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devotedness, and diligence, and achievement, is surely in some part due to their early leader. He built on the foundation much that some of us must reckon to be wood and hay and stubble; but at least, he never forgot, nor suffered those whom he influenced to forget, that the things which are seen are temporal, the things which are not seen are eternal.

ROBERT RAINY.

*THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY
LAND.*

V. SAMARIA.

FROM Judæa we pass to Samaria. Halves of the same mountain range, how opposite they are in disposition and in history! The northern is as fair and open as the southern is austere and secluded, and their fortunes correspond. To the prophets Samaria is the older sister,¹ standing nearer to the world, taking precedence alike in good and evil. The more forward to attract, the more quick to develop, Samaria was always the less able to retain. The patriarchs came first to Shechem, but chose their homes about Hebron; the earliest rallies of Israel's worship and patriotism were upon Mount Ephraim, but both Church and State ultimately centred in Jerusalem; after the disruption of the kingdom the first prophets and heroes sprang up in the rich life of Northern Israel, but the splendour and endurance both of prophecy and of kingship remained with the barer Judæa. And so, though we owe to Samaria some of the finest of Israel's national lyrics, she produced no literature of patriotism, but the bulk of the literature about her is full of scorn for her traffic with foreigners,

¹ Jeremiah iii.; Ezekiel xvi. 46, and especially xxiii.

for her luxury and her tolerance of many idols. "Pride, fulness of bread and prosperous ease," then rottenness and swift ruin, are the chief notes of prophecy concerning her. And so to-day, while pilgrims throng on either hand to Judæa and to Galilee, no pilgrim seeks Samaria save for one tiny spot of her surface—that was neither a birthplace nor a tomb nor a battlefield nor a city, but the scene of a wayside saying by Him who used this land only as a passenger.

But if hardly Holy Land—if hardly even national land—there is no region of Syria more interesting and romantic. The traveller, entering from Judæa, is refreshed by a far fairer landscape. When he reaches the Vale of Shechem he finds himself at the true physical centre of Palestine, from which the features of the whole country radiate and group themselves most clearly. Historical memories, too, burst about the paths of Samaria more lavishly than even those fountains, that form such a contrast to Judæa:—the altars at Shechem and Shiloh, the fields round Dothan, the winepress of Ophrah, Carmel and Gilboa, the columns in Samaria, the vineyard of Naboth, the gates of Jezreel and Bethshan, the fords of Jordan; the approach of the patriarchs, Elijah's apparitions, Elisha passing to and fro, John baptizing at Ænon near to Salim; Gideon's campaign, Jehu's furious driving, Judith and Holofernes, battles of the Maccabees, the strategy of Pompey and of Vespasian.

I have already shown how the southern frontier of Samaria fluctuated from the Vale of Ajalon to the Wady Ishar and 'Akrabbeh.¹ The northern was more fixed, and lay from the Mediterranean to Jordan, along the south edge of Esdraelon, by the foot of Carmel and Gilboa. If we shut off Carmel, the edge of Sharon was the western

¹ See *EXPOSITOR*, vol. v., p. 303.

boundary; the eastern was Jordan. These limits enclose a territory nearly square, or some forty miles north and south by thirty-five east and west,—the size of a larger English shire.¹

The earliest name given to this section of the Central Range (I still exclude Carmel) was *Mount Ephraim*:² just as the whole tableland of Judah was called *Mount Judah*.³ When you stand off the country you see the propriety of the singular name *mount* as you do not when travelling within it. Broken up as Samaria is into more or less isolated groups of hills, yet when you view her from Gilead, or from the Mediterranean, she presents the aspect of a single mountain *massif*, with entrances indeed, but apparently as compact as even the tableland of Judæa.⁴

Take first the western flank. Here from summits of 3,000 feet, and an average watershed of 2,000, *Mount Ephraim* descends upon Sharon by uninterrupted ridges.

¹ The exact distances are these. From Bethel to Jezreel, 42 miles; from the edge of Sharon to Jordan varies between 33 and 36 miles; but from the point of Carmel to Bethshan is 40 miles; and to the S.E. corner of the province (east of Bethel), about 67 miles. Without Carmel Samaria is about 1,400 square miles; Carmel represents about 180 or 200 more. Judæa, it may be remembered, was estimated at 2,000 square miles, of which only about 1,400 were habitable.

