

WAS DAVID AN ARYAN?

BY PAUL HAUPT.

HOUSTON Stewart Chamberlain states in his book on the Foundations of the Nineteenth Century¹ that David seems to have had blond hair and a fair complexion; he thinks that the founder of the royal dynasty of Judah was born at Bethlehem, but that his mother was perhaps an Amoritess, so that he would have been semi-European.² It is true that the Amorites who, as the Israelitish poet Amos (ii. 9) says,³ were as tall as cedars, as strong as sturdy oaks, may have been pre-Hellenic invaders from the Ægean islands including Crete,⁴ but there is no evidence that the famous first king of Judah was of Amorite extraction. David's ancestors were Edomites,⁵ and he was not born at Bethlehem, but in the neighborhood of Hebron. His hair was not blond, and his complexion was brownish or olive.

David may mean *Beloved*. It is possible that this was not the original name, but an epithet bestowed on him by his adherents, just as Nabal the husband of Abigail, is evidently a nickname (*Fool, Impious*). David must have been an exceptionally fascinating man who inspired love and devotion everywhere. The view that the name was originally Dodo, a title of the sun-god, is untenable. In the Amarna tablets (c. 1400 B. C.)⁶ a high Egyptian official has the

¹ *Die Grundlagen des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, p. 369; see also p. 487 and Professor Sayce's remarks in *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 243.

² The use of *Aryan* in the sense of *Indo-European* is inaccurate; *Aryan* means *Indo-Iranian*; see my paper "The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus" in *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 199, n. 17; cf. my paper "Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, Jews" in *The Open Court*, No. 751 (December, 1918), p. 756.

³ Amos, whose patriotic poems seem to have been composed c. 740-735 B. C., was an Israelitish gardener living in Judah after he had been banished from the Northern Kingdom; see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 35, p. 287.

⁴ See my remarks on "Amorites, Phenicians, Philistines" in *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 306, p. 22. Palestine as well as Asia Minor were connected with Europe rather than with Asia. The western coast of Asia Minor is almost a part of Europe. Similarly Africa Minor, i. e., Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, is Mediterranean rather than African. Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, Vol. 1, p. 649b.

⁵ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, pp. 93, 97.

⁶ See the notes on the translation of Joshua, in the Polychrome Bible, pp. 47-55.

name *Dûdu*⁷ which may be a contraction of *Dawûdu*. The Arabic form of the name is *Dârûdu* or *Da'ûd*;⁸ but the limestone statue found at Bismaya⁹ in January, 1905, which Dr. E. J. Banks considered to be the oldest statue in the world,¹⁰ does not represent a king Da'udu of Udmun, but the ancient Babylonian king Esar of Adab (c. 2800 B. C.). Dr. Banks regarded *Esar* as the name of a temple. The two cuneiform signs read *Da-udu* represent the adjective *da-lu* = Assyr. *dannu*, mighty.¹¹

In the legends of David preserved in the so-called Books of Samuel we read (1 Sam. xvi. 12)¹² that David was ruddy and withal of beautiful eyes and goodly to look upon. This is the rendering given in the new translation of the Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic text, issued under the auspices of the Jewish Publication Society of America (Philadelphia, 1917). Our Authorized Version has *of beautiful countenance*, but adds in the margin: Heb. *fair of eyes*. The term *ruddy* (Heb. *admônî*) would mean *rosy*, rose-cheeked. The Ethiopic Bible interprets *admônî* in this way in the Judean legend of the birth of Esau and Jacob (Gen. xxv. 25): *Esau was red all over like a rose*. Similarly the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch (cvi. 2)¹³ says that when Noah was born his body was white as snow and red like a rose; when he opened his eyes he lighted up the whole house like sunshine; he stood up under the hands of the midwife and spoke to the Lord of Righteousness, so that his father Lamech was afraid of him and ran to his father Methuselah.

⁷ See Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (1908), p. 1560.

⁸ See Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialekts von Aegypten* (1880), § 29.

⁹ West of 'Amâra on the Tigris, north of Warka, nine hours southeast of Nippur.

¹⁰ The latest edition of *Who is Who in America* (1918-19), p. 158, repeats the statement that Dr. Banks discovered the white statue of King David, a pre-Babylonian king of 4500 B. C. (*oldest statue in the world*). See also *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 4, p. 11.

