

holding an infant in her arms. This rather rudely formed expression of popular belief was taken at the first moment of discovery by some of those who saw it as a mediæval image of the Madonna and Child, though more careful contemplation showed that it must have been made several centuries before the time of Christ. It is a complete proof, in its startling resemblance to the later Christian representation, of the perfect continuity of Anatolian religious sentiment amid outward differences.

W. M. RAMSAY.

(To be continued.)

*SURVIVALS OF ANCIENT SEMITIC RELIGION IN
SYRIAN CENTRES OF MOSLEM AND CHRIS-
TIAN INFLUENCE.*

WHEN I speak of ancient Semitic religion, I mean the earliest form of religion among the Semites concerning which we can secure any information; a religion which antedates Islam, Judaism, or the representations found in the Old Testament; a form of religion which presents its sacrifices without an altar and without the use of fire.

In characterizing the religion as Semitic I do not thereby raise the question whether it is essentially different in its primal features from the manifestations of religion to be found among other peoples. This is not probable. As men of all races have essentially the same physical and mental characteristics, but with marked differences, so a study of comparative religion must doubtless show that the simplest religion differs among various peoples in its manifestations rather than in its essence. Hence we may well find some of the same manifestations of religion everywhere in the world.

It may seem a bold claim to maintain that the most ancient institutions may be found in existence to-day. This does not necessarily mean that certain tribes and peoples have retained their customs unchanged for millenniums, though it may. It is of course possible that there has been degeneration, or a reversion to an original type, as it is said that some American Indians, men and women, who have enjoyed the advantages of a good education, sometimes revert to barbarism. It does mean that the primitive characteristics of religion may be found to-day.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ANCIENT RELIGION.

There is a divine being who is potentially the god of a particular domain, whose place of worship is determined by one or more revelations of himself there. These revelations may be in connexion with some natural object or appearance, as a tree, stone, fountain, or hot-air vent; but it is more commonly in connexion with his supposed place of burial. A man who is considered the progenitor of his tribe, as among the Arabs, or a political or religious sheik, or one of the ancient prophets, is practically deified. He is looked upon as possessing the same powers that he had in life after death, and by the working of the mythological principle this power is greatly enhanced in the estimation of those who approach him. In some respects the worship rendered, especially among the Arabs, might seem like ancestor worship; but this could by no means explain all the details, which must be grouped under some broader principle. It is not perhaps essentially different from that found among some African tribes, where a departed king becomes an object of worship.

Among Syrians and Arabs human relations are predicated of these beings. Those of the higher class (*nebis*) eat and drink and live with their wives. Sarah is still alive at the cave of Machpelah. A Syrian, who ven-

tured to look down into the cave, saw the ancestress of the Hebrew nation engaged in the very feminine occupation of combing her hair, and, as the story goes, was struck blind for a time because of his presumption. On occasion the prophets and the welis, or the lower class who are denied the ordinary joys of life, may confer on barren women the crown of motherhood.

Men and especially women are under the bondage of fear. The stern phenomena of nature—drouth, disease, death—are conceived of as living powers; deserts, dens, caves and graves are believed to be peopled with evil spirits. They invade human dwellings. They threaten men on every hand.

Even God himself is often the author of evil, so far as such a being is conceived of. He denies the joy of children, He sends drouth, disease and death. He has removed far from the world, like some great despot.

The root of religion for the primitive man is in a sense of need in dealing with the adverse powers of nature. While studying this question we must think of man in his simplest condition. We must think ourselves into the place of the Arab, or the wild man of Africa, of America, or of the South Seas, as he is called to contend with the forces of nature. To apply our theological conceptions to the religion of such a man, to predicate communion on his part in the simplest stage of his being with a departed prophet, saint, or ancestor, is to introduce ideas which we have no reason to believe existed among the earliest men, or exist now among races who have not been taught positive religion,—is to be unprepared for a study of primitive religion.

As is well known, the idea of holiness did not exist among the Semites until it was taught Israel by the Old Testament prophets. Nor is there any indication that justice forms any part in the primitive conception of such a being. He is simply powerful, one who can help in a given need.

