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DABAREH (דַּבְּרֵת), Josh. 21²⁸ AV; RV DABERATH.

DABBASHETH, RV Dabbesheth (דַּבְּשֵׁת), § 99; Βαῖθαβασθα [B], Δαβασθα [A], -θε [L]; 'a hump,' *i.e.*, 'a hill'; cp Jos. *BJ* iv. 11, a place on the W. border of Zebulun (Josh. 1911). Conder identifies it with *Kh. Dabsheh*, on the left bank of the W. el Karm (*i.e.*, according to him the Valley of JIPHTAH-EL, mentioned in *v.* 14); but this spot is too high up in the hills, and is scarcely on the boundary line, in addition to which the name is not a probable one.

Ⓜ reads דַּבְּשֵׁת; Ⓜ reads בֵּית־דַּבְּשֵׁת. All the readings may be reconciled by reading דַּבְּשֵׁת. The initial ב was lost, owing to the preposition ב which precedes; ית (תי) was transferred to the end of the name, thus producing דַּבְּשֵׁת; י was lost, and so MT's reading was produced: עֲרֵבָה (Ⓜ) is simply a conjecture for דַּבְּשֵׁת. T. K. C.

DABERATH (דַּבְּרֵת or דַּבְּרֵת; Δαβραθ [AL]; Josh. 19¹², δαβειρωθ [B], דַּבְּרֵת [Pesh.]; Josh. 21²⁸, δεββα [B], δεβραθ [A], דַּבְּרֵת [Pesh.], AV DABAREH; 1 Ch. 672 [57], δεβρει and δαβωρ [B—a doublet], γαδερ [A], δαβηρωθ [L], דַּבְּרֵת [Pesh.]), a Levitical city (Josh. 2128) on the border of Zebulun (Josh. 19¹²), but belonging to Issachar (Josh. 2128 1 Ch. 672 [57]), is the *δαβαριρα* of Jos. (*Vit.* 62), the *Dabira* (δαβειρα) of Eus. and Jer. (OS 115²⁰ 250⁵⁴), the modern *Dabūriyeh*, a small and unimportant village, 'lying on the side of a ledge of rocks at the W. base of Mount 'Tabor' (Rob. *BR* 3210). It occupies a strategic position above the great plain at the mouth of the pass leading northwards between Tabor and the Nazareth hills. Apparently it was here that the Israelite forces mustered under Barak (GASm. *HG* 394); and it is possible to trace a connection between the name of the village and that of Deborah, without rushing to the extreme represented by C. Niebuhr (*Reconstellation des Deborahliedes*, 11 f.). May not the home of the prophetess have been at Daberath? (*so* Moore, *Judges*, 113 f.). We learn from Jos. *BJ* ii. 213 that there was a Jewish garrison here in the Roman war, 'to keep watch on the Great Plain.'

DABRIA (DABRIA), 4 Esd. 1424, a scribe: cp perhaps the name DIBRI (*q.v.*).

DACOBI, RV Dacubi (Δακογβι [A]), 1 Esd. 5^{28†} = Ezra 2⁴², AKKUB (*q.v.*, 2).

DADDEUS, RV LODDEUS (λοδαδιος [B]), 1 Esd. 8⁴⁶ = Ezra 8¹⁷, IDDO (i.).

DAGGER occurs as a rendering of:

1. דַּבֵּר, *herēbh*, Judg. 3¹⁶ 21 f. (μάχαιρα; Vg. has *gladium* in *vs.* 16²², but *sicam* in *v.* 21). RV 'sword.' See WEAPONS.

2. ἐγχειρίδιον, Bar. 6¹⁵ [14]. This word represents דַּבֵּר four times in Ⓜ, but in Jer. 50⁴² it represents דַּבֵּר. Bel's 'dagger' was, on mythological grounds, a javelin. See WEAPONS, and cp JAVELIN.

DAGON (דַּגּוֹן; Δαγων [BAL]), a god of the Philistines, who had temples at Gaza (Jndg. 16²¹ ff.) and Ashdod (1 S. 5 1 Macc. 10⁸²⁻⁸⁵ 114).¹ It appears from the passages cited, especially from the story of Samson, that the worship of Dagon was general among the Philistines (Jerome on Is. 46¹),² though it would perhaps be a mistake to regard him as a national god. Places bearing

1 The temple of Dagon in 1 Ch. 10¹⁰ is an error for Bethshan, 1 S. 31¹⁰, and in Is. 46¹ (Ⓜ 20) Dagon is a mistake for Nebo. Δαγων in Ezek. 20⁴⁶ (212) [BA] is corrupt.

2 Jerome's knowledge is doubtless derived solely from the OT.

the name BETH-DAGON (*q.v.*) are found in the Judæan Lowlands and on the boundary of Asher; in Christian times there was a Caferdago between Diospolis and Jamnia (Jerome).¹ All these places lie within a region which had been for a time in the possession of the Philistines, and it is conceivable that they received the name from them. This can hardly be the case, however, with Beit Dejan, SE. of Nābulus, which also seems to represent an ancient Beth-dagon; and it is at least equally possible that the worship of Dagon to which these names bear witness preceded the Philistine invasion—in other words, that Dagon was a god of the older Canaanite inhabitants. Philo Byblins gives Dagon a place in his Phoenician theogony, making him a son of Ouranos and Gē, and brother of Ēlos (El) or Kronos, Baitulos, and Atlas;² but we should hesitate to conclude, on this testimony alone, that Dagon was worshipped among the Phoenicians. A cylindrical seal now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, attributed by Sayce to the seventh century B.C., is inscribed with the words 'Baal Dagon' in Phoenician characters (Sayce, *Higher Criticism*, 327).