² הַר אֶפְרַיִם, Josh. xvii. 15, xix. 50, etc. Judges iii. 27, iv. 5, etc.; 1 Sam. i. 1, ix. 4., etc. That the whole district known as Samaria is covered by the name is proved by the fact that between Ramah and Bethel is styled as being in *Mount Ephraim* (Judges iv. 5); also Shechem (1 Kings xii. 25; Josh. xx. 7, etc.); and that in Jer. xxxi. 6. *Mount Ephraim* stands parallel to *Mountains of Samaria* (v. 5). Of course the name spread originally from the hill country immediately north of Benjamin's territory, which fell to the tribe of Ephraim, and in which we must seek for the site of the *city called Ephraim* (2 Chron. xiii. 19, 2 Sam. xiii. 23, John xi. 54)—perhaps the modern et-Taiyibeh (Pal. Expl. Fund Map).

³ Josh. xxi. 11, where it is translated *hill country of Judah*.

⁴ From the hills above Pella, or from the great view-point of Kulater Rubad, the passes from Jordan into Ephraim are apparent, yet not so broad as to break up the range; while from *Mount Pisgah* they are hidden, and to the spectator standing where Moses stood *Mount Ephraim* presents the appearance of one high-piled mountain, with few carries upon it.

The general aspect is "rocky and sterile"; with infrequent breaks of olive-woods,¹ fields, and a few villages. This is not because of steepness; on the contrary, the unbroken descent is gradual—only some 1,800 feet in eighteen miles. The slope stands out in contrast to the defiles and precipices which flank Judæa; and whether you ascend by its valleys or by its broad ridges, you find the way easy and open. That little or no history was enacted upon this flank of Mount Ephraim seems to be due to—besides the sterility of the soil—the impossibility of anywhere making a stand, the uselessness of anywhere building a fortress.

On the watershed above, the one pass conspicuous from the sea is that in which Shechem lies between Ebal and Gerizim. It crosses to the eastern side of the range, and is thence continued by a valley with a strong southerly trend, the present Wady el Ifgim, which runs out upon the Jordan below the Horn or Promontory of Surtabeh, and divides the eastern flank of Mount Ephraim into two distinct sections. South of this Wady el Ifgim, Mount Ephraim presents to Eastern Palestine a high bulwark of mountain closely piled, with wild chasms running up through it—the most difficult corner of the whole frontier. Seen from Nebo, it looks quite inaccessible. The descent is over 2,800 feet in nine miles or three times the gradient of the western flank. But north of the Wady el Ifgim and the Horn of Surtabeh the flank of Mount Ephraim opens out, and a series of broad valleys descend it from the interior. From the watershed the level drops 2,500 feet in ten miles. Opposite the centre of the province the hills fall close on Jordan, but further north they recede to a distance of five miles, and at Bethshan they turn away westward in the range of Gilboa, leaving the valley of

¹ Robinson, *Later Researches*, 135.

Jezreel to run up on the north of them towards the Mediterranean.

Within these compact bulwarks Mount Ephraim surprises us with its openness, its number of plains, meadows and spacious vales. To begin with, there is a gap between Carmel and Gilboa, through which a broad gulf of Esdraelon runs up for seven miles to Genin. Thence a succession of level spaces, more or less connected, spreads southwards through the centre of the province to a few miles of its southern border. First is the plain of Dothan¹ reached by an easy pass through low hills; thence another easy pass leads to a series of spacious meadows crossing the country from the south end of Mount Gilboa, and the top of a broad valley to the Jordan, to the range of hills that bulwark the city of Samaria on the north;² and thence another easy pass leads to a third series of plains running south past the vale of Shechem into the great Sahel Mukhneh, with its eastern offset, opposite Gerizim. Now upon this succession of level lands running south from Esdraelon, there emerge valleys,—both those that come up from Sharon and those that come up from Jordan. Of the former the chief is the broad Barley-Vale, Wady esh Sha'ir, that sweeps up past Samaria upon Shechem. In this direction, too, the gentle ridges offer almost everywhere easy access from the coast. Of the valleys from Jordan there are the Wady Far'ah, that runs down from a little south of Shechem to opposite the Jabbok,—the trunk road to the East and Jacob's road to Shechem, later a Roman highway, and to-day partly the route of the telegraph wire from Nabalus to Es-salt. Further north the Bukeia, or Little-

¹ The modern Sahel 'Arrabéh. Robinson (*Phys. Geogr.*, 122) describes it as a bay or offset of the plain of Esdraelon; but it is separated from the latter by low hills.

