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they would be extremely likely to remove any difficulty they could, and the great probability is that while it was in the hands of the Israelitish scholars, they removed whatever they thought not to be quite grammatical.

The CHAIRMAN.—That is interesting. I am sure I may thank Canon Garratt in all your names for his address this evening.

I will now ask Canon Hammond if he will be so kind as to read his interesting narrative concerning the Samaritan Passover of the year 1861.

The Chair having been vacated by Canon Girdlestone and taken by Rev. John Tuckwell, the following paper, entitled "The Samaritan Passover of the year 1861," by Rev. Canon Hammond, LL.B., was then read by the Author:—

No. II.

THE SAMARITAN PASSOVER OF THE YEAR 1861.

By Rev. Canon HAMMOND, LL.B.

WHEN I was in Jerusalem in the Spring of 1861—forty-three years ago—I came into close contact with two German scholars, who were busy on the text of that Samaritan Pentateuch of which you have just heard. I think, but I am not sure, that it was then that I realized for the first time that there were Samaritans still in the world, as well as Jews—lineal descendants of those same Samaritans of whom we read in the Gospels. Anyhow, I soon became deeply interested, both in them and in their institutions, and when, a few weeks afterwards, I reached their ancient and only home, Nablus, and found that their Passover—a rite which very few Europeans had then seen—was to be celebrated in a week's time, I had no difficulty in persuading my travelling companions to fill up that week with an expedition to Cæsarea and Carmel, and to return with me to Nablus to "Keep the feast," which is held on the summit of Mount Gerizim, where once their schismatical temple stood. After some hard riding, we pitched our tents in the Vale of Shechem, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the appointed day, and as the Passover is killed "at the going down of the sun," we lost no time in ascending the

holy mount. When there, I jotted down some particulars of what I saw and heard, and these particulars I have now the honour to lay before you.

There are eighteen tents in all. They stand on a level plateau a few hundred feet below the summit. The oven where the Passover lambs are to be presently roasted, and from which the flames are even now leaping forth, is a circular pit, dug in the ground, but also banked up to a height of about three feet above the surface of the soil. I notice *six* lambs peacefully grazing near at hand; they are straying at will among the people. These are the lambs for the sacrifice, and they are now eating their "last supper," whilst, as in our Lord's case, the arrangements are being made for their death. I had understood that the Samaritans always sacrificed *seven* lambs as, in fact, they frequently do, and I had concluded that they do so, because *seven*, as the Bible abundantly shows, is the sacred or covenant number. I ask Shellabi how it is there are only six. He tells me that this year the Samaritans are *too poor* to offer more. There were only six, however, the next year, when our present King, then Prince of Wales, was a spectator of the ceremony under the escort of Dean Stanley. As I am watching them, a bonny Samaritan boy approaches a lamb, catches it, clasps it round the neck and kisses it. It did not remind me, but it might have done, of the kiss of Judas.

And now, the little band of *men*—for the women are merely spectators, and take no part in the rite, though they will presently partake of the supper, Dean Stanley tells us that in 1862 they were shut up in their tents—the *men* stand in a group with their faces toward the *Kiblah*, or "Holy Place" of their religion, at the opposite end of the summit. It is time to begin the long ceremonial, for it is about half an hour before sunset, and the Mosaic law was this, "Thou shalt sacrifice the Passover at evening, *at the going down of the sun.*" At first they kneel or crouch, and then they stand and chant with prodigious energy—Stanley called it "vehemence"—and in the monotonous tones of the East—those tones from which our Gregorian music is derived. They are all in holiday attire; some of them—Dr. Stanley counted fifteen in 1862—in long white robes. I notice among them a few aged men, with venerable white beards. Each holds in his hand a MS. Prayer Book, in Hebrew and Arabic. The priest (or really Levite), however, standing on a rough stone, in front of the congregation, recites his prayers *by heart*—this fact escaped me, or did not impress me,

but Dean Stanley observed it. I notice that the rubrics in these MS. books are in red letters, just like ours. I take up my position by the side of the old priest Amram—he was not officiating, or rather he was taking no *prominent* part in the service—that part fell to his nephew Jacob, who was to succeed him at his death. The singing is responsive or antiphonal, like that of our choirs. It is all done, the entire function, so it seems to me, in a very business-like and perfunctory way. I could not detect much evidence of devotion, the old priest was the only one who seemed to be praying.