¹¹ See *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 21, p. 59; cf. the illustrations in Vol. 20, pp. 260-267, and the map on p. 276; contrast F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad* (1905), p. 217; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol. 1, third edition (1913), p. 487; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*, fifth edition, p. 24, No. 192; *Sumer. Glossar*, p. 131, line 9; Muss-Arnolt's Assyr. dictionary, p. 257, n. 1.

¹² The section 1 Sam. xvi. 1-13 represents a late popular expansion of the book, added after 400 B. C. See the edition of the Hebrew text in the Polychrome Bible.

¹³ The Ethiopic version was made from the Greek translation of the Aramaic original which was written in Palestine between 164 and 64 B. C. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 9, p. 650.

The interpretation of *admônî* in the description of David (1 Sam. xvi. 12) as *rosy* was endorsed by the famous Göttingen Hebraist J. D. Michaelis (1774) in his translation of the Old Testament as well as by the distinguished scholar and diplomatist Baron C. C. J. von Bunsen (1860) in his *Bibelwerk* and by the great Strassburg theologian Eduard Reuss¹⁴ in his posthumous translation (1892) of the Old Testament; also by Professor Löhr, of Breslau, in his new edition (1898) of Thenius's commentary. Thenius himself (1864) rejected the rendering *red-cheeked*; he thought *admônî* might mean *tanned*, but he preferred to explain it as referring to the redness of the hair and the skin. Canon Cheyne,¹⁵ on the other hand, believed that *admônî* implied that David had not yet become browned by exposure to the sun.¹⁶

Michaelis admitted in his notes that *admônî* might denote a yellowish-brown color. Luther rendered: *brownish*. The orthodox Lutheran theologian C. F. Keil (1875) has the correct translation *he was brownish and withal of beautiful eyes and goodly to look upon*, although in the next line he gives the interpretation *red-haired*. This explanation is based on the translation given in the Latin Bible: *Erat autem rufus et pulcher aspectu, decoraque facie*. The rendering *rubicundus* would have been better. Nor does Heb. *yěfê 'ênáim*, fair of eyes, mean *pulcher aspectu*; the singular, *'áin*, eye, might mean *look*, aspect; but *yěfê 'ênáim* can only mean *with beautiful eyes*.¹⁷ Nevertheless the mistranslation of the Vulgate has been followed by Professor Nowack, of Strassburg, in his commentary on the Books of Samuel (1902).

Red may stand for *brown*: the Bedouins call a bay-horse *áḥmar*, red.¹⁸ Heb. *ḥemár*, which is derived from the same stem, is the name

¹⁴ Reuss perceived nearly a hundred years ago (1834) that the Prophets were earlier than the Law, and the Psalms later than both: *the Law came in beside* (Rom. v. 20). Cf. the motto prefixed to Chapter 9 of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* and Lagarde's *Symmicta*, Vol. 1 (1877), p. 56, line 30; *Mitteilungen*, Vol. 1 (1884), p. 199. Reuss also denied the existence of Davidic psalms as early as 1839; see Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (1893), p. 179.

¹⁵ See his *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1901), col. 1939.

¹⁶ In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 63 (October, 1918), Batten retains the rendering *ruddy* and interprets it as *fair of complexion*.

¹⁷ The Targum has: *wě-hû simmôq, 'ênôhî yá'âyân wě-shappîr bě-rêwéh*, he was reddish, his eyes beautiful, and good-looking.

¹⁸ Alhambra (Arab. *al-ḥamrâ'u*; for the intrusive *b* cf. *number* = *numerus*) is the feminine form of this word. The name seems to be derived from the mud-bricks of the outer walls. Sun-dried bricks (adobes) are not red, as a rule, but according to Baedeker's *Spain* (1908), p. 346, the soil consists of a mixture, peculiar to the Alhambra, of clay and marl, permeated with oxide of iron.