² Cf. Trelawney Saunders, *Introd. to the Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 136. Of these meadow lands the Merj el Ghuruk was in the summer of 1891, when we passed along it, a great shallow lake: cf. Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, III. 153.

Dale; then the Salt-Vale, or Wady el Mâleh, that issues at Abel-Meholah, and lastly the Wady el Khashneh, with the ancient road from Shechem to Bethshan, up which came both Pompey and Vespasian. All these are *the outgoings of Mount Ephraim*,¹ broad, fertile and of easy gradients. But besides these, and even where the mountains crowd most thickly together, in the south-east corner of the province, there are frequent meadows and corn lands. Travellers from Judæa will remember the open vales they crossed before they reached the Mukhneh; and of the less explored country to the east, Robinson says: "It was a matter of surprise to us to find in this great *break-down* of the mountains so much good land; so many fine and arable though not large plains."²

1. Therefore the OPENNESS of Samaria is her most prominent feature, and tells most in her history. Few invaders were successfully resisted. It is a singular fact that we have no account of the invasion by Israel themselves. Bethel falls, and after that the tribe of Joseph, to whom the region is allotted, express no fear, record no struggle, till they come to the plain of Esdraelon and the cities of the Canaanites at Bethshan and Jezreel.³ Under the invasion of the Canaanites Israel's native law could be administered only in the extreme north-east, between Ramah and Bethel, where stood the palm tree of Deborah,⁴ a curious exotic in so high a region. In the days of Gideon the Midianites swept north from the plain of Esdraelon, so that the use of the open threshing floors was impossible even at Ophrah.⁵ In Elisha's time, the Syrians, by apparently annual invasions, swept westward as far as the citadel of Samaria, behind the watershed. The Assyrians overwhelmed the land, and carried off, it would

¹ Josh. xvii. 18.

² *Later Researches*, 296.

³ Josh. xvii. 14.

⁴ Judges vi. 11.

⁵ Perhaps Ferata, south-west from Shechem (Conder).

seem, the whole population. In spite of every obstacle offered him by the Jews, Holofernes brought his army from Esdraelon by the series of plains mentioned above, and was overthrown only through the stratagem of a woman.¹ Pompey marched from Bethshan to Korea,² ten miles south of Shechem, and from Korea to Jericho without opposition.³ Vespasian seeking to blockade Judæa, marched from Antipatris by Shechem to Korea, and thence to Jericho and back again, and then to Gophna, Ephraim and back again, incredible as it seems, within a week.⁴ And Titus came easily upon Jerusalem from Cæsarea past Gophna and Bethel.⁵ How different all this reads from the history of the invasions of Judæa, by her narrow defiles, the sallies from the hills, the ambushes of the Wady 'Ali, the routs down by the two Bethhorons and Ajalon!

One very interesting effect of the openness of Samaria is the frequency with which the chariot appears in her history. In the annals of Judah chariots are but seldom mentioned.⁶

¹ Book of Judith. Bethulia, Judith's town, must be sought for somewhere about the Merj el Ghuruk; Meselieh (Conder), Meithalûm or Sanur?

² Kuriyat.

³ Josephus, xiv. *Antt.*, iii. 3, iv. 1.

⁴ *Id.*, iv. *Bell. Jud.*, viii., ix., x.

⁵ *Id.*, v. *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 1.

