

WAS DAVID AN ARYAN?

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II.

MY interpretation of *adóm*, the brown stuff, in Gen. xxv. 30, and *admônî*, brownish, in 1 Sam. xvi. 12; xvii. 42, which I gave in my *Biblische Liebeslieder* (1907), pp. 58, 123, has been followed by Gunkel in the third edition of his admirable commentary on Genesis (1910), p. 296. Some exegetes have revived Boysen's conjecture, made more than 150 years ago, that *adóm* in the story of Esau selling his birthright for a bowl of lentil-soup, does not mean *red* or *brown*, but corresponds to the Arab. *idâm* which denotes anything eaten with bread.⁷⁰ But Esau had no bread;⁷¹ besides, it is expressly stated (verse 29) that Jacob had cooked the dish, so it was not merely a sandwich. The layers of cottage cheese and chopped olives on a Spanish sandwich might be called *idâm*, also leek, garlic, onions,⁷² even cucumbers⁷³ and melons (see Num. xi. 5).⁷⁴ *Idâm* means originally *cover* and corresponds to the German *Belag* of a *belegtes Brötchen*. Heb. 'al, upon, however, is often used in the sense of *in addition to*: e. g. Lev. ii. 1, *He shall pour oil upon it, and put frankincense thereon*, means simply that the offerer must give with his offering of fine flour both oil and frankincense.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Relish, opsonium (Lat. *obsonium*). Greek *ὀψώνιον* refers especially to fish (cf. Mark vi. 41).

⁷¹ According to verse 34, Jacob gave to Esau bread and lentil-soup. The following words *and he ate and drank* may refer to the eating of the bread and the lentil-soup. Esau may have had water before he came home, but he had not had anything to eat. *Soup* is in modern Arabic: *shûrbah* (Turkish *chorba*), i. e., *drink*. The Latin term for *soup* is *sorbitio*, from *sorbere*, to suck in, swallow, sup up. *Soup* and *supper* are connected with *to sip* and German *saufen*. Our *sherbet*, *sorbet*, *syrup*, *shrub*, *shrab* are derived from Arab. *shâriba*, to drink. The Arabs say also *shârib dukhân*, he drank smoke, for *he smoked*. Arab. *shâriba*, to drink, means originally *to be parched*; it is identical with Assy. *sharâpu*, to burn, just as our *thirst* is connected with *torrid*.

⁷² In Bible lands leeks and onions are commonly eaten raw as a relish with bread (cf. also Iliad, 11, 630). In Bavarian beer-houses large black (or white) radishes are eaten in this way.

⁷³ Arab children in Palestine bring to school as their dinner barley-bread and cucumbers; see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 2, p. 29b.

⁷⁴ The diet of the Berbers in North Africa largely consists of onions, cucumbers, water-melons, gourds, and a small artichoke; see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 3, p. 766.

⁷⁵ See the translation of Leviticus in *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 114, p. 113, and the notes on the translation of Leviticus, in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 63, line 44.

For *Please let me have some sugar with my coffee* you would say in classical Hebrew: *Give me, I pray thee, a little sugar upon it.*⁷⁶

Edom cannot mean *red-haired*; there are no red-haired races; red hair is an individual anomaly. The explanation of *Edom* as *red-skinned* or *broʻwn-complexioned* is merely a popular etymology. *Edom* seems to be a dialectic form of Heb. *adám*, man. The ancient Egyptians called themselves *rômet*, men. Also the name *Bantu* signifies *men*. Heb. *adám*, man, is connected with *adóm* or *admônî*, red or brown, and the primary connotation of the feminine form of *adám*, man, *âdamâ*, earth, is *the broʻwn one*. Humus is dark-brown or black. Sahara (Arab. *ṣaḥrâʻu*, plur. *ṣaḥârâ*) means *tawny*: the intensely dry wind of the Sahara, which is known in Sicily and southern Italy as *sirocco*, brings with it immense quantities of reddish dust. The sirocco dust is called also *red fog* and may occasion *blood-rain*. The grains of the Sahara dune-sand may appear reddish-yellow, from the presence of iron, but in the mass they have a rich golden hue.⁷⁷ The ancient Egyptians called the deserts around the valley of the Nile *the red land*. But the name *red earth* for Westphalia is derived from the blood-ban (power of life and death) exercised by the Fehmic courts.

