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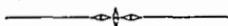
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possession of relics was a constant invitation to the inmates of monasteries, both male and female, to illustrate and identify them by means of visions and revelations, a notable instance of which we have seen in this history. The burial-places of saints and martyrs were often thus discovered, or, more accurately speaking, *invented*. It was thus that the regular clergy were able to minister to the needs of their secular brethren, who were the exhibitors of the treasures of the relic-chamber.

The immense literature which is devoted to the illustration, identification and cultus of relics and sacred places in Italy, France, and other countries, proves that the reign of legend and vision has still a very wide province. There are still the St. Elizabeths to dream dreams and see visions, and still the chroniclers eager to accept them, and the exhibitors ready to make merchandise of them. Thankful we may well be that "we have a more sure word of prophecy," which "came not by the will of man, but by holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

ROBERT C. JENKINS.



ART. III.—THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, THE TORAH OF THE TEN TRIBES.

I.

IN entering on this subject it is necessary to guard against a mistake which is not very uncommon—the confusing two entirely different things which are both generally called by the same name, "the Samaritan Pentateuch."

By the Samaritan Pentateuch is sometimes meant the translation of the Pentateuch into the Samaritan language, the date of which is uncertain, the Samaritans themselves assigning it to about a century before the Christian era, and European scholars to one or two centuries after it. The Samaritan language is an Aramæan dialect, the use of which is now confined to the small remnant of Samaritans still existing at Nablous. In the present inquiry we are very little concerned with this Samaritan translation, except to distinguish it from what is also called the Samaritan Pentateuch—the Hebrew Pentateuch written in Samaritan letters—which may be more correctly designated the Samaritan Codex.

The Samaritan Codex is found in manuscripts, of which all the ancient copies are in the possession of the Samaritans at Nablous. They were known to the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, and by some of them highly valued and reckoned more genuine than those in the ordinary Hebrew

characters, but were lost sight of in the Middle Ages. They were brought to light again in the sixteenth century, when they gave rise to much controversy, which lasted two hundred and fifty years, and suddenly ceased about the time of the birth in Germany of the new critical school. On the history of which disappearance of the Samaritan text from discussion, more remains to be said further on.

The Samaritan Codex consists of the Pentateuch and the Pentateuch only, written not in the square characters which we call Hebrew, but in what are acknowledged on all hands more to resemble, or actually to be, the ancient Hebrew characters. They are similar to those found on the Moabite stone. The Hebrew words are written in this Old Hebrew character. The number of Samaritan letters is the same as that of the Hebrew alphabet; they occur in the same order, and they bear most of them somewhat similar names. In the Samaritan language they are not used with exactly the same powers as in Hebrew. But in the Samaritan Codex, letter corresponds to letter without any reference to its employment in the Samaritan language. For example, the letter *It*, corresponding to the Jewish *Kheth*, is silent in the Samaritan language, but takes in the Codex its proper place as a consonant with a sound of its own. The Samaritan has no written vowels, but has rules for supplying them, and the words read according to these rules would be very different from the traditional and, there is no reason to doubt, correct pronunciation of the Hebrew text as committed to writing in the vowel points and accents by the Masorites. In examining the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, we have to dismiss from the mind the Samaritan language and the Samaritan use of the ancient Hebrew letters in which the Codex is written. The Samaritans are the guardians of it, but it remains to be proved, if it can be proved (for it has never been proved yet), that they stand in any other relation to it.

Very careful guardians of it they have been. Like the Jews, they have numbered the words and found the middle word in the Law. And so jealous are they in their custody of the manuscripts that those which are ancient are not shown to strangers. When Kennicott was editing his Hebrew Bible he came into possession of six Samaritan manuscripts, which he collated with the Jewish manuscripts and printed copies; and he placed every variation from the best edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, in the Hebrew character, in juxtaposition with the Hebrew text. But these are copies not earlier than the fifteenth century. The manuscripts of which they are copies are carefully guarded from the inspection of all who are not Samaritans at Nablous.