of the brown asphalt obtained from the Dead Sea. Heb. *hāmôr* means *ass*; the Eastern ass is generally dark-reddish in color. Our *donkey* is connected with *dun*, dull-brown. Span. *burro* is the Lat. *burrus* = Greek *πυρρός*, red (originally *fiery*, flame-colored), which we have in the name Pyrrhus (Πύρρος). *Bureau* denotes originally a russet or brownish stuff with which writing tables were covered; *burrel* is the name of a coarse russet cloth used in the Middle Ages; also *birrus* was originally a cloak of a reddish color. In Zech. i. 8 *ādummim*, red (horses) is a prefixed gloss to *sēruqqim*, sorrels. The horses in the visions of Zechariah (February 13, 519) represent the four quarters of heaven: the fiery sorrel corresponds to the south, black to the north, white to the east, and gray to the west.¹⁹ In Assyrian, *sharqu* denotes *red blood*, i. e., bright-scarlet arterial blood, and *adamatu*: black blood, i. e., dark-red venous blood.

The majority of the modern commentators explain the Hebrew term *admônî*, which the Authorized Version renders *ruddy*, as *red-haired*. Dr. John Skinner, Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge, says in his excellent commentary on Genesis (1910) p. 359: It is usually explained of the reddish-brown hue of the skin; but there is much to be said for the view that it means *red-haired*. The note on 1 Sam. xvi. 12 in the third edition of Kautzsch's new translation of the Old Testament (1909) thinks it possible that *admônî* refers to blond hair, adding that blond hair is not infrequent among the present inhabitants of Bethlehem, nearly all of whom are Christians. Klostermann (1887) even inserts the word for *hair* (Heb. *se'âr*) after *admônî*, and this emendation has been adopted by the Catholic theologian Schlögl (1904). The great Jewish historian Graetz, followed by Krenkel, H. P. Smith, and Kittel, substituted the noun *'ālm*, youth, for the preposition *'im*, with: *He was ruddy, a youth of fine eyes and goodly appearance*; but *se'âr*, hair, or *'ālm*, youth, would never have been corrupted to *'im*, with. The preposition *'im*, with, means *along with*, combined with, and this may mean *notwithstanding*, despite, although (*ὅμως*). In Neh. v. 18 *'im-zê*, with this, signifies *yet for all this*. The corresponding Arab. *mā'a* is used in the same way.²⁰ The narrator meant to say that David was dark-skinned, although he had beautiful eyes and a goodly appearance. The literal translation of the passage is: *He*

¹⁹ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 32, p. 108.

²⁰ You say in Arabic e. g. *mā'a kāunihi qādiran*, with his being mighty, i. e., although he be mighty, or *qādduhā tazwilun mā'a riqqatîn*, her stature is tall with slenderness.

was brownish (combined)²¹ with beauty of eyes and goodliness of appearance.²²

The women of Upper Egypt are brownish, but have most beautiful large black eyes. The skin of the modern Egyptians is deep-bronze or dark-brown in Upper Egypt, tawny in Middle Egypt, and light-yellowish in Lower Egypt (including Cairo). The faces of the women are lighter than those of the men.²³ On the ancient Egyptian wall-paintings the skin of the Egyptian men is reddish-brown, while the complexion of the women is yellow. Some of the Syrian chiefs are depicted as brown, and some as yellow. All are black-haired.²⁴ The Edomites in southern Palestine may have been brown, and the Israelites in the north yellowish. The complexion of the Bedouins in southern Arabia is dark,²⁵ and this no doubt due to an admixture of African blood. At the beginning of David's career (c. 1000 B. C.) the Judaites in southern Palestine were semi-nomadic sheepmen, whereas the Israelites in Ephraim were settled tillers of the soil. The heathen Edomites may have been originally brownish, hairy nomadic hunters like the aboriginal hunters of South Africa, but the Bushmen have little body-hair, and their color is a dirty yellow.²⁶

In the story describing David's encounter with Goliath we read: (1 Sam. xvii. 42) that the Philistine²⁷ giant despised David because he was but a boy and brownish (combined) with beauty of appear-

²¹ Canon Driver rendered: *together with beauty of eyes*. The form *yěfê* is not the construct state of the adjective *yafê*, beautiful, but the construct state of the substantive *yefê*, beauty, a form like *re'ê*, friend; *qecê*, end; and for the adjective *tôb*, good, we must read the substantive *tûb*, goodliness. (cf. Zech. ix. 17). The original form of this noun *yefê*, beauty, is *yifay*; as a rule we have the syncopated form *yěfi* = *yify*.