According to Gen. ii. 7 (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 47) *adám*, man, is derived from *âdamâ*, earth, so that *adám* would mean *earth born*. The most learned of all Romans, Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 B. C.), and the *Christian Cicero*, Lactantius (c. 260-340 A. D.), combined *homo* with *humus* and *χαμαί*, but if the Hebrew word for *man* were derived from *âdamâ*, earth, we should expect *admathôn* or *admôn* or *admathî* or *admî*. The popular etymologies which we find in the Genesis legends are inaccurate: as stated above, *ishâ*, woman, is not the feminine form of *ish*, man, and *Babel* signifies *Gate of God*, not *Confusion*.⁷⁸ Nor does *adám*, man, mean *the broʻwn one*; the primary connotation is *cover*, integument, skin. German sportsmen call the hide of a deer *Decke*, cover. *To hide*, to conceal, is ultimately connected with *hide*, skin and hood.

⁷⁶ *Lě-tôk haq-qahwâ* would mean that the sugar is to be put in the coffee. For Heb. *ʻal*, upon, over = *in addition to*, cf. our *over* and *above*.

⁷⁷ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 23, p. 105b; Vol. 25, pp. 21b, 175b. *Sirocco* is derived from the Arab. *sharq*, east, which we have also in *Saracen*. In Algeria, Syria, and Arabia this parching wind is known as *simoom*, Arab. *samûm*, from *samm*, poison, which is ultimately a Sumerian loanword (see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 34, p. 73; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. 30, p. 61). In Egypt it blows at intervals for about fifty days and is therefore called *khamṣîn*, fifty. The Assyrian name of the wind was *shûbu* (see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 35, p. 157).

⁷⁸ See Gen. xi. 9; cf. above, n. 65, and Haupt, *Purim* (1906), p. 2, line 38.

In Semitic, *skin* is used for *mankind*, men, persons. Arab. *báshar* signifies both *skin* and *mankind*, and the corresponding Hebrew word *basár* means *flesh* and *mankind*.⁷⁹ We have adopted this Biblical use of *flesh*, but we say also *He tried to save his bacon* or *his skin* and *He tried to get my skin* or *He did not want to risk his hide*. We use *blood* for *kindred*, family; *flesh and blood* for *progeny*. *Young blood* means *young people*, and *the blood* denotes the royal family. *Body* is used for *person* (cf. *somebody*, *nobody*; *a good old body*). In German, *Haut*, skin, is often used for *person*; the phrases *Er ist eine treue, ehrliche Haut* or *sich seiner Haut wehren* or *seine Haut teuer verkaufen* or *seine Haut zu Markte tragen* are quite common. Martial (3, 16, 4) says *de corio suo ludere*, and Horace (Ep. 1, 2, 29; Sat. 2, 5, 38): *cutem* or *pelliculam curare*. Also German *Balg*, skin, which is connected with our *bellows* and *belly*, is used for *person*, especially for a lewd woman or a naughty child.

The primary connotation of Heb. *adám*, man, is *cover*, integument, skin, and Heb. *adóm*, red, means originally *covered*, then *coated*, stained, blood-stained, blood-red. We say *White lead covers well*, and we speak of a *coat* of paint. *Color* is connected with *celare*, to conceal. In Jer. ii. 22 Heb. *niktám*, covered, signifies *blood-red* (not *marked*). In Is. i. 22 the Targum uses *kētîmîn*, covered, in the same sense. In the Talmud *kätm*, covering, denotes especially *blood-stain*. St. Augustine tells us that the Punic word for *blood* (Heb. *dam*) was *edom*. In the Turko-Tatar languages *böt*, *bot* means *cover*, *color*, *redness*, *blood* (see Vambery's etymological dictionary, 1878, No. 220). *To color* means originally *to cover*, to coat, but it has also the special meaning *to redden*: the phrase *he colored up* means *he became red* in the face. We can say *covered with blood* or *blood-stained*, *blood-colored*, *blood-red*.