Men's experience in the Orient with their fellow-men, who are possessed of power, is that their favour or assistance must always be purchased. The savage African hunter, when he throws a piece of game to his deity, recognizes this principle. It is not strange that Stanley, in reporting such an incident, should say that such a man belonged to a people that had no religion.¹ But in this he is mistaken, for in this incident we have an indication of one of the simplest stages of religion and of its motive among a primitive people. The whole system of vows, gifts and sacrifices, as found among Syrians and Arabs, is simply an effort to secure the favour of a divine being. The observation of a multitude of cases gives this conclusion, to me at least, the certainty of a fact. The reason for the gift is always the same: it is either to avert some evil, as disease of men or animals, the robbery of flocks and herds, defeat in raids or battles; or to secure some positive good, such as the birth of a male son to a barren woman, or a prosperous journey, or some other success. The man or woman goes to the divine being and promises that, if certain things are done, he will bring a gift of incense, oil, etc., or a present from the flock or herd. The relation to such a being is purely a commercial one, and is described by the Prophet Hosea in his account of the Baalim, who were considered as the proprietors of certain pieces of land. In this ownership we have an illustration of monolatry on a small scale, as Yahwe was regarded as the God of the land of Israel (Joel ii. 18; Ps. x. 16, etc.). The Israelitish farmer, who professed to worship Yahwe, considered it necessary, in order to ensure a good yield of corn, wine, or oil, to bring a gift to his local Baal (Hos. ii. 5, 7, 8). This is essentially ancient religion, i.e. man seeks the aid of a higher being in those things for which a human being, however powerful, could not avail. This higher being is

¹ Stanley, *In Darkest Africa* (3rd ed.), vol. ii. p. 368.

not God the creator of the world, but a lower grade of divine being, who, either through his own power or by the influence which he has with God Himself, is able to secure the petition which the suppliant makes to him. This is the main characteristic of primitive religion, so far as we can follow it, among the primitive Semites as well as among other primitive peoples.

It now remains to ascertain how far this form of religion survives in Syrian centres of Moslem and Christian influence to-day. There can be no doubt that among the Arabs, the peasants and the villagers it is the religion which moves them most profoundly. After visiting many parts of Syria during four summers I am convinced that the religion, essentially as described, is the religion of the common people. The evidence may be found in my book entitled, *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*. Syncretism exists just as truly to-day among Moslem and Christian peasants in those parts of the country I have visited as among the ancient Israelites, as described by the Prophet Hosea, who instead of calling Yahwe *Ishi* called him *Baali* (Hos. ii. 16, 17).

The question which I propose to investigate in this paper is whether a like syncretism exists in the large cities and towns of Syria.

During the summers of 1903-1904 I have devoted especial attention to the investigation of the theme proposed as the subject of this paper. In its elucidation I have visited the following places, and in the order named—1903: Safed, Nazareth, Beisan, Haifa, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut; 1904: Damascus, Hums, Hama, Aleppo, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus.

In the conduct of these latter investigations my interviews have been not merely with the unlearned, but with the religious heads, and learned men of such places as Haifa, Sidon, Beirut, Damascus, Hums, Hama, Aleppo,

Jerusalem, Hebron and Nablus. By these I have been received with the fine patience and courtesy which is characteristic of the Mussulman gentleman. Many of them have returned my calls. It is not in any sense my intention, even if it were not contrary to the rules of the Congress, to introduce any criticism of the Moslem faith, but rather to show as the result of the most careful observations that there are survivals of the ancient religion as already sketched. The evidence that there are such survivals is threefold: 1. In the clear and indisputable proof that in the crises of their lives the vast majority of Moslems have recourse to the saints (*nebis, welis*); 2. In the manifold appearance at each centre of the main characteristics of the ancient religion; 3. In the attitude of the most intelligent Moslems with reference to this religion. I cannot speak with the same authority regarding the existence of this religion among the adherents of the ancient churches in the centres named. In the villages multitudes of them visit the same religious shrines as the Moslems and perform the same religious acts; this is especially true of members of the Greek Church. In the towns such investigations are beset with peculiar difficulties. So far as the main facts are concerned ecclesiastics would be inclined to deny or ignore the existence of the ancient customs within their own sects. In my own mind I am convinced that many survivals of the ancient religion are to be found, not only among the Christians of the country, but also among those of the large towns. The evidence, on the other hand, of such survivals in the great centres of the Moslem faith seems to me to be of the strongest character.

1. In the crises of their lives the vast majority of the Moslems have recourse to the saints, who possess the same essential characteristics as the local deities of the peasants and Arabs and of the heathen Semites.