²² Charles II of England (1660-1685) had a swarthy complexion, but beautiful black eyes and a fine figure; he was over six feet tall. Cf. below, n. 32.

²³ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 9, p. 31; Vol. 10, p. 242, and Nos. 6 and 7 on Plate I after p. 142 of Vol. 1 (1902) of Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*.

²⁴ See the polychrome frontispieces of the translations of Joshua and the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible, also the colored plates after pp. 242, 244, 290 in Meyer's *Geschichte Aegyptens* (Berlin, 1887), and p. 192 in Vol. 1 (1901) of Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*; p. 246 in Vol. 1 (1901) of Brockhaus's *Konversations-Lexikon*; p. 604 in Vol. 3 (1901) of Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte* or p. 54 of Riehm-Baethgen's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums* (1893).

²⁵ Cf. the modern Bedouins from the neighborhood of Damascus on p. 146 of the translation of Ezekiel in the Polychrome Bible.

²⁶ See Nos. 10 and 11 on Plate II after p. 142 in Vol. 1 (1902) of Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*.

²⁷ The Philistines were European invaders. They came from Crete in the fifth century B. C. and occupied the harborless southern coast between Mount Carmel and Gaza, because the northern coast was held by the Phenicians; cf. above n. 4.

ance. Here the words *with beauty of appearance* are a scribal expansion derived from 1 Sam. xvi. 12. Goliath might have despised David, because he was a mere boy and dark-skinned, but the boy's beauty was no reason for despising him. Several distinguished exegetes therefore regard these words in 1 Sam. xvii. 42 as a subsequent addition.

The statement that David had a brownish or olive complexion, but beautiful eyes and a goodly appearance must be understood in the same way as the lines spoken by the maiden in the Biblical love-ditties (Cant. i. 5):²⁸

- 6,3 My dear one's am I, he is mine, too;
7,10 for my love he is longing.²⁹
2,1 The Saffron of The Park³⁰ am I,
the lily of the valleys.
- 1,5 Swarthy am I, but comely,
ye maids of Jerusalem,
Like the tents of the Sons of Kedar,
but like Solomon's arras.
- 6 Heed not my swarthy complexion,
it was the sun that burned me;
Wroth were the sons of my mother,³¹
they made me a watcher.

That is, I may be brunette like the pale-purple flowers of the meadow-saffron or even like the dark-purple sword-lilies, yet I am also just as beautiful as these flowers.³² Even if I were dark³³ like the tent-cloth of the Kedarene Bedouins,³⁴ I should still be as beautiful

²⁸ See *The Open Court*, No. 552 (May, 1902), p. 293; Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), pp. 5, 30; *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipsic, 1907), pp. 4, 38. Cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 18, pp. 195, 220.

²⁹ For the rhythm of these lines (3 + 2 beats, not 3 + 3) see n. 21 to my paper "The Son of Man" in *The Monist*, Vol. 29, p. 128 (January, 1919).

³⁰ Heb. *sharôn*, luxuriance, denotes the park-like tract of the Palestinian maritime plain between Joppa and Mount Carmel. Throughout its whole extent it is gay with myriads of bright-colored flowers. See my remarks on the "Rose of Sharon" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 147. Sharon is a name like Elis, i. e., Lowland, which is etymologically connected with our *vale* and *valley*.

³¹ That is, *my own brothers*; her father may have had several wives.

³² In John Evelyn's *Diary* the Welsh mistress of King Charles II and mother of the Duke of Monmouth, Lucy Walter, is described as a *brown, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature*.

³³ The Bedouin girls consider themselves black or brown, and call the city girls white. The brown girls, and the white girls play a prominent part in modern Palestinian erotic poetry.