The story of David and Goliath in 1 Sam. xvii. 1-xviii. 5 represents a later tradition. According to 2 Sam. xxi. 19, the slayer of Goliath was not David, but Elhanan-ben-Jair, of Bethlehem, one of David's warriors. Afterward this exploit was transferred to David himself, but in 1 Chron. xx. 5 we have the harmonistic correction that Elhanan-ben-Jair slew Lahmi, the brother of Goliath of Gath. This *Lahmi* is merely the second part of Elhanan-ben-Jair's epithet *Bêth-hal-laḥmî*, the Bethlehemite. Elhanan, the slayer

⁷⁹ The Arabic term for *gospel* (i. e., *good spell*, glad tidings) is *bishârah* (Heb. *bēsôrâ*). The primary connotation is *skinning* in the sense of *affecting the skin*, i. e., bringing news which causes the recipient to turn white or red in the face. It denotes especially a *flush of joy*. Tennyson (*Maud*, XVII) says: *Pass and blush the news*.

of Goliath, may have been a Bethlehemite, but David was not a native of Bethlehem, nor was any descendant of David ever born there. Jesus was not a son of David, and He was born at Nazareth.⁸⁰

In the legend of the slaughter of the innocents at Bethlehem the scribes say (Matt. ii. 5) that the Christ, i. e., the Messiah, is to be born at Bethlehem in Judea. The passage in the Book of Micah, on which this answer is based, is a later addition (103-76 B. C.) to a Maccabean poem written c. 135 B. C. The Hasmonean priest-kings were not descendants of David, and some glossator, who believed that only a son of David could be the legitimate king of the Jews, added this quotation from an ancient poem written at the time of the birth of the Davidic scion Zerubbabel (c. 538 B. C.) who is glorified in Is. ix. 6, 7; xi. 1-9, and in Pss. xx, xxi. cx, cxxxii.⁸¹ This anti-Hasmonean quotation at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Book of Micah says:

And thou, O House of Ephrath,⁸²
 so young 'mong Judah's clans,
 From thee is come to us
 the ruler-to-be o'er Israel.
 He'll reign through JHVH's power,
 exalted to the bounds of his land.

Lit. *he will be great to the ends of the land* (not *earth*), i. e., he will be recognized as the legitimate king of Judah and will restore the former extent of the Davidic kingdom. Ephrath, which may have been originally the name of one of the fertile valleys about Hebron, was the name of David's clan. Similarly Saul belonged to the Benjamite clan Becher,⁸³ and Gideon to the Manassite clan Abiezer. David's sept was young among Judah's clans;⁸⁴ it may have joined the worshipers of JHVH at a comparatively late period. Nor was David of ancient lineage like Saul; in fact he was an upstart. The

⁸⁰ See my remarks on the birthplaces of David and Christ in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 12, col. 67 (February, 1909), and my paper "The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus" in *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 194.

⁸¹ See my translations of these patriotic poems in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 168, and in my papers "The Coronation of Zerubbabel" and "Assyr. *dagâlu*, to look for, in the Old Testament" in Vol. 37 of that Journal; also *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Vol. 2, p. 81.

⁸² The *léhem* between *Bêth* and *Ephrâth* is a later insertion; see Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1902), pp. 10, 54.

⁸³ See *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 509, line 4.

⁸⁴ Cf. also Judges vi. 15 and 1 Sam. ix. 21.

statement in 1 Sam. xvii. 12, that David was an elder (i. e., sheikh) among men in the days of Saul,⁸⁵ is a later addition.

Zerubbabel was an Ephrathite, just as Saul was a Becherite or Gideon an Abiezrite, not a Bethlehemite. Queen Mary, the consort of the present King of England, was a Princess of Teck, but she was not born at the ducal castle of Teck in Württemberg; her father was created Duke of Teck by the King of Württemberg in 1871, and Queen Mary was born in 1867. George V is a grandson of Queen Victoria's prince-consort Albert, duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, but both King George and his father Edward VII were born in London, not in Coburg. The present King of Italy is a scion of the House of Savoy, but he was born at Naples, and Savoy belongs now to France. There is not a single passage in the Old Testament where *Ephrathite* denotes *Bethlehemite*. In the three passages in which *Ephrathite* seems to mean *Ephraimite* we must read *Ephrâmî*. The Syriac and Ethiopic Bibles have this reading in Judges xii. 5. In Ps. cxxxii. 6 *Ephratha* denotes *cultivated land* in contradistinction to *woodland*,⁸⁶ just as in the duchy of Gotha *das Land* is distinguished from *der Wald*.⁸⁷ All passages in which Ephrath is identified with Bethlehem are post-Exilic.