The service at this point was largely—so Stanley learnt ; I did not—a commemoration of the glories of Abraham and Israel, and it lasts till the sun is near the horizon. Now, a lamb is brought into the circle. The wood is laid in order. The children of the community squat, Eastern fashion, near two large iron cauldrons filled with boiling water. I observe six men, young men, in white raiment. They are the men, I subsequently find, appointed to slay the victims. The five other lambs are now brought near, and all are ranged in a line alongside the cauldrons, between us and the Samaritans, who never stop for a moment in the recitation of their Liturgy. The victims are placed in a circle, each lamb's head towards another's tail, round the furnace, at the bidding of the Amram. The old priest and the young priest now consult for a moment ; it must be about the precise hour of sunset, for they look at their watches. Sunset must be near, for some of the men now gird up their long garments ; Eastern dress compels this girding of the loins, where hard work has to be done. The six youths in white, the ministrants who have to kill the lambs, take up their position by the side of their victims.

At this point the voices of the people are hushed, and the sonorous monotone of the young Levite Jacob alone is heard. The rest fold their hands as in prayer. Occasionally, Jacob prolongs a note—that is the signal for a response on the part of the people—we have something very like it at home, showing that there is nothing new under the sun. A moment later and Jacob is reciting the twelfth chapter of the book of Exodus—the account of the first Passover. By the time he has reached the sixth verse—"the whole assembly of the children of Israel shall kill it in the evening"—the last glint of the sun disappears below the horizon. We are not left, however, to the dim light of the gloaming, for the Paschal moon is shining brilliantly overhead. We all gaze, in almost breathless expectation, for it is clear that the supreme moment is at hand. Nor have we

long to wait, for at the word שָׁחֲטוּ, "they shall kill," the executioners suit the action to the word; each man brandishes his knife and seizes his lamb; the next moment, he has drawn that knife across its throat. Not a cry is heard; not one plaintive bleat! A few convulsive struggles, as the blood streams from the wound, and then all is over. "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth." When their quiverings have subsided the bodies are passed on from hand to hand and are laid round the furnace. At a signal, the crowd rushes forward to strip off the fleece—I cannot remember whether they were skinned, as in the Jewish ritual, or whether, as Stanley says, the wool alone was removed with the help of boiling water—the command of the Law is explicit, "Not sodden *at all* with water, but roast with fire." Before this was done, however, indeed, almost as soon as the throat was cut, some of the men dipped their fingers in the blood and streaked the foreheads of the young children. I ask Shellabi what this means, and he tells me that it is only the *firstborn* that are thus marked; a reminiscence, perhaps, of that first Passover, when the *doorposts* were sprinkled with blood and the *firstborn* of the Egyptians were slain. And then—and a touching sight it was—the Samaritans solemnly and tenderly embraced each other. As far as I could see, every man present embraced every other man, kissing first the one shoulder and then the other, but the younger men kissed the *hands* of the elders. It was a moving spectacle—this pitiful remnant of a once powerful race, by this kiss of charity proclaiming its oneness, its cohesion, its devotion to the faith, on the occasion of their solemn feast, and we thought of the "holy kiss" of the early church.

But so far, the lambs are only slain; now, the preparations for the Supper must begin. Whilst the lambs are being skinned by some members of the community, others, book in hand, recite the appointed portions of their Liturgy, for every act of the sacred drama has its own prayer or psalm. I observe that at this point the women, who hitherto had stood somewhat apart, now draw near to watch their husbands and brothers. A little later and they all move to a long trench, where the unleavened bread is to be eaten. A youth goes round with a sort of tray, made of straw or wicker-work, on which were morsels of unleavened bread, each morsel inclosing a leaf or two of bitter lettuce; he doles out a morsel to each. There is some clamouring on the part of the children for more. I ask Shellabi—somewhat thoughtfully—whether we may not

partake. He says "No: the Samaritans would never allow it." Then he reminds me of the words of the Law—"There shall no stranger eat thereof." All the same, he presently secures a morsel for me, which he bids me hide out of sight. I did hide it, and I have it to this day.