³⁴ The tents of the Bedouins are made of black goat's hair, and their principal covering is a cloak of the same material; see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 2, p. 759b. Cf. the Arab tents on p. 63 of the translation of Judges in the Polychrome Bible, and p. 729 of Guthe's *Bibelwörterbuch* (1903).

as the magnificent hangings in Solomon's palace. But I am not dark-skinned, only sun-burnt, because my brothers made me watch the vineyards.³⁵

Theocritus (10, 26-29) says to a charming Syrian brunette: The violets and the lettered hyacinths are dark, but both flowers are considered the most beautiful in any wreath. The ancients believed that the exclamation AI, woe, was marked on the petals of the hyacinth, i. e., a dark-purple sword-lily (*Gladiolus atroviolaceus*). The precious stone called *hyacinth* by the ancients was our amethyst, whereas Lat. *amethystus* denotes an amethystine sapphire or purple ruby. Theocritus (who flourished c. 270 B. C.) may have heard in Alexandria a Greek version of some of the Biblical love-ditties.³⁶ The father of bucolic poetry often borrowed from predecessors and contemporaries.

When Saul sent men to David's house to slay him in the morning,³⁷ Michal lowered David through the window and put teraphim, i. e., household gods, in the bed. At the head she placed a *kēbīr 'izzīm*, which was not a pillow stuffed with goat's hair, or a mosquito-net³⁸ of goat's hair, but a goat-skin bottle with the black hair left on, so that the leathern water-bag (Arab. *qīrbah*)³⁹ looked from a distance, especially at night, like the head of a man with black hair. If the bed had been empty, the assassins would not have waited for the morning, although it was contrary to Oriental custom to kill a man while he was asleep (cf. Judges xvi. 2). The bed was a light portable frame like our field-beds or army-cots; therefore Saul said (1 Sam. xix. 15): Bring him up to me in the bed (cf. also Luke v.

³⁵ For the misplaced illustrative quotation to this verse, *Catch us the foxes, the little foxes, destroying vineyards, our vineyards in blossom* (i. e., our virgin charms), cf. the Thracian name of Dionysus, *Bassareus*, which has been interpreted as *he who keeps away the foxes from the vineyards*; see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 8, p. 287a.

³⁶ The Septuagint is said to have been begun under the auspices of Ptolemy II Philadelphus whose accession to the throne in 285 B. C. is glorified in Ps. lxxii; see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 185.

³⁷ Cf. the title of Ps. lix which was composed at the beginning of the Maccabean period; see the translation of the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible, p. 188, line 15.

³⁸ A mosquito-net is mentioned in the story of Judith and Holofernes (Judith x. 21). The Greek text has *κωνοπέριον*, Lat. *conopeum*, from which our *canopy* and French *canapé* are derived; but instead of *under a canopy* in Judith x. 21 (cf. xiii. 9, 15; xvi. 19) we must render: *within the mosquito-net*. *Κωνοπέριον* is derived from *κόνωψ*, gnat.

³⁹ See the Oriental goat-skin bottles on p. 638 of the *Century Dictionary*; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 1, p. 621, and p. 92 of the translation of Joshua in the Polychrome Bible; cf. my remarks in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 19, p. 171, and *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 33, p. 432 (November, 1918).

18-25). The original narrator may have believed that the incident related in 1 Sam. xix. 9-17 happened in the night after the wedding of David and Michal (cf. *ibid.* xviii. 27) who may have looked somewhat like Othello and Desdemona.⁴⁰

The hair of most of the goats in Palestine is black, long, and silky. Therefore the lover says to the maiden in Cant. iv. 1: *Thy hair is like a flock of goats*, while in v. 11 the maiden says of her dear one: *His hair is as black as a raven*. The line *Thy locks are purple* (Cant. vii. 5) has the same meaning; the purple of the ancients was a dark, dusky color. Also in Greek, *purple* is often used for *black*.⁴¹

Michal, it may be supposed, took two teraphim to represent David's legs, and for the upper part of his body she used a water-bag. Both teraphim and skin-bottle were covered with a cloak (Exod. xxii. 27)⁴² or blanket (Arab. 'abâ').⁴³ Only the end of the water-skin with the black goat's hair on the outside was exposed. The teraphim were probably less than three feet high.⁴⁴ Rachel hid her father's teraphim, which she had stolen, in her camel-litter or howdah (Gen. xxxi. 29-35).⁴⁵ It has been suggested⁴⁶ that these figures may have been so small that they could be used as lots,⁴⁷ as small perhaps as the Chinese Buddha pearls representing small seated images of Buddha, which have been inserted in Chinese river-mussels, so that they are covered with a nacreous deposit.⁴⁸ The teraphim may have been employed in divination, but we need not suppose that they served as lots. A. H. McNeile, of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in his commentary on Exodus (1908), p. xiv, has called attention to the method of divination by means of an image, employed by the natives of Sierra Leone in Western Africa: a figure of light wood is held out by both hands from the waist, so

⁴⁰ Othello was not a negro, but a Moor. Iago alludes to him (1, 1, 124) as a *Barbary horse*. The Moors of Morocco have European features, black silky hair, and black eyes; their skin is light brown (*café au lait*).