In 1 Sam. xx. 8 (which may antedate 800 B. C.) *bêth-lêhem*⁸⁸ is the name of the banquet-hall where David intended to join his fellow-clansmen in celebrating the New Year's festival (about the time of the autumnal equinox). This, it may be supposed, was situated in or near Hebron which is about twenty-three miles south of Jerusalem, whereas Bethlehem is only about five miles south of Jerusalem. *Bêth-lêhem*, banquet-hall,⁸⁹ is synonymous with *lishkâ*

⁸⁵ In *zaqên bâ ba-'ânashîm*, which is supposed to mean *he went among men for an old man*, the verb *bâ* is merely an erroneous repetition of the first two letters of *ba-'ânashîm*.

⁸⁶ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 165.

⁸⁷ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 24, p. 260a.

⁸⁸ Heb. *lêhem* (or *lâhm*) means not only *bread*, but also *food*, *meal*. In Arabic, *lahm* denotes *flesh*, *meat*. Sacrifices are called *God's lêhem*; see the notes on the translation of Leviticus, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 91, line 36. In a tertiary gloss to the Book of Ecclesiastes (x. 19a) the phrase *making bread* means *feasting*; see Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (1905), p. 16, ¶¶; cf. our colloquial phrase *to make a meal*, but *meal*, *repast*, and *meal*, *flour*, are not identical. In German, *Brot* is used for *meal*, e. g., *Mittagbrot*, midday meal; *Abendbrot*, evening meal. German *Mehl*, flour, is derived from *mahlen*, to grind in a mill, whereas *Mahl*, repast, is identical with *Mal*, time (cf. *Mahlzeit*).

⁸⁹ The Assyrian name is *bît-akîti*, banquet-house; see Haupt, *Purim* (1906), p. 31, line 5. An illustrated description of Sennacherib's *bît-akîti* disinterred in the ruins of Assur, the primitive capital of Assyria on the west bank of the Tigris, is given in No. 33 (June, 1907) of the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*. Cf. Haupt, *Esther* (Chicago, 1908), p. 32 n. †.

(1 Sam. ix. 22) which has passed into Greek as λέσχη.⁹⁰ The Authorized Version renders *parlor*, while the Greek Bible has the same word (κατάλυμα) which we find in Luke ii. 7. These halls served also as inns (khans, caravanseries). The name Bethlehem may be derived from an inn near the town. Kimham's Inn⁹¹ near Bethlehem on the high road from Jerusalem to Hebron, is referred to in Jer. xli. 17. Also the edifice which Samson pulled down was not a temple of Dagon, but a *bêth-lêhem*, i. e., a hall for a banquet or sacrificial feast.⁹²

We must render in 1 Sam. xx. 28: *David urgently asked (leave) of me to feast in the banquet-house of his town.*⁹³ The interpretation *He asked for leave of absence until dinner-time* is impossible.⁹⁴ Jonathan states in the following verse that David wants to celebrate the feast with his sept; therefore he does not appear at the royal table. Jonathan could not tell his father, David asked me for leave of absence until dinner-time, to feast with his sept: Saul's feast on New Year's day and the feast of David's sept took place at the same time. If David had asked for leave of absence until dinner-time, he would have been obliged to appear at the royal table on the first day of the feast.

The misinterpretation of the term *bêth-lêhem*, banqueting-hall, in 1 Sam. xx. 28 may be responsible for the later view that David was born at Bethlehem. Nor does the statement in 2 Sam. ii. 32, that David's nephew Asahel was buried in his father's sepulcher at Bethlehem, prove that David was a Bethlehemite. Asahel, Joab, and Abishai were the sons of David's sister Zeruah. Her husband may have been a native of Bethlehem, but neither David nor any of his descendants was born at Bethlehem.

According to 2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17, David longed for a drink of water from the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate, and three

⁹⁰ *Lishkâ* is a by-form of *nishkâ*, from *nashâk*, to bite. The original meaning is *bait*, i. e., a hall for refreshment or rest in the course of a journey. *To bait* means *to cause to bite*.

⁹¹ The Authorized Version renders: *the habitation of Chimham*. The Greek Bible read the same word (*gerûth*, derived from *ger*, stranger) in Ps. cxx. 5 (cf. below, n. 111). The Vulgate renders the first line of this verse: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus (= παροικία) meus prolongatus est*. This hostelry near Bethlehem may have been founded by Chimham, the son of Barzillai, the wealthy Gileadite, who followed David to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xix. 38). Bethlehem is a name like the Persian *Khawarnaq* or the German *Wormlage*; see Haupt, *Bibl. Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 119, and Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 20 (1908), p. 776a.

