometimes, but very 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" (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii. 9). There are two points in the description which require a word of explanation. The "spots of gold" and "crystalline particles" are iron pyrites, which occur abundantly in some specimens of lapis. A deep-blue stone then, with brilliant crystalline particles, well represents the star-spangled firmament, "like the body of heaven in its

purity," and is also more suitable for a royal pavement than the brilliant glassy sapphire. Again, Pliny's reference to hard crystalline particles appears opposed to the usage of this stone for engraving the law or anything else thereon. But, as a matter of fact, quantities of engraved Egyptian jewelry made of lapis are known. Mr. King, in his *Antique Gems*,¹ says that lapis is the "only stone of any intrinsic value known to the Egyptians under the Pharaohs." And engraved works in it are known of every period of antiquity. "Before the true precious stones were introduced from India, the lapis lazuli held the highest place in the estimation of the primitive nations of Asia and Greece." A stone intersected by particles of pyrites would of course be unsuitable for engraving, not only on account of the hard crystalline nature of such particles, but also because they readily decompose and decay. But, as Pliny's words manifestly imply, there are specimens of lapis without these particles, and therefore suitable for engraving. And there seems no reasonable doubt that the sapphire of the breastplate was the much-valued lapis lazuli of the ancients. Epiphanius says that it was "medicinal, for being powdered it heals the sores following pustules and boils if smeared over them, being applied mixed with milk to the ulcerations."

We now come to the emerald and beryl. The emerald was the third stone of the breastplate, not the fourth, as in our English Version. The Hebrew root means to "flash lightning," a meaning which materially aids in determining the stone. The term emerald in Pliny's days was applied to a great number of stones; Pliny names twelve. Of these the Oriental stones are excluded, as we have already shown. There remain to be considered the so-called copper emerald or chryso-colla, the beautiful green malachite, and the true emerald of modern mineralogy. Theophrastus speaks of the emerald of Cyprus as a gem "very rare and of a small size. It has some peculiar properties, for it renders water of the same colour with itself. It soothes the eyes, and people wear seals of this stone in order that they may look at them." We have known persons new-a-days who have found the view of their seals and emerald rings very soothing to their eyes. This emerald of Cyprus is the silicious ore of copper called chryso-colla; and, though very beautiful, is scarcely likely to have been the emerald of the breastplate. Nor has the well-known green carbonate of copper called malachite, which is now so extensively used for ornaments, a much better claim; although there is abundant evidence to show that this in ancient times was called emerald (*smaragdus*, *σμάραγδος*) and that it was well known to the Egyptians. The significance of these copper ores in relation to the Scriptural emerald arises chiefly from

¹ It is almost impossible to treat the subject of precious stones in the English language without copious references to the most valuable books of the Rev. C. W. King, of Trinity College, Cambridge. And the writer wishes to state at the outset that his own studies some years ago derived great assistance from these books, and that he feels under much obligation to their author for his scholarly and exhaustive treatment of the subject. On some points, however, he is constrained to differ from Mr. King.

the passage in Rev. iv. 3, which likens the emerald to a rainbow, as there are some varieties which have curiously-blended tints of blue and green suggestive of the rainbow. The etymology of the Hebrew word, however, as given above, renders it most probable that the stone of the breastplate was the true emerald of modern mineralogy. There is a striking peculiarity in the true emerald, when of any considerable size. In one particular position of the light its green colour is lost, and it flashes the light back like a brilliant mirror. This is in striking conformity with the meaning of the Hebrew word. All the stones called emerald known to the ancients were green stones. This is the only green stone which has this peculiarity. The conclusion is obvious. Some have felt a difficulty in this conclusion because most of the modern true emeralds come from South America. But the mines of Egypt and Ethiopia were the chief source of supply of emeralds to the Romans; and Mount Zabarah in Upper Egypt still affords them, several specimens from that locality having been obtained by Sir G. Wilkinson and placed in the British Museum. There is no doubt that these mines were largely worked by the ancient Egyptians, and therefore no reason for doubting that the stone of the breastplate was the true emerald. The ancients had some curious ideas as to the medicinal virtues of the emerald:—"Reduced to powder and taken internally in a dose of from four to ten grains, emerald was accounted a certain antidote for poisons, and bites of venomous animals, as well as a remedy for fluxes, the plague, infectious fevers, hæmorrhages, and dysentery. Worn externally, as an amulet, it was also regarded by the ancients as a cure for epilepsy, to possess the power of assuaging terror, and driving away evil spirits—as of assistance in childbirth, and as an infallible preservative of chastity, to the violation of which it possessed such an innate antipathy as to fly to pieces if worn in a ring on the finger of any person transgressing." In this last respect the emerald appears to have shared its honour with the oriental sapphire.

Closely allied to the emerald is the *beryl* or *aquamarine*, which was the last or twelfth stone of the breastplate. Beryl is the name now given to the kinds of emerald which are either not transparent or are destitute of the bright rich green colour. This colour is due to a slight admixture of chromium. When this metal is absent, or is replaced by other metallic oxides, the rich green colour disappears. When the stone is crystalline and transparent, with a faint bluish-green or sea-green colour, it is called aquamarine. And this appears to have been the beryl of the breastplate.

Topaz and *chrysolite* next demand notice. In some curious way these terms have become interchanged. The topaz of the ancients is the chrysolite of the moderns, and *vice versa*. Bellermin (*Urim and Thummim*, p. 39) has tried to confute this statement; but his reasoning is inconclusive; the balance of evidence lies quite the other way. Besides the references in the books of Exodus, Ezekiel, and Revelation, Job speaks of the topaz of Cush (Job xxviii. 19). The ancient

topaz, or our chrysolite, is a yellowish-green or greenish-yellow transparent stone, not unlike some kinds of glass in appearance. It was found in Egypt, and specially in an island in the Red Sea, from which it derived its name.

Chrysolite appears in the later versions as the equivalent of the Hebrew *tarshish*, the tenth stone, or the first of the fourth row. The translation of the English Version, *beryl*, is obviously incorrect. The finest kind of chrysolite named by Pliny corresponds to the Oriental topaz, a stone which the general reasons already given would exclude. The modern Brazilian topaz was unknown to all the nations of antiquity. Pliny mentions other kinds of chrysolite, one of which, distinguished from others by its lesser weight, came from Spain. *Tarshish*, the Hebrew name of the breastplate stone, is the Hebrew name of *Tartessus* in Spain, from which the Phœnician merchants brought many articles of commerce. What, then, can be clearer than that this Spanish chrysolite is the stone which the commerce of the Phœnicians brought in early times to Syria and Egypt? From the account given of it, it is manifestly the same as our yellow crystalline quartz—the Scotch cairngorm.

Five other of the stones were different species of the ubiquitous mineral quartz—viz., sardius, agate, amethyst, onyx, and jasper; and the two sardonyxes which formed the shoulder buttons are of the same class.

The *sard* of the ancients is our brilliant red carnelian. It was highly valued, and was extensively used for signets and carved gems. The finest appear to have come from Babylon; but Egypt and Arabia also supplied numbers.

The precious *onyx* is the banded carnelian often cut across the layers so as to exhibit stripes or spots of black, white, red, or other colours. Some have maintained that the onyx was a banded stone of two shades—black, brown, red, yellow, or some other colour, with white; reserving the term *sardonyx* for those containing three layers, one of which was red—as, e.g., the Arabian stone, which was black or blue, covered by opaque white, and then a layer of vermilion. Others maintain that the distinction was based upon the mode of arrangement of the layers: if the coloured ground was covered by white veins irregularly disposed, so that when cut these veins formed sometimes stripes, sometimes spots or eyes, then the stone was onyx; but if the bands were in regular parallel strata one over the other, then it was sardonyx. The *Lapidarium* of Marbodius, Bishop of Rennes, of which an admirable translation is given in Mr. King's *Antique Gems*, explains the difference thus:—

"The sard and onyx in one name unite,
And from their union spring three colours bright;
O'er jetty black the brilliant white is spread,
And o'er the white diffused a fiery red;
If clear the colours, if distinct the line
Where still unmixed the various layers join,
Such was for beauty and for value prize,
Rarest of all that teeming earth supplies;
Chief among signets it will best convey
The stamp impressed, nor tear the wax away."

The true sardonyx, consisting of parallel layers of different colours, is a very lovely stone; it is now much used for seals, rings, &c., and forms the material of many of the much-valued antique cameos. Marbodus held a curious opinion as to what ought to be the virtues of its wearer:—

“The man of humble heart and modest face,
And purest soul the sardonyx should grace;
A worthy gem, yet boasts no mystic powers;
’Tis sent from Indian and Arabian shores.”

The first Roman wearer of the sardonyx was Scipio Africanus the elder, whose “humble heart, and modest face, and purest soul” scarcely bear out the words of Marbodus.

The *agate*, or *achates*, well illustrates the great difficulty of determining accurately some of these stones. Its Hebrew name, *shēbō*, is derived by Gesenius from a root meaning “to take prisoner;” but Fürst connects it with an Arabic root meaning “to glitter.” It may also be derived from another Arabic root meaning “to be dull and obscure.” And thus etymology alone utterly fails to solve the problem. The Hebrew word occurs only in the two descriptions of the breastplate in Exodus, and we therefore have no further aid of other usage to guide us. It is rendered in the Septuagint, Josephus, and the Vulgate by *achates*, ἀχάτης. The achates of the Romans included most of the stones now known as jasper, and a number of other inferior coloured quartz gems. And the agate of the breastplate was most probably some variety of uncrystallised quartz, such, perhaps, as the ordinary Scotch pebble.

The *amethyst* is undoubtedly the common amethyst of modern science—crystalline quartz coloured by oxides of manganese and iron. The colour is violet, sometimes passing into blue. It is to be distinguished from what is called the Oriental amethyst, or purple sapphire, which is an exceedingly rare stone of the corundum species. The amethyst, as its Greek name implies, was considered a preservative against drunkenness. Perhaps the Hebrew name, derived from a root meaning “to dream,” has reference to a similar property. Pliny states the opinion, that it was so designated because it imitates the colour of wine without reaching it. Water drunk out of an amethyst cup would look like wine and be perfectly harmless. Wine drunk out of an amethyst cup would be harmless clearly because such a cup would be very small. Perhaps the ancients had some prevision of modern amethyst coloured claret-glasses.

Jasper is the modern chalcidony. Many of the known Egyptian and Phœnician gems are engraved upon a dark green variety. And this was most likely the stone of the breastplate. The *iaspis* (ἰασπίς) of Greek and Roman times included many of the stones now called chalcidony, and some of the sub-crystalline kinds of quartz. There is nothing either in the Hebrew root or in the Old Testament references to determine which of these is intended. In the absence of other indication, the Egyptian usage may be considered decisive.

The fourth stone, first of the second row, was, as all admit, the *carbuncle*, or *garnet*. It received the names it bore in classical writings on account of its resemblance

to a burning coal, and some curious and fanciful stories are related concerning it. Mr. King (*Precious Stones*, p. 150) quotes the following two:—“A certain Grecian widow named Heraclea had tended a young stork that, having fallen out of its nest before it was fully fledged, had broken its leg, and the grateful bird, on returning from the annual migration of its kind, dropped into her lap as she sat at her door a precious stone, which on her awaking at night she found to her astonishment had lighted up her chamber like a blazing torch.” The Syrian goddess Astarte is represented by Lucian as “wearing on her head a gem called Lychnis (lamp-stone), a name derived from its nature; for from it a great and shining light is diffused in the night time, so that the whole temple is thereby lighted up as though by many lamps burning. By day the lustre is more feeble, nevertheless it presents a very fiery appearance.” The blazing colour of many garnets must be familiar to all who have seen them. The finest in modern times come from South America and Ceylon; but the stone is very widely diffused in nature.

The only remaining stone is the *lëshēm*, or *ligure*, the first of the third row. Concerning this, conjectures have been numerous. The fossil known as “belemnite,” amber, opal, and the modern ligurite have all been supported on different grounds. Dr. Watson, in the fifty-first volume of *Philosophical Transactions*, p. 394, argues for tourmaline mainly because Theophrastus represents the ligure as attracting small particles of wood, iron, and brass; and it is well known that tourmaline possesses electric properties. But it is much more probable that the stone known as jacinth, or hyacinth—a variety of zircon—is the ligure of olden times. This also is electric when rubbed; and is known to have been in esteem in Egypt and Arabia. It is not much worn, on account of its often porous character and the flaws and blebs it frequently contains. Still, despite these defects, it is a magnificent stone of a rich orange colour.

The stones of the breastplate then, according to the arrangement of the Septuagint, come out as follows. The numbers of course go from right to left, in accordance with the Hebrew method of reading:—

3	2	1
Emerald (true but not Oriental).	Chrysolite (modern).	Sard, or Red Carnelian.
6	5	4
Jasper, or Green Chalcidony.	Lapis lazuli.	Garnet, or Carbuncle.
9	8	7
Quartz Amethyst.	Agate, or semipellucid uncrystallised Quartz.	Jacinth, or Hyaciuth.
12	11	10
Beryl, or Aquamarine.	Onyx.	Quartz-topaz, or Cairngorm.

Josephus interchanges five with six, eight with nine,

and eleven with twelve; the Vulgate interchanges eleven with twelve; the Hebrew text interchanges six with twelve.

It will be readily gathered from what has already been said, that in the subsequent times of David and Solomon, and still more in the time of Ezekiel, the Oriental stones *may* have come into prominence; and by their transcendent excellence have been prized beyond these previously known. Be this as it may, it is certain that in the early times of the Christian era these were well known to the Greeks and Romans. And accordingly we must give a few lines to the description in the book of Revelation of the precious stones in the apocalyptic vision of St. John. This description is evidently couched in a spirit of high poetic imagery, the idea being to illustrate by the most splendid of known gems the brilliancy of the future city. All the reasons, therefore, which we have deemed conclusive as to the absence of such gems from the priestly dress of Aaron and his successors fail to obtain in this case.

Nothing needs to be added to what has already been said concerning sapphire, sardonyx, sardius, topaz (*i.e.*, modern chrysolite), beryl, emerald, and amethyst. The two latter may indeed be conceived to be the most rare and valuable Oriental stones so named, though in point of richness of colour but little is gained thereby. The other stones demand a word or two of explanation.

The *chrysolite* of St. John is most probably the true Oriental topaz, a brilliant golden-yellow crystalline stone. The *jacinth* (*ιάκινθος*) of Greek and Roman days, as its description by Solinus shows, is undoubtedly the true Oriental sapphire, a stone of brilliant transparency and lustre, and of splendid blue. The description of Pliny agrees with this; but that of Solinus is perfectly conclusive. He says (we give the translation of Mr. King's *Precious Stones*, p. 194): "Amongst those things of which we have treated, is found also the hyacinthus, of a shining sky-blue colour; a stone of price if it be found without blemish; for it is extremely subject to defects. For generally it is either diluted with violet, or clouded with dark shades, or else melts away into a watery hue with too much whiteness. The best colour of the stone is an equable one, neither dulled by too deep a dye nor too clear with excessive transparency, but which draws a sweetly-coloured tint from the double mixture of brightness and violet. This is the gem that feels the influence of the air, and sympathises with the heavens, and does not shine equally if the sky be cloudy or bright. Besides, when put in the mouth it is colder than other stones. For engraving upon, indeed, it is by no means adapted, inasmuch as it defies all grinding; it is not, however, entirely invincible, since it is engraved upon and cut into shape by means of the diamond."

The hyacinth of the classical writers is the blue sapphire. Other varieties of the same mineral are the Oriental ruby and the Oriental topaz. The three are conjoined in the *Lapidarium* of Marbodius—

"Three various kinds the skilled as hyacinths name,
Varying in colour, and unlike in fame;

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One like pomegranate, flowers a fiery blaze,
And one, the yellow citron's hue displays;
One charms with pale blue the gazer's eye,
Like the mild tint that decks the northern sky;
A strengthening power the several kinds convey,
And grief and vain suspicious drive away."

This Oriental stone is essentially different from, and vastly more valuable than, the modern hyacinth, which is the figure of the Old Testament.

The *chrysoptase* of modern times is a beautiful apple-green translucent stone of the chalcidony class. It was unknown to the ancients, and is found now only in Silesia and America. Some old Egyptian jewellery shows, however, a stone closely resembling it, but more blue in colour. Some varieties of Indian beryl have a golden lustre; and Epiphanius speaks of a variety of chrysolite which he calls *chrysoptastus*, dark blue with golden spots. There seems no means of determining which of these stones was alluded to in St. John's vision: the last is most probable.

Chalcidony must have received its name from Chalcedon, the place whence it came. The only stone of which there is any evidence bearing this name in the time of St. John is the copper emerald, which Theophrastus describes as found in the copper mines near Chalcedon. It was a small transparent brilliant green stone, rivalling in colour the true emerald. The well-known ornamental stone now called malachite, and the silicious ore of copper called chrysocolla, are closely allied to it. How the name chalcidony can have been transferred from a stone of this character to the milk-white carnelian and other varieties that now bear the name, is one of the many puzzles in mineralogical nomenclature.

Some little difficulty attends the identification of the *jasper* of St. John. In Rev. iv. 3, the word is used in conjunction with sardine stone and emerald as descriptive of the Divine Glory, and the walls and first foundation of the New Jerusalem are described as built of it. In Rev. xxi. II, the light of the city is described as like a crystallising jasper (*ιάσπιδι κρυσταλλίζοντι*). This phrase has been considered by some as referring to the diamond. The diamond, no doubt, was known in those days, for Pliny describes at least four forms. But it went by another name, and if St. John had meant diamond, he would have used the right term. Indeed, the use of the word crystal in connection with jasper is a strong confirmation that jasper itself was not necessarily crystalline, and that when applied to illustrate the light of the glory of heaven the further idea of crystalline purity was requisite. Mr. King expresses the opinion that the dark opaque green chalcidony is the jasper of St. John; and explains the "jasper crystallised," which represents the light of the city, as "the green of the jasper, brilliant and transparent as crystal, by which he probably means to express the true emerald." But if St. John probably meant to express the true emerald, why not use the term emerald? It was as well known to him as jasper, for it is made one of the foundations of the city, and is named with jasper in Rev. iv. Although the original

idea of jasper is undoubtedly that of a green translucent chalcedony, it is clear, as Mr. King himself shows, that in the early times of the Christian era the term was also applied to a number of other translucent stones of different colours, or with only a faint tinge of colour. And from the peculiar way in which St. John applies the term, it appears not improbable that by crystallising jasper is meant the brilliant crystallised quartz, and by jasper itself some variety of translucent chalcedony.

We may sum up in modern terms the imagery of St. John's vision with regard to the foundation of the royal and heavenly city thus:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Jasper, or chalcedony. | 7. Oriental topaz. |
| 2. Lapis lazuli. | 8. Beryl, or aquamarine. |
| 3. Copper emerald. | 9. Chrysolite. |
| 4. Emerald. | 10. Chrysoptase (?). |
| 5. Sardonyx. | 11. Sapphire. |
| 6. Sardius. | 12. Amethyst. |

The absence from the scriptural accounts both of the diamond and of the ruby, the most precious of modern

stones, is noteworthy. Both words, indeed, occur in the English Version. But, as has been shown, there is no foundation whatever for the translation "diamond." And there is as little for that of "ruby." This word appears Job xxviii. 18; Prov. iii. 15; viii. 11; xx. 15; xxxi. 10; Lam. iv. 7; and in all these places is given as the translation of the Hebrew *pēnīnīm*. Some Hebraists render this "corals," others "pearls;" but the English rendering "rubies" is absurd. The word is absent from all the lists of gems, and nowhere occurs with distinct reference to precious stones. The nearest approach in the Hebrew to anything like the Oriental ruby is in Isa. liv. 12; and Ezek. xxvii. 16, where the word *cadeōd*, translated in our English Version *agate*, may possibly be this very gem. The Hebrew root means "to strike fire," and the cognate Arabic word signifies vivid redness. But even here it is impossible to say decisively that the ruby is meant.

We shall next consider minerals connected with metals, mining, and metallurgy.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ZEPHANIAH (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

III.—THE PROMISED BLESSING.

Chap. iii. 9–20.