Of the character of the god we know nothing definite. Philo Byblius, deriving the name from *dāgān*, corn, interprets *στῶν*, and makes Dagon a god of husbandry, Ζεὺς ἀρότρος. Others derived the name Dagon from *dāg*, fish (cp *Shimshon* [SAMSON], from *shemesh*, sun).³ It was natural, therefore, to imagine that the god was represented in the form of a fish (so Rashi). From 1 S. 5⁴ we learn, however, that the idol of Dagon at Ashdod had a head, and hands which projected from the body; by its fall these were broken off, leaving only the trunk of the image. The Hebrew text, by some corruption, reads, 'only Dagon was left on him,' which David Kimhi (*ob. circa* 1235 A.D.) ingeniously interprets, only the form of a fish was left, adding, 'It is said that Dagon, from his navel down, had the form of a fish (whence his name, Dagon), and from his navel up, the form of a man, as it is said, his two hands were cut off.' It is not impossible that this theory, for which there does not seem to be any older Jewish authority,⁴ merely transfers to Dagon, by the help of etymology, the description given by Lucian and others of the goddess Dercēto, who was worshipped on the same coast.⁵ Not a few more modern scholars have identified her with Dagon. The prevailing opinion that Dagon was

sea monster, upward man
And downward fish,

has no other foundation than these very doubtful etymological and mythological combinations.

What relation there is between Dagon and Marnas, the principal god of Gaza in the early centuries of our era,⁷ whom the writers of the time identify with Ζεὺς

1 OS 23514 (κεπαρ αδαγων) 10415. In the inscription of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, in connection with Dor and Joppa, occur the words דַּבְּרֵת־דַּגּוֹן, which Schlotmann interpreted, 'land of Dagon,' others, 'cornlands.' Δαγων near Jericho (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 81 = *BJ* i. 23 [= Δωκ, 1 Macc. 16 15]) has nothing to do with the name of the god (see Docus).

2 Muller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 3567 f.; cp *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Βητάγων ὁ Κρόνος ὑπὸ Φουλόκων.

3 Jer., *piscis tristitia* (Ⓜ, cp Sidon, *venatio tristitia*). Other interpretations: εἶδος ἰχθύος ἢ λύπη, λέγεται δὲ καὶ δῶρόν ἐστιν ἄγλα ἢ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀρουραῖος (OS 78914).

4 Thenius would put this explanation into the text, emending דַּבְּרֵת־דַּגּוֹן to דַּבְּרֵת־דַּגּוֹן; similarly We. (דַּבְּרֵת־דַּגּוֹן), WRS; cp Dr.

5 It is unknown to the Targum, Josephus, and the Talmud. Other Jewish commentators represent Dagon with the head of a fish; see a Lyra, Aharh.

6 See ATARGATIS.

7 First attested on coins of Hadrian. See Jer. *Ep.* 107², *Vit. S. Hilar.* 1420; esp. Marc. Diac., *Vit. S. Porphyrit.*, passim.

DAISAN

Κρηταγενής, is not certain. Marnas is the Aramaic *marnā*, our Lord, and it is not impossible that the god worshipped under this appellation was, by his proper name, the old Dagon.

In the fragments of Bērössus, one of the mythical monsters, Dart fish, Dart man, who at long intervals came up from the Persian Gulf to repeat to the Chaldæans the original revelation of Oannes, is named Odacon (Ὠδάκων);¹ and as, since Kimhi, a like form was generally attributed to Dagon, it was natural to combine the two names (Selden and many others). Layard published a figure of a merman from Khorsabad, and in a note suggested that it might represent Odacon-Dagon (*Nineveh*, 1849, 246*f.*). Some later Assyriologists reproduce Layard's cut with the legend 'the fish-god Dagon.'²

There was a Babylonian god Dagān, whose name appears in conjunction with Anu and often with 'Ninib': he was, therefore, probably a god of heaven (Sayce, Jensen).³ As Sir Henry Rawlinson perceived, there is no connection whatever between this god and Bērössus' sea-monster, Odacon. Whether the Philistine Dagon is originally the same as the Babylonian Dagān cannot, with our present knowledge, be determined. The long and profound influence of Babylonia in Palestine in early times, which is attested by the Amarna tablets, makes it quite possible that Dagon, like Anath, came thence.⁴ Dagon, however, does not seem to have occupied a place of much importance in the Babylonian religion, and is much less often mentioned than the other great gods. The Assyrians did not recognise the name of the god Dagān in the town Beth-dagon, Bit-daganna (Sennacherib, *Prism Inscr.* 265), and possibly the similarity of the names may be accidental.

Of the worship of Dagon we know nothing. According to 1 S. 5: the priests and others entering his temple at Ashdod were careful not to set foot on the sill (Zeph. 19); cp Marc. Diac. 76. **3. Worship of Dagon.** What we learn from the last-named author about the worship of Marnas at Gaza—for example, that the god was invoked to send rain; that he gave oracles; that there were certain *marmora* in the temple which were peculiarly sacred, and guarded from the approach (especially) of women; that there were wells in the temple precincts—is not distinctive. Whether human sacrifices were offered there in the writer's day may be doubted; the indictment in 66 63 may refer to an earlier time.

See Selden, *De dis Syris*, 73 with Beyer's *Addimenta*; Th. Roser, *De Dagon Philistæorum idolo*, in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, 2395-961; Stark, *Gaza 74 die philistäische Küste* (52), 248-250, cp 576-580; Scholz, *Götzendienst* (77), 238-244; Baudissin, art. 'Dagon' in *PR E*(3); Menant, 'Le mythe de Dagon,' *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 11 (85) 295 ff.; Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (90), pp. 449-456. G. F. M.