⁶ Judah's progress in the matter of chariots is interesting. Joshua houghed all horses and burnt all chariots taken in war (*Josh.* xi. 6, 9). David houghed most of the horses but kept a hundred for himself (2 *Sam.* viii. 4). Solomon had 1,400 chariots which he placed in chariot cities and also with the king at Jerusalem (1 *Kings* x. 26). That is to say: there would be but few at Jerusalem where the ground was quite unsuitable for their manœuvre, and the depôts of them were at cities in the Arabah or Shephelah, where they would be of more use. The only two instances of chariots driving into Jerusalem are mentioned below. But see Isaiah xxii.

Wheeled vehicles were used in agricultural operations in Palestine from the earliest times (1 *Sam.* vi. 10) as they are to-day, even where there are no proper roads for them. On the east of the Jordan, in 1891, we met a number of Circassians driving bullock carts all the way from Damascus to Gerash and Rabbath-Ammon. Chariots were introduced from Mesopotamia and later from Egypt (who herself had the horse and chariot from Asia). The Syrians, owing to the flat plains south of Damascus, were strong in chariots, and no doubt Samaria received her first chariots through her close connection with the

All the long drives of the Old Testament are in Samaria,—the race of Ahab against the storm from Mount Carmel to Jezreel; ¹ his long funeral in his battle chariot stained with his life-blood, from Ramoth-Gilead to Samaria, *and they washed his chariot by the pool of Samaria and the dogs licked up his blood*; ² the furious drive of Jehu from Ramoth-Gilead past Bethshan and up the valley of Jezreel, and as he came near, *the watchman in Jezreel told, saying, . . . the driving is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi, for he driveth furiously*; and Joram said, *Yoke, and they yoked his chariot, and Joram king of Israel and Ahaziah king of Judah went out each in his chariot to meet Jehu, and found him in the portion of Naboth the Jezreelite*; the chariot race from there between Jehu and poor Ahaziah *by the way of the garden house, the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam, where Ahaziah was smitten, and Megiddo, where he died, and his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem*; ³ Jehu's drive again from Jezreel to Samaria, *and he lighted on Jehonadab the son of Rechab coming to meet him, and he gave him his hand, and took him up into the chariot, and said, Come with me and see my zeal for the Lord*; ⁴ and the long drive of Naaman from Damascus, across the level Hauran, over Jordan and up Jezreel, *with his horses and his chariots, to the house of Elisha, presumably at Samaria, and the drive back again, and the pursuit by Gehazi, and when Naaman saw one running after him, he lighted down*

Syrians. In later times the great highways which the Romans built, chiefly in the time of Marcus Aurelius and his successors, rendered driving easy all over the land. The great change in modern times,—till very lately there was neither a good road nor a real carriage in Palestine,—was due of course to the conquest of Syria by nomad and desert tribes, whose only means of locomotion were animals. The few roads and carriages now are entirely due to the Franks. The Circassian colonies will naturally increase them. But Palestine has already one railroad, and another is projected across Esdraelon and Jordan, —in the course of Jehu, the son of Nimshi, who drove furiously!

¹ 1 Kings xviii.

² 1 Kings xxii. 29 ff.

³ 2 Kings ix. 16 ff.

⁴ 2 Kings x. 12, 15 ff.

from his chariot to meet him.¹ Contrast all this with the two meagre references to chariot driving in Judæa—in the one case the chariot carried a corpse, in the other a dying man,²—and you get an illustration of the difference between the level stretches of Samaria, and the steep tortuous roads of her sister province. Perhaps the prophet Zechariah intends to emphasise the contrast in his verse : *I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem.*³

Far more important than chariots, more important even than the easy invasion of enemies, was that effect of Samaria's openness, to which allusion was made in the beginning of this paper. Judæa, earning from outsiders little but contempt, inspired the inhabitants, whom she so carefully nursed in seclusion from the world, with a patriotism that has survived two thousand years of separation, and still draws her exiles from the fairest countries of the world to pour their tears upon some of the most barren dust the world contains. Samaria, fair and facile, lavished her favours on foreigners, and was oftener the temptation than the discipline, the betrayer than the guardian of her own. The surrounding paganism poured freely into her ample life; and although to her was granted the honour of the first great victories against it—Gideon's and Elijah's—she suffered the luxury that came after to take away her crown. From Amos to Isaiah the sins she is charged with are those of a civilisation that has been ripe, and is rotten—drunkenness, filthy luxury, clumsy art, servile imitation of foreigners, thoughtlessness and cruelty. To these she succumbs, and her summer beauty is covered by the mud of a great deluge. *The crown of the pride of the drunkards of Ephraim is trodden under foot, and the fading flower of his glorious beauty, which is on the head of the fat valley, shall be as the first ripe fig before the summer,*

¹ 2 Kings v. 9 ff.