⁹² See the translation of Judges, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 87, line 31.

⁹³ The Hebrew text should be read as follows: *Nish'ôl nish'al Dawid me-'immedi la-'id bêth-lêhem 'îrô*.

⁹⁴ Contrast *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1020, n. 2.

of his most famous warriors invaded the camp of the Philistines and brought water from that well to David; but the king would not drink it: he poured it out as a libation for JHVH. A similar incident is related of Alexander the Great.⁹⁵ In his lectures on Hebrew poetry, delivered at the Johns Hopkins University in 1896, a distinguished Scottish Hebraist referred to this story in connection with the discussion of the Davidic authorship of the Hebrew Psalms, remarking that a man who was capable of so poetic an act was certainly capable of producing poetic compositions. This argument brought down the house, but it can hardly establish the Davidic authorship of a Psalm.

Nor does the story prove that David was a native of Bethlehem: *bêth-lêhem* in 2 Sam. xxiii. 15 denotes the *mess-hall* in the camp of the Philistines.⁹⁶ If we use the military terms of the Romans, we may say that the well was the water reservoir of the pretorium (or *principia*) near the decuman gate.⁹⁷ There are no springs in Bethlehem, but there are several in the Valley of Rephaim, the present *buqâ'îah* southwest of Jerusalem, where the Philistines were encamped,⁹⁸ and it was natural that the *bêth-lêhem* or mess-hall was erected near one of these wells.

David was not a Bethlehemite. He began his career (c. 1000 B. C.) as a captain of outlaws in southern Judea. If he was originally a shepherd, he may have been a sheep-farmer like the chiefs of the Border clans in Sir Walter Scott's ancestry who varied their peaceful occupation by rough marauding exploits. He may afterward have served in Saul's army, just as some of the Roman soldier-emperors were generals before they were placed on the throne. Galerius (305-311) was originally a Thracian herdsman, but distinguished himself as a soldier, so that he received in marriage the emperor Diocletian's daughter Valeria, just as David was given Saul's daughter Michal. Before he united Israel and Judah he was enthroned at Hebron as King of Judah, a title like the Mohammedan Commander of the Faithful, Judah being a collective name for the worshipers of JHVH. Hebron was again the capital of the heathen Edomites in the Maccabean period (1 Macc. v. 65). Not all Edom-

⁹⁵ Cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 42; Arrian 6, 26, 2; Curtius 7, 20, 12.

⁹⁶ We must read: *Mî yashqênî mâim mib-bêr bêth-lâhm hazwâth Pêlishîm, âshûr bash-shû'r.* Cf. 4 Macc. iii. 13, and for *hazwâth* (cf. Arab. *hizâ'*, plur. *âhziyah*) *Pêlishîm* see *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 23, p. 227.

⁹⁷ See the plan of a Roman camp on p. 779b of the *Century Dictionary*.

⁹⁸ The statement in verse 14b, that a post of the Philistines was then in Bethlehem, is a later addition.

ites were worshipers of JHVH, only the Edomites who had come under the influence of the solar monotheism of ancient Egyptian theology.⁹⁹ The heathen Edomites were not judaized before 128 B. C.

David was at first a vassal of the Philistines, but afterward he freed the country from the yoke of the European invaders who had come from the Ægean islands including Crete. The name of David's body-guard, Cherethites and Pelethites, means Cretans and (other) Philistines. Ittai of Gath and the Hittite Uriah served in David's army, but after David had united Israel and Judah, he tried not only to make JHVH the national god, but also to create a national army. This was the object of his attempt to number the people; his census was a registration for military purposes:¹⁰⁰ it was entrusted to Joab and the captains of the host (2 Sam. xxiv. 2). The Chronicler (1 Chr. xxi. 1) regards this registration as having been inspired by Satan.

The fact that David's body-guard consisted of Cretans and other Philistines does not prove that the first king of Judah was of European extraction. After the pretorians had been disbanded by the Roman emperor Septimius Severus (146-211) the new household troops consisted of barbarian soldiers. The German emperor Frederick II (1215-1250) had a body-guard of Saracens. The last Byzantine emperors of the Palæologian dynasty (1259-1453) had Norman household troops. The Turkish janizaries, who were abolished in 1826, were originally recruited from sons of Christians, especially Albanians, Bosnians, and Bulgarians. The senior unit of the *Gardes du Corps* of the French king Francis I (1515-1547) was the company of Scottish archers. Scott's Quentin Durward was an archer of the Scottish guard in the reign of Louis XI (1461-1483). The famous Swiss Guards died for Louis XVI on August 10, 1792. The Pope still has a small company of Swiss guards (*Guardia Svizzera*) who wear costumes of the sixteenth century.