It has been supposed that the square character was introduced by Ezra, or at all events on the return from Babylon. But this is certainly a mistake. Anyone looking at the Old Hebrew letters such as are found on the coins of Hyrcanus II., and comparing them with those in which the Hebrew Scriptures are written or printed now, would naturally conclude that there was no connection whatever between the two. They appear totally and altogether dissimilar. On the Moabite stone more than eight hundred years before Hyrcanus II., there is substantially the same character as on his coins, though not identically the same in all the letters. But it is an astonishing thing to look at various alphabets from the time of Hyrcanus downwards, placed side by side, and to observe their gradual transformation into the square character. In some, if not all, of these successive alphabets, the same letter has many forms—as many, I think, as six in one case.¹ The present Samaritan alphabet is not exactly the same as any of these alphabets, but resembles all the older ones, and has not in any way developed, like the later ones, towards the square character. Some of the letters are identical with those of Hyrcanus II. and with those of the Moabite stone, but some are different.

It must be borne in mind that we have no opportunity of examining any really ancient Samaritan manuscript of the Hebrew Pentateuch. The number in European libraries—mainly at the Bodleian, where Kennicott deposited those he possessed, and at St. Petersburg (I have not heard for certain of any others)—is very small, and of these some are very imperfect. They are copies, written in the letters now used by the Samaritans. The ancient manuscripts are all at Nablous, and the high-priests will not allow any of them to be seen except by Samaritans.²

The only exception to this rule which is recorded was in the case of a Russian officer, who is said to have seen the oldest manuscript, on which there is an inscription relating to the name of its transcriber, but the genuineness of his information is not considered quite reliable. Such inscriptions in Samaritan manuscripts occupy a marginal space between two columns of writing, the successive letters being placed in the order and in the position in which they first occur in the text, so that a short inscription may spread over the margin of several pages.³

¹ There is a book, courteously shown to me, in the Coin Department of the British Museum, in which these alphabets are placed side by side, with their variations noted.

² Nutt, "Fragments of a Samaritan Targum," 1874.

³ *Ibid.*

The impossibility of seeing the actual manuscripts, of which those in Europe are copies, prevents us from knowing whether the letters are precisely identical with those in which these latter are written. They were familiar to the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, by whom they were recognised as written in the ancient Hebrew character; but it would be rash to assert that the Samaritan copyists of the fifteenth century imitated them exactly. Between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries there may have been modifications in Samaritan writing. There was evidently no reluctance to show the manuscripts in the third and fourth centuries. They were perfectly well known to Origen and Jerome. The reluctance exhibited now is probably the result of Moslem invasion. Where there is Mohammedan rule, it always produces secrecy among the conquered who do not embrace the faith of their conquerors. But nothing can be less probable than that manuscripts so jealously guarded should have been replaced by new copies; and we may therefore feel certain that there are at Nablous manuscripts of the Samaritan Codex older than any at present known of the Jewish Codex. No Jewish manuscripts exist which have not passed through the Masoretic recensions. Whatever the history of the Samaritan Codex or the merit of its various readings, at all events there are manuscripts of it at Nablous, which in all probability were actually seen by Jerome and by Origen, and which, waiving all disputed points, are the most ancient manuscripts known of any book of Holy Scripture, whether of the Old or New Testament.

So far we are on undisputed ground; and so we are in respect to the completeness of this Codex, what it embraces, and what it excludes. It embraces all the five books of Moses—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. It is the Pentateuch, what the Jews called the "Torah," the Law. There is no Samaritan "Hexateuch." The Samaritans have a Book of Joshua, but it is not the Book of Joshua of our Bibles, nor is it written in the Hebrew language. That they have not the Book of Joshua, considering how valuable it would have been to Samaritan controversialists, wishing to maintain that Gerizim was the mountain where men ought to worship, to be able to show that it not only was meant to be, as taught in Deuteronomy (Deut. xxvii. 12), but actually was the mountain of blessing (Josh. viii. 30-35), is surprising, and needs investigation. But such is the fact. The Samaritan Codex consists of the Law, the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses, and contains nothing else.

Three questions at once present themselves for our con-

sideration. Kohn, the most recent writer of a monograph¹ on the subject, mentions only two as discussed at large by him—the one, whether “the Judaico-Hebraicus or the Samaritano-Hebraicus” Codex be the older and genuine? the other, how it happens that the ancient versions and the Septuagint are so often in agreement with the Samaritan Codex where it differs from the Hebrew?² But important as these two questions are, there is another which is of far greater importance, What is the absolute age and history of the Samaritan Codex? whether, as compared with the Hebrew, it is older and more genuine or not, when did it originate? It may be comparatively younger, and yet be absolutely of extreme antiquity. And if by critical investigation it can be proved, and has, I think, been proved by Gesenius and Kohn, to be of more recent origin than the Hebrew, and its various readings shown even to be worthless, which I am as far as possible from conceding, the result must necessarily be that, whatever the antiquity of the Samaritan Codex, the Jewish Codex, except as altered by the Masoretic recension, must be more ancient still.