⁴¹ Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 299.

⁴² In Homer we find cloaks used as bed-covers; see, e. g., *Odys.*, 11, 189; 14, 520; 20, 4.

⁴³ See the illustration on p. 3 of the *Century Dictionary*.

⁴⁴ See the idols carried by Assyrian soldiers in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 7, p. 229, fig. 12; cf. Ulysses carrying off the palladium of Troy on p. 4244 of the *Century Dictionary*.

⁴⁵ See the photographic reproductions of camel-howdahs on the plate in G. Jacob's *Allarabisches Beduinenleben* (1897).

⁴⁶ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 21, p. 31.

⁴⁷ The statuette of Astarte figured on p. 221 of Benzinger's *Hebr. Archäologie* (1907) is only about 4½ in. high.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 21, p. 26b.

that it can swing; if the figure gradually inclines toward the person holding it, this is regarded as a favorable answer.

The name *teraphim* means *providers*, just as the Lat. *penates* is derived from *penus*, provisions. Lamps seem to have been kept burning before the teraphim, and the eternal lamps in the synagogues and Catholic churches may be a survival of this ancient usage. The Biblical phrase *I have set up a light for him* means *His family will not be extinct*.⁴⁹ Similarly a taper or lamp was kept burning before the Roman *lares*. Each family had two penates and one lar placed between them. One of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Lampridius, who lived in the first part of the fourth century, states in c. 29 of his *Vita Alexandri Severi*⁵⁰ that this last of the Syrian princes (222-235) among the Roman emperors,⁵¹ who had been adopted by his cousin Heliogabalus, had in his *lararium* busts of Orpheus, Abraham, Jesus Christ, and Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia, the Neopythagorean philosopher and wonder-worker who was born a few years before the Christian era, and whose doctrines were considered by some (Hierocles,⁵² Blount,⁵³ Voltaire, Wieland) to be superior to Christianity.

Michal was at first devoted to David, but afterward an estrangement took place, so that Michal had no child unto the day of her death (2 Sam. vi. 23). Michal did not despise David because he was a worshiper of JHVH,⁵⁴ but because, when the Ark was brought up to Jerusalem from the house of Obed-edom in the Philistine city of Gath, the king danced before the palladium, girded with an *ephod*, i. e., a loin-cloth.⁵⁵ The Roman emperor Heliogabalus (218-222) danced in public at the ceremonies in honor of the Syrian

⁴⁹ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 166; Vol. 35, p. 319.

⁵⁰ See Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, third edition, Vol. 4, p. 66, line 55; Vol. 18, p. 259, line 1.

⁵¹ His chief adviser was the great jurist Ulpian.

⁵² Hierocles, who was a Neoplatonist and governor of Bithynia, is said to have been chiefly responsible for the persecution of the Christians about the end of the reign of Diocletian in 303 A. D.

⁵³ Charles Blount (1654-1693) defended marriage with a deceased wife's sister, which was not legalized in England before 1907. For the misinterpretation of Lev. xviii. 18 see the translation of Leviticus, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 88, line 50; cf. Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, Vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1884), p. 134.

⁵⁴ For the name JHVH, i. e., *Yah-wê*, see the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 163, line 41; cf. the *New Standard Dictionary* under *tetragrammaton*.