² 2 Kings ix. 28; 2 Chron. xxxv. 24.

³ Zech. ix. 10.

*which when he that hath caught sight of it, seeth it, while it is yet in his hand, he eateth it up.*¹

2. The second striking characteristic of Samaria is her CENTRAL POSITION. Jerusalem has acquired such stupendous historical importance that we are apt to imagine her as the natural head and centre of the country. But nothing comes with greater surprise upon the visitor to Palestine than to find that Mount Zion and Jerusalem, with all their advantages of defence, are still in an out-of-the-way and uncomfortable place, and that both natural and historical precedence have to be given to Mounts Ebal and Gerizim, with Shechem between them.

I have already said how this even suggests itself to the traveller before he has touched the land. The only sign of a pass in the great central range of Judæa and Samaria, as you view it from the sea, is that between Ebal and Gerizim. The only avenues into the range, that are apparent as you see it from the east, are the glens which draw up from Jordan upon the same point. But the fact is much more impressive when you visit Shechem itself, and climb one of its two hills. Gerizim is the more famous historically, but for prospect Ebal is the more commanding. The view from Ebal virtually covers the whole land—all the five zones, nearly all the borders, representatives of all the physical characteristics, and most of the famous scenes of the history. If I were to write a geographical manual of Palestine, I would set for introduction a description of the view from the top of Mount Ebal. It is this.

Looking south, there lies at your feet the valley with Nabalus, once Shechem, then across it the mass of Gerizim, with a ruin or two; then twenty-four miles of hill tops, at the back of which you dimly discern a tower. That is

¹ One interesting proof of how Samaria was permeated by Paganism is shown in Beit Degan, *i.e.* the House of Dagon, the name of a village six and a-half miles S.E. of Shechem. Cf. also the name Amalek (Judges v. 14, xii. 15).

Neby Samwil, the ancient Mizpeh, and Jerusalem is only five miles to the S.E. of it. Turning to the west, we see the central range letting itself down by irregular terraces and undulations on the plain; then the plain itself, flattened by the height from which we view it, but in reality undulating to elevations of two hundred feet; beyond the plain the gleaming sandhills of the coast, and the blue sea. Joppa lies S.W. thirty-three miles, Cæsarea N.W. twenty-nine. Turning northwards, we perceive the ridge of Carmel running down towards us from its summit, perhaps thirty-five miles distant; over the rest of the Central Range the hollow of Esdraelon; over that the hills of Galilee in a haze, and above the haze the glistening flank of Hermon at seventy-five miles of distance. Sweeping south from Hermon the eastern horizon is the edge of the Hauran, above the hollow of the Lake of Galilee, continued by the edge of Mount Gilead and the edge of Moab. It is maintained at a pretty equal level, slightly below that on which we stand, and is unbroken save by the incoming valleys of the Yarmuk and the Jabbok. This horizon is only twenty-four miles away, and on the near side of it lies the Jordan valley, for the great width of which I was not prepared. On this side Jordan the foreground is the hilly bulwark of Samaria, penetrated by a great valley coming up from Jordan into the plain of the Mukhneh, which, covered with corn, lies at our feet.

The view is barer than a European eye desires, but softened by the haze the great heat sheds over all. White clouds hang stagnant in the sky, and their shadows crouch below them among the hills, as dogs that wait for their masters to move. The hills are brown, with here and there lighter shades, here and there darker. Look through the glass, and you see that the lighter are wheat-fields ripening, the darker are olive groves, sometimes two miles in extent, not thickly planted like woods in our land, but with the

trees wide of each other, and the ground broken up beneath. Here and there in valley beds or on the brow of a steep slope, but mostly occupying the tops of island knolls, are the villages. There are no farmsteads, villas, or lonely castles, for the land is still what from Gideon's time it has more or less been, an insecure land, where men cannot live safely apart. In all the wide prospect, the one considerable town, the most verdant valley, lie at your feet, and the valley flows down on the east to a great sea of yellow corn that fills the plain below Gerizim.