The evidence is as follows: (1) The Moslem world is divided, according to the testimony of the learned, into two portions—the enlightened, who form but a small percentage of the whole; the unenlightened, who constitute the vast majority. The supreme reliance of the latter in any time of trouble is upon some saint. The Moslem man or woman who has come to some strait goes to the makam or mezar of some nebi or weli, and promises him that in case he or she secures the aid sought he will bring him some gift—either oil, incense, a candle, a pall for his tomb, or a sheep, goat, or bullock to be killed in sacrifice. The form of vow differs according to the orthodoxy of the man or woman, or more likely the difference is often in the reported form according to the orthodoxy of the informant. The most natural way, which is often practised by peasants and Arabs, is to call directly on the saint. If a camel slips, he says, *yá chudr!* if the billows are especially high off Jaffa, the boatman cries, *ya rasúl allah!* But such immediate cries to a divine being are not limited to the ignorant. A native physician of high standing is authority for the statement that a young man belonging to one of the most intelligent families of his city, when in great pain, was moaning to the traditional progenitor of his family, “O Sidi Chalid, help!” But this same young man, in reporting the proper form of such a vow, said: “O God, there is upon me a vow to be paid Thee at the makam of Sidi Chalid.” How deeply inwrought the inclination is to have recourse to the weli in time of need, or to the local divinity, appeared in conversation with one of the most intelligent Moslems of Syria. The subject under discussion was in regard to the hold which the ancient religion has on the hearts of the people. By way of illustration a friend of our host, who was present, said: “My son is a student in the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. The year has closed, and he should have come home. His mother was

so troubled about him, she said: 'I must go to the weli and ask his help.' I replied, 'You shall not do so; you do not need to pray to the weli, pray to God.' " The fact that the majority of Moslems go to the makams when in deep trouble was not disputed by leading Moslems, rather their intercessory power with God was emphasized. The illustration used was of a lesser official being employed to intercede with the Sultan in behalf of a person who prefers some special request, and who would not dare without such intercession of a mediator to bring his request before his august majesty.

Such makams, or places of worship of a local divinity, abound in the towns and cities already named. They are sometimes of great size, and enjoy extensive revenues. They are often combined with mosques, and are sometimes so important that the mosque is entirely subsidiary. If it be true, as I was assured, that the difference in function between the mosque and the makam is, that the makam is the place for making vows, while the mosque is the place for prayer, then in many combinations of mosques and makams vows are considered more important than prayers, or, in other words, the old religion often dominates Islam. An example of such domination is to be found at Hums, where a new mosque is being built in connexion with the famous makam of Sidi Chalid. As a constituent part of the tomb and mosque, is a large house, where a free supper is prepared daily for the poor. In the preparation of this supper all sacrifices of food are used.

Even in two of the largest mosques in Syria the sanctuary of a nebi has found a place, and the popular demand for a place for vows has been observed both in the great mosque at Damascus as well as in the great mosque at Aleppo. In the former, not to speak of the makams of Saladin and Hosein on the outside, is the makam of Yehanna, or of John the Baptist, a shrine of exceeding beauty on the

inside of the mosque, at which many vows are made. On the inside of the famous mosque at Aleppo, which is regarded as too sacred to be visited by infidels, is the shrine of Nebi Zachariah, which is a masterpiece of Arabian art, and at which numerous vows are promised.

Vows are also paid in monasteries and churches, showing conclusively that these sacred edifices are used for the rites of the ancient and illegitimate religion; indeed such rites, in the popular estimation, are characteristic of the most famous monastery in all Syria, which belongs to the Greek Church. This monastery is known among all sects of Moslems as Chudr, and is visited by them. It is also visited by Christians belonging to ancient churches of every name. Vast revenues are received at this monastery in grain, in flocks and herds, which have been vowed to the saint, who is little less than the god of Syria.

At the Greek monastery of Mar Thekla in Má'lula, one of the three villages in Northern Syria, where Syriac is still spoken, numerous sacrifices are offered by Moslems and Christians, with but little difference in the ceremonies. These are in payment of vows for aid asked and given, i.e. a Christian saint is regarded, both by Moslems and Christians, as a weli. The sacred spot is a cave, into which the sacrifices are brought, and which are caused to pass three times around a marble pillar, about four feet in height, which is perhaps a survival of the mazzebah of ancient Israel (Deut. xii. 3, etc.). It may be considered as an unconscious representation of a local divinity, such as is found in the Nursi el-Aqtab, at Zebedani, on the way to Damascus.