Kohn's opinion as to the antiquity of the Samaritan Codex is that it originated by degrees soon after Ezra. He rejects altogether the opinion of Grotius and others that it was derived from the Septuagint, the thousand agreements with the Jewish against the Septuagint being decisive on this point; and he rejects also the opinion of Gesenius that both originated in some unknown, unmentioned popular edition of the Pentateuch, of which, he rightly urges, there is not a particle of evidence, and expresses as his own opinion that, though a corrupt edition of the Jewish Codex, it is, nevertheless, the foundation of the Alexandrian version.³ But the thousand agreements of the Septuagint with the Hebrew against the Samaritan, contradict Kohn's view as decisively as the thousand agreements of the Samaritan with the Hebrew contradict the view of Grotius. Either the Jewish manuscripts which the Septuagint translators used were in numerous places much more like the Samaritan manuscripts than the Masoretic, and in as many more much more like the Masoretic text than the Samaritan, or else they had both Codices before them.

In one of the most popular articles on the Samaritan Codex, that in Smith's “Dictionary of the Bible,” it is stated that in 1815 Gesenius “abolished the remnant of the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch. So masterly, lucid, and clear are his arguments and his proofs, that there has been and will be no further question as to the absence of all value in this Recension,

¹ “De Pentateucho Samaritano,” 1865.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-36.

and in its pretended emendations."¹ But the writer proceeds, before ending the article, to say: "Since up to this moment no critical edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch, or even an examination of the Codices since Kennicott—who can only be said to have begun the work—has been thought of, the treatment of the whole subject remains a most precarious task, and beset with unexampled difficulties at every step. . . . It is, however, this same rudimentary state of investigation—after two centuries and a half of fierce discussions—which has left the other and much more important question of the *Age and Origin* of the Samaritan Pentateuch as unsettled to-day as it was when it first came under the notice of European scholars."²

In Herzog we find similar statements. After saying that the Masoretic recension is more original and purer than the Samaritan, the writer adds that: "On the other hand, the peculiar phenomenon needs explanation, that the Septuagint in more than a thousand places agrees with the Samaritan against the Hebrew, but conversely, also, in as many places with the Hebrew against the Samaritan,"³ showing the independence of the Septuagint and the Samaritan. And the writer of another article says, that on the two points the recognition of the Pentateuch by the Samaritans and the building of their temple, "we are very imperfectly informed, since as to the first point we know absolutely nothing."⁴

In the present day we are not much in the habit of sitting down before questions of this kind, and considering their solution hopeless. I can find no reference to the subject in Wellhausen's "Die Composition des Hexateuch," nor in the "Prolegomena." In his criticisms in both these books on 2 Kings xvii., a chapter in which it could not be forgotten, it is not mentioned. Nor do I find any allusion to the subject in Driver's "Introduction." It is evidently not a welcome topic with modern critics. Professor Ryle, in his "Canon of the Old Testament," does indeed mention the Samaritan Codex, but with the vague expression, "very generally and very naturally supposed," gives an explanation of the origin of it without making himself altogether responsible for it. Nor does he notice the view maintained by early Fathers, and by many of the greatest Hebrew scholars, including Kennicott himself, for two hundred and fifty years before the rise of the so-called "higher criticism." It goes, indeed, without saying, that the history of the Samaritan Codex, which was held to be true in Origen's time, and which Kennicott believed him-

¹ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," 1863, vol. iii., p. 1108.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1111.

³ Herzog, "Real Encyclopädie," Band I., s. 283.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Band XIII., s. 342.

self to have placed on an impregnable basis, is absolutely inconsistent with the various and late dates and divided authorship assigned by Wellhausen and his followers to the Pentateuch, or, as they choose to say, the Hexateuch. They cannot exist together, and the persuasion on their own minds, that in some way Gesenius had "abolished the remnants of the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch," was so necessary a condition of their studies, that perhaps we ought not to wonder at their refusal to think of it. It was a necessary postulate, and it was highly suitable that what seems to have been Gesenius's first literary effort should have been on this subject.