Thus the most conspicuous, the most central, and one of the most pleasing spots in the Promised Land—visible from most of its entrances, and offering a view of nearly all its borders—it is no wonder that Shechem is the first town of Palestine mentioned in Scripture, the first goal of the patriarchs when they came to possess the land, the only sanctuary expressly named to Israel before their arrival. Its one drawback is its military weakness. Open to east and west, and dominated by the cliffs of Gerizim, Shechem is an impossible fortress. Hence, even when after the disruption it was restored to a chief place, its triumph was short, and the kings of Northern Israel shifted their court to Tirzah, to Jezreel, to the city of Samaria. But because Shechem is so rich in water, and stands so well on the main line between east and west, it continues to flourish centuries after its rivals have sunk to the level of villages. To-day it is the seat of the government of the province, and—eloquent homage of civilisation to its immemorial rank—it is the connecting link of the telegraphic systems of the east and west of Jordan.

It is on Mount Ebal that one best realises the size of the Holy Land—Hermon and the heights of Judah both within sight, while Jordan is not twenty, the coast not thirty, miles away—and that one most strongly feels the wonder of the influence of so small a territory on the history of the

world. But the explanation of the wonder is also within sight. Down below, where the telegraph wire issues from the vale and speeds eastward by the route the patriarchs took on their entrance, there lies a brown heap of stones. It is Jacob's well—the spot where the long revelation culminated of which this little land was the floor, where the charter was granted of that spiritual and universal religion that is filling the world: *Neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father; but the hour cometh and now is when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in truth.*

3. The third feature of Samaria is her CONNECTION WITH EASTERN PALESTINE.—This connection has existed from the earliest times, with the one great interruption of the Samaritan schism, down to the present day. Both Abraham and Jacob came from the East to Shechem. Israel, leaving to Ammon and Moab the regions of Eastern Palestine, which are opposite Judah, herself occupied those which march with Samaria. In this latitude, one tribe, Manasseh, was settled on both sides of the river:¹ another, Ephraim, gave its name not only to the western mountains, but to a *wood or jungle* on the eastern side;²

¹ Some hold it probable that Manasseh did not get any territory east of Jordan till after the death of Moses and the occupation of Western Palestine. "The older portions of the Hexateuch speak not of two and a half, but only of two trans-Jordanic tribes, and exclude Manasseh. In the Song of Deborah, Machir is reckoned among the western tribes" (Wellhausen's *Israel*, § 2). Neither of these statements is certain; and on the other side are the genealogies of Manasseh (Num. xxvii., Josh. xvii.). Both make Gilead the father of Abiezer and Shechem, towns to the west of the Jordan, and therefore older than they. And in the story of Jephthah (Judges xii. 4), while it is remembered that the Gileadites are late comers into their territory from the western side of the Jordan, *fugitives of Ephraim*, it is assumed that Manasseh always occupied its territory.

² *Forest or Jungle of Ephraim*, in which the battle took place between David and Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 6). Reuss (*in loco*) insists that a forest with the name Ephraim could have lain only west of Jordan. He claims that this position agrees with the course of the narrative, which represents the bearer of the news to David, who was at Mahanaim, taking the direction of the Jordan

for a time in the days of the Judges Midianites, *sons of the East*, swept annually across Jordan and up to the recesses of Mount Ephraim; Gideon drove them back, and the rout extended from Esdraelon to Heshbon; it was from a rendezvous in Ephraim that Saul, though a Benjamite, marched to the relief of Jabesh Gilead.¹ As before the disruption, the trans-Jordanic provinces were connected with the tribe of Joseph, so after it they fell to that tribe's successor, Northern Israel; as formerly, the Midianites made yearly incursions across the river, so now the Syrians. Jeroboam, the first king, fortified Penuel after fortifying Shechem,² and Ramoth Gilead, was a garrison and outpost under Ahab, from which chariots drove to Jezreel and Samaria.³ Elijah, the prophet of Samaria, was from Tishbeh in Gilead; Elisha crossed Jordan to anoint Jehu. After the exile, the impotence and seclusion of the Samaritans naturally broke the connection of their territory with the land over Jordan, and Perea, as the latter was now called, formed the link between