DAISAN (ΔΑΙΣΑΝ [B]), 1 Esd. 531 = Ezra 248, REZIN, 2.

DALAI AH (דַּלַּי אֵה), 1 Ch. 324 AV; RV DELAI AH, 3.

DALAN (ΔΑΛΑΝ [A]), 1 Esd. 537 RV = Ezra 260, DELAI AH, 4.

DALMANUTHA (ΤΑ ΜΕΡΗ ΔΑΛΜΑΝΟΥΘΑ [Ti. WH]) takes the place in Mk. 810 of the MAGADAN (*q.v.*) of || Mt. 1539. It was 'into the parts of Dalmanutha,' we are told (Mk. 810), that Jesus came in 'the boat' with his disciples after he had 'sent away about four thousand' whom he had fed. Since in v. 13

¹ Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 2500.

² Schrader in Richm, *HWB*(2) (cp *KAT*(2) 182); Fr. Del. in *Calver Bib. lex.*(2) See esp. Menant, 'Le Mythe de Dagon,' *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* (85) 11 295 ff., where a great variety of Assyrian fish-men may be found.

³ According to the Heb. version of Tobit, Sennacherib was killed in the temple of his god Dagon (ed. Neubauer, p. 20, l. 4); but this is a mere blunder.

⁴ Cp the name *Dugantakala* in the Am. Tab., and see ASH-DOD (col. 326, n. 2).

DALMATIA

he 'departed to the other side' (*eis τὸ πέραν*), it has seemed natural to look for Dalmanutha on the W. coast of the lake. No such place, however, is known. The name does not appear in Eus. or Jer.; nor is there any trace of an analogy to it in any of the ancient itineraries or mediæval travels.

Lightfoot ('Decas Chorogr.' in *Opera*, 2413*f.*; cp *Opp. Posth.* 71) suggested that it might be an Aramaic form of Šalmōn, שַׁלְמוֹן, several times mentioned in Talmudic writings (Mishna, *Yebamoth*, 166; *Kela'im*, 49; *Orlah*, 12; Talm. *Baba Bathr.* 82*b.*) as if in the neighbourhood of Iberias; and similarly Ewald (*Hist.*, ET, 6348, n. 4) interprets it as the Galilean pronunciation of Salmon. Keim (*Jesus*, ET, 4238) takes it for Šalmānūt—i.e., 'Shady Place.' Schwarz (*Das Heil. Land*, 189) suggests that Dalmanutha, as another name for Magdala, may be derived from the cave of Ṭēlimān טְלִימָאן (Talm. Jerus. *Demai*, 2*a*), for which he proposes the caves on the cliff behind Mejdol. Neubauer, however (*Géog. Talm.* 268), says that this cave should be in the neighbourhood of Herod's Caesarea. Recently two other derivations from Aramaic have been proposed. Herz (*Exp.* 7, 8563 [Sept. '97]) suggests that Dalmanuth is a transliteration of דַּלְמַנְיָתָא, the emphatic form of דַּלְמִיָּתָא the Talmudic name for *harbour*—i.e., the hay or harbour in which Magdala stood—a designation 'one might expect of the evangelist whose gospel is founded on the preaching of Peter the fisherman. Then Nestle (*ib.* 745 [Oct. '97]), after pronouncing Herz's דַּלְמַנְיָתָא an impossible form for the emphatic דַּלְמִיָּתָא, suggests דַּלְמַנְיָתָא(7) = *eis τὰ μέρη*, 'into the parts'—i.e., of Magdala. Herz replies (*ib.* 995 [Nov. '97]) that דַּלְמַנְיָתָא is possible in the laxity of 'Talmudic transliteration and points out that in Nestle's suggestion the 7 remains unaccounted for, as well as the intrusion of a needless Syriac equivalent of the Greek. Those who place Magdala on the SE. shore of the lake have sought there for traces of the name, and Thomson (*LB* 393) suggests a ruined site half a mile up the Yarmūk from the Jordan, called Dalhamia or Dalmamia (Rob. *BR* 3264 Delhemiyeh); but this is some distance from the Lake. None of these derivations and identifications seems perfectly satisfactory. G. A. S.

DALMATIA (ΔΑΛΜΑΤΙΑ [Ti. WH], Tac., Dio Cass., *Delmatia*: Inscr. *Delmatia* and *Dalmatia*). The name does not occur in early Greek writers. The Dalmatians were an Illyrian tribe, or perhaps rather a confederation of tribes, round the town Delmion or Delminium, from which their name was derived (Strabo, 315). They had fifty settlements (*κατοικίας ἀξιολόγους*; but cp Cic. *ad Fam.* 5 10*a*), of which some ranked as cities—e.g., Salonæ or Salona (mod. *Salona* near *Spalato*). These tribes had in earlier times been loosely dependent upon the rulers of Scodra (mod. *Skutari*), and had therefore suffered from the Roman expeditions directed against Queen Teuta (229 B.C.) and Demetrios of Pharos (219 B.C.). On the accession of Genthius they revolted, and thus escaped the fate of southern Illyricum, which, on the subjugation of Macedonia, became permanently dependent upon Rome (see ILLYRICUM). Brigandage and piracy were the only native trades (Str. 317). In 155 B.C. Publius Scipio Nasica took the capital, and the Dalmatians professed subjection. A series of almost endless wars had to be waged before this central part of Illyricum was finally reduced by Octavian (33 B.C.). In the partition of provinces in 27 B.C. so peaceful was Illyricum (τὸ Δαλματικόν, Dio Cass. 5312) that it was made senatorial; but sixteen years later the Emperor was compelled to take charge of its two main sections, Dalmatia and Pannonia (*id.* 5434). A final struggle for freedom (6-9 A.D.; cp Suet. *Tib.* 16, who compares the crisis with that of the Punic Wars) was crushed by Tiberius. The coastland from Lissus to the Arsia was thereafter organised as an independent province (for its importance, see Tac. *Ann.* 45). The title of the province was 'Superior Provincia Illyricum' (*CIL* 3, 1741), or 'maritima pars Illyrici' (Vell. ii. 1255). After Augustus 'Dalmatia' is apparently the more usual title (cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 164). Its northern boundary towards Pannonia is not clearly marked; in the S. it extended to the province of Macedonia. The mention of Dalmatia in the NT is confined to a single instance ('Titus is gone to Dalmatia,' perhaps from Nicopolis: 2 Tim. 410).