David as well as Moses were Edomites. Moses founded the Jewish religion, David established the kingdom of Judah, i. e., the worshipers of JHVH. The men of Judah represent a blend of Asiatic,

⁹⁹ See my paper "Kir = Ur of the Chaldees" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 94; cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ One of the most eminent modern military writers, F. W. Rüstow, who escaped from Prussia to Switzerland in 1850, and who was Garibaldi's chief of staff in 1860, published military biographies of David, Xenophon, and Montluc whose admirable memoirs (Bordeaux, 1592) were called by Henri IV *la bible du soldat*. Rüstow's *Militärische Biographien* (Zürich, 1858) is inaccessible to me at present. For David as a tactician, Cheyne, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1035, refers to the monograph of the distinguished French engineer and archeologist Marcel Dieulafoy, *David the King* (1902).

African, and European elements, including not only Edomites and converted Israelites, but also Horites, Ishmaelites, Moabites, Ammonites, Canaanites, Amorites, Philistines, Hittites, Egyptians, Ethiopians, etc. Moses's wife is called in Num. xii. 1 an Ethiopian woman; David's ancestress Ruth is said to have been a Moabitess; Solomon's mother was the wife of the Hittite Uriah;¹⁰¹ Rehoboam's mother was an Ammonitess (1 Kings xiv. 1). There was no Jewish separatism before the days of Ezra (c. 450 B. C.). Ezekiel (xvi. 3) says to Jerusalem: Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite.

Judaism was introduced in Israel by David c. 1000 B. C. after he had conquered the northern confederation of Israelitish tribes,¹⁰² but after the death of Solomon (c. 930) the Israelites relapsed into their former idolatry.¹⁰³ The Israelites have vanished; they survive only, mixed with numerous foreign elements, including a considerable percentage of Aryan colonists, in the Samaritans whose number is now reduced to 170 souls. The Israelites were not in Egypt, but the Edomite ancestors of the Jews were there c. 1230 B. C. At that time the Israelites were settled in Palestine north and south of the Plain of Jezreel¹⁰⁴ and in Gilead east of the Jordan.

David is undoubtedly the greatest of all the kings of Israel and Judah: he completed the work of Moses, he created Judah, he united Israel and Judah, and made Jerusalem the center of Judaism; but he has been very much idealized by later Biblical writers. We have three types of David, represented by the Books of Samuël, the Chronicles, and the titles of the Psalms. According to the Chronicler, he was the founder of the Temple service; according to the titles of the Psalms, he was preeminently the Psalmist; but according to the Books of Samuel, he was originally an outlaw with a band of wandering companions:¹⁰⁵ he was a Judean Robin Hood or Rob

¹⁰¹ Bathsheba may have been a Hittite woman. She was the daughter of Eliam or Ammiel, and Eliam is also the name of a son of Ahitophel; but there is no evidence that these two Eliams are identical; see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 102, line 5. In the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 34, p. 44, I have pointed out that Hosea's erring spouse may have been a Cimmerian woman.

¹⁰² See my paper "The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 48, No. 193, p. 358; cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 14.

¹⁰³ Cf. Josh. xxiv. 23; Gen. xxxv. 2.

¹⁰⁴ See my address on "Armageddon" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 34, p. 418.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. W. W. Guth, "The Unity of the Older Saul-David Narratives" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 25, p. 116, and his dissertation *Die ältere Schicht in den Erzählungen über Saul und David* (Berlin, 1904). See also G. Beer, *Saul, David, Salomo* (Tübingen, 1906), pp. 24, 33, 34, 37, 40, 41, 43, 54, 71.

Roy, although his hair was not red. Sir Walter Scott says in Chapter 32 of *Rob Roy* that this famous Scotch outlaw, who died in 1734, had a shock-head of red hair; that part of his limbs, from the bottom of his kilt to the top of his short hose, which the fashion of his country left bare, was covered with a fell of thick, short, red hair, especially around his knees, which resembled in this respect, as well as from their sinewy appearance of extreme strength, the limbs of a red-colored Highland bull.