valley, which he naturally would have done had he started from the west of the river, and explains the absence of any mention of David's force recrossing the river to meet Absalom by supposing gaps in the narrative. Putting aside this arbitrary hypothesis by which one might prove anything, I may point out that *both* messengers had to run from the scene of Absalom's defeat to David, and ask, if that was on the west of the Jordan, why is it said that only one ran from it by way of the plain (*v.* 23)? This disposes of Reuss' conjecture, and proves the *forest* to have been east of the river. Lucian's recension of the LXX. gives *Maawav* (for מַאָוָו) instead of Ephraim as the name of the forest. But this is just the kind of correction Lucian would make to relieve a difficulty. And, indeed, why should it be thought unlikely that the name Ephraim should have crossed the river and fastened on the eastern bank? In the course of the history of that tribe, especially in the days of the Judges, a hundred adventures were likely to occur to cause the Ephraimites, who so frequently passed over, to leave their name behind them when they went back. Or a colony may easily have settled there. And in fact, we do read of Ephraimites settling in Gilead in such large numbers, that the western Ephraimites call the Gileadites fugitives from Ephraim (Judges xii. 4).

¹ From Bezek, probably Khurbet Izbik, thirteen miles N.E. from Shechem on the road down to Bethshan.

² 1 Kings xii. 25.

³ 1 Kings xxii., 2 Kings ix.

Galilee and Judæa.¹ But in modern times the old relation has reasserted itself, and the eastern table-land is again governed from Nabalûs.

The reason of this immemorial connection is very clear. We have seen that a number of valleys lead down through Mount Ephraim upon Jordan, while the Plain of Esdraelon, with its offsets into Northern Samaria, presents a still more easy highway in the same direction. Now, to Esdraelon and those passes, the Jordan, dangerous river as it is, offers an extraordinary number of fords; while further south, where the passes into the Western Range are few and more difficult, there are in Jordan hardly any fords.² The passage, therefore, from Samaria to Gilead was a comparatively easy one at many points; hence their frequent invasions of each other, and their long political union. With this contrast the separation of Judæa from the east by the valley of the Dead Sea.

A question arises in connection with the chariots above mentioned—Ahab's, Jehu's, Naaman's. How did they get across Jordan? There were no bridges. Like the name for *port*,³ the name for *bridge*, if [it existed among the Hebrews, does not occur in the Old Testament, probably because the thing itself was unknown. Either the body of the chariot was floated across the river, or such broad ferry-boats existed as Cæsar found in use on the rivers of Gaul.⁴

4. The fourth feature of Samaria is her CONNECTION WITH CARMEL. To Samaria Carmel holds much the same place on the west as Bashan or Gilead fills to the east. From Ebal they stand on either hand of Mount Ephraim, carrying the eye along the only high and sustained skylines within

¹ Though Bethshan went with Decapolis.

² On the survey map not more than *five* fords are marked south of the Horn of Surtabeh, but at least *twenty-two* north of this.

³ See EXPOSITOR for February, p. 146.

⁴ *Bell. Gall.*, iii. 29. Baggage is floated across Jordan to this day on inflated skins.

sight, forming with Lebanon the three dominant features of the view. Both of them, too, have always been better wooded than Mount Ephraim. And so, because they thus stand out in similar relation and in similar contrast to Samaria, it does not surprise us to find them, though at opposite sides of the Holy Land, frequently mentioned together. *Bashan and Carmel shake off their fruits. Israel shall feed in Bashan and Carmel. Feed thy people . . . in the forest in the midst of Carmel: let them feed in Bashan and Gilead.*¹ Sometimes Lebanon is added: *Bashan languisheth, and Carmel, and the flower of Lebanon languisheth.*²

