WAS DAVID AN ARYAN?

BY PAUL HAUPT.

II.

MY interpretation of adóm, the brown stuff, in Gen. xxv. 30, and admóni, 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. But Esau had no bread; 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, and melons (see Num. xi. 5). 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.

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

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: šhurbah (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. šhāriba, to drink. The Arabs say also šárīb dūkhān, he drank smoke, for he smoked. Arab. šhāriba, to drink, means originally to be parched; it is identical with Assyrian šarāpu, to burn, just as our thirst is connected with torrid.

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.

Arab children in Palestine bring to school as their dinner barley-bread and cucumbers; see Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. 2, p. 296.

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.

See the translation of Leviticus in Johns Hopkins University Circular No. 114, p. 113, and the notes on the translation of Leviticus, in the Polyglot 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.  

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 brown-complexioned is merely a popular etymology. Edom seems to be a dialectic form of Heb. ādām, man. The ancient Egyptians called themselves rōmet, men. Also the name Bantu signifies men. Heb. ādām, man, is connected with adōm or admōnī, red or brown, and the primary connotation of the feminine form of ādām, man, ādāmā, earth, is the brown one. Humus is dark-brown or black. Sahara (Arab. ɡahrāʾu, plur. ɡahrārā) 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. 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) ādām, man, is derived from ādāmā, earth, so that ādām 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 ʿayāʿ, but if the Hebrew word for man were derived from ādāmā, earth, we should expect admathōn or admōn or admathī or admī. The popular etymologies which we find in the Genesis legends are inaccurate: as stated above, ʿissḥā, woman, is not the feminine form of ʿish, man, and Babel signifies Gate of God, not Confusion. Nor does ādām, man, mean the brown 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.

67 Lōʾ-ʾēk haq-ɡahwā would mean that the sugar is to be put in the coffee. For Heb. ʿal, upon, over = in addition to, cf. our over and above.

68 See Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 23, p. 105b; Vol. 25, pp. 21b, 175b. Sirocco is derived from the Arab. sharaq, east, which we have also in Saracen. In Algeria, Syria, and Arabia this parching wind is known as simūm, Arab. samm, 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 khamsīn, fifty. The Assyrian name of the wind was šābu (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. bášhar signifies both skin and mankind, and the corresponding Hebrew word basár means flesh and mankind.\textsuperscript{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 zehren 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 cloak, to conceal. In Jer. ii. 22 Heb. niktám, covered, signifies blood-red (not marked). In Is. i. 22 the Targum uses kētimin, covered, in the same sense. In the Talmud kātm, covering, denotes especially blood-stain. St. Augustine tells us that the Punic word for blood (Heb. dam) was edom. In the Turko-Tatar languages bôt, 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-xxviii. 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 Bēth-hal-lahmi, the Bethlehemite. Elhanan, the slayer

\textsuperscript{79} The Arabic term for gospel (i. e., good spell, glad tidings) is bishārah (Heb. bēzōrā). 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.  

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. cxxii. This anti-Hasmonean quotation at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Book of Micah says:

And thou, O House of Ephrath,  
so young 'mong Judah's clans,  
From thee is come to us  
the ruler-to-be o'er Israel.  
He'll reign through JHWH'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 Benjaminite clan Becher, and Gideon to the Manassite clan Abiezer. David's sept was young among Judah's clans; it may have joined the worshipers of JHWH at a comparatively late period. Nor was David of ancient lineage like Saul; in fact he was an upstart. The


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

83 See Encyclopaedia 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,\(^8^n\) 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 Ephrâni. The Syriac and Ethiopic Bibles have this reading in Judges xii. 5. In Ps. cxxxii. 6 Ephratha denotes cultivated land in contradistinction to woodland,\(^8^n\) just as in the duchy of Gotha das Land is distinguished from der Wald.\(^8^n\) 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\(^8^n\) 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,\(^8^n\) is synonymous with lishkâ

\(^{8^n}\) In zaqên bâ ba-ánashim, 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-ánashim.


\(^{8^n}\) Heb. lêhem (or lähm) 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, 77; 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 Mehli, flour, is derived from mahlen, to grind in a mill, whereas Mahl, repast, is identical with Mal, time (cf. Mahlzeit).

\(^{8^n}\) The Assyrian name is bit-akiti, banquet-house; see Haupt, Purin (1906), p. 31, line 5. An illustrated description of Sennacherib’s bit-akiti 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. 
(1 Sam. ix. 22) which has passed into Greek as λέων. 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 Inn 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 beth-lehem, i. e., a hall for a banquet or sacrificial feast.

We must render in 1 Sam. xx. 28: David urgently asked (leave) of me to feast in the banquet-house of his town. The interpretation He asked for leave of absence until dinner-time is impossible. 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 beth-lehem, 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 Zeruiah. 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 Lishkah is a by-form of mishkah, from nashak, 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 (γερύθ, derived from ger, stranger) in Ps. cxx. 5 (cf. below, n. 111). The Vulgate renders the first line of this verse: Hec mihi, quia incolatus (= παρουκα) 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 Khawaranq or the German Wormlage; see Haupt, Bibl. Liebeslieder (Leipsic, 1907), p. 119, and Meyer’s Grosses Conversations-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’ol nish’al David me’immadi la-’ad beth-lehem tirô.

94 Contrast Encyclopaedia 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. 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: beth-léhem in 2 Sam. xxiii. 15 denotes the mess-hall in the camp of the Philistines. 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. There are no springs in Bethlehem, but there are several in the Valley of Rephaim, the present buqá‘ah southwest of Jerusalem, where the Philistines were encamped, and it was natural that the beth-léhem 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: Mi ḫashqen mām mib-bēr beth-lāhm haṭwāth Pēlishtim, ʾāshṭ ar bash-shār. Cf. 4 Macc. iii. 13, and for haṭwāth (cf. Arab. ḥāwa‘, plur. ḥawwiyāh) Pēlishtim 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. 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 Aegean 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: 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,


100 One of the most eminent modern military writers, F. W. Rüestow, 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. Rüestow'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 Samuel, 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 Batheba 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 *Encyclopaedia 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.


¹⁰³ Cf. Josh. xxiv. 23; Gen. xxxv. 2.


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. 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 Jacob\(^\text{107}\) 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.\(^\text{108}\)

There are no Psalms of David.\(^\text{109}\) 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?\(^\text{110}\)

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\(^{106}\) 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 mōshēl read mōlik; the clause boqr izrāh shamsh is a gloss as is also mim-matār; for mim-nōgah read kē-nōgah.

\(^{109}\) 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 millē šir, words of song, instead of kelē-shir, 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,


\(^{112}\) 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*.


\(^{115}\) 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.\textsuperscript{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 religions element is conspicuous by its absence; the name of God is not mentioned.

This elegy may be translated as follows:\textsuperscript{117}

18a O Judah! list the dread news!  
19a O Israel! bitterly mourn!  
19b Alas! how are fallen the heroes!  
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 loved, 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 sheathed never,  
22b Nor Jonathan's bow  
    was returned 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!

\textsuperscript{116} See my address on "Armageddon" in \textit{Journal of the American Oriental Society}, Vol. 34, p. 420. Professor Elhorst, of Amsterdam, has recently proposed to read: \textit{kad wa-yad hashēbū lahēm}, which is supposed to mean \textit{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 \textit{Bierwalzer} during the third part of which German students stamp the floor, whistle, strike the glasses with their large night-keys, etc. See \textit{Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft}, Vol. 35, p. 63. The German night-keys often were 4-6 inches long.

\textsuperscript{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 Aryan 120 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

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.