The connection may be illustrated from Tac. *Ann.* 253: *honorem (consulatus) Germanicus iussit apud urbem Achaia*

DALPHON

Nicolopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso in Dalmatia agente.

It is unnecessary to suppose that the term 'Dalmatia' is used by Paul in a 'vague and general sense' (Conybeare and Howson, 2155).

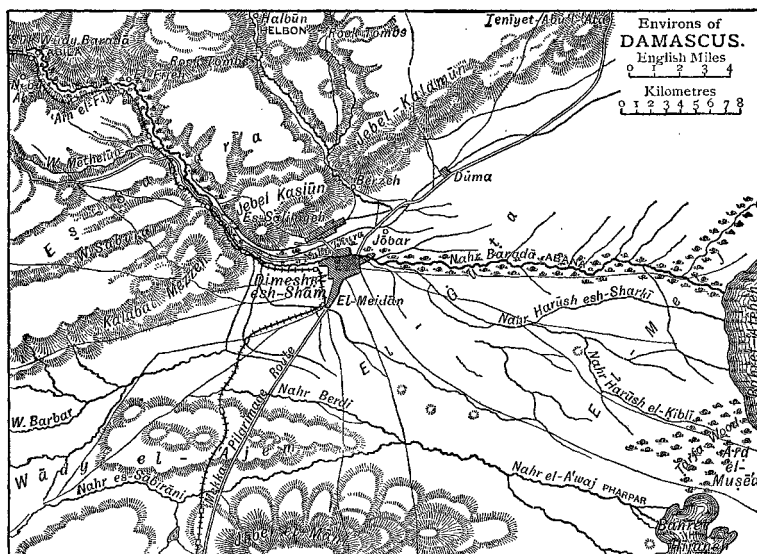
See Cons. *La Province Rom. de Dabatie* = Evans. *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum.* W. J. W.

DALPHON (דַּלְפוֹן; ΔΕΛΦΩΝ [BALβ], ΤΟΝ Α. [N^ca], ΔΔΕΛΦΩΝ [N*], ΤΟΝ ΔΔΕΛΦΟΝ ΔΥΤΟΥ [L^a]), a son of Hanian, Esth. 97. Cp ESTHER, § 3.

DAMARIS (ΔΑΜΑΡΙΣ [Ti. WH], a woman, apparently of some importance, named in Acts 17³⁴ as one of those who were converted by Paul's preaching at Athens. Chrysostom (*de Sacerd.* 47) makes her the wife of DIONYSIUS the Areopagite; so Lat. of cod. E (*cum uxore sua*), whilst its Greek has only γυνή. Wetzstein (*NT Gr.* 2573) quotes a gloss, Δαμαρ, γυνή, γαμετή. λέγεται καὶ Δαμαρις.

DAMASCUS. The English Damascus is the Greek ΔΑΜΑΣΚΟΣ. The Heb. is usually דַּמְשֶׁק, Dammesek; but twice (1 Ch. 18⁵ 2 Ch. 28⁵; cp 2 K.

1. Name. 36¹⁰ דַּרְמֶשֶׁק דַּרְמֶשֶׁק, Darmesek. The origin and meaning of the name are unknown.



Walker & Boutall sc.

Both forms occur in the Targums. The Aramaic form is Darmesek, later Syriac Darmesuk; Talmud. Dürmaskin. Both forms occur in the Egyptian lists: Ti-man-ku in the sixteenth century B.C. and Sa-ra-maski for Ti-ra-mas-ki in the thirteenth (WMM, *As. u. Eur.*). In Assyrian the town is Dimaški or Dimaška; the kingdom (in Heb., Aram of Damascus) Māt ša imerišu, a phrase of uncertain meaning. The Arabic is Dimašk, or Dimišk es Šām—i.e., Damascus of Syria—usually contracted to es-Šām. The instances of the form with *mm* in OT are later than those with double *m*; hut, if the Egyptian transliteration be correct, *mm* is as old as the thirteenth century B.C. Whether *mm* arose by assimilation (see below, § 6) from *mm*, or *mm* by dissimilation from *mm*, is not clear.

Damascus has occupied its present site certainly since Greek times, probably from the remotest antiquity.

The city lies in the NW. corner of the **2. Geography.** *Güta*, a fertile plain to the E. of Hermon. To the E. of the city this is known as el-Merj, the Ager Damascenus.

The *Güta* is some 30 m. by 8 of 19, and 2300 ft. above sea-level. It is bounded on the W. by Hermon, on the N. by a long barren offshoot of Antilibanus, on the E. by a long line of volcanic hills, the Tellit, which shut out the great desert, and on the S. by the Jebel 'Aswad, beyond which lies Haurān. It is traversed on the N. by the seven streams of the *Baradā* and on the S. by the *Barbar* and *A'waj* (see ABANA, PHARPAR). The fertility is very great. There are many fields of corn and

DAMASCUS

maize; but groves of poplar and walnut, orchards of apricot, pomegranate, pistachio, and almond with hedges and underwood, so abound (see below, § 10), that the distant view of the *Güta* is as of an almost unbroken sea of verdure. From this the white, smokeless city rises like an island, near the barren limestone hills on the north of it.