Within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, sometimes called a makam, the same tendency to observe the ancient worship, though naturally under great restraint, may be seen. Even within the tomb itself the hair of a boy is cut, a most significant rite, representing the offering up of his personality.

2. Individual characteristics of the ancient religion now surviving.

There are many examples of these, more than can be presented in the present paper. It is very significant, although it does not belong to the following survey, that Abdul Huda, who has been and is one of the most trusted and influential advisers of the Sultan of Turkey, was born and bred as a derwish, and who, falling into a cataleptic state, perhaps like Baalim of old (Num. xxiv. 4, 16), has long counselled his majesty in matters of the kingdom.

Not to dwell on this fact, which doubtless has its roots in ancient religion, I refer rather to things which are found in Syria, many of which, though doubtless characteristic of large centres, have, as I believe, escaped my attention. In Safed there are two sacred springs which bring healing. Such springs are very numerous in various parts of Syria, and are, as is well known, characteristic of ancient religion. In Beirut there are two sacred wells, one at the shrine of Chudr, or Mar Jirjis. It is considered efficacious in the cure of various diseases. The power of Chudr is manifested in its waters in blessing. Bathing in these waters the childless woman may receive through Chudr himself the joy of motherhood. Indeed it is said that sons who are supposed to spring from such a union are sometimes called Chudr. In Juneh, near Beirut, is an artificial cave by the sea, known as Batiyeh, frequented by Maronites and others for a similar purpose, as well as in general for restoration to health. The idea still seems to lurk in the minds of the people that a human child born through the intervention of a weli may be considered in some sense as having a divine father; hence the custom in Safed of not putting a son on the shoulder to carry him until he has been put astride the grave of the weli to whom the barren woman made a vow. This formal act seems to be something like a recognition on the part of the weli that he is the pro-

genitor of the child (cf. Gen. xxx. 3, l. 23). In Nazareth there is a survival of the ancient religion in the complete transformation of the fountain of the Virgin into a fountain indwelt by a weli, known as en-Naşariyeh, i.e. the Nazarine in the feminine. To her, in this character as weli, both Moslem and Christian women make vows, in payment of which the Moslems place a splotch of henna inside the arch of the fountain and the Christians a cross.

The worship of sacred stones is well attested as a Semitic custom. It is still found in various parts of Syria. Such stones are regarded as welis. At Karyaten, on the way to Palmyra, such a stone, a prostrate pillar of a ruined church, is walled in, since the ground immediately around it is holy, and is known among the Moslems as Abu Risha and among the Christians as Mar Risha. At the makam of Nebi Saidun, in Sidon, visited by Moslems, Christians and Jews, is a stone pillar, at the foot of which many of the animals brought in sacrifice are killed, so that the blood spurts on the base of the pillar. More or less vaguely such a stone must represent Nebi Saidun. It seems to be as truly a survival of the use of the ancient mazzeboth as may be found at the shrine of Nebi Iyub in the Druse mountains, where I saw three upright stones in the summer of 1900 in front of the makam, on the top of one of which, shaped like a phallus, blood had been poured. Fifty years ago, according to the testimony of a Mr. Wiseman of Jerusalem, there was a phallic stone in Tiberias, which was called Nebi Harun by those who desired children, and who addressed it in Arabic verse after they had bathed in the hot fountain near by. It has long since been broken. On little Hermon, about one hundred yards north from the summit, is an upright stone, against which Christ is said to have leaned, called Nazara, on the natural base of which Christians from Nazareth are said to offer sacrifices.