But whilst this has been going on, the lambs have been prepared for the furnace. Each is suspended—and you may imagine what a shock it gave me to see it—each is suspended *on a cross of wood*. I daresay this is only done for convenience—that the men may handle the carcase and put it into and out of the fire the more easily, but it is strange to see on Mount Gerizim this shadow of Mount Calvary. I thought at the time that I had made a discovery, but I learnt later on that Justin Martyr, who was a native of Nablus and no doubt had seen its Passover seventeen centuries ago, referred to this feature; he says that the Jews did the same, but he probably *inferred* that from the practice of the Samaritans. Whilst the lamb is thus suspended, it is of course disembowelled and the entrails are buried. All this took some time, but it was all done to the accompaniment of chanting, interspersed, I must say, with a good deal of chattering. A foreleg was then cut off. I ask Amram what this means, and he replies that it is the "portion of Levi," the "wave-shoulder" which was the priests' share. Now the six crosses, supporting the six carcasses, are held in a circle round the mouth of the pit or oven. Two or three men lay hold of each cross. The furnace has just been fed with fuel—fuel of crackling thorns—and great tongues of flame leap out of the opening, to the great delight of the children. The intoning is resumed, and at a certain word—perhaps the words "Burnt with fire"—the six bodies are at the same moment plunged into the oven. It is not an easy thing to do, for the greatest care has to be taken lest any lamb in its descent should touch the side of the furnace. A wooden framework is now hurriedly placed over the mouth of the oven; on this grass is heaped, and earth again upon the grass, the whole being plastered down and cemented together with water, so as to seal up the oven. Then, there is a long break in the proceedings, for the process of roasting will take some hours, and we have already been two hours over the rite, and that after a most tiring day, so we retire to rest in Shellabi's tent, after a meal of tea and eggs and dates and cheese.

At half past ten or eleven Shellabi wakes us; I had been roused before, but only for a moment, to find some scorpion or other reptile crawling over me. He tells me that the lambs

are now ready ; in '62 the feast did not begin till past midnight. They judged, we were told, by the smell when the lambs are sufficiently roasted. So once more the whole Samaritan nation assembles round the furnace, and once more the strident chanting is commenced. Everything that is done is set to prayer or recitation. You can see that they are waiting for a word, and when that word comes the pickaxe descends, the covering of earth is rapidly cleared away, a great cloud of smoke and steam curls upward to the sky, and when it clears, the crosses, with the lambs attached, are drawn out one after the other. The bodies are much blackened and charred, but still the outline is clearly visible. "His visage was so marred, more than any man, and His form more than the sons of men." Each of the carcasses is placed on a large wickerwork tray and is carried to the trench before spoken of. Now begins the true Paschal feast. Sitting on their haunches like men in haste, their loins girt, their shoes on their feet—hitherto they had gone barefoot—and their staff in their hand, they ate the Lord's Passover. Some, I observe, as if to show their haste, tear a portion of flesh from the body on the tray and then walk about whilst they eat it. They are divided into groups, one group round each lamb. There was no mistake about the *haste*. In twenty minutes, Stanley says *ten* minutes, everything but bones and a few remnants had disappeared. These bones and remnants were then collected into the trays or mats, a fire was kindled and every scrap and morsel was consumed. So the Mosaic law requires, "And ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning, and that which remaineth of it until the morning, ye shall burn with fire." In '62 they searched the ground with lighted candles to see whether any fragment had escaped them, but I do not think that this was done in '61 ; the ritual varies apparently somewhat from year to year. And with this burning of the bones, the Samaritan Passover, "the only relic of Jewish sacrifice remaining in the world," and a rite which, with some breaks, has lasted for at least 2,000 years, came to a close. It was now near midnight, so we bade a hasty adieu to our host and descended the steep mountain side, the moon—"the moon that shone in Paradise"—bathing every blade and leaf in liquid silver. We descended to our tents in the beautiful valley, feeling that this had indeed been "a night to be much remembered," and this a

"Day in golden letters to be set
Among the high tides of the calendar."

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, this paper is not likely to provoke any discussion.

Canon Girdlestone has been obliged to leave, and he has asked me to discharge the duties of Chairman at the close of the meeting; but before leaving he gave me the name of Mrs. Finn from Jerusalem, and I shall be very glad to hear something from her.