The bulk of the city is set along the main stream of the *Baradā*, 2 m. from where the latter breaks upon

the plain. It spreads about a mile from

3. The City. E. to W. and half a mile from N. to S.; but from the southern gate a suburb, the Meidān, consisting almost wholly of one street, stretches for another mile. The city is thus mallet-shaped, the head lying N. to the *Baradā*, the shaft S. along the Meccanroad. Between the *Baradā* and the hills there is another suburb, *Šālihiyeh*; but it is scattered and half hidden in trees.

most of Syria should yet have held in perennial vigour one of the most ancient of cities, the real capital of Syria, and enabled it to survive the real wars and changes of empire

4. Secret of prosperity. which have overthrown or reduced to poverty every other great city of that part of the world, is due to the combination of so rich a fertility with a position so forward on the desert and so central to Western Asia.

Damascus is an indispensable harbour of refuge on the desert; the market of the nomads; the outpost of the Mediterranean world towards farther Asia; central to Egypt, the Levant, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Khurdistan. Her great roads lead to N. Syria, the upper Euphrates by Palmyra to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf; by the Gulf of 'Akaba to Mecca; through Syria to Cairo; and by the upper Jordan and Galilee to Acre, which is her natural port on the Mediterranean—though at times political exigencies have connected her more closely with Tyre, Sidon, or Tripoli, and to-day the great French road and railway across the Lebanon carry her western trade to Beirut. She thus lay on the commercial lines of traffic between Western Europe and India by the Persian Gulf: between the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile; between Arabia and Asia Minor. SO

inevitable an emporium, Damascus was only less favourable a seat of empire. She has always been the natural capital of Lebanon and Eastern Palestine. As long as an Eastern power ruled, she remained the capital also of Syria; but during the Greek and Roman dominion (330 B.C.—634 A.D.) she yielded her supremacy to Antioch.

The Arabs first made for Damascus, and then used her as the base of their Syrian conquests. Under the Omayyad Khalifs she was the capital of the Moslem empire from Spain to India.

With so many communications Damascus has always been the home of a motley crowd—Syrians, Arabs, Greeks, and Kurds, with Turks and Jews.

5. Arts. Yet it has preserved, apparently through all ages, a very distinctive character for skill in handicrafts. Damascus, though it has never been a great school of letters, has always been a school of arts; even more a manufactory than a market or a garden. The English terms, Damask (originally any figured or patterned textile)¹ and Damascene blade; the German Damast and Damascieren and Damascener; the French Damasquinerie and Damasquinure (embossing on steel) are proofs of the inventiveness and technical skill of the people, which seem to reach back to a very remote time. In the middle ages Damascus was famous for its patterned and brocaded cloths, especially silks and wools ('an inimitable perfection of work' according to Idrisi), its glass, sword-blades, and embossed and enamelled metal-work. In the beginning of the Christian era, to 'carry wool to Damascus' was, according to the Talmud, a proverb, equivalent to our 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' Ezekiel (27:18) speaks of the city's exportation of wine and wool for the manufactures of Phœnicia (cp Toy, *SBOT*, but see Cornill, *ad loc.*); 2 K. 8:9 mentions the 'goods of Damascus.' Ahaz made a copy of its richly decorated altar (2 K. 16:10 ff.).

The extreme antiquity of Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* i. 64:7²) was a not unnatural inference from its perennial vigour throughout historical times. Down

6. Early History. to the eleventh century B.C., however, the references to it are few and uncertain. A local tradition (found also in Nicolaus Dam. *Fr.* 30, *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* i. 72) connects Damascus with Abraham; and there is twice mention of it in the JE narrative of the patriarch's life (Gen. 14:15 15:2; see HOBAN, ELIEZER, 1). In the sixteenth century Ti-mas-ku occurs as the thirteenth in the list of the Syrian conquests of Thotmes III. (*RP*² 544); Timaš-gi, Dimaš-ka are read in the Amarna tablets (15th cent.) (13963 14221). These tablets describe the invasion of N. Syria by the Hittites, before whom the Egyptian outposts had to give way, and for the next three centuries Damascus lay upon the vacillating frontier between the two powers. In the fourteenth century, Rameses II. extended his conquests to Beirüt and probably included Damascus. At the close of the thirteenth century, in lists of the conquests of Rameses III., Sa-ra-maski for Ti-ra-mas-ki (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 227) is mentioned. The addition of *r* to the name is taken (*ib.* 234) as proof that the regions of Damascus had meanwhile come under Aramæan influence (but see ARAM), and so when at last they appear in the OT historical books, in the campaigns of David toward the end of the eleventh century, we find them possessed by a number of Aramæan states, for the rise of which room had been made by the overthrow of the Hittites nearly a hundred years previously by Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1106). The chief of these Aramæan states was Šöbah (see DAVID, § 8 6) under king Hadadezer, to whose help against David came Aram of Dammeseq (2 S. 8:5; cp 1 Ch. 18:5). David,

¹ It is not at all probable that Damascus had acquired a reputation for the manufacture of damask as early as the time of Amos, though RV of Am. 3:12^b assumes this; 'Damask' and 'Damascus' may have no connection. In Ar. the forms are different—*dimaks* for the stuff, and *Dimakš* for the city. Probably (as Fränkel, *Fremdwörter*, 40, referred to by Driver, *artloc.*, is of opinion) *dimaks* comes by metathesis from *midakš*. On Am. *loc.*, see AMOS, § 5 n.; BED, § 5.

after his victory, is said to have planted garrisons in the territory of Damascus; but that these had no permanence is plain from what we hear of Rešön ben Eliädä the freebooter, who 'came to Damascus, and dwelt there, and reigned in Damascus, and was a foe to Israel all the days of Solomon' (1 K. 11:23-25).