IT is convenient, for purposes of study and exposition, to divide this inspired poem into three sections; but we must bear in mind that it is a single poem with an unbroken continuity of thought. Our divisions are artificial. There are no breaks, no pauses, in the poet's strain. He glides by the easiest transitions, with a movement almost imperceptible, from point to point. As the denunciation of judgment melts into the call to repentance, so the call to repentance melts into the promise of good. In chapter iii. verse 8, the prophet invites the faithful to "wait" for the day of judgment in an attitude of hope; and in verse 9, and the verses which follow it, he gives them ground and reasons for hope: the day of judgment is to bring in the year of redemption; the fire, which is to destroy, is also to renew, the world. Hitherto, the thought of the Divine judgment and its terrors has been uppermost in his mind; now he sees judgment issuing in mercy, mercy rejoicing over judgment. The storm is over and gone; the air is soft and clear, the bow of hope shines with tender hallowing radiance on the clouds, the earth breathes her sweetest fragrance, and the birds fill the air with notes of joy and praise.

As we have followed the prophet through the changes of his spiritual mood, he has given us many brief hints of a secret hope which enabled him to face the terrors of doom without fear; nay, to rejoice and exult in them: and now, as his poem draws to a close, he gives his

heart way, and discloses his secret in words that labour and tremble under their burden. He had foreseen that the clouds, "big with mercy," would "break in blessing;" and now that the storm is past, he beholds Jehovah leading His people as a shepherd his flock, dwelling among them as a king with loyal subjects, rejoicing over them as a bridegroom over his bride (verses 13, 15, 17). It is an apocalyptic vision which passes before his eyes, a vision such as was granted to all the Hebrew prophets, from Joel to St. John. Taken in their largest sense, his words predict the coming of a new heaven and a new earth, in which the tabernacle of God shall be with men and "the nations of the saved" shall walk in white. Like St. Paul, he admitted that Israel had "stumbled;" but, like him, he also refused to admit that they had "stumbled in order that they should fall" beyond redemption. Like St. Paul, he saw that their "lapse," their "trespass," was the gain of the Gentiles, and "the reconciling of the world;" but that their "recovery" would be "as life from the dead."¹

According to Zephaniah, the first great effect of the great day of the Lord would be this: "*Then will I [Jehovah] turn to the nations a purc lip, that they may all invoke the name of Jehovah, and serve Him with one shoulder*" (verse 9). And the second great effect would be, that *the nations would bring back the dispersed ones of Israel, "as a meat offering" unto the Lord* (verse 10).

¹ Rom. xi. 11–15.

Thus the prophet anticipates, and casts into poetic form, the very conclusion to which St. Paul's sublime argument conducted him, when, writing to the Gentiles of the Jews, he said: "For as ye in times past were disobedient to God, yet now, by their disobedience have obtained mercy, even so have these also now been disobedient, *that by the mercy shewn to you, they also may obtain mercy.*"¹

If St. Paul's statement of the Divine purposes be the clearer of the two, Zephaniah's is the more picturesque. Both are sure that "God hath shut up all men to disobedience," and to the judgments which wait on disobedience, "that He may have mercy on all men;"² but Zephaniah depicts this mercy in graphic and musical phrases whose charm lingers in the ear. Had he simply affirmed that the nations, saved by judgment, would rise to purity of speech and unity of service, the bare thoughts would have been beautiful and impressive. Even these thoughts, however, are bettered by his expression of them. Instead of saying that men will be raised to a purer and more spiritual use of language, he represents Jehovah as saying, "*I will turn to the nations a pure lip,*" a cleansed and sinless lip, in order "*that*" in place of defiling themselves with invocations addressed to false gods, and with the foul strains sung in their honour, "*they may all invoke the name of Jehovah.*" Instead of saying that men will be happily united in their service of Heaven, he represents Jehovah as predicting that, when men speak with purified lips, they will "*serve Him with one shoulder;*" that is, they will walk with *even* shoulders under the yoke and burden of His law, walk in unity, in a happy consent of obedience, each bearing his full share of the load, each keeping step with the rest, and thus making the burden unburdensome to any.

Now speech is the flower, as deeds are the fruit, of the soul. Our words indicate character, as the blossom the tree. If *these* are pure, we are pure; if these are impure, we are impure. Hence it is that the Scriptures lay so heavy a stress on the use of the tongue, teaching us that if any man can "*rule this unruly pest, so that he offend not in word, the same is a perfect man;*"³ assuring and forewarning us, that "*by our words we shall be justified, and by our words condemned.*"⁴ To have a pure lip is to have a pure soul. And the judgments of God come on men to make them pure—pure within, that they may be pure in all that expresses their inward nature. The terrors of the Lord reach their end only as they purge the lips of men, and constrain them to show forth His praise and "*worthily magnify His holy Name.*"

The metaphor of the "one shoulder" is even more suggestive than that of the "pure lip." The image the prophet had in his mind was, obviously, that of a number of men bearing a single burden. If they are to bear it without strain or distress, they must walk with level shoulders, no one of them shirking the work

or tilting the burden on to his neighbour, each of them keeping step with the rest: in short, they must stand and move as if they had only *one* shoulder among them. This image the prophet transfers to the spiritual region of human experience. The law of God is a burden. Men can only bear it without strain and distress of spirit as each of them freely assumes it, as they all help to bear it, as they walk in a willing and happy consent of obedience. It is for this end, to induce a free and universal obedience, that men are judged and corrected of the Lord.

The metaphor, therefore, suggests three main thoughts. (1) *That the law of God is a burden which men are reluctant to assume.* And, indeed, to our self-will it cannot but be hard to submit even to the purest and tenderest will, even to that Divine Will which moves in the light of an eternal wisdom, at the impulse of a perfect love. Even He who came to robe that Will in the inviting forms of grace, and to give us rest, warns us that the rest He offers us is the rest of obedience.⁵ And this obedience He admits to be a *yoke* to our unruly passions, a *burden* to our stubborn necks. Even when we delight in His law after the inward man, we find another law in our members warring against the law of our mind, and bringing us into captivity to the law of sin.⁶ And how shall we find "rest" while this fatal strife goes on, in which *we* are wounded whichever combatant wins, our flesh smarting if the spirit prevail, our spirit stung with shame should the flesh prevail? We can only enter into rest as we get unity and freedom into our life, as we willingly submit to a higher will than our own. And (2) *we can only attain this freedom as, with cheerful and unforced accord, we assume the burden of the Divine law, and do the will of God.* Self-will makes us hateful to ourselves and to our neighbours; it incapacitates for social and for spiritual life. He who simply follows the vagrant and fluctuating impulses of his own will becomes a burden to himself and all about him. Till he voluntarily curtails his own liberty, he has no true liberty. He cannot make his will law. If he sets himself against the world, he will soon discover that the world has a stronger will than his. We *must* take up some burden, bear some yoke, submit to some law. All we can do is to *choose* the law to which we will yield. And no law is so good, no yoke so easy, no burden so light, as the good will of God. It is this will which really rules in human affairs, and therefore it is wise to make this will our law. Nor is it enough that we yield to it. We must willingly and cheerfully adopt it, if we are to be free; we must love it, if we are to walk in liberty. Love makes all burdens light. When we love God, His will grows beautiful to us, preferable to our own. *Because* we bear the yoke, we find rest; *because* we keep the commandment, we walk at large.⁷ But even so our rest is not perfect. We have become a law unto ourselves by our cheerful adoption of the

¹ Rom. xi. 30, 31.

² Rom. xi. 32.

³ James iii. 8 and I.

⁴ Matt. xii. 37.

⁵ Matt. xi. 28—30.

⁶ Rom. vii. 21—23.

⁷ Ps. cxix. 15.

Divine Will. We are free because we obey. But because we are free, are we of necessity happy? (3) *The happiness of obedience depends on the unanimity and the universality of obedience.* It is only when all men serve God with *one* shoulder that the sense of strain and distress will pass from us. To love God is to love men. Till *they* share our freedom, it cannot be an altogether happy freedom. And, again, till they love Him and do His will, they will put many hindrances and temptations in our way, which cannot but make obedience hard and painful to us. Till then, the burden must press unduly on our shoulders, because they do not take their full share in bearing it; because some who stand under it are morally taller than we are, and others morally shorter; because many do not keep step with us. Only when the whole world stands under the Divine burden as with one shoulder, and moves as with one step, will "the cross we bear, bear us." Only then will our freedom be a happy freedom, and God's statutes become our songs. And, seeing how men suffer from the sins of men, and nations for the sins of nations, we may well long and pray for the time when all men shall speak with a pure lip, and serve with a single shoulder; when the promise shall be fulfilled: "I will give them *one heart* and *one way*, that they may fear Me for ever, for the good of them, and of their children after them."¹

One form in which the redeemed nations will serve Jehovah will be this: they will bring the dispersed and rejected Israelites, as an offering to the Lord who has redeemed them, even from the remotest regions to which they have been driven by the storms of judgment, even "*from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia,*" the Nile and the Astaboras, the outside limit of Hebrew geography. In this promise I take the prophet to refer to that recovery of the Jewish race for which St. Paul hoped "when the fulness of the Gentiles had been brought in." These dispersed ones are to be brought back by the nations, and laid "*as a meat offering*" on the altar of God. Whether the prophet consciously selected the symbol of "the *meat offering*" because of its latent suggestions, it is impossible to say; but certainly no symbol could be more appropriate. For the *meat offering*, we are told, "was to be composed of fine flour seasoned with salt, and mixed with oil and frankincense, but without leaven; and it was generally accompanied by a drink offering of wine. Its meaning appears to be exactly expressed in the words of David: 'All that is in the heaven and in the earth is Thine; all things come of Thee, and of thine own have we given Thee.' It recognised the sovereignty of the Lord, and His bounty in giving them [the Jews] all earthly blessings, by dedicating to Him the best of His gifts: the flour, as the main support of life; oil, as the symbol of richness; and wine, as the symbol of vigour and refreshment. All these were unleavened, and seasoned with salt, in order to show their purity, and were hallowed by the frankincense for God's special service.

It will be seen that this meaning involves neither of the main ideas of sacrifice—the atonement for sin and the self-dedication to God. It takes them for granted, and is based upon them." So, when the nations bring back the "dispersed ones" to God, they also will take the atonement for sin and self-dedication to His service for granted; these, for them, will be things of the past. And now, in grateful acknowledgment of His grace and bounty, they bring to Him "the best of His gifts," viz., the race by which salvation came to men, the race which has been "the main support of the life" of the world, whose very loss was the riches of the Gentiles, through whom men received the wine of the Kingdom; the race which, from the beginning, God has "hallowed" for His "special service," and which, at last, He has made pure. And as they bring this "*meat offering*" to His altar, they too will sing, "All things come of Thee, and of thine own have we given Thee."

In verses 11 to 13, the prophet depicts the happy estate of the restored Israel, which, now that it is restored, sits at the centre of a regenerated world. And surely it denotes a singularly complete and confirmed recovery to holiness, that God should be able to speak to them words so comfortable as these: "*In that day thou shalt not be ashamed of all thy doings in which thou hast transgressed against me;*" for shame for sin endures long after sin itself has been renounced and forgiven. He who could say, "For me to live is Christ," to the very last broke into the most passionate confessions of guilt, and would have it that he was "the chief of sinners." That the redeemed of Israel should have overgot the shame of their former transgressions, implies something more than that they had ceased to repeat them, or that God had forgiven them; it implies an utter change of character—such a death to sin, and a new life so hale and perfect, as we cannot hope to see until the Son of Man shall once more dwell on the earth.

Does not the next promise—"I will remove from thy midst them that rejoice in thy pride, and thou shalt no more pride thyself in my holy mountain,"—point to the same conclusion, to the same happy but remote period? If pride be "the last infirmity of noble minds," is not spiritual pride the last infirmity of religious minds? When the Jew shall no longer boast himself in Jerusalem and the Temple; when there shall not be a single sectarian left to pride himself in his exclusive possession of some spiritual gift, or on his singular fidelity to some neglected truth; when every man shall hold all he has in trust for his brethren, call nothing his own, and value all gifts in proportion as they are common to all; when this catholic charity is the animating all-pervading spirit of the Church of God, will the Millennium be far off? or heaven itself?

Is it not singular, too, that these people, so free from sin that they have ceased to be ashamed of it, of so catholic a spirit that they are pure from all taint of spiritual pride, should be still further characterised as "*a humble and poor people,*" i.e., men who are broken down into utter poverty of spirit by their conscious impotence for

¹ Jer. xxxii. 39.

ought that is good? It seems singular, but is not so singular as it seems; for it is one of the "secrets," one of the common experiences, of the spiritual life, that, as men grow good, they feel that in themselves there is nothing good, that only as God dwells in them can they do His will; and hence, humble and poor, utterly distrusting themselves, "*they trust in the name of Jehovah.*"

As the natural result of their trust in Him, "*they do no wrong;*" for, as we are told in verse 5, "*He doeth no wrong;*" nor can they, to whom He has turned a pure lip, "*speak lies,*" or carry "*a tongue of deceit in their mouths.*" This, the promise of verse 13, may sound like an anti-climax. When we have heard of a race from which God has taken away the very shame of past sins as well as the need for it, a race which He has purified from the last infirmity of the devout, and gifted with that poverty of spirit to which appertains the kingdom of heaven, we hardly expect to hear of them that they neither speak lies nor do wrong. What have they to do with such plain homespun virtues as these? are they not leagues beyond them? No, nor ever will be. Only as we yield to the common error which places religion above morality, shall we suspect the prophet of a descent from a higher to a lower plane of thought. "Religion is a mean; morality the end." God reveals Himself to us that we may be like Him; *i.e., good.* Men are saved precisely for this—that they may no longer speak lies and do wrong. Instead of sinking in his flight, therefore, the inspired poet rises to a true climax when he passes from spiritual graces to plain moral virtues, and holds out, as our brightest hope, the prospect of a time when all men shall speak only that which is true, and do only that which is right.

Of those who have attained to this high mark of virtue he might well say, "*They shall feed and rest,*" like—so the Hebrew words imply—a flock under the care of its shepherd, "*and none shall make them afraid.*" For what want can they know, what evil need they fear, who speak the truth and do the right? What, or who, can harm those who follow that which is good with a single heart? They are beyond harm, beyond fear. They "feed," as in green pastures, and "rest," "in a good fold;" for "*I will feed my flock, and I will cause them to lie down, saith the Lord God;*"¹ and when God Himself is the Shepherd, must not the sheep be safe?

While he thus depicts the happy estate of the restored Zion, which he throughout regards as the centre and throne of a redeemed world, Zephaniah breaks into a rapture, a prophetic ecstasy (verses 14—17). Addressing himself to the impersonated Israel, he piles—I had almost said *huddles*—word on word, epithet on epithet, image on image, like one in a transport beyond the power of language to express. Using the fond tender epithets, "*O daughter Zion,*" "*O daughter Jerusalem,*" the Oriental warmth of which makes our "*Britannia*" sound very cold and thin, he calls on her to "*rejoice,*" to "*shout*" for joy, to "*be glad, and exult*" with all her heart. And, of course, he rings the

changes on this peal of words in order to give vent to the passion and tumult of his joy.

What does he see, that he should be thus profoundly moved? He sees *God*; and for the moment he is what Novalis calls "a God-intoxicated man"—a man filled, not with wine, but with the Spirit. He sees God "removing the judgments" and "clearing away the enemies" of the New Jerusalem, preparing it for the habitation of His redeemed, swooping out every trace of disorder, whatsoever defileth or loveth a lie, shodding light through the windows that have so long been darkened with cloud and storm. The city and Temple being restored and cleansed, he sees Jehovah, the King of Israel, once more seated on the throne, revealing Himself no longer as "a fire involved in a cloud," as a judicial purifying energy wrapped in mystery and terror, but as a gracious familiar Presence, redeeming men from all evil, infusing into them a saving health, rejoicing over them with sacred rapture. As he gazes into this bright future, the prophet discerns that God is so manifestly and graciously in the midst of His people that the nations who have brought back His dispersed ones behold His presence from afar, and cry:

"Fear not, O Zion! Let not thy hands drop down!
Jehovah, thy God, is in thy midst,
The Mighty One who saves.
He rejoiceth over thee with rapture:
He is silent in His love;
He exulteth over thee with cries of joy."

There are no bolder words in Scripture, and few that are more sublime in their simplicity. Not only does the prophet, with the fearless audacity of perfect trust, attribute to God Himself the rapture under which his own heart reels and faints; not only is he sure that all human love is but a pale reflection of the love of God: he even ventures to take two of the commonest forms in which human love expresses itself when it mounts towards ecstasy, and to transfer these to the Almighty. As man in the rapture of his passion is at times dumb, finding no words that will even shadow forth his emotion, and at other times vents his unwordable rapture in vague inarticulate sounds and cries; so Zephaniah conceives of God as kindling into a rapture of love over His redeemed, which can find no utterance—"He is *silent* in his love," or which can only express itself in vague unsyllabled outcries: "He exulteth over thee *with cries of joy.*" The Eternal Lover of men, whom the theologians—not altogether untruly, though very insufficiently—teach us to conceive as an Infinite Essence, without parts, without passion, without emotion, Zephaniah portrays as exulting over men with an ecstasy like that of the bridegroom rejoicing in the beauty and tenderness of his bride: even as the Lord Jesus portrays Him as like a father who runs to meet his returning son while yet he is a great way off, and falls on his neck, and kisses him. And of these two methods of representing the Divine Nature in its relation to humanity, we may be sure that the prophetic is as much more true, as it is more potent, than the theological.

Viewed simply as a work of art, perhaps the poem of Zephaniah should have closed with verse 17, since

¹ Ezek. xxxv. 15.

here it rises to its highest point, soars into its finest and boldest strain. But, like all the Hebrew poets, Zephaniah cared even more for truth and completeness than for art. And as he forecasts that first return from exile, the return of the Jews from Babylon, in which his words would have a first but partial fulfilment, he sees that, while the nation returns, many of the Hebrews, scattered and bound in distant lands, will mourn *their* exclusion from the Temple and from the joy of recovered freedom and worship. And before he closes, he must say a word of comfort to these pensive souls, "the tribes of the Dispersion." Nay, even that first fulfilment was distant. Before it came to pass, the whole nation was to be scattered among the heathen by the judgments of God. And therefore, in order that, when they were pining in bondage and misery, they might have a promise to sustain their faith and hope, the prophet concludes his poem with an assurance that all who are dispersed, all who are "burdened with reproach," shall be gathered and saved by God (verses 18—20). As many as seek Him shall find Him. As many as "mourn" because, banished in alien lands, they cannot share the joy of the festal meetings and come before the Lord in his House, shall taste of his mercy, since "they are of thee," *i.e.* of the faithful seeking Israel. No matter how infirm they may be, how much a mark of scorn, how tied and bound, Jehovah will "deal with all their oppressors, and will save the limping, and gather together the dispersed," and make those who are now "burdened with reproach," "a praise and a name in every land which now witnesses their shame." The promise is repeated in verse 20, "I will make you a name and a praise among all the nations of the earth," to show that it is a sure word of promise, to give it emphasis, that it may carry conviction. Once more, too, the prophet falls back on the pastoral image of verse 13. "At that time I will lead you," as the shepherd goes before his flock, "and gather you in due season," as the shepherd collects his flock in the fold: for even these weak and helpless ones, who limp and are burdened and have been dispersed, are of the flock of the Lord, and will experience the tender care of the Great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls.

And so, with this scene of quiet pastoral felicity, the poem closes; and Zephaniah, whose earlier words seemed to bespeak a veritable "son of thunder," proves himself to be a true "son of consolation," even as the judgment he was sent to denounce proves to be an act of sovereign and Divine mercy. Harsh and severe in husk, in outward seeming, its heart is "made of tenderness." It is like one of those fairy nuts in which, when they could be broken, there were found lustrous gems of price.

There is one question which the study of Zephaniah, as also that of Joel, or indeed almost any of the prophets, cannot fail to suggest. Like their fellows, both Zephaniah and Joel predict a judgment which is to come on *all* nations as well as on the nation of the Jews; and, beyond the judgment, a redemption which

is to embrace, not the elect people only, but "all people that on earth do dwell." Both the judgment and the redemption are described in terms so large, that we feel and are sure they have not been exhausted by any past doom or any past salvation. According to Joel, "all nations" are to be brought down into the Valley of Doom, and the Spirit of God is to be poured out on "all flesh." According to Zephaniah, the Divine judgment is to "sweep *everything*," and to "cut off *man*" from the face of the earth; and the Divine redemption is to turn *to the nations* "a pure lip," that they may "all" serve God "with one shoulder." And as we read predictions so large in their scope, we cannot but ask, "When shall these things be? and how shall they come to pass?"