Mrs. FINN, M.R.A.S.—It has given me much pleasure to hear Canon Hammond's interesting account of the celebration of the Samaritan Passover which he witnessed in the year 1861, and the more so as it was my dear husband, the late Mr. James Finn, who when Consul at Jerusalem obtained permission for the Samaritans to resume their Passover service and sacrifice on Mount Gerizim after many years during which the local authorities had prevented their observance. The British Government had directed Mr. Finn to befriend the interesting little Samaritan community, who were exposed to many petty annoyances from their rough Moslem neighbours in Nablous (Shechem). The latter were, however, not unwilling to be on pleasant terms with the British Consul, who was thus able to obtain, in a quiet way, redress for many vexatious little acts of aggression. The Samaritan High Priest on behalf of his people petitioned that they might be allowed to hold their Passover service and sacrifice on Mount Gerizim as of old. Mr. Finn communicated this to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Stratford Canning, who was ever ready to use British influence on behalf of the oppressed, and to secure civil and religious liberty for all classes and creeds in the Ottoman Empire. And in those days, British influence was great, and it was never exerted in vain. The then Sultan, Abdul Medjid, highly valued the friendship of the British nation and of the British Ambassador, and he at once issued orders that henceforth the Samaritans be no more molested in their religious observances. The Samaritans were, and are still most grateful for the kindness shown to them, and they have made many British travellers (among them H.M. the King, when Prince of Wales in 1862) welcome at their Passover service since the celebration was restored. While listening to the learned and important paper on the Samaritan Pentateuch which has just been read by the Rev.

Canon Garratt, an idea occurred to me which may possibly prove useful. Canon Garratt speaks of the value of the Samaritan Pentateuch as being the oldest known copy of the Law of Moses, and points out the value of the collation of that MS. with the Hebrew received text—so far as that collation has been carried out in copies accessible to Kennicott and others. The Samaritans guard their great copy of the Pentateuch, which they say was written by the grandson of Aaron, so jealously, that comparison between it and the Hebrew text has been all but impossible. But while I was living at Jerusalem there was also living there, from 1858 to 1862, Dr. Levysohn, a professor of the University of St. Petersburg and an old friend and tutor of Cyril the first Russian Bishop at Jerusalem. Dr. Levysohn, a Christian by birth and a profound Hebrew scholar, devoted himself to the study of the Samaritan Pentateuch and literature. He became possessed of a magnificent roll of the Pentateuch and of many small MSS. and fragments of MSS. He was on the most friendly terms with the Samaritans and obtained permission to compare the MS. in his possession with the great MS. This he did, as he himself told us, literally "*on his knees*," so great was his reverence for that most venerable Record of the Law of Moses. Dr. Levysohn also made with his own hands lithograph facsimiles of the MSS. in his possession. I have specimens of these which he most kindly gave to us, and which I will gladly show to anyone who may like to see them. It is greatly to be regretted that Dr. Levysohn's valuable MSS. and all his notes fell into the hands of an ignorant couple, who brought some of them at least to England, with a view to sale. I do not know what ultimately became of them—Dr. Levysohn died soon after in Russia.

As to the difference between the Samaritan character and the square character of our Hebrew Bibles—it is noteworthy that the so-called Samaritan is practically identical with that used on the Maccabean coins, in the Siloam, and other inscriptions. But Hebrew Sacred rolls (all that now exist) are written in the square character. This latter had been called the Babylonian character, not however because it has any affinity with Babylonian cuneiform (which is not alphabetic at all but ideographic, having a sign for each word); I would suggest that the square character may have been called "Babylonian" because it first came to be *generally known*

after the return from Babylon—and that it became known through the action of Ezra the priest and scribe, who, with the scribes under him, first made copies of the Law for general use in synagogue worship in the square character; which, if in use before, was chiefly in use only at the Temple and by the priests. It may be that the square was the sacred character and the so-called Samaritan or “coin” character was the secular character used for ordinary purposes. And it may be that the celebrated Samaritan Pentateuch was a copy—purposely made in the *secular* character, for use of the Samaritan *heathen* (as they were), and obtained for them from the then existing Temple at Jerusalem—by the priest whom the King of Assyria sent to “Teach them the manner of the God of the land.” Should this have been the case, we may have in the great Samaritan Pentateuch a more or less accurate copy of the original Law of Moses preserved in the Temple of Solomon until its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar. The actual antiquity of the Hebrew square character is a point not yet decided. Some, with Dr. Neubauer, hold that it was gradually evolved after the Captivity. But it is important and interesting to notice that in the days of Our Lord, the Rolls of the Law used in synagogue worship were written in the square character. For when Our Lord said (Matthew v) that “not one jot or one tittle should pass from the Law till all be fulfilled,” He clearly had in His mind the Yod (י jot or iota), the smallest letter of the Hebrew square alphabet, whereas the Samaritan Yod is every bit as large as any other letter of their alphabet. And in the *Tittle* Our Lord refers to the hair lines put at the top of some of the Hebrew square letters (called in Hebrew *Tagin* = “crowns”), which are so written only in MS. rolls intended for use in Divine worship at the synagogue.