We have now reached the point at which Damascus becomes chief of the Aramæan confederacy, and enters

7. Ben-hadad. upon her first great period of political supremacy (*circa* 1000-733 B.C.). Her history is articulate, and we have a pretty full, though not complete, list of her kings. Who Rešön b. Eliädä (1 K. 11:23) was is disputed; probably (see, however, HEZION) he was the same as Hezion, father of Tabrimmon, father of the Ben-hadad (Bir-idri, known as Ben-hadad I.) who about 925 B.C. helped ASA (*q.v.*) against Baasha (1 IC. 15:18 ff.). It was perhaps the same Ben-hadad who, some twenty years later, defeated Omri and won the right of 'establishing quarters' (see TRADE AND COMMERCE) in Samaria (1 K. 20:34; Nic. bam. *Fr.* 31). The son of Ben-hadad I. (or Ben-hadad himself? See BEN-HADAD, § 2), whom also the OT calls Ben-hadad, but a contemporary inscription of Shalmaneser II. of Assyria (854 B.C.) calls Hadadezer (see, however, BEN-HADAD, § 2), besieged AHAB (*q.v.*) in Samaria, but was repulsed there and again at Aphek, on which Ahab received the right to 'establish quarters for himself' in Damascus. In 854 the combined forces of N. Israel, Damascus, and other states were defeated at Karkar (see AHAB) by Shalmaneser II., who again, in 850 and in 847, overthrew Ben-hadad. The Assyrian empire was thus steadily advancing on Damascus; but the latter was still the terror of Israel (2 K. 5:7, the story of Naaman), made regular raids over Jordan, and even besieged Samaria (2 K. 6:7; see JEHORAM, 1) till Ben-hadad was drawn off by rumours of northern war. Disgraced by defeats

so numerous, he was slain by HAZAEL (*q.v.*), at least if the text of 2 K. 8:15 is correct. Hazael then became king, and warred with Jehoram (*ib.* 28 f.), also with Shalmaneser II., by whom he was defeated in 843 and in 840, the second time with the loss of four cities and much spoil out of Damascus. Still, he succeeded in depriving Jehu of all Israel's territory E. of Jordan, and in extending the dominion of Damascus southwards to the Arnon (2 K. 10:32; cp Am. 13). He also took Gath, and was bought off from an invasion of Judah only by large tribute from Jehoash (1217 [18] f.). Hazael and his son Ben-hadad III. (or II.) were able to oppress Israel through the reigns of Jehu's successors Jehoahaz and Joash (2 IC. 13:25), for under Šamši-rammān the Assyrian armies did not cross the Euphrates (ASSYRIA, § 32), and Damascus was free for the time from the Northern terror. By 805 Assyria was again pressing

towards Palestine, and in 803 King Mari' (**9. Mari'.** Ben-hadad II. 7) of Pamasus (see BEN-HADAD, § 3) was successfully besieged by Rammān-nirari III. This disaster to Damascus permitted JEROBOAM II. (*q.v.*) to recover the territory that Hazael had taken from Israel, and for a time Israel held part of the territory of Damascus (2 K. 14:28; not necessarily the city). In 773 Damascus again suffered from the Assyrians, who invaded the country also in 772, 767, 755, and 754 (ASSYRIA, § 32).

It was the beginning of the end. In 743-740 Tiglath-pileser III. made his first Syrian campaign, and his annals (*KB* 230) contain the name Ra-sun-nu (*mat*)Gar-imeri-šu (*i.e.*, of Damascus) as paying tribute! This Ra-Sun-nu is the Rezin of the Syro-Israelitish war (see AHAZ, TABELL), whose invasion of Judah brought about an Assyrian intervention (2 IC. 16:7 ff.). Perhaps the danger which now threatened Damascus was the occasion of the allusions to the city in Is. 17:1. In 733 Tiglath-pileser—whether before or after his subjection of N. Israel and the

Philistine cities is not quite clear—defeated Rezin, shut him up in Damascus, cut down the plantations (see above, § 2) round the city (he numbers the trees at 13,520), took the city, executed Rezin, and carried the people into captivity (Schr. *COT* 1252 ff.; cp 2 K. 169). It was after this, in 732, that Ahaz visited Damascus, and obtained the pattern of the altar which he saw there (*ib.* 10).

Up to this time Damascus had possessed great political influence: her confidence in herself, her power of recuperation, and her military skill are amply proved by her restless energy in Syrian politics, even while she was bleeding from the reiterated attacks of Assyria. The blow which Tiglath-pileser inflicted, however, absolutely destroyed her political power. She seems to have been reduced to the same position as Samaria.

Shalmaneser IV., Sargon, and Sennacherih mention no king of Damascus in all their Syrian lists; and the only notice of the town for a century is in the Khorsabad inscription of Sargon, where (about the year 713) Damascus is said to have joined Arpad, Simirra (see ZEMARITE), and Samaria in a league formed by Hamath against Assyria. The allied forces were crushed by Assyria at Karḫar (*KB* 257). Next century Damascus is omitted from the list of twenty-two kingdoms given by Esarhaddon.

She is not mentioned by the prophets, except in a doubtful passage of the Book of Jeremiah (4923-27) where she is given over to fear and flight, and by Ezekiel who names her, only in passing, as a customer of Tyre (2718), and a point of measurement for the Holy Land (4716 ff.). If then important, she would be certainly occupied by Pharaoh Necho in 610 and Nebuchadrezzar in 604 ff.