To the second branch of that question, the prophets give an answer which again carries our thoughts into the future, rather than into the past. They speak of a restored Jerusalem, indeed, and of an advent of Jehovah which seem to point, and doubtless did point, to the return of the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity, and to the advent of the Messiah. But even of these events they speak in terms so large, that we cannot suppose them to have been exhaustively fulfilled as yet. Joel, for example, predicts (chap. iii. 17, 18—20):—

"And ye shall know that I, Jehovah, am your God,
Dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain:
And Jerusalem shall be a sanctuary;
And aliens shall pass through her no more.
And it shall come to pass on that day,
That the mountains shall drop new wine,
And the hills flow with milk,
And all the watercourses of Judah shall run with water;
And a fountain shall go forth from the house of Jehovah,
And water the Valley of Acacias.
Judah shall abide for ever,
And Jerusalem from generation to generation."

Zephaniah sees what Joel foresees, and cries to the restored Jerusalem (chap. iii. 15—17):—

"The King of Israel, Jehovah, is in the midst of thee;
Thou shalt see evil no more.
In that day will men say to Jerusalem,
'Fear not, O Zion! Let not thy hands drop down!
Jehovah, thy God, is in thy midst,
The Mighty One who saves.
He rejoiceth over thee with rapture:
He is silent in His love;
He exulteth over thee with cries of joy.'"

Can we say, can we suppose, that those large promises of good have been fulfilled to their utmost verge, whether in the return from the Captivity or the advent of Messiah? Even when the Lord Jesus came to His own, His own received Him not. Instead of rejoicing over Jerusalem with rapture, He wept over it; instead of bringing the house of Judah an eternal peace, He brought them a sword. So far from carrying our thoughts to the past, the words of the prophets project them into the future; in place of calling up an image of the Jerusalem of Herod and the Pharisees, they rather remind us of that "now Jerusalem" which St. John saw "coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband," and of that great Voice which he heard "out of the throne," proclaiming, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with

men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and He their God; and God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, nor pain, for the former things are passed away." When St. John's "vision" is translated into the region of fact and human experience, then, but not till then, will the City of God "abide for ever," the cynosure and sanctuary of all races, and men "*sec civil no more*," because Jehovah dwells in their midst, and exults over them in the rapture of consummated love.

The prediction in which each of these inspired poems culminates, will receive its complete fulfilment only when all things, even the heaven and the earth, are made new. But have there been absolutely no fulfilments of it in the past? Assuredly there have, although, through the unfaithfulness of man, these fulfilments were only partial and imperfect. Judgment fell on Israel when they were carried away captive into strange lands. Judgment fell on the ancient world when their captors fell beneath the pestilence and the sword. There was a Divine redemption when God moved Cyrus to restore the exiled Jews to their wasted land; Jehovah did return and dwell among His people when the Temple was rebuilt, and its services were resumed. And, again, there was a Divine judgment and redemption when God was manifest in the flesh, when, incarnate in Christ Jesus, He came and dwelt among men. Had the Jews been faithful to their high calling on either occasion, the redemption might have become a complete redemption, and the prediction of their seers might have risen to its final and perfect accomplishment. But, though they were unfaithful, their unfaithfulness could not make the purposes of God of none effect, although it might postpone its fulfilment. The complete fulfilment, the universal redemption, is but delayed, not renounced. And we of to-day are looking forward to the appearing of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ the Righteous, who, at His second advent, will perfect His work, and gather all nations into His service and love.

If, in form, our hope differs from that of the Hebrew prophets, in substance it is the same. Through the grace of God, and the interpreting ministries of time, we may see that hope more clearly than they did; but it is the same glorious spectacle on which we bend our eyes. To them, it would seem, the future glory presented itself as a single spot or line of light. As they gazed into the future, the Divine events which were to fulfil and transcend their hopes stood, so to speak, *behind* each other, blending their separate rays into a common splendour. The redemption from the bondage in Babylon, the redemption commenced by Christ when He came in great humility, and the redemption to be perfected by Him when He shall come again in the glory of the Father, to repeat in power the works once wrought in meekness—all these, to the prophet's eye, merged in one great light of hope, which made the future bright with promise. At times, he saw only that there would be a redemption of the world. At

other times, he saw that this redemption could be wrought only as, in some way he could not define, Jehovah visited men in judgment and in grace. At other times, the undefined advent of Jehovah took definite form, and the prophet saw that He would come in the likeness of human flesh: that a Man, anointed above his fellows, would appear to save the world. At still other times, he even caught glimpses of a period of suffering which must precede the triumph of the incarnate God, and conceived of the Divine Man as "the Man of Sorrows and the Acquaintance of Grief." But these various glimpses and conceptions were blended confusedly in his mind. "No prophecy" that he uttered "was of a *private* interpretation," none was clear even to the seer who was moved to utter it. He was "borne along by the Holy Spirit," as the ship is borne before the wind, and could not clearly see whether he was bound, even though he was being carried to the desired haven. These holy and inspired men saw a salvation; they knew that, at some time, in some form, God would appear to redeem the world. But, as St. Peter reminds us,¹ "Concerning this salvation," those who "prophesied of the grace" that has come on us, "diligently enquired and diligently explored," searching to what person or to what season "the Spirit of Christ which was in them did point, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow them." And unto them "it was revealed, that not unto themselves," but unto us, "they did minister the things which have now been reported unto us by them who have preached the Gospel." With all their diligence in searching and exploring the words they were given to utter, all the Hebrew prophets learned was, that they were darkly uttering truths which would only become clear to the generations that came after them; that their prophecies were parables which only "time, and He that shapes it to a perfect end," would interpret. They appear, indeed, to have obscurely felt that they were gazing on many events, not on one—events divided from each other perchance by broad spaces of time; but they could not distinguish event from event, epoch from epoch, the earlier from the later judgments, the earlier from the final redemption. All the seasons and events ran up into a single point of light, which they could not break into its separate rays.

A singer will sometimes sit down to an instrument, and strike a few mysterious chords, or pick out a few bars of melody, which excite only vague thoughts and vaguer emotions within us; but, soon, the rich sweet voice steals in, uttering articulate words, and then our vague thought and emotion take definite forms, and we comprehend what it was that touched and moved us in the prelude. *Not till God uttered his voice in Christ* could men understand the preluding notes which the prophets were constrained to sound, or put clear, definite, authentic meaning into these yearning mysterious tones. But now, now that we have heard the voice of

¹ Pet. i. 10—12.

the Son of Man, we may see, at least in part, that "the spirit of the prophets is the testimony of Jesus;" and that all past fulfilments of their promise of salvation are as nothing to the fulfilment which is to come when, in the Regeneration, He shall both judge and save the world.

And here we come on the explanation of a fact which may have often perplexed us, viz., that the prophets of the Old Testament, in their clearest Messianic predictions, even when they have some glimpses of the death of the Christ, and see that He will be despised and rejected of men, nevertheless speak of His advent as fulfilling the world's hope, and ushering in the golden age of peace and good-will. For they foresaw His work as a whole; they could not detach the beginning from the end, the first from the second advent: they did not—from their point of view they could not—discern the immense interval which would elapse between the

sorrowful opening and the triumphant close of His ministry of reconciliation.

Here, too, we may learn how it was that even the Apostles of the New Testament, at least for a time, and till time had made them wiser, expected the immediate return of their Lord. They had learned from the Hebrew prophets to look on His work as a whole, as though it were to be accomplished in a single age, instead of extending over all ages. And hence it was that, till His Spirit opened their eyes and gave them "understanding in the Scriptures," they could not see how patiently He would work on, not taking the world by surprise, nor forcing conviction by irresistible constraints, but winning the world to Himself man by man, and race by race, age after age: until, when the centuries led in the "acceptable year of the Lord," He could come again, not now to be rejected, but to be welcomed and acclaimed by a regenerated world.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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PERCHING BIRDS.

F the *Insessores*, or perching birds, the following only are mentioned in our English Bible: the raven, swallow, sparrow, lapwing, and cuckoo; the first three are correct renderings of the Hebrew words. The lapwing (A. V.) we shall show to be the hoopoe; the cuckoo (A. V.) is probably some species of sea-gull. Palestine abounds in passerine birds. Dr. Tristram has enumerated 144 species (exclusive of the crow family, and taking no account of the many so-called fissirostral birds, as kingfishers, rollers, swifts, cuckoos, hoopoe, and others) as collected in the Holy Land. The Hebrew word *'tsippôr* is onomatopœtic and denotes any "chirping" or "singing" bird; it is generally translated "bird," "fowl," and in two passages "sparrow." Hence the term is a very comprehensive one, and may be taken to represent finches, larks, warblers, &c., which are very numerous in Palestine, though of course not found all together or in the same district. "Owing to the great varieties in elevation, temperature, and degree of moisture in different parts of Palestine, there is far more difference between the ornithology of one district and another than between that of the South of England and the North of Scotland. Thus, the larks, pipits, and chats abound in the hill country and wilderness of Judæa. On the maritime plains and in the north of the country we find chiefly the denizens of our own fields and woodland glades, while in the Jordan valley we have an entirely new group of birds, more like those of India or Abyssinia, the bulbul, bush-babbler (*Crateropus chatybeus*), orange-winged grackle (*Amydrus Tristramii*), and especially the beautiful little sun-bird (*Nectarina oseeæ*), a tiny little creature of gorgeous plumage, rivalling the humming-birds of

America in the metallic lustre of its feathers, green and purple, with brilliant red and orange plumes under its shoulders." (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 204.)

Distinct mention is made in the Bible of the raven, the "black bird," as the Hebrew word *'oreb* means. The term is doubtless generic, and includes all the members of the crow family (*Corvidæ*) found in Palestine, viz., besides the common raven (*Corvus corax*), the brown-necked raven (*C. umbrinus*), the square-tailed raven (*C. affinis*), the hooded crow (*C. cornix*), the rook (*C. agricola*), the jackdaw (*C. monedula* and *C. collaris*), and the Alpine chough (*Pyrrhocolax alpinus*), which is found on Lebanon and Hermon. Our English red-legged chough (*Pyrrhocolax graculus*) and carrion crow (*Corvus corone*) do not appear to have been noticed in Palestine. In the account of the Deluge a raven was sent out by Noah from the ark at the end of forty days, "which went forth to and fro until the waters were dried up from off the earth" (Gen. viii. 7). In the Chaldean story of the Deluge, translated by Mr. G. Smith, this bird also appears. Sisit, like the patriarch of the Hebrew Scriptures, sends forth first a dove, then a swallow, then a raven from his ship. The following is the interesting passage:—

139 On the seventh day, in the course of it

140 I sent forth a dove, and it left. The dove went and searched and

141 A resting-place it did not find, and it returned.

142 I sent forth a swallow, and it left. The swallow went and searched, and

143 A resting-place it did not find, and it returned.

144 I sent forth a raven, and it left,

145 The raven went, and the corpses on the waters it saw, and

146 It did eat, it swam and wandered away, and did not return.

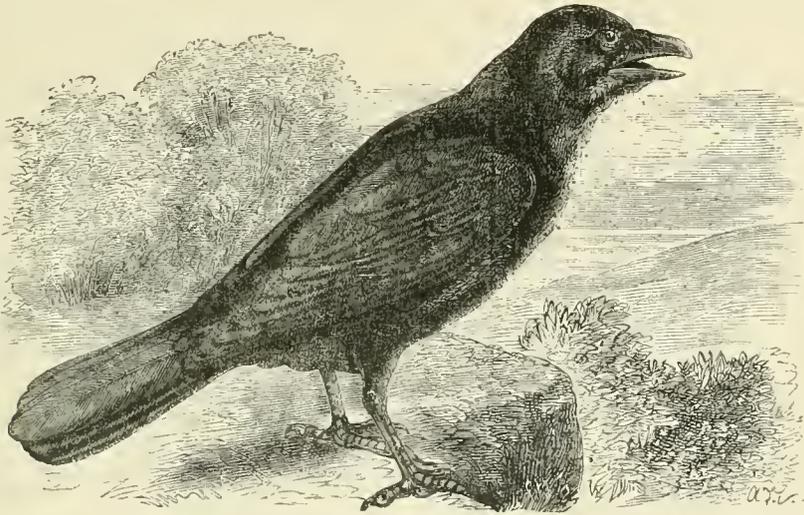
Transact. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol., vol. ii., pt. 1, p. 222.

The Assyrian word for a "raven" is *a-ra-bu*, or *a-ri-bu*, sometimes *a-ri-bu kha-mur*, i.e., "the black raven"

(see Rawlinson's *W. A. I.*, vol. ii., pl. 37, 44a and 36). It is only another form of the Hebrew 'ôrēb. The raven and other birds "after its kind" were to be held in abomination by the Israelites (Lev. xi. 15). This bird's carnivorous habits, and its readiness to pick out the eyes, are mentioned in Prov. xxx. 17: "The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley [Heb. "ravine" or "gorge"] shall pick it out." On this passage Dr. Tristram remarks, "The expression 'the ravens of the ravine' aptly describes its favourite resorts; for far as it roams for food during the day, its home is generally in some of the deep rocky glens or gorges with which Palestine abounds, and where it rears its young in security." The raven is one of the birds which, together with owls and bitterns, the prophet introduces

twice a day to supply the prophet, thus giving themselves needless trouble, and incurring the chance of detection, when they might easily have left him a supply for several days" (*Speaker's Commentary*, ii., p. 586). The general opinion is in favour of the simple statement as recorded in our own version, and there seems no alternative but either to accept it as it stands or to reject it altogether.

The strange stories told by Jewish and Arabian writers of the raven's cruelty to its young, in driving them out of their nests before they are quite able to provide for themselves, are entirely without foundation, as no bird is more careful of its young ones than the raven. To its habit of flying restlessly about in search of food to satisfy its own appetite, and that of its young ones, may perhaps be traced the reason for



RAVEN (*Corvus corax*).

into his grand picture of the desolation of the land of Idumea (Isa. xxxiv. 11). Ravens are in a few places singled out as instances of God's protecting goodness to the creatures He has made. "Who provideth for the raven his food? when his young ones cry unto God, they wander" (Job xxxviii. 41). See also Ps. cxlvii. 9; Luke xii. 24. The glossy blackness of the raven's plumage is referred to in the Canticles (chap. v. 11): "His locks are bushy, and black as a raven."

The passage in 1 Kings xvii., relating to ravens bringing bread and flesh to the prophet Elijah at the brook Cherith, has been variously explained, it being considered doubtful by some writers as to the meaning of the word translated "ravens." Accordingly, omitting the vowel points, the Hebrew word may signify "Arabians," or, retaining the points, it may be rendered "merchants," and in this sense Jerome and the Arabic version understood it. But most of the old versions agree with our version. Canon Rawlinson aptly remarks, "The chief objection to Jerome's explanation is the improbability that men would come regularly

its being selected by the sacred writers as an especial object of God's protecting care. Talmudical writers record strange stories about the raven, as that it was originally white, and that it was turned black for its deceitful conduct. As an unclean bird it was not allowed to perch on the Temple, various devices being adopted to scare it away. "Of all the birds of Jerusalem," says Dr. Tristram, "the raven tribe is the most characteristic and conspicuous, though the larger species is quite outnumbered by its small companion (*Corvus umbrinus*). They are present everywhere to eye and ear, and the odours that float about remind us of their use. The discordant jabber of their evening sittings round the Temple area is deafening. The caw of the rook and the chatter of the jackdaw unite in attempting to drown the hoarse croak of the old raven, but clear above the tumult rings out the more musical call-note of the lesser species. We used to watch this great colony, as, every morning at daybreak, they passed in long lines over our tents to the northward, the rooks in solid phalanx leading the way, and the ravens in loose

order bringing up the rear far out of shot. Before retiring for the night, popular assemblies of the most uproarious character were held in the trees of Mount Olivet and the Kedron, and not till after sunset did they withdraw in silence, mingled indiscriminately, to their roosting-places in the sanctuary" (pp. 200, 201). With our English word "raven" may be compared the Latin *corvus*, the Greek *κόραξ*, German *rabe*, all of which come from the Sanskrit *ka-rava*, "the bird which makes a discordant sound." Compare also *kāka*, "a crow," probably from *kai* (Sks.), onomatopœtic "to caw."

SPARROW.

It has already been stated that the Hebrew word *tsippôr* is a general one to denote any kind of passerine bird. It is always translated "bird" or "fowl" in our version, except in two passages in the Psalms, where it is rendered "sparrow." The Psalmist complains, "I have watched" (sorrow having driven away sleep), "and am as a sparrow alone upon the house-top" (cii. 7). Again, in Ps. lxxxiv. 3, "The sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God." In the New Testament the Greek word is *σπρουθιον*: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?" (Matt. x. 29). See also Luke xii. 6. Hence we infer that these small birds were commonly sold and used as food in ancient times as they are at the present day. The lonely sparrow upon the house-top has been referred to the blue thrush of Southern Europe (*Petrocincla cyanea*), common in Palestine. Unlike our domestic sparrow, which is gregarious and fond of associating in flocks, it is a lonely bird, often sitting on the ridge of a roof, where it utters at intervals a plaintive monotonous note.

The common house-sparrow (*Passer domesticus*) is found in Palestine only in towns on the coast; the *Passer cisalpinus*, a closely allied species, occurs plentifully inland; but the most numerous species is the *P. salicarius*, or Spanish sparrow, which Tristram saw in countless myriads in the thorn trees of the Jordan valley. The tree sparrow (*P. montanus*) may also be seen abundantly on Mount Olivet, and also about the sacred enclosure of the Mosque of Omar, and perhaps this is more especially the kind referred to in Ps. lxxxiv. 3.

SWALLOW.

The *Hirundinide*, or swallow family, is well represented in the Holy Land. All our English species occur there. Besides these there is the Oriental chimney swallow (*Hirundo cahirica*), which is common, and does not always migrate, in the warmer parts of the country; the *Hirundo rufula* (Temm.), abundant throughout the country, visiting it in March; the erag swallow (*Cotyle rupestris*), and the marsh swallow (*C. palustris*), "the former a south European, the latter an Abyssinian bird, which resides all the year in the Jordan valley, round the Dead Sea, and in the wadys of rivers." Of the genus *Cypselus* (swifts), our English swift swarms everywhere in summer, visiting the country in

April. The Alpine or white-bellied swift (*C. alpinus*) is common, returning from the south earlier than the other; large flocks being seen by Dr. Tristram and party passing northwards over Jerusalem as early as the 12th of February. "Its powers of flight are amazing, and it seeks its food at vast distances from its nightly roosting-places, being able to traverse the whole extent of Palestine in an hour or two." Then there is the Galilean swift (*C. affinis*), which resides in the Jordan valley all the year round, not being found elsewhere in Palestine, though it occurs in other countries, as in India and Abyssinia. This species differs considerably from other swifts in its note, which consists "of a gentle and melodious wail," unlike the harsh scream of other swifts.

Two Hebrew words, *dërôr* and *âgâr*, are rendered by "swallow" in our version. The former word occurs only in Ps. lxxxiv. 3: "And the swallow (*dërôr*) a nest where she may lay her young;" and in Prov. xxvi. 2: "As the swallow (*dërôr*) by flying, so the curse causeless shall not come." The word *âgâr* occurs in company with another Hebrew word, viz., *sûs*, in Isa. xxxviii. 14 (*Ke sûs âgâr ken atsaphsêph*): "Like a crane or a swallow, so did I chatter" (A.V.); and in Jer. viii. 7: "The crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming." In both these passages the words *crane* and *swallow* should be transposed, "like a swallow or a crane," for there is no doubt that *sûs* or *sîs* means a "swallow" or "swift," and *âgâr* "a crane." The passage quoted above from Proverbs is obscure as it stands. Anriviellus thus clearly explains it: "Uti solent temere vagari, celerique volatu aliorum tendere sic maledicta sine causa et injuste in aliquem conjecta hunc non ferient, in tennes dilabentur auras," i. e., As birds are "accustomed to wander and fly with rapid course elsewhere, so undeserved curses hurled against a man will not strike him, but will vanish into thin air." The rapidity with which an undeserved curse shall flee away is well illustrated by selecting the *dërôr* or swallow, one of the swiftest of birds in its flight. The passage in Jeremiah refers to some migratory kind of *Hirundo*. To this day swallows resort to the Temple enclosures at Jerusalem, and the Mosque of Omar, as safe places where to build nests and rear their young, and numbers, we are told, continually skim round its domes, while the swifts in swarms dash screaming through the streets of the city, and lodge in the night in the crevices of the walls.