The term *sweet psalmist*, which we find in the Authorized Version of the so-called Last Words of David in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, is a mistranslation: the phrase means *sung in Israel's lays* or *chanted in Israel's songs*.¹⁰⁰ The first three couplets of this late religious poem should be translated as follows:

David-ben-Jesse said,
the man who was raised on high,
The anointed of Jacob's God,
sung in Israel's lays:

JHVH's spirit spake within me,
His word is upon my tongue,
The God of Jacob¹⁰⁷ said to me,
the Rock of Israel spake:

He who rightly rules over men,
who reigns in the fear of God,
Is like a cloudless morn,
like the sheen of the earth's fresh verdure.¹⁰⁸

There are no Psalms of David.¹⁰⁹ For a long time commentators discussed the question, Are there any non-Davidic hymns in the Psalter? Then they began to ask, Are there any Davidic poems in the Psalter? The question was no longer, Are there any Psalms written after the Babylonian Captivity? but, Are there any pre-Exilic Psalms? And now the problem is not, Are there any pre-Exilic Psalms? but, Are there any pre-Maccabean Psalms?¹¹⁰ There

¹⁰⁰ See *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 32, p. 143.

¹⁰⁷ Read *Jacob* instead of *Israel*. It is possible that *of Jacob* was originally an appositional genitive, so that *the god of Jacob* meant *the god Jacob*; see *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 12, col. 212.

¹⁰⁸ For the second *môshél* read *môlêk*; the clause *boqr izrâh shamsh* is a gloss as is also *nim-matâr*; for *min-nógah* read *kē-nógah*.

¹⁰⁹ Contrast *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 18. Cornill, *History of the People of Israel* (4th ed., Chicago, 1909), p. 76, thought that the last four verses of Ps. xxiv were Davidic; but these lines must be appended to Ps. xxi which glorifies the coronation of Zerubbabel in 519; see above, n. 81; cf. also the seventh edition of Cornill's *Einleitung* (Tübingen, 1913), p. 233.

¹¹⁰ See *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 163, p. 54.

are undoubtedly pre-Maccabean Psalms, e. g., the so-called Songs of Degrees or, rather, Songs of Ascent, which refer to the time of the Return from the Captivity;¹¹¹ also Pss. xx, xxi, cx, cxxxii which glorify the grandson of the last legitimate king of Judah, the Davidic scion Zerubbabel, whom the Jews, at the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis (c. 520 B. C.) regarded as the Messiah destined to restore the national independence of Judah.¹¹² The prototypes of the songs in the Hebrew Psalter are cuneiform hymns and penitential psalms,¹¹³ just as several features of the Levitical ritual, including the Jewish method of slaughter, are derived from Babylonia.¹¹⁴

The majority of the Psalms belong to the Maccabean period (170-70 B. C.) which furnished the most inspiring themes to the national poets. This was shown sixty-five years ago by the great Hebraist Justus Olshausen, and the existence of Maccabean psalms was pointed out more than 1500 years ago, about the time of St. Jerome, by the great Biblical critic, Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia.¹¹⁵ In method he was superior to Origen, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, and of all patristic writers this anti-allegoric exegete came nearest to the modern spirit; but he had to state his critical conclusions in a somewhat diplomatic form: he said, the Psalms were indeed all written by David, but David had prophetically predicted the destinies of his people. Theodore's opinion that the historical notices given in the titles of the Psalms do not contain genuine traditions (cf. above, n. 37) is now accepted by all competent scholars.

In Am. vi. 4, where the poet is supposed to say that the rich men of Samaria invent for themselves instruments of music, like David, we must read *millê shîr*, words of song, instead of *kêlê-shîr*, instruments of song, and *like David* is a later addition. The couplet should be rendered:

Who lie on ivory sofas
and sprawl on their dining-couches,

¹¹¹ See the translation of Pss. cxx-cxxxiv in *Hebraica*, Vol. 11, pp. 68-75; cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 27, pp. 110-119. In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 49 (October, 1918), these oldest psalms are regarded as *later lyric*.

¹¹² See above, note 81. Also the *Benedictus* in Luke i. 68-79 was originally a Hebrew poem glorifying the birth of Zerubbabel c. 538 B. C.

¹¹³ The older Sumerian dialect of the non-Semitic cuneiform penitential psalms is called *eme-sal*, lit. *language of enlargement*, i. e., *release from distress*, deliverance; see my paper on the litanic dialect of Sumerian in Vol. 31 of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

¹¹⁴ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 259.