The history of this question in more recent times after the rediscovery of the manuscripts is worth considering. In the two hundred and fifty years of controversy, the view that the Samaritan Codex was the Pentateuch of the Ten Tribes from whom the Samaritans had received it, and that its various readings were of great value, met with strenuous opposition from those who advocated what was called the "Hebrew verity," or absolute accuracy of the existing Masoretic text. It was supposed, it is difficult to say why, that in some manner Protestant truth was strengthened by maintaining this "Hebrew verity," and the fact that Morinus, who was the first in modern days to draw attention to the importance of the Samaritan text, was a Jesuit professor, excited suspicion. When the adoption of the view by learned Protestant divines had removed that suspicion, another of an opposite kind, equally groundless, was created by the attempt of Kennicott to do, with the help of the Samaritan Codex, the same work for the Old Testament which had long been aimed at for the New—collating manuscripts and correcting the text. It was looked upon as Rationalistic. The injustice of this soon became apparent to thoughtful men, but his work was not followed up. And then there arose that more recent school of criticism which, whether higher or lower, is altogether subjective, and absolutely dependent, not on facts which, when discovered by the learned can be verified by the common-sense of mankind, but on a supposed gift of discernment and infallibility of judgment in certain men, which has the right to demand universal and unquestioning submission.

In respect to the question before us, it is not a little curious to observe the working of this new law of Biblical criticism. The complete change of front with respect to the Samaritan Codex of the Pentateuch is attributed to one man. Gesenius is a name with which everyone is acquainted as that of a distinguished Oriental scholar, and also one of the initiators of the new critical school. He may be best described as the great Hebrew lexicographer. Whatever errors of theological opinion

may have found their way into his lexicon, it is invaluable as a repertory of Hebrew learning, and has never been replaced by a better. Gesenius wrote a book on the Samaritan Pentateuch, an academical dissertation, on taking his doctor's degree.¹ It is divided into two unequal parts. In the first and shorter part, he discusses its age and origin in a very cursory manner, admitting that the Samaritans might have received it before the Exile from the Jews, if the Jews themselves had it, but refusing to admit what the then commencing "higher" criticism was labouring to overthrow, the antiquity of the Jewish Codex. As he would not allow that the Jewish Pentateuch existed in the time of Jeroboam, it was necessary to deny that the Samaritan existed either.² This denial he does not affect to sustain by any proof. He asserts that there is no historical evidence on the subject, and that all we can do is to take refuge in a conjecture³ which has found no supporters. Kohn notices it to reject it, as we have already seen. Smith's Dictionary and Herzog's Encyclopædie say that we still know nothing about the age and origin of the Samaritan Codex, which amounts to this: that, assuming the truth of modern critical opinion, the history of the Samaritan Codex is an inexplicable mystery.

ART. IV.—TA TEEΣAPA ZQA.

IN Jerome's prologue to the Four Gospels the following passage occurs:

Hæc igitur quattuor euangelia multum ante prædicta Ezechielis quoque uolumen probat, in quo prima uisio ita contextitur. Et in medio sicut similitudo quattuor animalium et uultus eorum facies hominis et facies leonis et facies vituli et facies aquilæ. Prima hominis facies Mattheum significat, qui quasi de homine exorsus est scribere Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David filii Abraham. Secunda Marcum, in quo uox leonis in heremo rugientis auditur Uox clamantis in deserto Parate uiam domini, rectas facite semitas eius. Tertia uituli, quæ euangelistam Lucam a Zacharia sacerdote sumsisse initium præfigurauit. Quarta Johannem euangelistam qui adsumtis pennis aquilæ et ad altiora festinans de uerbo dei disputat. Cetera quæ sequuntur in eundem sensum proficiunt. Crura eorum recta et pinnati pedes et quocumque spiritus ibat ibant et non reuertebantur et dorsa eorum plena oculis et scintillæ ac lampades in medio discurrentes et rota in rota, et in singulis quattuor facies. Unde et apocalypsis Johannis post expositionem uiginti quattuor seniorum, qui tenentes citharas et fialas adorant agnum dei, introducit fulgura et tonitura et septem spiritus discurrentes et mare uitreum et quattuor animalia plena oculis, dicens Animal primum simile leoni, et secundum simile uitulo, et tertium simile homini et

¹ "De Pent. Sam., Origine, Indole et Auctoritate."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10.