Hezekiah in his illness compares his sorrowful mourning to the "twittering" of a swallow (*sûs*). The modern vernacular Arabic for a swift is identical with the Hebrew word. In Palestine the swift is a regular migrant, the swallow only a partial one. The former returns "in myriads every spring, and so suddenly that, while one day not a swift can be seen in the country, on the next they have overspread the whole land, and fill the air with their shrill cry." The loud harsh screaming of the swift may have been considered indicative of restless grief, and that bird may be more especially intended; but we must remember that

the ancients regarded the swallow as a mournful garrulous bird. There seems to be no doubt that both the Hebrew terms *dërôr* (literally the "free" bird) and the *sûs*—the derivation of which is uncertain—denote more especially a "swift" or "swallow," though possibly both terms may include the bee-eaters, similar in flight, note, and habits, at least in the eyes of a cursory observer, to many of the swallows. Of the genus *Merops*, three species occur in Palestine—*M. apiaster*, occasionally seen in this country, *M. Persicus*, and *M. viridis*; this latter bird being found only in the Jordan valley.

HOOPOE.

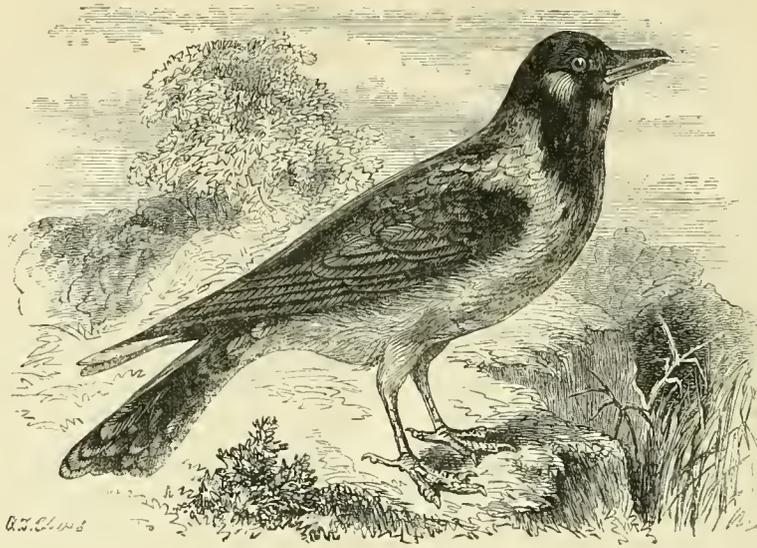
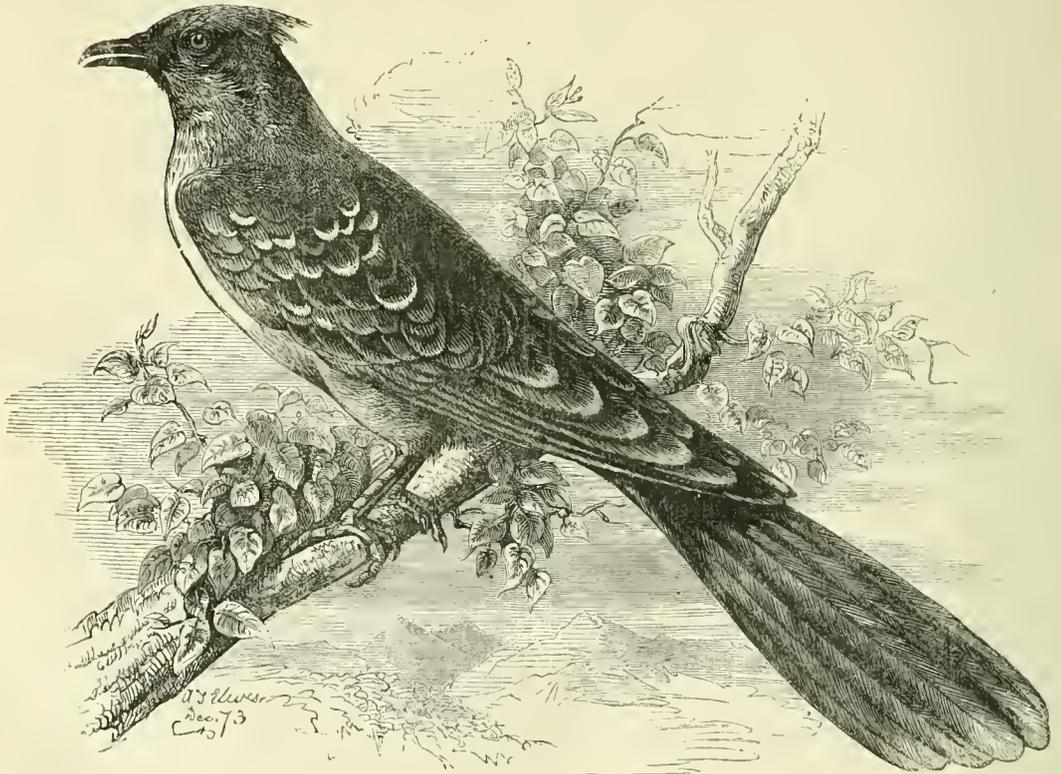
There seems to be no doubt that the Hebrew word (*dukiphath*) translated in our version by "lapwing" denotes the hoopoe (*Upupa epops*). The word occurs only in Lev. xi. 19, and Deut. xiv. 18, in the list of birds forbidden to be used as food by the ancient Jews. The old versions and commentators generally are agreed on this point. The Coptic *koukoupbat*, the Syriac *kikupha*, are allied to the Hebrew word, and both these terms signify the hoopoe. The Arabic version reads *huthud*, and this word, as Förskal tells us (*Descript. Animal.*, p. 7), is the modern name at Cairo for the hoopoe. The Talmud says it bears its Hebrew name because its crest is thick. This is true of the hoopoe, which has a characteristic fan-shaped crest on the top of the head. The derivation of the Hebrew word is uncertain. Dr. Tattam, in his *Coptic Lexicon* (p. 164), with much probability, we think, suspects that the word is Egyptian. The hoopoe occurs on the Egyptian monuments. In a representation of a hippopotamus chase, this bird, with the heron, spoonbill, and other birds, is seen flying out of the reeds as the chasseur approaches with his boat (Wilkinson's *Anct. Egypt.*, iii. 71). Horapollon tells us that when the Egyptians wished to represent gratitude they delineated a hoopoe (*κουκούφαν ζωγραφούσι*), because this is the only dumb animal which, after it has been brought up by its parents, repays their kindness to them when old; for it makes a nest in the place where it was reared, and trims their wings, and brings them food, till the old birds acquire a new plumage and are able to look after themselves, whence the hoopoe has been honoured by being placed as an ornament on the sceptres of the gods (*Hieroglyph.*, i. 55; see Leeman's Notes. Compare also Jablonski. *Voces Ægyptiæ*, ap. *Script. Veteres*, p. 115). The Chaldee rendering of *naggar turah* (Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan), *i.e.*, "a rock workman;" the Greek version, *ἀγριαλεκτορίς*, *i.e.*, "mountain cock," at first sight appears to point to some other bird than the hoopoe, which frequents marshy ground, ploughed land, dunghills, rather than mountains and rocks; still the hoopoe makes its nest often in crevices of rocks. The ancient Greeks also speak of the hoopoe as a mountain bird. Aristotle says, "Now some animals are found in the mountains, as the hoopoe." Ælian says the hoopoe builds in lofty rocks (*N. A.*, iii. 26). Æschylus (*Fragm.*, 291) calls the hoopoe a rock bird. When the two lawsuit-wearied citizens of

Athens, Euelpides and Pisthetærus, in the comedy of the *Birds* of Aristophanes, are on their search for the home of Epops, King of Birds, their ornithological conductors lead them through a wild desert tract, terminated by mountains and rocks, in which is situated the royal aviary of Epops. The rendering of "wild cock," "mountain cock," of some of the versions, has reference probably to the crest of the bird, calling to mind the crest or comb of the cock (*gallus*). The hoopoe (*Upupa epops*) is found in Egypt, France, Spain, and in many other warm parts of the Old World. It is pretty common in Palestine, which country it visits in the early spring, leaving it in the winter. In Egypt it is very common, and resides there all the year. It is occasionally found in England. The ruined temples of Rabbath Ammon and Baalbek are among its favourite resorts. The Arabs have a superstitious reverence for the hoopoe, which they believe to possess marvellous medicinal qualities; they call it "the doctor." Its head is an indispensable ingredient in all charms and in the practice of witchcraft (see *Ibis*, i. p. 27). The Arabs say also the hoopoe betrays secrets, and that it can point out hidden underground springs of water. This idea has arisen from the grotesque movements of the bird. On settling on the ground it has a strange habit of bending the head slowly down till the point of the bill touches the ground, raising and depressing the crest omnibusly at the same time. Our word hoopoe is derived from the bird's voice, which resembles the words "hoop, hoop," softly and rapidly uttered. Similarly, the Latin *upupa* and the French *huppe*, &c., all of which perhaps come from the Greek *εποψ*, which is, however, not so good a representation of the bird's notes as its derivatives. In Sweden the hoopoe is called *Hår Fogel*, *i.e.*, "the army bird," because, from its ominous cry, heard in the wilds of the forest (a "woodland cock" in this case), the people think war and scarcity are impending (Lloyd's *Scand. Advent.*, ii. 321).

The hoopoe is about the size of a missel thrush; the plumage is of a light russet colour, wings and tail black, with broad white bars. The long feathers of the crest are each tipped with black.

CUCKOO

occurs only in the list of unclean birds (Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15) as the translation of the Hebrew word *shakhaph*, but it is very improbable that the cuckoo is intended. There is some reason to think the "seagull" is the bird denoted by *shakhaph*, and this point will be considered when we come to treat of the swimming birds (*Natatores*). The cuckoo was doubtless well known to the ancient Hebrews, and its familiar voice must have gladdened many a heart when it was heard in the land, proclaiming that the winter had gone, and summer and flowers once more smiled on the earth. Both our own species (*Cuculus canorus*) and the great spotted cuckoo (*Oxylophus glandarius*) are now found in the Holy Land, the latter species being the most common of the two. The great spotted cuckoo is an inhabitant of North Africa. Like our own species, it is

HOODED CROW (*Corvus cornix*).GREAT SPOTTED CUCKOO (*Oxylophus glandarius*).

parasitic in its habits, depositing its eggs, which are of the same colour and size as those of the magpie, in the nests of the magpie, raven, jackdaw, &c. So peculiarly characteristic is the note of this bird as to give the bird's name, "cuckoo," amongst many nations. It is the same as the Greek κόκκυξ, the Latin *cuculus* or

cucūlus, the Italian *cucco*, the German *kukuk*, the Sanskrit *koka* or *kokila* (compare the Skr. *kuhu*, i.e., "the cuckoo's note." Amongst a number of birds' names in Assyrian occurs the word *khu-u-qu*, which

Mr. Fox Talbot takes to mean the cuckoo (see Sir. H. Rawlinson's *W. A. I.*, vol. ii., pl. 37, lines 4*a* and 54*a*). The Hebrews, therefore, perhaps, would have called the bird by a similar name.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

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SACRED SEASONS (*continued*).

FROM the consideration of the Sabbatic Year, we turn now to the still more remarkable sacred season of Israel known as the Year of Jubilee, the provisions with regard to which are found chiefly in the 25th chapter of Leviticus. It took place at the close of every seven weeks of years, that is, at the close of seven years multiplied by seven, or every fiftieth year. The idea has indeed been entertained by many that the year of Jubilee was each forty-ninth, and not each fiftieth, year, it being supposed that, according to a method of reckoning not uncommon both among the Hebrews and other nations, the last term of the preceding series was reckoned also as the first term of the next. It has been thought that in this way we might best obviate the difficulty arising from the fact that, if the Jubilee were the fiftieth year, and not the forty-ninth, then, as the latter was unquestionably a Sabbatic Year, the land must have lain fallow for two years in succession; an arrangement which has seemed incompatible with all proper economical measures for the welfare and even for the sustenance of the people. Considering the object that we have before us in these papers, it is hardly necessary to discuss the question. We remark, therefore, only briefly in passing, that the view commonly taken, that the Year of Jubilee was the fiftieth and not the forty-ninth year, is that which has most foundation in the language of Scripture, and in the analogy afforded by other sacred institutions of Israel. Thus Lev. xxv. 10, "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year," compared with xxv. 8, "And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years," is itself almost decisive of the question. Forty-nine years are here expressly distinguished from fifty, and the fiftieth follows the complete accomplishment of the forty-nine. In like manner, we read in Lev. xxv. 21, 22 words which must refer to the last cycle of seven years immediately preceding the Jubilee, and which are not to be supposed, as by Ewald, to have fallen out of their proper place in the chapter: "Then will I command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years. And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of old fruit until the ninth year; until her fruits come in ye shall eat of the old store." That is, the harvest ripened in the sixth year, which in other circumstances would have been consumed in the seventh,

was to last three years, not only through the seventh, but through the eighth and ninth; the crop sown at the beginning of the ninth year then coming in at its close to supply the wants of the tenth. Only by such an interpretation can we give meaning to the words "It shall bring forth fruit for three years." Fruit for two years would have been all that was required had the Sabbatic Year and the Year of Jubilee synchronised. Nor can it be said that three years are spoken of simply to indicate that there would be great abundance in the sixth year, more even than would be necessary for life. It is not abundance that is before the mind of the lawgiver, it is simply the means of sustenance for a continued series of years; for he speaks distinctly of the sixth, the seventh, the eighth, and the ninth years, and of eating of "old fruit," the fruit of the sixth, during the three last mentioned. A similar conclusion may be drawn from Isaiah xxxvii. 30: "And this shall be a sign unto thee, Ye shall eat this year such as growth of itself; and the second year that which springeth of the same: and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof." It is possible, indeed, that these words do not refer to a Sabbatic Year immediately followed by a Year of Jubilee, and we do not quote them as if they necessarily did. Enough if they exhibit the idea of the people's allowing the labours of the field to be intermitted for two years, and yet finding food. They thus show that the difficulty connected with the two fallow years is not so great as is supposed. Finally, the analogy of Pentecost confirms what has been said. Seven weeks of days, or forty-nine days, were counted from the second day of Unleavened Bread, and the day after these, the fiftieth, was the festival. We conclude, therefore, that the Year of Jubilee was the fiftieth year, and not the forty-ninth.

As in the case of the Sabbatic Year, it was in the seventh month that the Jubilee began; but it began on the tenth day, and not, like the former, on the first. The tenth day, however, was the great Day of Atonement, the most solemn of all the days of Israel's year, and that most closely associated with a humbled and sorrowful recollection of the past. It is difficult, therefore, to imagine that the opening and welcome of the most joyful of all the years of the people could take place on the morning of that day; it would naturally be reserved for the evening. Then the day's "afflicting of the soul" was over; the great appointed atonement was

complete; sin had been expiated; the way into the Holy of Holies had been opened to the high priest, the head and representative of Israel, who had entered within the veil, and, as accepted in God's sight, had returned alive; all transgressions had been seen symbolically carried away to the desolate wilderness from which they should return no more; and the smoke of the burnt-offering, emblem of Israel's dedication to the Lord, had ascended to heaven. Now, therefore, joy and triumph might well be the order of the time, and the people would be ready to receive the glad tidings that the Jubilee had begun.

It was announced with the sound of trumpets, the trumpet used being the *shophar* which, in speaking of the services of the first day of the month, we have already described. It was the token of God's peculiar presence among His people, yet His presence not merely in favour and grace, but His presence as He is, in the completeness of His character, and therefore also in the holiness of His nature, in the awfulness of His attributes, in the terribleness of His judgments. Even the Jubilee Year was not to be introduced with sounds associated only with feasting or with privilege; and as the long, clear, shrill notes of the *shophar* were poured forth by the priests from the Temple heights—that *streaming* sound which seems indeed to be the true root of the word *Jobel* or Jubilee—the people were reminded that, whatever their mirth, it must be mixed with trembling; that, whatever the grace proclaimed, it was still the grace of one who was also a consuming fire.

The peculiar arrangements of the Year of Jubilee were in some respects similar to those of the Sabbatic Year, but in others were much more important and remarkable.

In the first place, in the former year, as in the latter, the soil was to lie uncultivated. The people are enjoined neither to sow, nor to reap that which groweth of itself, nor to gather the grapes of their undressed vines; the meaning of this injunction, as we saw in speaking of the Sabbatic Year, being not that they were not to use such things as might thus be gathered for food—they are rather expressly enjoined to do so—but that they are not to gather them as if they were their own individual harvest. They were to be the common property of all, of the rich and the poor, of the master and the servant, of the game, and even of the wild beasts that might be found in the land.

In the second place, every Israelite who had been compelled by the pressure of poverty to alienate his paternal inheritance was now permitted to return to it. It was lawful, indeed, to redeem such a property at any time. If the person who had been under the necessity of parting with it had a friend able to do this, provision was made in the law for the restoration of what had been sold. Its value was determined according to a prescribed scale, and the purchaser was obliged to accept this value, and to give back the land. It often happened, however, that the seller's relations were as poor as himself. Then the Jubilee Year came in with the remarkable peculiarity that it was the redeemer. The

land returned immediately on the opening of the year, and that without price, to its original proprietor. In reality, it had never been sold, according to the sense attached by us to that expression; it was only the products of it for the number of years intervening between the date of sale and the Jubilee that had come into the market. The price, therefore, varied in proportion to the number of these years; and by the time the period of redemption arrived, the purchaser had obtained a full equivalent for his money. Upon this point, accordingly, the provisions of the Mosaic law were extremely definite and precise: "And if thou sell ought unto thy neighbour, or buyest ought of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another: according to the number of years after the jubilee thou shalt buy of thy neighbour, and according unto the number of years of the fruits he shall sell unto thee: according to the multitude of years thou shalt increase the price thereof, and according to the fewness of years thou shalt diminish the price of it: for according to the number of the years of the fruits doth he sell unto thee;" while the ground of this provision, which lay in the anxiety of the law to guard against oppression, is given in the next following words: "Ye shall not therefore oppress one another; but thou shalt fear thy God: for I am the Lord your God" (Lev. xxv. 14—17). There were, indeed, two exceptions to the operation of this part of the law of the Jubilee, which, however, only illustrate more fully the nature of the principle involved. The first of these had relation to the houses in walled cities, permission to redeem which lasted only for a year after the sale. If they were not redeemed within that time, they were "established for ever to him that bought them throughout all generations," and they did not go out in the Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 29, 30). Houses of the villages, again, which had no wall round about them, were counted as the fields of the country. They might both be redeemed at any time, and they went out in the Jubilee (v. 31). The reason of the exception is thus obvious. These houses in walled cities had no particular connection with the land. They would be inhabited, not by agricultural labourers, but by different classes of artisans, perhaps often, as has been conjectured, by foreigners. To them, therefore, a law purely rural in its character, and founded, as we shall see, upon a principle of this nature, did not apply. The houses of the Levites in cities were the only ones that did not come under this rule (Lev. xxv. 32, 33). The second exception had reference to the case of land the value of which was devoted to the service of God, or sanctified. Then the produce of the land belonged to God until the Year of Jubilee. It might, however, be redeemed at any moment up till that time, by adding to its value a fifth part. But if while not so redeemed the original owner sold it again to another man, thus endeavouring to recoup himself while still retaining the benefit of his vow, then it could be redeemed no more; it was holy unto the Lord as a thing devoted; the possession thereof was to be the priest's (Lev. xxvii. 14—21). These exceptions, it will be observed, confirm instead of overturning the general principle. If the latter does not

seem to do so, it is only in appearance, for it is obvious that the Israelite who thus loses the ordinary privilege of the Jubilee loses it simply because, by fraudulent conduct in a sacred transaction between himself and God, he has forfeited his title to Israel's privileges. The general rule remained intact alike in its principle and application. An inheritance in land, or in houses connected with land, which had been sold through poverty, returned in the Year of Jubilee to the original and hereditary owner.

In the third place, all Israelites who had been compelled by poverty to sell themselves to another were set free in the Jubilee: "And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bondservant: but as an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee: and then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return" (Lev. xxv. 39—41). It was, indeed, another provision of the Mosaic law that no Israelite could sell himself into servitude for a longer period than six years (Exod. xxi. 2); and it was even provided that when he thus went out of bondage in the seventh year he was not to go empty-handed, but with his wants liberally supplied (Dent. xv. 13—15). The peculiarity of the law of the Jubilee was that when it fell it at once interrupted the period of service, even although the six years had not expired. As his old possession then returned to him, the Israelite received also his freedom to enjoy it.