¹¹⁵ That is the modern Missis near Adana, northwest of the Gulf of Alexandretta.

Snapping the lute o'er the sound-hole,
inditing words of song.¹¹⁶

The only poem that can possibly be ascribed to David is the beautiful dirge on the death of Saul and Jonathan, but the feeling expressed by it is purely human; the religious element is conspicuous by its absence; the name of God is not mentioned.

This elegy may be translated as follows:¹¹⁷

- 18a O Judah! list the dread news!
19a O Israel! bitterly mourn!
19b Alas! how are fallen the heroes!
25a even in stress of battle!
- 20 Proclaim it never in Gath,
nor tell it in Ashkelon's streets,
Lest Philistine damsels rejoice,
lest barbarian wenches exult!
- 23a Saul and Jonathan,
the lovèd, the cherished,
23c Swifter than eagles,
stronger than lions,
23b In life and death
never divided.
- 22a Free from blood,
from pith of heroes,
22c The sword of Saul
was sheathèd never,
22b Nor Jonathan's bow
was returnèd ever.
- 24 Ho! maidens of Israel!
wail ye for Saul!
Who clad you in scarlet
and gorgeous raiment,
And brought for your garments
golden adornments.
- 25b Thy death is anguish, O Jonathan!
26a alas for thee, O my brother!

¹¹⁶ See my address on "Armageddon" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 34, p. 420. Professor Elhorst, of Amsterdam, has recently proposed to read: *kad wa-yad hashëbû lahém*, which is supposed to mean *they have invented to themselves as instruments of music mug and hand*; he thinks that the revelers of Samaria accompanied the sound of the harp with all sorts of improvised musical instruments, so that this accompaniment would have resembled the *Bierwalzer* during the third part of which German students stamp the floor, whistle, strike the glasses with their large night-keys, etc. See *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. 35, p. 63. The German night-keys often were 4-6 inches long.

¹¹⁷ In the beginning and at the end we have two six-beat couplets, and between them three four-beat triplets. For typographical reasons the lines have been divided into hemistichs with three or two beats, respectively.

- 26c To me thy love was a wonder
 26d above the love of a woman.
- 21a No dew be on ye, nor rain,¹¹⁸
 21b for ever, ye heights of Gilboa,
 21c Where heroes cast away shields,
 27b abandoned the weapons of war.¹¹⁹

If David wrote this poem, he was undoubtedly a great poet, but not a Psalmist. He was a worshiper of JHVH and forced the Israelites to embrace the religion of Judah, but he was an Edomite, not an Israelite. He had Europeans in his army, but he was not of European extraction. His hair was not red or blond, but black, and his complexion not fair, but brownish or olive. His stature may have been somewhat low, and his frame light. The view that David was an Aryan¹²⁰ is untenable.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM.

BY WILLIAM MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN.

[In introducing to our readers the Rev. Wm. M. McGovern, priest of the Nishi Hongwanji, Kyoto, Japan, we take pleasure in quoting the following from a personal letter:

"In Hinayana, one cannot become a full priest, much less obtain higher degrees or hold office, until one has spent ten years in a monastery, as of course you know. In Shin, however, promotions are made irrespective of time, and only by passing certain examinations. (In order to become full priest one has to pass examinations in ten studies, six of which are on physical sciences etc.) Accordingly, I have been enabled to obtain, by examinations, quite high posts in the Hongwanji [Shin], which as you know is the largest sect in Japan. A large portion of my time I spend in preaching in the vernacular to the various temples (of all schools) throughout the country.

Naturally I have devoted a good deal of study to all the twelve sects, but have specialized in the Kusha, Sanron, and Tendai sects, the *philosophical* sects, as well as giving special attention to the contemplative sect, Zen, and the practical sect, Shin. I have by no means confined my investigations to Buddhism, however, but have been very much interested from the historical point of view in the various folklore tales and superstitions throughout the country. . . ."—Ed.]

ONE of the interesting, and at the same time most distinctive, features of Buddhism, and especially of the Mahayana, or northern branch, is its great all-inclusive comprehensiveness. In its

¹¹⁸ Cf. No. 189 of the Hudhailian poems in Wellhausen's *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Part I, p. 139 (*lâ sūqiyat Amûlu*).

¹¹⁹ The words omitted represent later additions; see my restoration of the original text (2 Sam. i. 18-27) in *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 163, p. 55.

¹²⁰ See above, note 2.