In Safed, Sidon, Beirut and Damascus, the worship of

sacred trees is still to be found. Each bears the name of a weli. Before the one at Beirut, called Ali Ibn A'lam, six lamps may be found burning. Various objects are vowed, including animal sacrifices, such as sheep. These latter are slaughtered before the tree. The one for whom the vow was made steps over the blood. At the great plane tree in Damascus, known as Imam 'Ali, one lamp is kept burning. On the tree, when I saw it in 1902, was an inscription, which, according to my companion and others who are well versed in the lore of the people, ascribed to him the possession of miraculous power which was given him by God. I saw three Moslem ladies, handsomely dressed, kiss the tree in evident adoration, with the same fervour that my Druse guide kissed a holy stone at a makam in the Druse mountains. It is true that orthodox Moslems have a tradition, showing that the ancient worship of trees was feared, and that steps were taken to prevent it. The story is told that Mohammed and his companions were wont to gather under the grateful shade of a large tree. After his death it occurred to some of the leaders of Islam that the remembrance of this fact might give the tree a peculiar sanctity, so they had it cut down. There is, however, another saying that is quoted, and assigned to Mohammed by those who wish to justify the ancient worship of trees: "Some of them (i.e. of the trees) are believing and some of them are unbelieving." While Moslem orthodoxy condemns the worship of trees, there are numerous instances of its existence, aside from the sacred trees found near shrines, which are not objects of devotion, though the superstitious fear to cut a single twig from them.

The ancient institution of sacrifice exists to-day and in what seems to be its most primitive form. Examples may be found in all its essential features from one end of the country to the other, and in the great centres, i.e. in Safed, on Mount Carmel, within the precincts of the Carmelite

monastery, at several shrines in Sidon, at several in Beirut, at Damascus, at Hums, Hama, Aleppo, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Hebron and Nablus, sacrifices of animals are still brought. The blood is often put on the forehead of the one for whom the sacrifice is made in payment of a vow. Sacrifices are common in the construction of great public works, as they are said to have been among the ancient Babylonians. When railroads are begun or opened for traffic, as in such places as Jerusalem, Beirut and Damascus, the ground is soaked in the blood of the victims slain. When the great mosque was rebuilt at Damascus, blood was shed by the bases of the first two pillars. Even the Maronites have not been able to escape the grip of ancient custom. They retain the form of sacrifice at the annual festival of the sacred cedars of Lebanon, near the river Kadisha, though they slay the victims, as they say, simply to make provision for feasting. It is a curious fact that one finds in certain places, where the influence of positive religion is strong, ancient institutions, especially among Christians, still existing, though often, as explained by the priesthood, shorn of their ancient significance. The common people, even in the great cities, have a different story to tell in their account of sacrifice. They still retain the old ideas, unconscious of the source from which they have come.

The great pilgrimage to Mecca, which demands, in obedience to ancient custom, that the pilgrims should go around the holy house lightly clad, in decent imitation of their ancestors, who in the times of ignorance went around it naked, begins at Damascus with an encampment of some days, at the makam of Sheik Ahmed el-'Asailai, which is placed under the especial care of the muftis of Damascus. When the pilgrims return from Mecca, they stop at this makam again. Before Said Pasha sets out for Mecca from this place, he kills four sheep and says: "If I return from Mecca safely, I will kill four more." These various customs,

as has been observed, may be regarded as survivals of ancient religion.

3. I pass now to consider the attitude of the most intelligent Moslems with respect to this religion. (1) It is clearly and avowedly one of disapproval. The leaders often characterize the acts of the people in following these ancient customs as the result of ignorance and foolishness. One of the most intelligent Moslems in Syria, who belongs to one of the most aristocratic families, gave the following account of the Moslem religion in Damascus. "The Mohammedans in Damascus are really divided into two parties: 1. The educated and enlightened people. They do not believe in any of these things, but they are very few. 2. The servants of religion and the majority of the people. They are very simple. They believe in saints, in tombs, in communication between the living and the dead, holy trees, holy waters, holy persons, holy stones, in charms, etc. Such things are not found in the Moslem religion, but they entered into it, so that the great majority have recourse to the shrines. Another learned man said: "The Mohammedan religion does not allow vows except to God, but the people make vows to the saints. When they are in great trouble most of them make vows; this is especially true of the women." The mufti of Hums, a man of great reputation among the Moslems, said: "Vows at makams are not binding. Such vows are not a religious duty. They are not from Islam, but from the old customs. If I were asked 'shall I vow?' I would not permit it. Such religious observances are from the ignorance of the people, and are characteristic both of Moslems and Christians." The Mufti of Hama divided the Moslems into three classes: 1. The most enlightened; 2. Those who are less enlightened; 3. The ignorant, who form the majority. They believe the welis can do anything; therefore they go to them and sacrifice to them their best cow, or their best