In the fourth place, it has been made a question whether debts were remitted or cancelled during the Year of Jubilee. The law says nothing on the point, any remission of debt being connected in it with the Sabbatic Year. It is probable enough that debts for which land had been pledged were then cancelled,¹ as, indeed, had it not been so the Israelite could not have been said, in the full meaning of the words, to have received again the inheritance of his fathers. But if so, this cancelling of debt is really a part of the general principle involved in the restoration of the soil, and we need take no further notice of it in itself.

We turn to the purport and meaning of the institution the particulars of which we have been explaining. As in the case of the Sabbatic Year, the ground of it is to be sought not in merely civil or economical, but in religious considerations. It may have answered all of the former purposes enumerated by Michaelis. It may have perpetuated equality; made it impossible to be born to absolute poverty; retained the Israelites in their own land by cutting off poverty, the great cause of emigration; encouraged marriage; secured a better cultivation of the soil; and strengthened the spirit of patriotism. All this it may have done, but its essential principle and aim must be sought in something higher. It is distinctly declared that the Jubilee was in the eyes of the people to be "holy" (Lev. xxv. 12). Its most im-

portant arrangement was enforced by the conscription, "Thou shalt fear thy God: I am the Lord your God" (Lev. xxv. 17). The special blessing of the Almighty was promised to the soil in preparation for the period during which it was to lie fallow (verse 21). When allusion is made to it in the prophets, it is in such a way as to imply that the observance of the year was a token of Israel's faithfulness to its covenant, its neglect of it the reverse (Isa. xxxvii. 30). When the foundation of its ordinances is given, it is placed in the relation of the Israelites to God rather than one another (Lev. xxv. 23, 42). And, above all, it constitutes one of those great sabbatic institutions which were invested with a character of peculiar sacredness.

The first and leading idea of the year, then, was the restoration of Israel as a whole to the position in which God had originally placed it, and that alike in regard to worldly possessions and personal freedom. In both of these respects there was a constant tendency to fall back into a condition of selfish grasping on the one hand, of hopeless destitution and misery upon the other. Upon these the Jubilee was to place a salutary check, and to renew from period to period the original arrangement appointed by the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty, and entirely independent of the people. Thus, in regard to the land, the principle upon which it returned in the year of Jubilee to its former owner was that it was God's (Lev. xxv. 23). Israel had never received it to be a possession of its own. It had been originally distributed among the people by lot (Numb. xxvi. 52—56; xxxiii. 54), and God's absolute proprietorship in it had thus been recognised. It was His, therefore, to give it again in a manner consistent with just and equitable dealing towards those who had first received it. In the same manner, the persons of the Israelites were not their own. God was no less proprietor of them than of the soil. They were His servants, whom He had brought forth out of the land of Egypt (Lev. xxv. 42, 55), and He had a right, therefore, to restore to them, in a manner again consistent with justice and equity, the freedom which they had at any time forfeited. This then was what He did. Every fiftieth year He gave back to the man who had been obliged to alienate it the inheritance of his fathers, and broke the bonds in which he might have been held captive for a season. He restored the whole economy of the state to what it was at the first, that thus the covenant of the people with Him might be placed upon its original footing, and that, with all their early advantages, a new era in their history might begin.

These two blessings, recovery of his inheritance and of freedom, were probably the greatest that an Israelite could have bestowed upon him. As to the first, we know from the history of Naboth with what deep attachment the land of the family was regarded, "The Lord forbid it me," was the reply even to a king's request, "that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee" (1 Kings xxi. 3); and another illustration of the same kind is afforded us in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad (Numb. xxxvi. 7, &c.). As to the second

¹ Jahn's *Sacred Antiquities*, p. 177.

of these points, again, the spirit of the Jews appears in the answer given on one occasion to our Lord: "We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man" (John viii. 33).

Great, however, as these blessings were, it will not do to rest in them as the sole characteristics of the Jubilee Year, or to think of them only in their relation to the state. The sabbatic character of the year, the provision with regard to the resting of the soil, the common right given to its produce, the warnings against oppressing a brother, together with the ground upon which they are founded—points of which we have already spoken in connection with the Sabbatic Year—show us that even the outward blessings of restoration to a paternal inheritance and of bodily freedom were connected not so much with the civil as with the theocratic relation of the people to God and one another. The leading idea of the year, in short, was restoration to the blessings of God's covenant of love in their first freshness and fulness. Israel was brought to experience knew all the privileges of His redeemed. The earth brought forth its fruits for their sake, without being cultivated in the sweat of the brow. The primeval curse seemed for the time removed. Israel walked among the trees of the garden with the feeling that the Almighty was in its midst, and it was not afraid. Thus it must have been a glad and joyful day when, as pardoned and accepted through the atonement that had been offered, the "afflicting of the soul" was brought to an end, and the shrill sound of the Jubilee trumpets proclaimed that the season of deliverance was come.

It remains for us now to inquire into the Fulfilment of the year of which we have been speaking. Here, fortunately, we have little difficulty. The allusions to the year both in the prophets of the Old Testament and in the words of Christ and His Apostles in the New, guide us to a conclusion. Thus, for example, there can be no mistaking the reference in Isaiah lxi. 1, 2: "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." A similar reference is to be found in Ezek. xlvi. 16—18, where the prophet is engaged in picturing the glory of Messianic times, and where, in a figure drawn from the Year of Jubilee, he points out the well-ordered condition, the justice, and freedom from oppression, that were to characterise the coming period of grace and glory. The references to the Jubilee Year thus contained in the Old Testament are taken up again and applied in the New. Thus it is that our Lord, in His first discourse in the synagogue at Nazareth, appropriated to Himself the language of Isaiah when, having read the passage from that prophet which we have already quoted, He closed the book and gave it again to the minister, and "began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears" (Luke iv. 21). Thus it is that St. Peter, in Acts iii. 19—21, exclaims, "Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins

may be blotted out, that so times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord; and that he may send Jesus the Christ which was before appointed for you: whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began;" words which it is hardly possible to refer to anything else than the ideas imperfectly expressed in the Year of Jubilee. And thus also it is that St. Paul must be understood to have the same year in his eye as the figure of better things, when in writing to the Romans (viii. 19—21), he says, "For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God;" and, in writing to the Ephesians (i. 13, 14): "In whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession."

Passages such as these can leave no doubt upon our minds that, under the New Testament dispensation, the Year of Jubilee has its fulfilment in the idea of the restitution of all things. Man cannot believe that his first estate was one only of fetichism and degradation or that his history has been one simply of long and slow progress upwards. He must look back to a golden era to a bright primeval age, when sin and misery played no such part on earth as they do now. Scripture confirms the idea, and, in beautiful though brief touches of the sacred historian's pen, shows us what this state was before the Fall. Of that state, then, we bear the traces in us still. Even on the shore of this world we pick up shells which, when we put them to our ear, are full of the echoes of that far-off land and distant day. We long after it again, and Scripture tells us that the longing shall be fulfilled. It is so, in part at least, even now. The dispensation under which we live is the true Jubilee Year; in its idea, a time of refreshing and restoration of all things.

For, in the first place, the gifts of God distributed with "lavish kindness" to the believer are recognised as His, and are enjoyed as blessings of a Father's hand. We have not to toil for them as if obtaining them were the great business of life. Nor, when we do obtain them, can we regard them as things gained in the sweat of our own face alone, and which we may lawfully use only for ourselves. They are free as the air, they spring up as the grass, they shine around us as the light. Therefore the Christian enters into the spirit of his Father in heaven, views man and beast and nature with love, and distributes to all as he has opportunity and means. The labour of life is lightened to him, the bitterness of its burden is sweetened, the quick pulse beats more gently, and the hot brow is cooled. Thorns and thistles may still be in part around him, but they are gradually disappearing. The earth is again become a garden, an Eden, full of trees beneath whose shadow he sits with

great delight, and the fruit of which is sweet unto his taste.

In the second place, the Christian has restored to him the inheritance which he had lost, and which, left to himself, he could never have regained. That inheritance was God. It was forfeited by sin, and man wandered only farther and farther from it, not liking to retain God in his knowledge, and given over to a reprobate mind. But the Gospel message comes, is received, enters into the heart, becomes a living power within the soul, and man learns immediately that the long-lost inheritance of God's children is once more his. He is no more a stranger to the covenant of promise, or an alien from the commonwealth of Israel, but a fellow-citizen with the saints and of the household of God. He receives the spirit of adoption by which he cries, "Abba Father." He has been brought back to his Father's house, and he rests in the assurance that the grace which has recalled him will never again let him go.

In the third place, the Christian is now again free. In Christ Jesus, God is a Father to him, God is love, and love becomes the animating principle of his new obedience. The commandments, once thought by him so hard a task, he feels to be no longer grievous. The holiness once shunned by him he now aspires after as that which alone brings true happiness to the soul. The path once thought by him to be full only of diffi-

ulty and trial he now finds to be a light and gladsome path, where "the joy of the Lord is his strength." And with no fear and no anxiety, with a pacified conscience and a heart rejoicing in the smiles of a reconciled God, he passes along, the freeman of the Lord, to Zion. The Son has made him free, and he is free indeed.

All this, however, is only as yet ideally enjoyed by Christians. They have part, but they have not the whole, in actual experience. Therefore the true fulfilment of the Jubilee, its perfect fulfilment in everything it symbolised to Israel, is still future. It awaits us there where, that which is perfect being come, that which is in part shall be done away.

Such, then, is to the followers of Christ the fulfilment of Israel's Jubilee. No doubt, we can but faintly imagine those longings with which the Jew of old would look forward to the coming of a year that returned only twice in a century, and which few of them could expect to see more than once. But, however deep we may imagine these longings to have been, and however great the joy with which the sound of the *shophar* would be hailed as it re-echoed from one mountain and valley and town and cottage to another, it is ours to remember that with Christ the true "acceptable year of the Lord" came in; and it is ours to say, with a greater emphasis than even Israel could, "Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound."

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

DANIEL.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

SINCE the publication of Dean Stanley's *Life of Dr. Arnold*, the Book of Daniel has been looked upon as peculiarly open to hostile criticism. For in a letter (No. ccxiv.) addressed to Sir Thomas Pasley, that eminent man described the latter chapters of this book as being a "clear exception to his (Dr. Arnold's) canon of interpretation of prophecy, inasmuch as no reasonable spiritual meaning can be made out of the kings of the North and South." He then says that he has long thought that the greater part of the Book of Daniel was most certainly a very late work of the time of the Maccabees; and that the pretended prophecy about the kings of Grecia and Persia and of the North and South, was mere history, like the poetical prophecies in Virgil. He further remarks that it is curious that, while confessedly apocryphal books existed under the name of the Book of Daniel, as, for instance, the stories of Susannah and Bol and the Dragon, they should have been rejected because they were only known in "the Greek translation," and the rest, because it happened to be in Chaldee, has been received at once in the lump, and defended as a matter of faith. And finally, while thinking it probable that there are

genuine fragments in the book, he considers the non-authenticity of great part of it as proved.

The authority of so famous a name could not but have very great weight, and the more so because the Book of Daniel does really occupy distinct ground from the writings of the prophets with which it is classed in our Authorised Version. The Jews, as might have been expected from their greater knowledge of the subject, do not regard it as a prophecy at all. They place the book among the Hagiographa, or Sacred Writings, arranging it between Esther and Ezra. Had the Scriptures of the Old Testament been arranged by our translators as thoughtfully as they were by the Jews, Dr. Arnold would never have judged of the book by a criterion which is not properly applicable to it. What is the true nature of the Book of Daniel, and in what way it occupies an entirely distinct place of its own in the scheme of revelation, will be fully shown in the course of this paper.

It is, however, very necessary first to say a word respecting what Dr. Arnold regards as something curious. For he supposes that the Book of Daniel has been received as inspired simply because it is written in [Hebrew and] Chaldee, and the stories of Susannah

and Bel and the Dragon have been rejected because they are mere translations. Now these stories are not translations. Had Dr. Arnold read the History of Susannah in the Greek, he would have found that it is full of puns, and some of them very bad puns. We have, moreover, various recensions or new editions of the story, in which attempts have been made to improve these puns, and we may add that they are essential to the narrative. But in the present day every critic is aware of the existence of a large Jewish literature, written originally in Greek at Alexandria, Leontopolis, and other Egyptian towns, to which the apocryphal books mainly belong. And, of course, no one imagines that a book written originally in Greek, had Daniel for its author. One is able, in fact, to gauge the growth of modern criticism by going back to such a statement as this of Dr. Arnold. He was probably in advance of most critics in his day, and yet was not aware of the entirely different ground occupied by the apocryphal from that of the canonical Scriptures.

We receive these canonical Scriptures on the deliberate judgment of the Jewish Church, inasmuch as "to the Jews were committed the oracles of God." We do not accept them because they were written in Hebrew or Chaldee; very many works written in Hebrew existed in the days of Ezra and the Great Synagogue, and of these several were composed by prophets, and are referred to as such in the Books of Chronicles; and yet they were not placed among the canonical Scriptures. Slowly and gradually the Jewish Church felt its way, till a rule or canon was formed, by which certain writings took their place as authoritative, while others were excluded. There is, in fact, nothing at all curious or hap-hazard about the reception of the Books of the Old Testament, and until their authenticity is disproved, we accept them upon the judgment of those who had far larger knowledge of their history and much better means of forming an opinion upon their nature and claims than we can possibly have. Apocryphal works stand upon a completely different footing. We have as an appendix to the Old Testament a small collection of them, containing some of the most valuable and some of the most worthless of these writings. The complete neglect into which they had fallen, accounts for such mistakes as that made by Dr. Arnold in supposing that the stories of Susannah and Bel and the Dragon were translations. The Second Book of Esdras was written in Hebrew, but is none the less apocryphal. A scholar-like edition of all these works, with a full account of their probable scope, date, and authorship, would be a valuable aid to Biblical criticism.

The most important apocryphal books came to us through the Septuagint, to which, as the Alexandrian edition of the Scriptures, the Egyptian Jews added such of their own writings as they deemed most valuable. The rest came to us by chance, some of them in separate manuscripts, but most of them as additions to the Scriptures, appended to some Biblical manuscript by the fancy or ignorance of some monkish scribe. As for the Jewish canon, I am quite aware that we have

not a full historical record of the manner in which it was formed. We could scarcely expect any such record either to have been drawn up, or if it had been drawn up, to have survived the manifold troubles which befell the Jewish nation. We do not even possess any manuscripts of the Old Testament itself of great date, and were it not for the existence of ancient versions, like the Septuagint and the Syriac, the authenticity of the Hebrew Scriptures would be exposed to serious doubts. We have, however, many scattered remarks and incidental allusions to the subject, and in the Talmud various traditions are found, showing that the Jewish mind was fully awake to the importance of discriminating between those scriptures which were authoritative and those which were not. This work apparently was begun soon after the return from the Captivity, and as early as the time of Jesus the son of Sirach we find the same threefold division of the Bible into the Law, the Prophets, and the Sacred Writings, as exists now (see Prologue, and also chaps. xlv.—xlix., which contain a summary of the Old Testament). Already this arrangement is described as a thing long settled, and most certainly was universally received by the Jews as authoritative. Though tradition generally assigns the work to Ezra, yet in 2 Macc. ii. 13 it is ascribed to Nehemiah, who is said to have founded a *library*, having collected for that purpose "the acts of the kings and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts." Supposing that this refers to the gathering together of the many volumes which form the Old Testament into one case—the word *bibliotheca*, here rendered "library," originally meaning simply a case for the safe keeping of one or more manuscripts—it would seem that Nehemiah appended to the Law not merely the writings of the prophets and the Psalms, but also the decrees of the Persian kings. Nothing, in fact, could be more probable. In his days those decrees were the main protection of the Jewish commonwealth; but in time, as the Persian power declined, their value would diminish, and as the principles upon which books were to be admitted into the canon became better understood, they would finally disappear. The one fact of importance is that we find a settled canon and arrangement of the Sacred Scriptures universally accepted by the Jews long before the time of our Lord; a general consent that Malachi was the last inspired prophet; and numerous traditions, more or less trustworthy, throwing light upon the manner in which the canon was formed. And we receive the Book of Daniel as being one of those scriptures which the Jews received into their canon. The books of the Old Testament come down to us with a great weight of authority to back them, just as those of the New Testament come with all the authority of the councils of the Church in the fourth century. We do not say that either the Jewish rabbins or the doctors of the Church could not make a mistake; but we do say that this mistake must be clearly proved before we reverse their decision. Too generally, modern criticism has ignored this fact, and men have written as if their fancies and notions

were as solid grounds for forming a judgment as the full knowledge possessed by the Jews, and by the Fathers of the fourth century, who performed for the writings of the Apostles that same work of careful discrimination which the men of the Great Synagogue performed, after the return from exile, for the Hebrew Scriptures. Lay whatever stress you like upon the fact that the admission of a book into the canon of Scripture was the work of men, yet it remains that it was done by men who were competent for the task, and that their judgment has stood the test of ages.

As the Book of Daniel has been especially selected by modern critics for attack, these general remarks may not be out of place: especially as it by no means follows that because a critic attacks the canonicity of a particular book, he therefore attacks the Bible generally. He may simply mean that the book in question was wrongly inserted among those scriptures which he too regards as divine. We will now proceed to consider first of all the personal history of Daniel, and next the nature of his writings.

We read, then, that in the third year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar besieged and captured Jerusalem, and carried part of the sacred vessels away as spoil of war, and also certain prisoners, out of whom he ordered such youths as were remarkable for beauty and intelligence to be trained in the language and learning of the Chaldees, that they might minister as eunuchs in the king's household. Now here comes the first difficulty. We read of no such invasion of Judæa in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and in Jeremiah it is in the fourth year of Jehoiakim that the great struggle between Babylon and Egypt is brought to an issue. In that year Nebuchadnezzar, still acting only as general for his father Nabopolassar, defeated Pharaoh-necho at Carchemish, and won for the Chaldean empire complete ascendancy over all Western Asia. But, after all, the difficulty arises only from our want of knowledge. The narratives in the Books of Kings and Chronicles are so brief as to give only three or four verses to the whole eleven years of Jehoiakim's reign; and this raid upon Jerusalem was probably not a very serious affair. There is no ground for supposing that the fords of the Euphrates at Carchemish were held, as some suppose, by an Egyptian garrison, and a young and brilliant soldier like Nebuchadnezzar may well, while Pharaoh-necho was gathering his forces, have pushed a reconnaissance up to the walls of Jerusalem, and struck a blow there at Pharaoh's ally. Jehoiakim had been elevated by Pharaoh to the throne in place of his brother Jehoaiah, an adherent of the Chaldee party, and who on that account had been carried prisoner into Egypt. This was just such an act as the Chaldees were bound to avenge as quickly as possible. And yet, before the decisive battle with Pharaoh was fought, Nebuchadnezzar would not be willing to provoke an obstinate resistance. With his father in failing health, and the probability of troubles in obtaining the succession—for even after the battle of Carchemish Nebuchadnezzar had to hasten home to secure the crown

—it is not probable that he would expose himself to the risk of fighting a decisive battle so far from his resources. Apparently he had fallen upon Jehoiakim too suddenly for the Jewish king to be prepared for a siege, and yet, as all he wanted was to avenge the insult offered to Jehoaiah, and make the Chaldean army respected, he would readily grant Jehoiakim easy terms. A part, therefore, of the vessels of the sanctuary, some children of the princes and of the royal house, as hostages, probably, for the king's future allegiance, together with a formal recognition of Chaldee supremacy, satisfied the youthful commander for the present. But in the face of the more serious events which followed, this raid was of small account. In the Books of Kings and Chronicles we have absolutely nothing but the briefest summary of Jehoiakim's final rebellion and overthrow. In the Book of Jeremiah there is an entire blank between the first and fourth years of Jehoiakim's reign, and any allusions which occur in the subsequent history lead to the idea that somehow the Jewish king had become in the meantime a vassal of the Chaldees.¹

It is exceedingly probable that the statement of Josephus that Daniel was a prince of the royal house is true. Isaiah (xxxix. 7) had long before prophesied that Hezekiah's descendants should suffer the fate which befell Daniel, and it is expressly said that those selected for what was considered a very honourable service were of the king's seed and of the princes. Thus chosen, his name Daniel (*God is my Judge*) is changed to Belteshazzar (*the Prince of Bel*), and in company with his three friends, the heroes subsequently of the fiery furnace, he refuses to eat of food offered to idols; but having gained the favour of Melzar, their trainer, they are allowed to make a ten days' trial of a vegetable diet and water, and by God's blessing so flourished upon it that they were henceforward not interfered with, while in learning and understanding they quickly outstripped all the other youths.