Under the Persians Damascus was a seat of authority, and very prosperous (Strabo xvi. 220).

Cambyes died there (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 22), and there Darius deposited his family and treasures before the battle of Issus, after which they were surrendered to Alexander's general Parmenio (Quint. Curt. 313). After an unsuccessful revolt the Greek supremacy was established (*ib.* 41), and there are extant coins of Alexander issued from the city.

At the death of Alexander, Syria with Phœnicia fell to Laomedon, the capital being Damascus (Id. 1020).

The western people, however, to whom Syria was now subject, required a centre near the Levant, and Damascus became second in Syria to Antioch, the upstart capital of the Seleucidae.

The diminished importance of Damascus is well illustrated by the small part it plays, as contrasted with Antioch, in those hooks of the *Antiquities* of Josephus (xii. f.) which deal with the third and second centuries B.C. Its more natural connection with N. Syria than with S. kept Damascus in the hands of the Seleucidae, even when Palestine and Phœnicia were held by the Ptolemies; but several times it fell to the latter: e.g., in 320 under Ptolemy I. (regained by Antigonos in 314); in 280 when Ptolemy II. probably occupied it (regained by Antiochus I. 280-262); in 246 when, however, it was only besieged by Ptolemy III. and relieved by Selencus II. in 242 (cp Schiirer, *Hist.* 395).

In the Rooks of the Maccabees Damascus is mentioned only as being twice visited by Jonathan (circa 144 B.C.: I Macc. 1162 1232; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5510).

The kingdom of the Seleucidae was divided in 111 B.C., and Damascus must have fallen with the southern part to Antiochus IX. or Kyzikenus (cp Eus. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, in Schiirer, *op. cit.* 97, and Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 134). It was retained by Antiochus' son, and then fell to Demetrius Eukæros, and after his overthrow (circa 86 B.C.) to Antiochus XII. or Dionysus, from whom it was transferred (though only for a short time) by Milesius, the governor of the citadel, and the populace, to his brother Philip (Jos. *ib.* 151).

Antiochus XII. was defeated by ARETAS (*g.v.*), the Nabataean, and with Ccelesyria Damascus continued

in Arabian hands (though pressed hard by Alex. Jannæus [*ib.* 153]), and Ptolemy Menneus, against whom Queen Alexandra of Judæa [78-69 B.C.] sent her son Aristobulus [*ib.* 163; *BJ* i. 53]) till the occupation in 65 by the Roman legions under Lollius and Metellus (*Ant.* xiv. 23; *BJ* i. 62), who were followed in 64 by Pompey.

After this the exact political position of Damascus is difficult to define.

Though Josephus does not know Damascus as a member of the Decapolis (he calls Scythopolis the greatest town of the latter), the name is in Pliny's list (*HN* 516). Under Cassius 44-42 B.C.) there was a Roman commandant, Fabius, in Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 117 121; *BJ* i. 121 f.), and the Nabataeans appear to have been driven to the E. and to the S. of Haurān. Somewhere about 38 B.C. Mark Antony gave Cleopatra 'Ccelesyria' and parts of the Jndæan and Arabian territories (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 384 f.; *BJ* i. 85); she visited Damascus, and we have coins of 37, 36, and 32 that were struck in her honour, though other coins of about the same date do not bear any mark of her (De Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, 30 f.).

In 31 B.C. occurred the battle of Actium, and the Damascene coins bear till 33 A.D. the names of Augustus and Tiberius, under the latter of whom the Damascenes had a dispute with the Sidonians about their boundaries (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 63), a fact which shows how extensive their territory must have been (Schiirer, 98). There are, however, no coins of Caligula nor of Claudius, nor any of Nero till his ninth year in 63. It was during this time that the apostle Paul tells us (see ARETAS) that not the Romans but 'an ethnarch under Aretas the king held the city of the Damascenes' (a form of expression which betrays the fact that it was usual to think of Damascus as an independent city); see ETHNARCH.

We do not know to what degree power in Damascus passed from the Romans to the Nabataean king. Nor, indeed, whether Rome actually held it then (cp Schiirer, *HJ* 2356 ff. 398; M'Giffert, *Apost. Age*, 164 n. 2). At any rate, the city again came under Rome in Nero's reign (53-68 A.D.); but the Nabataeans continued to hold the neighbourhood to the E. till 106, when Trajan brought their whole kingdom into the Empire. Under Hadrian and his successors Damascus bore the title *μετρόπολις* (De Saulcy, 37 f.), under Alexander Severus, *colonia* (*ib.* 43).

Under both Romans and Byzantines the city continued to flourish; yet so long as these Westerns ruled Syria she was only second to Antioch; and it was not till

the Moslem invasion—they took Damascus in 634, Antioch in 635—that the city in the desert resumed the first rank, and the city on the Levant began to decline. For a century, 650-750, Damascus had the Khalifate under the Omayyads; she was never taken by the Crusaders, whose pivot was Antioch; she was the capital of Saladin, and being bound to Mecca by the Hajj, which starts from her gates, she has kept her place in the regard of Islām, while her fertility and her unique position have enabled her to survive the depopulations to which she has been subjected by conquerors like Timur, and the awful pestilences with which she has again and again been infected by her annual connection with Mecca.

Besides the works mentioned above and general treatises on the history and geography of Syria, see Noris, *Annus et Epœche Syriacæ*, etc., Leipzig, 1696;

15. Literature. Maundrell's *Journey to Damascus*; Arnold's art. in *PKF*(1), and Nöldeke's art. in Schenkel's *BL*; Rob. *LBR*, 3442-468; Porter, *Geogr. Journal*, 264, 'Five Years in Damascus'; Kinglake's *Eothen*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; GASm, *HG*, chap. 30. G. A. S.