The SECRETARY (Professor EDWARD HULL).—I have a letter from Dr. Chaplin (written from St. Leonards-on-Sea), which I will read—“Dear Professor Hull: thank you much for sending me copies of the interesting papers by Canon Garratt and Canon Hammond. With regard to the cross piece for the spit which is passed through the body of the lamb, of course it is only to prevent the latter slipping down and touching the bottom of the oven.” This is the point Dr. Chaplin wished to explain.

I am sure we are much obliged to Canon Garratt and Canon Hammond for their exceeding kindness, and I have, personally, to

thank them for responding to my invitation to prepare these papers for the Institute.

A MEMBER.—I should like to say with regard to what Mrs. Finn has just said about the origin of the Hebrew square characters, that I have, for some time, studied them as a member of the Society of Biblical Archæology. While the Samaritan is almost identical with the old Phœnician letters, it seems to me that the square character is not at all like it and could never have been derived from it.

I have a strong impression that what Mrs. Finn has just suggested may be true, that while the square character was used for sacred purposes, the Phœnician, or Samaritan character, was used for secular purposes, such as inscriptions on coins and monuments.

Mr. MARTIN ROUSE.—I do not think we should close the proceedings without saying that we are immensely indebted to both readers of the papers. Canon Hammond has pointed to the beautifully solemn and typical aspect of that great Passover sacrifice instituted by the Lord Himself 1,500 years before Christ came into the world as the one sacrifice made for sin for ever.

To the useful emendations that the writer has mentioned as capable of being made from the Samaritan version is one in Exodus xxxiii, 7, where in the Masoretic Hebrew text we find: "And Moses took the tent and pitched it without the camp . . . and called it the 'Tent of Meeting,'" whereas the Samaritan text has: "Moses took his own tent," etc. This is evidently the correct reading, inasmuch as the Tabernacle or tent of meeting proper did not begin to be made until Moses had once more ascended to the mountain-top and had spent another forty days with God (*cf.* chap. xxxiv, 2, 4, 28). The number of the Samaritans, all told, says Canon Hammond, was in 1861 about 145. At his visit in 1873 to witness the same ceremony, Dr. Samuel Manning (author of *Those Holy Fields*) found the number further reduced to 120. Is it not a striking phenomenon in the growth of peoples that the Israelites, who by successive conquerors, down to 1,800 years ago, were driven from their land in poverty and hardship should, since then, have multiplied to many millions, while the Samaritans, who have remained as peasant owners in their province of Canaan ever since, have dwindled down to little more than a hundred persons? What purpose could the Almighty One have had in bringing so strange a contrast about except this, that the Samaritans, who were

originally intruders upon His people's inheritance, should, in Canaan itself, keep their ancient copy of His laws and maintain their observance of His Passover as a witness to the nations of their vast antiquity just up to the time which He had appointed for the restoration of His people to their own land? And from every hand these are beginning their march to the country of Abraham, Joshua, and David, while the knell of departure is sounding in the ears of Samaritan and Turk.

The CHAIRMAN.—I do not think we should separate without an acknowledgment of the very kind offer that has been made by Mrs. Finn. I feel sure I am speaking on behalf of the Council of the Institute when I say we would do our best to secure that some competent person or persons should inspect these very valuable MSS., or any copies that may be obtained. For my own part I cannot help feeling that very great importance is to be attached to them, whether we have the originals of the dates supposed, or copies. The likelihood, at all events, is that tolerably faithful copies of the earliest are in the hands of the Samaritans, and that lends great interest to them. I am sure we would do our best to make use of the offer of Mrs. Finn.

Our thanks have already been expressed to both the authors of the papers.

Mrs. FINN.—Supposing the secular character is the so-called Samaritan script, and the sacred character the Hebrew square, it is just possible that when the Samaritans asked for a copy of the Law of God, that the Jewish priests allowed them to have a copy, not in the sacred script but in the secular script, and in that way they obtained possession of the true copy preserved in the Temple at the time.

The CHAIRMAN.—That is a very probable suggestion, I think.
The Meeting then closed.