The first trial of Daniel's skill was in interpreting the king's dream of the mighty image. With all the wilfulness of an absolute monarch, Nebuchadnezzar had demanded of the Magi that they should even tell him the dream itself; and full of wrath when they could not comply with so unreasonable a demand, vexed also, probably, with himself for having forgotten a vision which had left upon his mind so deep a general impression, he ordered the execution of the whole tribe of astrologers, magicians, and wise men. In this decree the death also of Daniel and his companions was involved, but the youth obtained through Arioch an audience, besought Nebuchadnezzar for some delay, and going to his house, prayed with his youthful friends, until in a night vision the secret was revealed unto him. And so struck was the king by the clearness with which he made known to him both the dream and its interpretation, that he elevated him at one bound to the office of

¹ Niebuhr, in his *History of Assyria*, also satisfactorily clears away the difficulties of this passage, but in a somewhat different way.

president of the Magi, and henceforward, except in the sanguinary interval between Nebuchadnezzar's death and the capture of Babylon, Daniel was the chief officer and governor of the vast realm of which Babylon was the head.

Daniel was not present when his three friends were cast into the burning fiery furnace. For what reason we cannot tell, but probably he was not at Babylon when the king set up the image in the plain of Dura, and commanded the presence of his nobles at its dedication. Dr. Pusey thinks, however, that he might have been present, but was too high in office for any one to venture to accuse him; and it is quite probable that the enemies of the Jews would begin with men in inferior place before attacking the chief minister of the crown. Among the musical instruments mentioned on this occasion in chap. iii. 5 are several which either are, or look like, Greek words. Three especially are claimed as Greek, namely, the *symphony*, translated "dulcimer;" the *cithara* or guitar, rendered "harp;" and the *psaltery*. While the science of philology was still in its infancy, critics used also to enumerate a long list of other supposed Greek words in the Book of Daniel, and argue from them that it was written in the days of the Maccabees, after the conquests of Alexander had spread abroad a knowledge of the Greek language throughout great part of the East. Our increased acquaintance both with the laws of language and with the dialects of the East, has swept all but these three words clean away, and even here the word *symphonia*, which looks so thoroughly Greek, is most probably the Aramaic *sephonja*, a "reed-pipe." "Guitar," under various forms, belongs to most languages, but the Greek has no especial claim upon it, nor offers any tenable derivation. The third word is in the original *psanterin*, and its identification with *psaltery* is doubtful. But even were these words Greek, they would prove nothing. Articles of commerce carry their names with them all over the world, and we, for instance, still call cotton-cloth *calico* because it was first brought from Calicut; our own manufactures are known all over the East by the names of leading Manchester firms; and similarly, several of the most important articles of female attire, introduced at the time of the Crusades, still retain with us their Arabic names. At the mart of so rich and luxurious a city as Babylon, instruments of music and all things which minister to pleasure would be sure to find a ready sale; and the commerce of Tyre, referred to in the article on Ezekiel, shows how large and active was the trade of those days. As a matter of course all foreign articles would everywhere retain their own names.

Towards the close of Nebuchadnezzar's reign Daniel foretells his seven years' madness, and we find him still addressed as the "master of the Magi" (chap. iv. 9); but when subsequently he was called in to interpret the handwriting on the wall, he was plainly unknown personally to Belshazzar, and it was at the suggestion of Nitocris, the widow of Nebuchadnezzar, and who apparently held the office of queen-mother, that Daniel was summoned. Without doubt he had been deprived of

his office during the stormy interval which followed the forty-three years' long reign of Nebuchadnezzar. Babylon, the city "built with blood" (Hab. ii. 12), was to sink in blood; and so Evil-merodach, Nebuchadnezzar's son, was murdered after a two years' reign by Nerigissar, his sister's husband. This prince, called by Jeremiah (chap. xxxix. 3, 13) "Nergal-sharezer, the Rab-mag," or high priest, reigned three years, and was succeeded by an infant son, named Labrosoarchad, who was murdered after a reign of nine months. Upon his death the crown apparently reverted to another son of Nebuchadnezzar—or, as others think, the husband of another of his daughters—named Nabonnedus, whose son was the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel, and, of course, Nitocris would be his grandmother.

And here we find one of the most interesting and instructive results of the increased knowledge of modern times. Till the last few years we had in the accounts of the fall of Babylon one of the most hopeless and irreconcilable discrepancies between Holy Scripture and profane history. The Bible represents Belshazzar as king of Babylon, and says that the city was captured during a festival by an unexpected entry of the Persians within the walls at night, and that the king was slain in the midst of his carousals. Berosus says that the last king was Nabonnedus; that he retired to Borsippa, was there blockaded, but that on his surrender his life was spared by Cyrus, who granted him a principality in Carmania, where he spent the rest of his days. With much of this Herodotus agrees, only he calls the king Labynetus. Thus the Bible and profane history seemed at hopeless variance; but in 1854 Sir H. Rawlinson deciphered some cylinders discovered among the ruins of the ancient Ur of the Chaldees, and found that Nabonnedus had an eldest son, named Bel-shar-azar, whom he admitted to a share in the government. All is now clear. The father commanded the forces in the field; the son took charge of the capital and its garrison. He perished in the night attack; while his father, defeated in his attempt to relieve the city, withdrew to Borsippa, and being no longer formidable, now that Babylon had been captured, obtained from Cyrus honourable terms.

And here we must notice that Belshazzar proclaims him before the assembled nobles of the realm there feasting with him, "The third ruler in the kingdom" (Dan. v. 16, 29). Why the third? His old post under Nebuchadnezzar had been that of ruler over the whole province of Babylon and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon (chap. ii. 48). Who was it that was now preferred before him? Sir H. Rawlinson's discovery makes all plain. Belshazzar was himself the second ruler, his father being the first, and he gave Daniel the post next in dignity and power to his own.

Upon the capture of Babylon, Daniel retained his high office, being made chief of the three presidents of the empire by Darius the Mede, and becoming thus exposed to the envy of the princes, he was by their artifices cast into the den of lions. The reign of Darius seems to have been short, and his scheme for

the division of the empire into satrapies (chap. vi. 1) was not carried out by Cyrus, and remained in abeyance until the time of another Darius, the son of Hystaspes. But Cyrus knew the worth of Daniel, and apparently he continued in office all the rest of his days (chap. vi. 28). He never returned to Judæa, being on the accession of Cyrus to the throne too far advanced in years. As he was taken to Babylon a year before Nebuchadnezzar began his reign, and as that monarch reigned forty-three years, and Daniel was still alive in the third year of Cyrus (chap. x. 1), he must have attained to a ripe old age.

It is remarkable that in Ezekiel (chap. xiv. 14, 20) Daniel is coupled with Noah and Job as an example of righteousness, and (in chap. xxviii. 3) is described as possessed of such wisdom, that no secret could be hid from him. On the slender fact that his name is found between those of Noah and Job, German critics have built up an imposing edifice of conjecture, Hitzig and others arguing that there was a mythical hero of the name in days not long subsequent to the Flood; while Ewald and Bunsen fancy that he may have flourished during the Assyrian exile. Bleek even more wildly imagines that the Daniel commemorated by Ezekiel may have been the hero of some lost poetical book. Really the elevation of a man of their own race, and probably a scion of the royal house, to such high rank at the court of the conqueror, must have sent a thrill of joy through the heart of every Jewish exile; and the wonderful dream of the king, and Daniel's revelation of it, as well as its interpretation, must have been the subject of endless rumours and of many an eager talk wherever Jews met together. Whenever a merchant or traveller came from Babylon, the Jews would inquire about this second Joseph, raised up to be the protector of his brethren; and that Ezekiel should mention him, ten years after his elevation to be the President of the Magi, and when Daniel must have been nearly forty years old, is natural enough. What is unreasonable is the assumption that the names Noah, Daniel, and Job are placed in chronological order. They are probably quoted as examples of different kinds of righteousness; Noah representing the righteousness that was before the Law, Daniel that under the Law, and Job that of the Gentiles living outside the Jewish covenant. The Patriarch thus comes first, the Jew second, the Gentile descendant of Abraham's brother, Nahor, third and last.

We may now proceed to some remarks upon the Book of Daniel. It is remarkable in the first place as being written partly in Hebrew and partly in Chaldee, like the Book of Ezra. Hebrew was a sacred language, and probably even in Jerusalem its use was in the main confined to the priests and men of high rank and learning; while the mass of the people used an Aramaic dialect. But at Babylon its use became still more strictly limited to men of the sacerdotal caste, so that on the return from the Captivity it was necessary to interpret the Law into the vernacular dialect (Neh. viii. 8) before the Jews could understand it. To this necessity we owe the Targums or Paraphrases, which give us a

somewhat loose translation of the Hebrew into Chaldee. It is at chap. ii. 4 that the Chaldee is first used, wrongly called in our version Syriac, but in the original Aramaic, the common dialect of all the descendants of Aram (Gen. x. 23). Really Syriac and Chaldee are simply dialects of Aramaic, but the former is best known to us as a Christian tongue, famous for the translations made into it of the Scriptures, and for the works of the great writers of the schools of Edessa and Nisibis, beginning with Ephrem Syrus in the fourth century, and ending with Gregory Bar-Hebræus in the thirteenth; while Chaldee had a literature partly heathen and partly Jewish, having maintained in Palestine the ascendancy which it obtained over the Jews while living at Babylon.

The exact comparison of the Chaldee of Daniel with that of Ezra has clearly proved that they are of the same age, while, nevertheless, there are sufficient points of difference to show that the one is not an imitation of the other. In both the influence of pure Hebrew is strongly marked; while in the Targums, which were not actually committed to writing till about the time of the Christian era, though most of the matter was more ancient, having been handed down by oral tradition in the schools of the scribes, the differences from the language and style of Daniel and Ezra are very large, and there is a complete absence of all Hebraisms. A careful examination, moreover, of the Hebrew of Daniel justifies Keil in the assertion, as "an incontrovertible fact, that it bears the closest affinity to the language of the writings in the exile, especially Ezekiel's" (*Introduction*, pt. i., sec. ii., div. iii., § 133). The Chaldee extends from chap. ii. 4 to the end of chap. vii. With the first verse of chap. viii. Hebrew is resumed and continued to the end of the book. It was only during the time of the exile that there was any occasion for using both languages, or the probability that a writer would be equally skilled in the employment of them.

The use of the Chaldee is continued after the occasion had ceased which first led to its introduction. For the book is divided into two nearly equal portions, whereof the first, containing chaps. i.—vi., is chiefly occupied with historic events, and the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream and of the handwriting upon the wall. The second, containing chaps. vii.—xii., is apocalyptic, unfolding to us the course of the world's history and of the kingdom of Christ. Yet the seventh chapter, written in the first year of Belshazzar, is still in Chaldee, for no possible reason except that Daniel was equally in the habit of using both. A forger, especially in the days of the Maccabees, would have been careful to use only Hebrew for the apocalyptic portion, especially as his work, though professing to be written at various epochs, would really be all of one date, and written on one definite plan.

Now it is this apocalyptic character of the last six chapters of Daniel, as also in a minor degree of what precedes, which distinguishes this book from the whole of the rest of Holy Scripture, and justifies the Jews in placing it among the Hagiographa. We have a

similar book in the New Testament, rightly placed there at the end of the canon; and, similarly, Daniel, on all principles of philosophic arrangement, ought to close the roll of the Old Testament Scriptures.

For Daniel is the point of contact between the Church and the world. All the Jewish prophets were national in the most intense degree. To them the Church, which was identical with the nation, was everything. Its duties, its sins, its hopes, culminating in the advent of David's seed, were the one subject of discourse, the one theme on which they ever descanted. Whenever they referred to other nations, it was only in their relation to Israel that they could recognise them. They were the Gentiles, aliens and strangers only, who were indeed to find admission into the theocracy on an inferior footing, but whose history and fortunes had no intrinsic interest, and lay entirely beyond the pale of Jewish thought. It is a constant miracle that the prophets, notwithstanding this intense nationalism, yet did, in very spite of themselves, predict so clearly that the Gentile was finally to take Israel's place, and become the possessor of the promise.

But would Holy Scripture have been complete had it contained no direct acknowledgment of the relation which the Gentiles hold to God? Valuable as is Dr. Arnold's criterion of prophecy, the Bible may have larger uses than he imagined; and to say that unless a thing can be spiritualised, and made thereby the vehicle for moral instruction, it cannot be inspired, is to assert that Scripture has but one use. Now in the Book of Daniel the vast drama of Gentile history is claimed for God, and the grand stream of the world's onward progress is set before us as possessing an intrinsic value, and therefore as the fitting object of God's providence.

And Daniel held just the position which made him the right person thus to vindicate for God the whole course of human events. A Jew by birth, intensely patriotic, devoted to the observance of the Jewish law, constant in his prayers for his people, he was also the president of a learned heathen caste, and the vizier of a Gentile king. The conduct of the affairs of a mighty empire must have daily brought him into business relations with other men, and the narrow prejudices which grow up in isolation must have melted before the warmer feelings and larger interests which arise out of a more extensive knowledge of human affairs and a closer contact with men. To Daniel the Jewish Church and nation were of all things those which he most prized, but he knew the worth also and importance of God's empire over the heathen world.

These apocalyptic prophecies are remarkable for their definiteness. Kingdom after kingdom, many of them entirely unknown in Daniel's time, is described, and the order of the succession of the great world-powers, with their rents and divisions, clearly marked out, yet never with that fulness of detail and specification of the minuter incidents which would be natural if really it was a history. But these world-powers, after all, are not thus described for their own sakes. Among them there is growing up a kingdom "which shall never

be destroyed;" a kingdom "which shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all those kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever" (chap. ii. 44). The fundamental idea is the triumph of God's kingdom in its struggle with the kingdoms of the world. Starting from the difficulties and necessities of the present, the prophet sees this struggle growing in intensity, and carries it onward not merely to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabæan uprising, but to the very end of time, when they "that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (chap. xii. 2). Then is the hour of God's final glory, when He becomes all in all; and the kingdoms of men, which have meanwhile had their use and purpose, are all merged in the one kingdom of God and of His Christ.

It is remarkable in these visions that they also contain some of the most precise chronological predictions found in Holy Scripture. Occasionally, as in Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years, we have had similar exact specifications before, but the moral purpose of prophecy forbade, as a rule, this exactness, as being at variance with the fundamental principle of man being in a state of probation. Probation and moral discipline would be impossibilities if our lives were passed among certainties, and not among things which involve the exercise of faith. Yet for special purposes we do find in the Bible a considerable number of particular predictions, many of which are definitely exact as to the date when they were to be fulfilled. The Babylonian exile was such a conjuncture in the history of the Jews as justified special miracles, like the delivery of the three youths from the fiery furnace, and also these exact intimations as to the time of the Messiah's advent. The readers of Mr. Greswell's *Dissertations upon the Gospels* know how thoroughly these predictions were fulfilled to the very letter. I need only add that though thus exactly fulfilled, yet the predictions themselves are to a great extent symbolical, having for their basis the holy number seven with its multiples. But besides thus exactly fixing the date of Messiah's advent and death, Daniel also foretells in the plainest language the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans and the destruction of the sanctuary (chap. ix. 24, 26), the abolition of the daily sacrifice (xii. 11), the cessation of vision and prophecy, and the abolition of the Jewish Church in order that that which is final might take its place (ix. 24). No Jew, holding the ground of the old prophets, would have been a proper medium for such revelations; but instead of falling below the previous range of prophecy, they rise high above it. The Jewish Church takes its true place as the introductory dispensation, preparing the way for the Christian covenant; while the kingdoms of the world, instead of being ignored or looked upon as opposing powers, are set forth as having also their place in leading onward to the kingdom of Christ. And this kingdom, as the stone cut out without hands, is shown to be of no earthly origin; it is set up by the God of Heaven, and its perpetual

duration and final conquest of the whole earth are in marked contrast with the limited existence of each of the vast monarchies which played so important a part in making the world ready for the rapid propagation of the Gospel.

Lastly, we must observe that the Book of Daniel was followed by a vast mass of apocalyptic literature. Its nature was such as immediately to arrest attention, and its form was eagerly seized upon as the fittest medium for conveying ideas about the future course of God's providence. Foremost among such works we may mention the Book of Enoch, while the Second Book of Esdras in our Apocrypha is a far later and inferior work, in which some Jew, writing after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, represents the Messiah as coming for the chastisement of Rome. Now it is remarkable that in these works the delineation of the Messiah is at variance with that given in the canonical Scriptures. In Daniel this is not so. He is there described, in exact conformity with the Immanuel of Isaiah, as endowed with the attributes at once of manhood and of Deity (chap. vii. 13, 14), and as a personal being. In the entire apocryphal literature there is no recognition of Him as a person, and no acknowledgment of the union in Him of the human and Divine natures. Nor is there any mark of progress. In the inspired Scriptures there is ever one great law whose pervading presence knits together the manifold and diverse works of which the Bible is composed into one harmonious whole. This law is that of the perpetual development of truths, the germs and first outlines of which are manifestly present in the older writings, but which successive prophets bring out into plainer relief and clearer manifestation, yet so that their development is always consistent with what has gone before, and a step towards still plainer teaching in the future. In the Apocrypha there is no such progress. All that it has which is distinctive is at variance with Holy Scripture, and diverges into ideas and doctrines irreconcilable with the past and barren for the future. Not so Daniel. Besides the most express predictions fixing the exact time of the Messiah's advent, Daniel's teaching concerning the universality of His kingdom, and its perpetual duration, is far in advance of those passages in the Psalms which describe the heathen as Christ's inheritance, and even of Isaiah's description of the holy mountain to which all Gentiles are to flock. All Jewish narrowness and exclusiveness has disappeared, and we feel ourselves standing on the very threshold of that love for all mankind which has made the Church of the New Testament catholic and world-wide in its sympathies. And so as regards the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. There are indications of it in the Psalms (xvi. 10; xlix. 15), in Isaiah (xxvi. 19), in Ezekiel (xxxvii. 1—14); but it is in Daniel (xii. 2) that we find it fully developed. Erase the Book of Daniel from the canon, and you leave a chasm between the Prophets and the New Testament which Daniel now exactly fills.

Much, too, has been said about the doctrine of angels as taught by Daniel (chaps. x. 13; xii. 1), as though it

were mere Parseeism learnt by him from his Magian teachers. But here again there is at most only a development of what had been taught before, and a progress towards the angelic appearances in the Gospels. Michael, the great prince who protects the Jews, is in exact harmony with the Captain of Jehovah's host seen by Joshua before Jericho (Josh. v. 13). Angels appear on several occasions in the Book of Judges, and the seraphim of Isaiah (chap. vi.) and the cherubim of Ezekiel (chap. x.) represent the same spiritual ministrations as those of the bright beings seen by Daniel in his visions, only his teaching, like that subsequently of Zechariah, is more definite and express. In the Apocrypha, angelic appearances are rare, but where they do appear, like Raphael in the Book of Tobit, they transgress the bounds both of the Old and New Testament teaching. Raphael assumes human form, and takes his place among the characters of the story. He is no messenger of heaven, but a Mentor to guide the young Tobit, and give him in his search after a wife that aid which would enable him to baffle the violence of the demon Asmodeus, and bring back his father's money-bags. In Raphael we have an angel reduced to the level of a popular legend.

We have then in the Book of Daniel a necessary link between the Old and New Testament, and its development of doctrine as regards the abolition of the Jewish dispensation, the universality of Christ's kingdom, the resurrection of the dead, and the general judgment, is as indispensable for the unity of Holy Scripture as Isaiah's development of doctrine with regard to the efficacy of Christ's atonement. It remains only to add that no single trace of Maccabæan feeling can be found in it. The time of the Maccabees was intensely Jewish in its sympathies; the Book of Daniel is cosmopolitan. The Maccabees, wronged and persecuted by Antiochus Epiphanes, hated the Gentiles with hearty abomination; the Book of Daniel regards them with large-hearted affection. In the Maccabæan age the people mourned over the absence of the prophetic spirit, and the withdrawal of all external signs of God's presence; the Book of Daniel belongs to a time when prophecy and miracle are still things of the present, vouchsafed upon all worthy occasions. And when we take into consideration the historical accuracy of the book, its thorough acquaintance with the minutest details of the Babylonian and Medo-Persian empires, its perfect mastery both of the Hebrew and the Chaldee languages, and the deep interest it displays in the fortunes of heathen empires, we may feel quite certain that such a work was no product of Maccabæan times. There was neither knowledge enough then, nor largeness of heart enough for such a work. The intense patriotism of the Maccabees, stirred to fury by the cruelties of the Seleucidæ, smarting under the vilest outrages, and concentrated upon a fierce struggle for existence against overwhelming force, would never have taken for its hero a man trained under heathen teachers, the president of a college of heathen sages, the vizier of an Oriental despot, peaceful in his ways, ready to serve Chaldee, Persian, or

Mede, and offering no resistance even when about to be cast into a den of lions. Their rigorous Judaism, their bold and audacious spirit, their manly perilling of life and limb for the faith, would have called forth a sterner and more exclusive character to be the model to guide their conduct. They were the Covenanters of the Old

Dispensation, martyrs for their religion, but martyrs sword in hand, who fell in the foremost of the fight; but this was not Daniel's spirit, and the very object of his book is to show that the kingdoms of the world are still God's kingdoms, are doing His work, and have their share in His providence.