⁵⁵ In the passages where *ephod* denotes an *idol* we must read *aphûd* instead of *ephôd*. The *aphûd* was a xoanon cloaked with precious stuffs or a statue built upon a wooden frame overlaid with plates of gold; see the sixteenth edition of Gesenius's *Hebr. Handwörterbuch* (1915), p. xivb; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 145.

sun-god, but Michal did not approve of David's scanty attire;⁵⁶ therefore she said: How dignified was the king of Israel to-day, who exposed himself in the sight of the handmaids of his servants like one of the beggars (2 Sam. vi. 20).⁵⁷

The ephod was a loin-cloth like the *dhoti* of the Hindus, and the shoulder-pieces (Exod. xxviii. 7) correspond to the Brahminical *janeu*. The sacred thread is worn by the three higher castes.⁵⁸ The *dhoti* is the sacrificial dress of most Hindus. In the same way the ephod was the priestly garment of the ancient worshipers of JHVH. David and his successors were their own high priests. There was no Jewish high priest before the reign of Darius Hystaspis (521-486 B. C.).⁵⁹ The primitive loin-cloth afterward developed into a skirt falling below the knees and held up by ornamental shoulder-bands.⁶⁰ The loin-cloth was also the essential feature both of male and female dress among the pre-Hellenic Ægean peoples. At the present day both male and female pilgrims enter the sanctuary in Mecca barefoot and clad in the scanty waist-wrapper (Arab. *ihram*).⁶¹ The Bedouins in southern Arabia wear loin-cloths instead of shirts. The loin-cloth is originally a waist-ornament, not a covering to satisfy the claims of modesty. Concealment affords greater stimulus to sexual selection than revelation.⁶²

The term *admônî*, brownish, is used also in the legend describing the birth of Esau and Jacob. We read in Gen. xxv. 25: The first came out *admônî*, all over like a hairy garment, and they called his name Esau. The Authorized Version has *red* for *admônî*; but this would not have been exceptional: all new-born babes are red; even negro babies have a reddish chocolate or copper color, the dark coloring of the skin does not develop until some weeks after

⁵⁶ See *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 145, p. 40; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 21, p. 7.

⁵⁷ This may mean *rogues, low fellows*; but the translations *rakes, libertines, debauchees, dissolute persons* are unwarranted; cf. Neh. v. 13; Judges ix. 4; xi. 3; 2 Chron. xiii. 7.

⁵⁸ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 5, p. 467a; Vol. 14, p. 420, and p. 419, Plate II, fig. 2.

⁵⁹ See my remarks in the *Journal of the Society for Oriental Research* Vol. 2, p. 78.

⁶⁰ See the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 224, fig. 8, and the last two colored plates referred to above, in n. 24.

⁶¹ For the survival of primitive usages in religious ceremonies see the translation of Joshua, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 62, line 5; cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 21, p. 42.

⁶² See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 3, p. 624a; Vol. 7, pp. 225a, 231, 227a, 232a. Similarly perfumes were originally not used for the purpose of concealing offensive odors, but as a substitute for attractive individual exhalations; see Albert Hagen, *Sexuelle Osmresologie* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 226, 240; cf. Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (1907), pp. 22, 69, 91, 112.

birth.⁶³ Nor does the Name Esau mean *red*. In Gen. xxxvi. 9 Esau is called the father of the Edomites on Mount Seir. Esau was originally the god of the Edomites, just as Jacob was the god of the Israelites, who was worshiped in the form of a bull. The horns of the altar may be a survival of the ancient bull-worship.⁶⁴ *Esau* seems to be a dialectic form of Heb. 'ôšê, Maker, so that it may be regarded as an older name for JHVH, Creator, lit. *He who causes to be*; but the statement in Gen. xxv. 25 may reflect a popular etymology combining *Esau* with Arab. á'thâ which is said to denote not only *hairy*, but also *dark-skinned*. If *Esau* were really derived from the stem of Arab. á'thâ, we should expect *Eshau* in Hebrew; but the original pronunciation of *Esau* (with *Sîn*) was *Eshau*. The combination of *Esau* with Arab. á'thâ is not any more inaccurate than the derivation of *ishhâ*, woman, from *îsh*, man, in Gen. ii. 23.⁶⁵

Edom is the name of the people, and *Seir* the name of their country between the Dead Sea and the northeastern arm of the Red Sea. *Se'ir* means *rough land*. The stem *sa'ár* is used of *rough* or *rugged land*, and of *rough weather*, also of *roughness* in the sense of *shagginess*, hairiness.⁶⁶ The corresponding German *rauch* (in *Rauchwaren*, *Rauchhandel*) signifies *peltry*. German *Rauch*, smoke, on the other hand, is our *reek*. The statement that the ancestor of the Edomites was hairy would explain the name *Esau*, if it was combined with Arab. á'thâ, shaggy. But *admônî*, red (or brown), is out of place in this connection. In Kautzsch's new translation of the Old Testament (1909) *admônî* in Gen. xxv. 25 is therefore regarded as a gloss.⁶⁷ Michaelis (1775) rendered:

⁶³ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 19, p. 344b.