Though of the same rock as the Central Range, Carmel, as we have seen, is separated from the latter by a softer formation, in which the more denuded hills offer easy passes from Sharon to Esdraelon. Carmel was, therefore, never an integral part of the body politic of Samaria, as Gilead was, nor was it a threshold of the land; it could not be used for invasion like Gilead; and though cultivated and with many villages³ it gave no occasion for a large town. So Carmel has neither political nor military history. But throughout the Old Testament it appears as a symbol or a sanctuary. The mass of it, visible from so many quarters of the land, standing firm and clear over the sea and against the sky, is the symbol of all that is fact and no dream. *Pharaoh is but a rumour, do they say? As I live, saith the Lord, surely like Tabor among the mountains, and like Carmel by the sea, so shall he come.*⁴ Its excellency is now the figure of human beauty and satisfaction,⁵ and now the mirror of

¹ Is. xxxiii. 9; Jer. l. 19; Micah vii. 14.

² Nah. i. 4.

³ As proved to-day by the numerous wine-presses left in the rock.

⁴ Jer. xlvi. 18. No one who has seen that magnificent bowline of mountain against the sky by day or night, that firm promontory standing out upon the sea, can fail to feel the force of the prophet's figure. Carmel is a great big fact.

⁵ Song of Solomon vii. 5; Isa. xxxi. 19.

the lavish goodness of God.¹ That Carmel should languish is the prophet's most desperate figure of desolation.

But it is as a sanctuary that the long hill is best remembered in history. In its separation from other hills, its position on the sea, its visibleness from all quarters of the coast²; in its uselessness for war or traffic; in its profusion of flowers, its groves and high platforms with their glorious prospects of land and sea, Carmel must have been a place of retreat and of worship from the earliest times. It was claimed for Baal; but even before Elijah's day an altar had stood upon it for Jehovah.³ About this altar,—as on a spot whose sanctity they equally felt—the rival faiths met in that contest, in which for most of us all the history of Carmel consists. The story in the Book of Kings is too vivid to be told again; but it is not without interest to know that the awful debate, whether Jehovah or Baal was supreme lord of the elements, was fought out for a full day in face of one of the most sublime prospects of earth and sea and air and light. Before him, who stands on Carmel, nature rises in a series of great stages from sea to Alp: the boundless Mediterranean, the long coast to north and south, with its hot sands and palms; Esdraelon covered with wheat, Tabor and the lower hills of Galilee with their oaks,—over the barer peaks of upper Galilee and the haze that is about them to the snow of Hermon, hanging like an only cloud in the sky. It was in face of that miniature universe that the Deity who was character was vindicated as Lord against the deity who was not. It was over all that realm that the rain swept up at the call of the same God who exposed the injustice of the tyrant and avenged the wrongs of Naboth.

¹ Isa. xxxv. 2.

² Carmel is visible not only from the hills of Samaria, from Jaffa, from Tyre, from Hermon, from the hills of Naphtali, but also from the hills behind Gadlara, east of Jordan, and from many other points in Gilead.

³ 1 Kings xviii. 30.

5. The last great feature of Samaria was her FORTRESSES, the large number of which lay all round and across her. They were due to the open character of the land and to the fact that, unlike Judah, Samaria had no strong bulwarked centre, on which her defence could be drawn in. But the description of these fortresses must be left for another paper.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS:

ITS GENESIS AND CORRUPTIONS.

THERE are two directions in which the genesis of a doctrine may be traced—onward or backward. We may begin at its birth, or even at an ante-natal period, when it is but a *rudis indigestaque moles*, and its rudimentary parts are only feeling after cohesion and organization. As yet they are not informed by the unifying consciousness which shall determine their ultimate character and organic life. At this early stage we can say nothing but that the embryo is "*congestaque eodem non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum.*" You know not whether this or that factor shall be its chief feature; whether it will ever see the light at all; or if it do, whether it will be a healthy thing, or a monstrosity, or give up its feeble ghost in the infancy of its existence. If it do come to life, the historian has only to follow its course onward through the length of its career.

Or on the other hand, we may begin at its death, and taking its epitaph for our text, write its history backward from the tomb to the cradle.

With my present subject however I propose to adopt neither of these methods, but to commence in the very prime of its life, and after showing what it was *then*, to trace first its ancestry and early life, and afterwards to sketch briefly the weakness of its old age and its dishonourable death. Death, I mean, not of the imperishable Logos