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

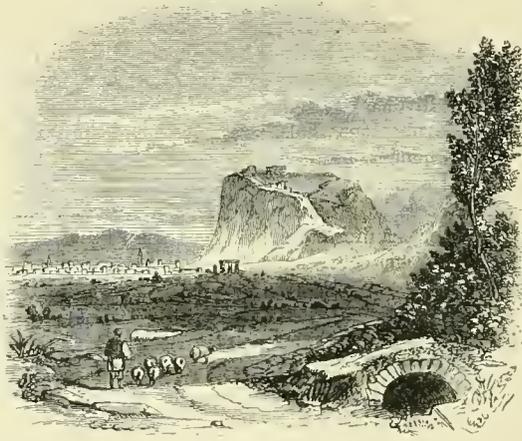
THE LOCAL COLOURING OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE FIRST AND SECOND EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THERE are among the Epistles of the New Testament none that bear more strongly the impress of what I have called local colouring—the influence, *i.e.*, of the circumstances, associations, and events which distinguished the place to which, and the place from which, any given letter was written—than these two that were addressed to the Church of Corinth. It was probably in the nature of things that it should be so. The duration of St. Paul's sojourn there (two years and six months) had been such as to make him acquainted with every aspect of its life, and that life presented very strongly-marked features. No place at which he had as yet worked was so well fitted to serve as a centre for his great enterprise of evangelising the West. With its two harbours of Lechaëum and Cenchrææ on either side the isthmus, it became the natural entrepôt of the commerce between the East and West, and carried on an active trade with Rome, Sicily, Cyrene, Carthage, in the one direction, with Miletus, Ephesus, Smyrna, Cyprus, on the other. After its capture and partial destruction by Mummius, it had risen rapidly from its ruins, and regained in no small measure its former greatness, and even more than its former fame for luxury and vice. The old proverbial speech which made the verb “to live as at Corinth” (*Κορινθιάζεσθαι*) a synonym for profligate indulgence, had not become obsolete. And the harlotry of Corinth associated itself, as so often elsewhere in Hellenic heathenism, with its worship. The women who thus gave themselves to a life of shame were recognised as the votaries (*ιερόδουλοι*), almost as the priestesses, of Aphrodite, and the feasts which were held in the temple of that goddess were the occasions of their gathering

in larger numbers, and with more ostentatious parade of their venal beauty. The constant arrivals of ships from all parts of the empire increased all these evils, exposed their crews to the frauds and extortions of dishonest innkeepers, brought with it on the other hand a constant demand for the materials which were wanted for supplying ship's furniture that had been worn or damaged in their voyage. The city had also a prominent position in its relation to the Imperial government. It was the centre of the Roman province of Achaia, and there the proconsul for the most part resided, administering justice after Roman rules. At the time of St. Paul's arrival, as we know, that office was filled by Lucius Annæus Gallio, the brother of the illustrious Seneca, himself the “*dulcis Gallio*” of all his friends, beloved and esteemed by all who knew him. The disorders of such a city, the disputes incident to its trade, called, we may well believe, for



ACROPOLIS, CORINTH.

a strict police administration. As with all the other great cities of the Empire, Jews had flocked there in large numbers in pursuit of gain, as money-changers, traders, and usurers. Just at this juncture that portion of the population had received a large addition from the influx of many of the Jewish residents of Rome, who had been compelled by the decree of Claudius to leave that city. Some of the new-comers probably brought with them, as we have seen,¹ the new faith of which St. Paul was the preacher, and the absence of any reference to the conversion of Aquila and Priscilla makes it all but certain that they were among the number.

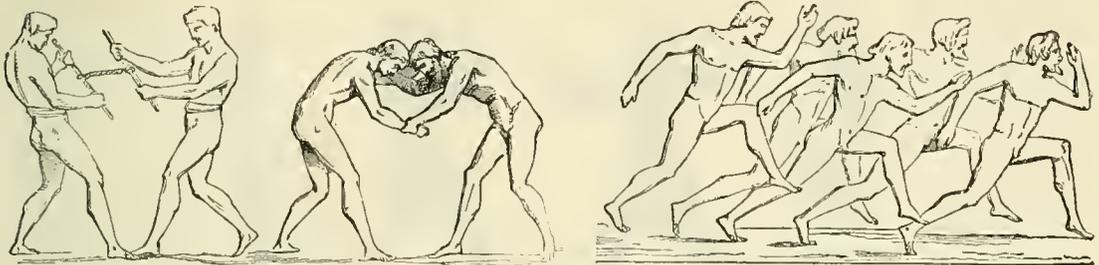
The culture of Corinth could not assert any claim to equality with that of Athens in the higher regions of knowledge. The speculations of the new Academy, of the Stoics and Epicureans, found their natural home in

¹ BIBLE EDUCATOR, VOL. I., p. 151.

the city of Athena. But the deficiency in sustained intellectual power was more than balanced by the fondness—natural in a rich and luxurions city anxious for the fame of culture—for its more ornate forms. The teaching of Epicurus would appear there in the pithy maxims of a self-indulgent easy-going morality. If Athens was the centre of philosophical thought, Corinth was hardly less famous for a rhetoric as florid as the architecture to which it gave its name. And above all, as that which gave Corinth a celebrity over any merely commercial or merely literary town, there were the great Isthmian games celebrated every alternate year (twice in every Olympiad), calling out all the athletic ambition of men of every rank, stimulating those who were not sunk in luxury or the greed of gain, to some effort, for at least a few weeks or months, at discipline and self-control, so that they might wear the parsley wreath which was there the distinctive decoration of the victors.

It was to a Church that had grown up under his

he must have looked on it, with the voluptuous beauty of its Aphrodites and its Ganymedes, as ministering to the impurity which had eaten like a canker into the life of Greece. But in the games of Greece he recognised almost the one surviving element of manliness, the one discipline that was corrective of sensual self-indulgence. To him, as he watched the crowds streaming to the arena, or looked from afar upon the contests of the combatants, what he saw seemed as a parable of the spiritual life. Much that those contests involved—the wild excitement, the symbols of a heathen worship, the naked forms of the wrestlers, or the racers—would have seemed to him, as they did to the devout Hebrews of the days of the Maccabees (1 Macc. i. 12; 2 Macc. iv. 9—15), debasing and demoralising, but his intercourse with men not of his own race had given him a largeness of heart to which they had not attained, and he could recognise “a soul of goodness” even in “things evil.” And so he compares his own discipline of self-denial to that of the wrestlers who were “temperate” in all things,



CORINTHIAN GAMES.

watchful care, and through the hearty co-operation of his fellow-labourers, Timotheus, Silvanus, Aquila and Priscilla, among such surroundings, and exposed to such influences, that St. Paul wrote the Epistles which are now before us. The occasion, the contents, the general structure of those Epistles will form, in due course, the subject of a separate paper, under “The Books of the New Testament.” I confine myself now to such coincidences as illustrate the special points of which I propose to treat.

Foremost among these is, of course, the well-known passage in 1 Cor. ix. 24—27 :—“ Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain. And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air: but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.” Here, as has often been pointed out, we have the fullest and most vivid of all the agonistic imagery that St. Paul seems to have delighted in. The art of Greece seemed to him irremediably tainted with idolatry. Judged by the test of the life out of which it had grown and to which it ministered,

so he made himself the servant of all, instead of asserting his individual freedom, as they submitted themselves to the rules of the master of the training school, that he might win the prize of his high calling. So he contrasts their perishable crown of leaves with the incorruptible crown of life eternal after which he strove. But he goes beyond this. He is not only preparing for a contest, but is actually engaged in one. His daily life is the race which has Heaven for its goal, and he runs therefore not “as uncertainly,” with blind haste or random impulse, or faltering footstep, but straight onward to the mark of his high calling. He has an enemy to contend with, and that enemy is the base fleshly nature which attacked him through the body and its senses, and therefore he does not fight as one that “beateth the air,” wasting his strength in blows which miss their aim, but plants them where, like the pugilist’s “facer” (the Apostle uses the technical phrase, one might almost say, the slang, of the gymnasium) they will leave the livid mark of the black and blue weal, and come as a knock-down blow. When he has so gained the mastery, he drags the conquered foe with him as a slave (“bring into subjection” is far too weak a rendering), so subdued at last as to be powerless to resist or harm.

And the impression thus made on him was a lasting

one. Again and again he returns to the same agonistic imagery. He is as one who with head stretched forward with intense eagerness, forgetting the space which he has already traversed, thinking only of what yet remains, presses onward and onward to the end for the prize which there awaited him (Phil. iii. 13, 14). When he knows that that end is near, he returns to the old language, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness" (2 Tim. iv. 7). If the Epistle to the Hebrews be his, there also, as he dwells upon the achievements and the sufferings of the great heroes of faith, he seems to himself to see in them the great cloud of witnesses who are now, in their hard-won rest and peace, spectators of those who with him are still running the race, and calls on his companions to lay aside every weight, as the runner laid aside clothes and boots, or got rid of the "too too solid flesh" that would impede his pace; to put away also the sin which did "so easily beset them," as he got rid of every rag which, though it did not encumber, might yet entangle him, and to look to Jesus as the true leader and captain (not "author") of their faith, whom they see afar off waiting to crown it at the goal. He calls on them not to be "weary and faint," like the cowards and the cravens who leave the ground at the

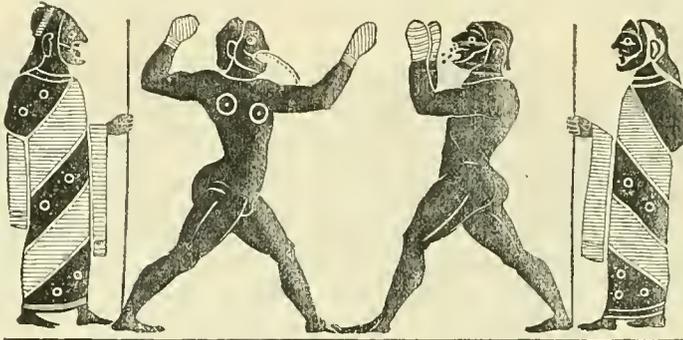
first hard blow, and reminds them that as yet no blood had been drawn in the combat in which they were engaged.¹

The allusion in the Epistles now before us may even have been pointed by a special fitness of time as well as place. The first Epistle to the Church of Corinth appears to have been written in the later months of spring. St. Paul intends to "tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost" (xvi. 8). He is writing, we may believe, at or about the time of the Passover, when the old associations and customs of that feast, the "old leaven," the new lump, the unleavened bread, the passover sacrifice, come before his mind with a new and higher significance (1 Cor. v. 7). So far we have something like a definite date. On the other hand, the Isthmian games, when they occurred in the third year of the Olympiad, were celebrated in the month known in the Attic calendar as Munyehium, which covered part of April and part of

May. It is therefore more than probable that when the Corinthians received the Epistle, the games of the Isthmus were the absorbing topic of the day, filling men's thoughts and calling into play all their energies.

It is possible, as Dean Stanley has suggested (*Commentary*, i. 77), that the architectural imagery of 1 Cor. iii. 10-13, may have a like distinctively local character. The conflagration which had attended the capture of the city by Mummius had acted as a test of the worth and durability of the buildings. The older stately temples had remained, though "tried by fire," comparatively unharmed, while the "wood, hay, stubble," the timber-work or thatching of meaner buildings, had perished utterly. The memory of the reconstruction of the city, the employment of materials of various kinds, some fit only for the most temporary use, some calculated alike for permanence and beauty, could not have entirely faded away from the minds of the descendants of those by whom that reconstruction had been accomplished. So again the dangers against which

the Apostle warns the Corinthians are especially those which arose from the combination of culture and profligacy that distinguished their city. Taught by his experience at Athens, he had come among them "not with enticing words of men's wisdom," but he found them still seeking after wis-



CORINTHIAN GAMES—USE OF THE CESTUS.

dom, still disposed to regard the preaching of the cross of Christ as foolishness (1 Cor. i. 18). It was the taunt of St. Paul's enemies that his speech was "contemptible" (2 Cor. x. 10), as compared with the more ornate Alexandrian eloquence of Apollos (Acts xviii. 25). Even among those who pressed into the Church of Christ, and received the higher gifts of the Spirit, there was the old restless eagerness for display, the old assertion of individual license in debate, the old preference not for that which was most profitable to the hearers, but for that which ministered most directly to the vanity of the speaker (1 Cor. xiv. 26). Every one had a doctrine, a psalm, an interpretation. The gift of tongues, with its strange mysterious power to startle and attract, was more coveted than that of prophecy, which was profitable for the edifying of the Church.

Nor were the dangers on the more sensual side less characteristic. The question of eating things sacrificed to idols, which shocked the feelings of devout Jews everywhere, presented itself at Corinth in its most complicated and aggravated form. Where the dominant worship was that of Aphrodite (Venus), where the idol-feasts were held in the temple of that goddess, where

¹ If we accept a theory, which has much to support it, and assume that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written to the Jewish Christians of Caesarea, we may trace a "local colouring" here also. That town was conspicuous for the large amphitheatre which Herod the Great had built there, and in which games such as those of which the writer speaks were celebrated, it may be, every year.

the precincts of the temple were crowded with the women who gave themselves to the service that they might carry on their trade of prostitution, the two evils of idolatry and impurity were found in the closest possible alliance, and the warning of the Apostle against "sitting at meat in the idol's temple" was the necessary complement of his urgent entreaty that all who bore the name of Christ should "flee fornication." Out of that basest evil, lust, many of his converts had been rescued. Would they plunge into it once again, and so defile a temple of God, more truly consecrated to His service than any which in the times of their ignorance they had shrunk from profaning (1 Cor. vi. 19) ?

Another of the characteristic vices of a Greek commercial city furnishes the Apostle, if I mistake not, with one of his most forcible and stinging phrases. The streets of such a city were sure to swarm with inns and taverns of the lowest type, where the unwary traveller was liable to pay an enormous price for adulterated, perhaps even drugged, wine. The baseness of those who kept such taverns seemed to St. Paul to present an analogy to the sin of those who tampered with the faith which they professed to preach, in order to please the vitiated tastes of their hearers, and so win a larger profit for themselves. We cannot fail to hear the ring of a noble scorn for all such baseness in the words, "We are not as the many who corrupt (*i.e.*, as the word literally means, adulterate after the manner of traders) the word of God, but as of sincerity, but as of God in the sight of God, speak we in Christ" (2 Cor. ii. 17).

But St. Paul also had been brought into close contact at Corinth with a large number of men and women who had been resident at Rome. From them he was likely to have heard a report of that which was at all times her greatest and most impressive spectacle—the triumph of one of her great generals or emperors. He must in that case have been told how in that triumph the procession wound its way through the streets of the city to the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, with clouds of incense smoke perfuming the air, how the chief representatives of the conquered nations followed the chariot of the conqueror, some destined to receive the grant of pardon at his hand and to live as pensioners on his bounty, some, those who had held out most obstinately against him, to pass from the triumph to the dungeon and the grave. The recollection of what he had thus heard—for there is no probability that he had ever actually seen it—shows itself with marvellous boldness and grandeur in the imagery which precedes the more homely similitude just quoted. "Thanks be unto God which always leadeth us in triumph" (this, and not "causeth us to triumph" is now generally recognised as the right rendering) "in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place" (2 Cor. ii. 14—16). The Apostle thinks of himself, not as a victor exulting in his conquests, but as one who has himself been overcome and who is now honoured by being employed to diffuse the incense of his Master's praise, and of the knowledge of His truth. But as the triumph wends its way, he sees the men around him dividing into two classes,

some, like himself, in the way of life, among those that are saved and pardoned, some on the way to a self-chosen destruction. The incense-cloud is to one fragrant as with the breath of life, to another tainted as from the charnel-house of death, "We are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved and in them that perish; to the one we are the savour of death unto death, and to the other the savour of life unto life."

Lastly, we may note the special character of the septicism which St. Paul encountered in the Corinthian Church as to the great truth that Christ had risen and that man, too, should rise from the dead, and he made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ. That which offended these half-philosophic, half-sensualist converts, was the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The Platonist would have accepted the immortality of the soul. The Stoic would have admitted the absorption of the human soul in the great Divine Soul that pervaded the universe. But that each man should rise at one far distant day, in his own individual personality, defined by a bodily organisation, this they stumbled at. But the school which was dominant at Corinth was naturally that of the followers of Epicurus. And they rejected the resurrection of the body on two distinct grounds. They were, in the strictest sense of the word, materialists. Life was but the result of the coherence of the particles of which the body was composed. When it was dead and decayed, and the particles had passed into other forms of life, what could bring them again into the old combination and the form in which they had given individuality to this or that man? So it was that they had mocked at Athens. So it was that, at Corinth, while they were ready to receive some portion of the truth of Christ, the same school of thinkers asked the question, "How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?"

The answers which St. Paul gives to their doubts and questionings bear, it is believed, the impress of special adaptation to these turns of thought. Those who prided themselves as being specially the physicists of the ancient world, students of the phenomena of nature, as that in which, and in which alone, they could hope for certainty, he presses the analogy of those phenomena. In that world of nature there were infinite varieties of eternal life, in not a few cases a higher life evolved out of a seemingly poor and imperfect beginning. To those who shrank from transferring the ignoble conditions of our present bodily life to that future stage to which they had looked forward as an approximation to the purity and incorruption of the Divine Essence, he presents the thought (too much forgotten in the later theologues of Christendom) that the body which shall rise is no structure of flesh and blood, subject to corruption and decay, but spiritual, the organ of the spirit, as this body of ours is the organ chiefly of the natural or sensuous life, incorruptible, imperishable, glorious. Finally, on those who were striving after a high ideal of life, he urges the reflection that they were unconsciously do-

stroying the very foundation on which alone that superstructure of the ideal could be built up. Let men say what they would of the beauty of virtue, its desirableness for its own sake, it was yet true that it required faith in the future, the hope of immortality, the confidence that what we see now in tendency and germ would be developed to completeness. Without that hope, those who chose poverty, hardship, persecution, ceaseless toil, ever-pressing anxiety for the sake of Christ, would be of all men most miserable. Those of the Stoic or Platonic schools, who talked of the ideal life, yet denied that hope, were practically taking up the watchword of the grosser Epicureans, and saying, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." He has to remind them of another maxim, common in the life of men, passing from the comedies of Menander into their proverbial speech, and to warn them that here also "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

Yet another coincidence remains to be noticed in connection with this subject. When St. Paul, at the close of I Cor. xv., brings before his readers that magnificent picture of the Resurrection, it is manifestly as a truth which they had not heard before. "Behold, I show you a mystery." That is his final answer to their perplexities and doubts. He has a revelation to disclose, to

withdraw the veil from the secret which had been hidden from ages and generations. He appears as the revealer of mysteries more marvellous and more divine than those of the Eleusinian goddess. How was it, we may ask, that he had withheld this so long? What reserve had sealed his lips during the two years and a half of his apostolic work at Corinth? Why did he wait till that was drawn from him in a letter which he had not spoken with his lips? The answer is to be found in what he himself tells us as to the mental and spiritual condition of the Church of Corinth when he came among them. He had found them "carnal," as mere "babes in Christ," requiring the "milk" of the simplest and most elementary truths of the Gospel of Christ, not the "strong meat," the solid foods of its profounder mysteries. With them he had reasoned of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," and had "preached Christ and Him crucified." The higher truths of the brotherhood of mankind in Christ, of the order of the "last things," of the close, even, of the mediatorial kingdom of Christ, and of the final consummation, in which God should be "all in all." These he had deliberately reserved till they should be able to receive, till they were needed to remove doubts or to counteract errors.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

II. HEBREW MEASURES OF AREA.

THE statement that an accurate and minute system of land measurement existed at the time of the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, and not only so, but that its elements are recorded, and may now be fully understood by the English student, may excite some surprise. Not only is such a system new to English literature, but it is not to be found exhibited, in any perspicuous form, among the works of those great Benedictine and Jesuit writers, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whose profound and wide-spread erudition has been so unfortunately neglected by modern teachers. The Jewish doctors, while painstaking and minute to a degree of which, in this more hurried age, we form little idea, consistently avoid that well-subordinated logical form of statement, which is one of the rudiments of true science. Thus, while we shall advance nothing in support of which, either positive certainty, or rational induction from established facts, cannot be cited, it is undeniable that the system, now for the first time brought under English eyes, is no less novel than it is important.