⁶⁴ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 164, n. 9.

⁶⁵ See Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (1879) p. 25, n. 6; *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* (1883), p. 99, n. 1. Cf. below n. 78. We have the root of Arab. á'thâ, hairy, in Heb. 'ash, moth, which means originally *unhairing*, also in 'ôfa'im, foliage, Ps. civ. 12; cf. Lat. *coma*, hair or foliage, and Arab. á'fâ shá'ra-'l-jámali or 'áfati-'l-árdu, with *f = th*; see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 34, p. 72, line 8.

⁶⁶ Heb. *se'ár* means *hair*, and *sa'r* (or *sě'arâ*) denotes *storm*. The primary connotation of *sa'ir*, he-goat, is *shaggy*, and the original meaning of *sě'ôrâ*, barley, is *awny*, just as Lat. *hordeum*, barley, is connected with *horrere*, to bristle; *hircus*, he-goat; *hirsutus*, *hirtus*, hirsute; and *erinaceus*, *ericius*, urchin, hedgehog.

⁶⁷ Gunkel, on the other hand, considers *admônî* to be a part of the original Judaic text and the clause *all over like a hairy garment* an addition from the Ephraimite document. If this view were correct, we should have to assume that the narrator misunderstood the story; he ought to have said: The first one came out *admônî* (or *adóm*) and they called his name Edom. Such misunderstandings are not impossible. A member of a German club, who had a plateful of beans, put one of the beans aside, and asked, What does this represent? When no one was able to guess it, he said, This means Bonaparte

the first who came out was covered all over with red hair like a shaggy fur, so that Esau would have resembled a young orang-utan. The fact that the Edomites had more body-hair than the Israelites is suggested also in the story of Rebecca's stratagem in disguising Jacob, so that his father mistook him for Esau (Gen. xxvii. 16). The hairiness of the Edomites was no doubt much exaggerated in Israelitish legends.⁶⁸ We need not suppose that David's ancestors were completely coated with hair like our Miocene precursors, or that they were a hairy race like the Ainu of Japan; even the Ainu have not more body-hair than many Europeans, especially among the Russian peasantry; but the ancient Edomites may have had shaggy black hair covering the back and the chest.

The name *Edom* is explained in the story of Esau selling his birth-right for a lentil-soup, which we find in Gen. xxv. 29-34: Esau said to Jacob, Let me gulp down this red (or brown) stuff (Heb. *adóm*). A dish of lentils stewed with onions, rice, and oil, or small bits of meat and fat is still common in the East; the color of it is darkish-brown.⁶⁹ We may therefore conclude that the color of the Edomites was brown, and that David had an olive complexion and black hair.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE UNIMPORTANCE OF BEING CHRISTIAN.

BY JOHN DENMARK.

I TALKED not long ago with one of America's greatest Jewish leaders as he sat by the fireside with his family. His was an ideal home full of enlightenment and love. It was what we have learned to call a "Christian home." As we talked together of the problems of labor and social reform that confront us, I realized the true nobility and unselfishness of the man. Then the thought came to me, "How ridiculous it would seem for me to say that he was

(bean, German *Bohne*, apart). One of the men present thought this very clever; so, when he came home to dinner, he asked for some beans. He was told there were no beans, but he might have some peas. He said, All right, let me have some peas. He set one pea apart, and asked, What is this? When the family gave it up, he said triumphantly, Why, this is Napoleon!

⁶⁸ When we speak of some one *having been born in the purple* or *with a silver spoon in his mouth* or *on the wrong side of the blanket*, we do not expect a literal interpretation of these phrases.

⁶⁹ See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 3, p. 95a; contrast Vol. 2, p. 28a.