sheep, or half the dowry of a daughter, so that the daughter may be preserved, or they may vow half a child or a quarter of him every year." (2) In any account that is given of such customs the effort is sometimes made by orthodox Moslems to explain them away, or give them some other significance. This is especially the case, as we have seen among some Christian ecclesiastics. (3) There is still a party who are trying to carry out the principles of the Wahabites, whom they compare to the leaders of the Protestant reformation. That which they successfully accomplished in the last century through violent means, such as the destruction of shrines, they now seek to bring about through instruction and the printed page. The difficulties with which they have to contend are illustrated by the fact that such a literature has to be printed in Egypt or India, and that some of the leaders of this reform movement are under the watchful eye of the Government. (4) Though not less decided in their denunciation of the ancient form of worship, the great majority of the enlightened do not consider it well to interfere with customs so deeply rooted in the affections of the people. Time and education, which shall gradually include large numbers of professed Moslems, must be trusted to do their work, and still the story is told that the Grand Sherif of Mecca, not very long ago, ordered that the shrines in Jeddah and Mecca should be pulled down. But I have not found this story decisively confirmed.

As might well be supposed, intelligent Moslems are ready with a reason for the wide practice of the illegitimate worship. These reasons rest purely on opinion and really carry no weight. Some say that the Moslems derived this ancient worship from the Greeks, others from the Jews. But this is an explanation that does not explain. Similar rites do exist among adherents of the Greek Church, but they are found more or less among other ancient Christian

sects, and the Jews have not been able to maintain a pure Judaism. The Jewish makam of Rabbi Shimon, at Meiron, near Safed, does not differ greatly from makams frequented by Moslems and Christians. And though sacrifices are known to be illegitimate, there is not only the sacrifice of fowls in connexion with the day of atonement all over the Jewish world, but sheep are offered by Jews at the makam of Eliyahu, at the foot of Mount Carmel, frequented by other sects as well as by themselves. They also make vows and bring sacrifices to their makam of Chudr, at Jobac, near Damascus, consisting of a synagogue and the makam. Besides, fowls are offered in payment of vows for those who are seriously ill and who have experienced recovery. These rites prepare the way for the conjecture of a Jewish rabbi in Hebron, which has no scientific value, though of interest in this connexion. "The custom of offering fowls on the day of atonement is contrary to the religion. Some say it is taken from the ancient Aramaeans." He himself thinks it was derived from the Arabs. The learned Jews seek to discourage the custom, but as it is an early custom, followed by most of the Jews, those that do not believe in it do not think it wise to give it up.

If we would explain the reason for the customs which we find so prevalent in all Syria among Moslems, Christians, and even among the Jews, and of which there are clear examples in these great centres, we must rather consider that the principle of ancient religion once found under the worship of the Baalim on high places and underneath green trees, still survives, and that among the majority of Moslems, even in the great centres, it is one of the most powerful forces of their lives. In their distresses they go to the makam as the source of help and hope. The weli, or nebi, whatever his name may be, is simply an accommodation of the divinity of the old religion of the high places, or of sacred stones, fountains or trees to the thought of the

present day. The names and some of the ceremonies have been changed, but the ancient worship in its essential features and ideas still remains.

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS.

MORE WORDS ON THE EPISTLE TO HEBREWS.

IN a paper in the EXPOSITOR for November 1903, entitled "The Epistle to Hebrews as the Work of Barnabas," the following results, amongst others, were reached. "*Hebrews* was written by Barnabas from Italy, probably from a seaport, whence he hoped to sail very shortly—accompanied, if possible, by Timothy, fresh from an imprisonment connected with that of St. Paul. This was in A.D. 62, in the spring of which year James, the Lord's brother, suffered in Jerusalem. It was, perhaps, his death at the hands of the Jewish authorities (suggesting, as it did, that toleration of Jewish Christianity within national Judaism was becoming a thing of the past) which precipitated the crisis in the communities addressed in this writing, and of which Cæsarea may be taken as a type." It is the object of the present and concluding paper to supplement and amend this closing description of the recipients of the "word of exhortation," and also to show what light may be cast by truer views as to this point upon the lack of opening address to the Epistle as we have it.

The plural "communities" was used in the above summary in a preliminary or non-committal sense, the writer not yet having made up his mind whether more than one community might not be before our author's mind in writing. On this point he no longer feels ground for hesitation. Not more than one community appears to be addressed; and, if so, it was most probably located in Cæsarea, the place in all Palestine which had closest rela-