Many injunctions of the Law demand some geometric knowledge, in order to ensure a punctual obedience. Chief among these are the prescriptions which relate to the observance of the Sabbath; not only with reference to the distance beyond which it

was forbidden to move from the domicile on that day (as before alluded to), but also with reference to the barriers and divisions which marked the domicile, and to the combination of limits. Still more intimately connected with what we now call land surveying, were the prescriptions of the Law of Kilaim, or the prohibition of mixture of seeds,¹ a subject which is treated in such detail by the Oral Law that no Israelite could be left in doubt as to what did, and what did not, come under the prohibition in question, according to what we may call the Common Law of Palestine. In that portion of Hebrew jurisprudence which relates to the law of real property, and which is to be found specially treated of in the *Baba Mezia*, or second *Codex de Damnis*, the denominations we have to explain are mentioned by the Mishna itself.

The unit of land measure, like almost every detail of Jewish learning, was definitely connected with the Divine injunctions recorded in the Pentateuch. It is the *sea*, or *saton*; a term identical with a corresponding denomination in the measures of capacity, which are thus indicated to have emanated from the same source. The court of the Tabernacle, erected by Moses, covered two *seas* of land;² so that the *sea* was a

¹ Lev. xix. 19.

² Maimonides in *Kilaim*, ii. 9. Bartenora, *De Heterogeniis*, ii. 1. *Codex tertius de Damnis*, ii. 5.

space of fifty cubits square, or 2,500 square cubits; which is equal to about $16\frac{1}{2}$ poles English.

Thirty *sata* went to the *kor*, or *gomor*. This is the same name and dimension that occurs in measures of capacity, notwithstanding the difference between square and cubic measure; thirty square *sata* are one square *kor* of land, as thirty cubic *sata* are one cubic *kor* of corn. The division by thirty is to be found in all the Babylonian tables of measure. A *kor* contains a fraction over three English acres.

The minor divisions of the square *sea* also resemble those of the cubic *sea*. From the authorities above cited, we learn that a *sea* contains six *cabi*, and the *cab*, four *rebah*, or *quartarii*. This word, quarter, is frequently used as a Hebrew dimension, but its value usually depends on that of the measure last named before the word was employed. It is not a quarter simply, but a quarter of the dimension cited. The quarter of a *cab*, in cubic measure, is a *log*.

The *epha* is a cubic measure intermediate between the *kor* and the *sea*. The term has not been found applied to land, but convenience seems to require a corresponding dimension. The *epha* is called in the LXX., "the three measures," a term probably adopted from the fact that it contained three *seas* and that it had no Greek or Roman equivalent.

More passages than one in the Bible, of much obscurity in the Authorised Version, are rendered perfectly intelligible by a knowledge of the terms of Hebrew land measure. Thus Leviticus xxvii. 16, which in the LXX. reads plainly "a *kor* of barley," is rendered by St. Jerome, "land sown with thirty *modii* of barley," and in the Authorised Version, "an *homer* of barley seed shall be valued at fifty shekels of silver." The price of £8 6s. 8d. in silver, for something less than a quarter of barley, is impossible. But the estimation of that sum as the annual return of a *kor* or three acres of land is intelligible. The estimation is equal to £2 15s. 6d. in silver (or £4 3s. 3d. in gold, according to the present proportion between the metals) for the crop of an acre. In England, at the present time, the value of an acre of ripe barley ranges from £5 on poor land, to £10 on rich soil.

The *kor* of land is again mentioned by the Prophet Isaiah,¹ who predicts, as a mark of famine, that the produce of a *kor* of land shall be only an *epha* of corn, which is at the rate of about two gallons to the acre, or almost utter failure of crop.

The land dimension corresponding to the *epha* appears to be referred to in the Book of Samuel,² where the Hebrew word *maanah* is translated "a stone cast" by the LXX., and "an acre" by the Latin and English versions. Both in this passage and in Isa. v. 10 occur the word *zimeed*, which is found in the Talmud with the meaning of "the yoke of an ox," as in the case of the Latin word *jugum*. The expression, ten *zimeeds* yielding one *bath* (which is a liquid measure applicable to wine) is thus parallel to the yield of an *epha*, the cor-

responding dry measure, from a *kor* of land. The tenth part of a *kor* is about three-tenths of an acre, or forty-eight rods of land; and the fall of twenty men in half that space would show marks of fighting more destructive than usual before the introduction of artillery.

We have not inserted the *zimeed* in our tables, as, although there seems little reason to doubt that it was the tenth part of the *kor*, it is not so stated, as far as we are aware, in the Talmud. It is important, in matters of this nature, to keep in view the broad distinction between inference and direct testimony.

A reference to the fertile character of the vineyards of Palestine occurs somewhat later in the book of Isaiah, although the actual measure contemplated is not specified. The yield of a vine is estimated at a shekel. This appears to refer, not to the trellised vine, but to the plant grown, as in the Bordeaux vineyards at the present day, on standards, or *échalards*, like our own hop-bines. By the injunctions of the Law of Kilaim, the *calvities*, or bare places required to be kept between different sorts of plants, were such as to give an area of a *rebah* (of a *cabus*) to each, giving 720 plants to the *kor*. The vines, however, might be planted closer to one another, if the land did not bear any other plants; so that it is quite possible that 1,000 standard vines might grow on the *kor*, giving a return of from £40 to £55 per acre—about a third of the returns of a prime crop of hops in Kent, when prices are high.

The determination of the Hebrew measures of land throws a flood of light on that passage in the Book of Ezekiel (xlv. 1—8) which has been regarded by so many writers, not only as an unfulfilled, but as an inexplicable, prophecy.

If we consult, in the first instance, the account of the measurement of the court of the Temple, we find the area of the sanctuary (which we know from other sources to mean the second court of the Temple, which was surrounded by the perforated barrier called the *druphaktos*, referred to in our tables of linear measure), was 500 cubits square. This is equal to 100 *sata* of land, or fifty times the size of the court of the Tabernacle. The area of the *ante-murale*, or outer court (which is called "the profane place" in the English version), is not stated either in the Bible or in the Talmud. In the Apocalypse, the prophet is forbidden to measure it. The Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, however, gives us the boundaries of the great court. From this plan, as nearly as can be ascertained, and taking the same cubit of six palms two digits that is used throughout the description, the outer court covered exactly ten *kori* of land.

Reverting to the forty-fifth chapter, it seems to be intended that a *trumah*, or "oblation" of land, 25,000 *amoth*, or cubits, square in all, was to be set apart, and divided into three portions, viz., two-fifths for the support of the Temple and its retinue; two-fifths for the support of the priests and Levites; and one-fifth for the support of the king. The passage has been involved

¹ Isa. v. 10.

² 1 Sam. xiv. 14.

in extreme obscurity (as was also the description of the Temple) from the entirely gratuitous introduction of the word "reed," in italics, which leads to a multiplication of the area described by no less than thirty-six-fold.

The total area of the *trumah*, according to the correct measurement, was 250,000 *kori* of land; in the midst of which were the 100 *sata* of the second court, surrounded by the unmeasured ten *kori* of the outer court.

The whole of Palestine west of the Jordan is roughly estimated by Lieutenant Conder, R.E., the officer in command of the Ordnance Survey,¹ at an area equal to 4,224,000 English acres. To this must be added at least half as much more for Palestine east of Jordan; which gives a total a little over six and a third millions of acres. The *trumah* is equal to rather less than the tenth part of this acreage. Thus there seems good reason to suppose that the passage in question refers to a commutation of the tithes, payable through Palestine, for an equivalent in land.

It is proper to notice that the determination of the length of the Sabbath day's journey, stated in the article on linear measures, is that of the Abbé Chiarini, Professor of Oriental literature at the University of Warsaw, and one of the profoundest scholars, both of Hebrew and of Chaldee, of our own, or any other time. The more ordinary interpretation of the legal limit of

2,000 amoth gives a distance of 888·8 English yards. This, however, is measured in every direction from the domicile, a fact which may possibly explain this divergence of opinion between the best authorities.

Tables of Hebrew land measure are subjoined.

HEBREW LAND MEASURE.

RATIO.

	Rebah.	Half Cab.	Cab.	Sea.	Kor.
Rebah or Quartarius	1	—	—	—	—
Half Cabue	2	1	—	—	—
Cabus	4	2	1	—	—
Saton or Sea	24	12	6	1	—
Corus or Kor	720	360	180	30	1

EQUIVALENTS.

	Square Cubits.	Square Yards.	Acres, English.
Quartarius	104·15	20·5	—
Half Cabue	208·3	41·1	—
Cabus	416·6	82·2	2·7 poles.
Sea	2,500	493·6	16·32 "
Kor	75,000	14,809	3·06 acres.

MEASUREMENTS OF THE DOOR OF EZEKIEL.

Sanctuary (second court)	100 Sata.
Sanctuary (outer court—Ord. Surv.)	10 Kori.
Oblation for Temple	100,000 Kori
" for Priests	100,000 "
" for Prince	50,000 "

¹ Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, October, 1873. Lieutenant Conder's Report, No. 14, June 21st, 1873.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

"Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come."—MATTH. xii. 31, 32.



TWFOLD difficulty meets us in the consideration of this passage: (1) What is the nature of this blasphemy which is beyond the reach of forgiveness? and (2) What is the meaning of the assertion that forgiveness of this blasphemy can be obtained "neither in this world, neither in the world to come?"

It is proposed to consider these two points in the order in which they have been stated.

Amongst the many¹ explanations which have been proposed of the nature of that sin which is here represented as unpardonable, there are two which have met with a large measure of acceptance, of which one re-

stricts the sin to that of the Pharisees in the ascription of our Lord's miracles, of which they were eye-witnesses, to demoniacal agency; whilst the other interprets it of the deliberate and final apostasy of those who have been "once enlightened," and "made partakers of the Holy Ghost."

Neither of these views seems to be consistent with sound principles of Scripture interpretation.

With regard to the first, it will suffice to observe—(1) that however imminent the danger incurred by the Pharisees of the commission of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, it is nowhere alleged that they had actually incurred that guilt; whilst the tenor of our Lord's subsequent teaching, and the renewal of the offers of pardon by His apostles, seem inconsistent with such a supposition; (2) that although St. Matthew and St. Mark (iii. 28) record these words of our Lord in immediate connection with the ascription of His miracles by

¹ Maldonatus, speaking of the different opinions enunciated by Augustine on this subject, says: "Quinque diversis in locis diversas opiniones secutus est," and, after enumerating four of these opinions, and observing that not one of the sins specified consists in words—i.e., that none can be described in the literal sense of the word as blasphemy, he observes that in another place Augustine, approaching more nearly to the truth, regards

the sin against the Holy Ghost as consisting in the conscious ascription of the operations of the Holy Spirit to demoniacal agency; and then continues thus: "Unde vulgaris theologorum opinio nata, sex peccati in Spiritum Sanctum genera ponentium, finalem impenitentiam, desperationem, obstinationem in malo, scilicet veritatem impugnare, presumptionem, et fraternam charitatis invidiam."

the Pharisees to demoniacal agency, St. Luke (xii. 10) represents them as addressed primarily to His own disciples, and in connection with that confession or denial of the Son of man which shall determine the destiny of all to whom His Gospel has been communicated; (3) that, independently of the universality of application thus expressly assigned to these words in one of the Gospels, it would be inconsistent with the general character both of our Lord's teaching and also of the records of the evangelists, to impose upon them so restricted an interpretation; and, lastly, that this inconsistency becomes yet more manifest when it is observed that this solemn warning of the heinousness of sin committed against the Holy Ghost is interpreted as belonging exclusively to a time at which, in the plenitude of His influences, "the Holy Ghost was not yet given."

In regard to the second view, commonly entertained, of the nature of the sin against the Holy Ghost, it will suffice to observe that whilst, on the one hand, for the reasons already assigned, it seems impossible to restrict the reference of our Lord's warning to the single sin of the men of one generation, it is equally inconsistent, both with the context in which it is found in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and also with the express declaration of the latter, "Because they said, He hath an unclean spirit," to deny or to overlook its direct application to that state of the heart and conscience into which the Pharisees had actually fallen, or were in imminent risk of falling, when these words were addressed to them.¹

It seems to follow from what has now been advanced that the only interpretation of the words under consideration, which will satisfy at once their obvious import and the conditions of the circumstances under which they were uttered, is an interpretation which, whilst it admits a direct and primary reference to the rejection of our Lord's claims on the part of the Pharisees, recognises also their applicability to the case of all those who, in after ages, should, under the influence of the same or like motives, "deny Christ before men," and "be ashamed of Him and of His words in an adulterous and sinful generation."

It would be beside the object here proposed, to discuss at length the question of the identity of the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost with the sin spoken of by St. John, concerning which he says: "I do not say that he shall pray (*ἐρωτήσει*) for it" (1 John v. 16), or with that apostasy which is spoken of in Heb. vi. 4—6, and in x. 26—31. It may suffice to observe that in whatever degree the words of warning now under consideration apply to the case of those who have been the subjects of the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit, the same reason which has been already assigned for

the rejection of that interpretation of our Lord's words which restricts them to the case of final apostasy, applies also to any other interpretation which represents the sin, which is here pronounced unpardonable, as one which none but Christians can possibly commit. On the other hand, whilst it may be fairly inferred, from the fact that the words spoken by our Lord were addressed both to the Pharisees and also to the disciples, that the warning therein contained is applicable to *all* to whom the revelation of the Divine Will is communicated, and by whom the influences of the Holy Spirit are conscientiously resisted, as St. Stephen testified of the Jews (Acts vii. 51), the two passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews and that in the First Epistle of St. John, to which reference has already been made, may serve to direct us in some measure to the true interpretation of that under consideration, as not only proving that the unpardonable sin of blaspheming the Holy Ghost may be incurred by those who have, as well as by those who have not, been the subjects of that Spirit's influences, but as showing also the imminence of the peril to which all are exposed by whom those influences are resisted; and, it may be, the greater danger of the commission of the unpardonable sin by those who have been once enlightened than by those who have hitherto shown themselves impervious to conviction.

Now the sin of which some of the Pharisees were guilty appears to have been the wilful rejection of that light which, as their own hearts and consciences assured them, came from heaven; in other words, the conscious and deliberate rejection of the truth, for no other reason than this, that they loved the darkness rather than the light, because their deeds were evil.

This sin it is which, above all other sins, sears the conscience and hardens the heart; which grieves the Holy Spirit of God; and, which, wherever there is a continued resistance of His influences, issues in final impenitence.

It is obvious that, whether the final stage of impenitence had, or had not, been reached by those who ascribed our Lord's miracles to demoniacal agency, there was an imminent danger that the course which they were then pursuing would ultimately be productive of that result. It is equally obvious that, in the case of those who have been "once enlightened," and have "tasted of the heavenly gift," and have been "made partakers of the Holy Ghost," the conscious rejection of God's will, however that will may be manifested, by reason of worldly and interested motives, must, if persevered in, infallibly issue in that last stage of hardness and of insensibility, "the persevering hardness" (as Augustine, in one of his sermons on this subject, expresses it) "of an impenitent heart," from which there is no renewal unto repentance, because there is no longer any desire to repent.

The occurrence of the word "blaspheme," or "blasphemy," in the records of the three evangelists, viewed in connection with our Lord's two solemn declarations, the one as recorded by St. Luke (xii. 9), concerning the confession or denial of Himself by men; the other, as

¹ The two variations in the Vatican MS.—viz., the insertion of the word "you" and the omission of the words "unto men"—though they do not materially affect the general sense, serve to make the application of the words to the Pharisees more direct: "Wherefore I say unto you, All sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto you men; but the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven."

recorded by St. Matthew (xii. 36, 37), respecting the influence of men's words on their future destiny, naturally suggests the idea that that form of sin against the Holy Ghost which is here pronounced beyond the reach of forgiveness, is one which naturally, if not necessarily, finds its utterance and its culmination in sins of the tongue. Be this as it may, we seem to be warranted in concluding from what has been now advanced that the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost which our Lord, in these words, solemnly pronounces to be beyond forgiveness, consists in that wilful rejection of the offers of salvation which is the result of the deliberate closing of the eyes against the truth, and saying to know, and consciously accepted evil, "Be thou my good."¹

The second difficulty involved in the passage under consideration consists in the right interpretation of the words "neither in this world, neither in the world to come."

We propose to confine ourselves strictly to the inquiry whether the inference that some sins which are not forgiven in this world may be forgiven in the world which is to come, may be safely drawn from these words.

The following reasons may be assigned for answering this inquiry in the negative:—

(1) Inasmuch as our Lord's words were addressed to the Pharisees, and inasmuch, further, as the Gospel of St. Matthew, whether originally composed in Hebrew or in Greek, was designed primarily for the use of Jews, it is only reasonable to inquire how the words in question would naturally be understood in accordance with Jewish modes of thought and expression. Now it is well known that a twofold distinction was understood by the Jews to be conveyed in the expressions, "this world" and "the world to come" (עולם הזה and עולם הבא), expressions which occur in almost every page of the rabbinical writings—viz., the distinction between the periods before and during the time of the Messiah, and the distinction between the present state and the state after death.

The received notions of the Jews as to the punishments respectively assigned to the transgressions of different precepts of the law are thus expressed in the Babylonian Talmud: "He that transgresses an affirmative precept, if he presently repent, is not moved until the Lord pardon him. . . He that transgresses a negative precept and repents, his repentance suspends judgment, and the day of expiation expiates him. . . But he by whom the name of God is profaned (or blasphemed), repentance is of no avail to him, to suspend judgment—nor the day of expiation to expiate it—nor scourges to wipe it off, but all suspend judgment, and

death wipes it off."² It is almost superfluous to observe that, in the ears of men imbued with these notions, the words of our Lord would naturally convey no other meaning than that the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost could be forgiven neither by correction in this life, nor by death, nor by any of those punishments after death which the Jews were accustomed to regard as expiatory of sins of so deep a dye as blasphemy.

(2) On reference to the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, which were designed more immediately for circulation amongst the Gentiles, we find no allusion to the Jewish distinction between "the world which now is," and "the world which is to come," but the simple and unconditional assertion that for the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost there neither is, nor can be, forgiveness. In Mark iii. 29 the words are these: "He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation" (or, according to the reading of the best MSS., is guilty of an eternal sin—*ἔνοχος ἐστὶν αἰωνίου ἀμαρτήματος*³); whilst in Luke xii. 10 the same solemn assurance is expressed in the words, "Unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven"—i.e., there shall be no remission.

If it be deemed needful to adduce any further considerations in support of that interpretation which has been here assigned to the words "neither in this world, neither in the world to come," it may be observed that on reference to the three passages to which allusion has already been made—viz., Heb. vi. 4—6; x. 26—31; 1 John v. 16, 17—it will be found that in each case the inspired writers content themselves with a solemn warning of the greatness of the guilt, and of the condemnation incurred by the commission of the sin there described, without any intimation, however remote or obscure, of the possibility of a future reversal of the sentence which shall be pronounced upon the sinner.

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—It will be seen that the foregoing paper touches, as was inevitable, upon questions already discussed in Mr. Spence's notes on 1 John v. 16 (vide page 333), and that the two writers differ to some extent in the view they take of them. I have thought it better to insert both papers, notwithstanding this difference, in the conviction that the readers of the BIBLE EDUCATOR are more likely to be led to a right estimate of what is so difficult and mysterious by seeing how it presents itself to different minds, each qualified by scholarship and devoutness to form a right judgment, than to put before them a formulated, sharply-defined solution representing one view only.]

² See Lightfoot's *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Matthew*; Works by Pitman, xi., p. 198; also "Hermann Witsii Dissertatio de Seculo hoc et futuro" in Menschen's *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et Antiquitatibus Hebræorum Illustratum*, p. 1174.

³ The meaning appears to be that such blasphemy is a sin of which the guilt and the condemnation are enduring. Beza explains *αἰωνίου* by *nunquam delendi*. We may compare the words of our Lord addressed to the Jews (John viii. 41): "Your sin remaineth."

¹ *Paradise Lost*, iv. 110.

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