DAN (17 see below, § 1; ΔΑΝ [BAL]; gentilic Danite, דָּנָי; ΔΑΝΕΙ [B], ΑΑΝ [BAL], ΔΑΝ[Ε]ΙΤΑΙ

1. Name. [BNA I Ch. 1235]), eponymous head of the tribe of the same name. The name, like

many other tribal names, is obscure. It appears, however, to bear the same relation to the personal names Daniel and Abidan as the clan name Ram does to Jehoram and Abiram, or on the other hand Jacob and Joseph to two ancient town names ending in -el (see JACOB, JOSEPH, § 1). It is therefore no doubt a divine title, 'judge' (i.e., 'deliverer'?). Cp the Assyrian repeatedly recurring royal name Ašur-dan—'Ašur is judge' (cp Nabudan)—and the name of Shalmaneser II.'s general Dayan-Ašur, as also the epithet *dānu* (*daiānu*) applied to the sun-god (cp SAMSON, § 1) and the moon-god.

Dan is apparently etymologically related to the name of another Israelitish tribe of whose history still less is known (see DINAH); but it would be less safe to assume any etymological connection with Midian. That the meaning of the name was not quite forgotten appears, e.g., from the popular derivation in Gen. 306 (E) and the paronomasia in Gen. 4916 (J), although the latter passage applies the epithet to the tribe itself, not to its god.

The verb *dān* is used quite freely, not only in the earlier literature (JE Gen. 15.14; Is. 3.13) but also (especially) from the exile onwards (Jer. Pss, etc.); so also the derivatives; but, as in the case of other old tribe names, the root does not seem to have been used in the formation of proper names in later times (see ABI-DAN, ENOCH, § 1), its place being apparently taken by the synonymous *shaphat* (see JEHOSHAPHAT), which on the whole prevailed in Hebrew and Phœnician, while less used in Assyrian and not certainly used at all in the southern Semitic dialects where *dān* continued to prevail.

Dan evidently belonged to the N. (Joseph) group of Israelitish clans. Not, however, in the same sense as Benjamin. Dan was a Bilhah clan and may, not improbably, have been older than Joseph, as the uatriarch stories represent (see BILHAH). If so, the onward pressure of Joseph, though probably not hostile, may have co-operated with the other influences that prevented it from settling permanently in central Palestine—though the apparent southward movement of the Danites from Zorah-Eshtaal to Kirjath-jearim (Judg. 18.12) could not well be quoted in support of such a possibility (see MAHANEH-DAN). Whilst Dinah, if it was a pre-historic clan of the same or a kindred stock (it is called indeed daughter of Leah; but Dan took as its priest a Levite of Judah), suffered the fate of absorption (see DINAH), Dan, though it may have allied itself with Joseph for a time, was eventually compelled by its own energy and the force of circumstances to emigrate, just as perhaps the older Leah tribes emigrated in the opposite direction. If Dan was not older than Joseph, it must be regarded as an unsuccessful precursor of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 1 *f.*; so Stade).

The earliest mention of the tribe is in the 'Song of Deborah.' The poet upbraids Dan for seeking protection of (or living heedlessly by) the ships, instead of coming forward manfully like the brother Bilhah tribe to fight 'on the heights of the open field' (see NAPHTALI). This reference to ships is obscure. It has been interpreted of the southern seat of the tribe;¹ but its proximity and resemblance to the phrase about Asher seems to suggest that the tribe is thought of as in its northern seat (so Moore and Bu., *ad loc.*).

The expression used of Dan is quite unique. One shrinks from drawing any definite conclusion from the passage. If the text is sound,² it may mean that Dan was, like Asher, though no doubt to a less extent (18.7c), under the sway of Phœnician influence. It is much more likely, however, to have been involved with the Aramaeans than with the Phœnicians; for although Tell-el-Kādi is fully 40 m. distant from Damascus and not 30 from Tyre (the latter was not in historic times so energetic in extending its influence in the Palestine hinterland as Damascus was (cp DAMASCUS, § 4). Although we do not know when the Aramaeans began to press southwards, there is no reason to suppose that the Aramaean element represented by such places as Beth-Maacah appeared only after the times of the Song of Deborah. However that may be, in time at least the Aramaeans made their influence felt very decidedly. We are still far from understanding fully the history of their relations with Israel; but it may well be doubted whether there ever was a stable or even a definite line between their respective domains. The population of the border region seems to have been largely Aramaean. Benhadad I. had no difficulty in seizing Dan and other places in its neighbourhood, and it does not appear whether Israel was ever able politically to assert a serious, or at least a lasting, claim to them. The fact that the operations of Tiglath-pileser III. (180 years later), in suppression of the plot of Rezon and his accomplice Pekah were confined to this same district, would be accounted for if it were more unequivocally connected with Damascus than the rest of Israel was (so Winckler).

¹ Nöldeke suggests (in a private communication) that it is not inconceivable that members of the tribe may have taken to fishing.

² נִאֲוִיִּי might easily arise by transposition from נִאֲוִיִּי (the suggestion was made also by Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 16, n. 2, followed by Marq. *Fund.* 7; cp Ki. *Gesch.* i. 265, n. 1. Bu. has since abandoned it: *KHC*, *ad loc.*). נִאֲוִיִּי, however, occurs oftener in the phrase נִאֲוִיִּי וְקִרְיָתֵי־יָעָרִים and Nöldeke argues that neither of the districts in which Dan was settled contained such pastureland. Perhaps נִאֲוִיִּי need not be quite so definite in meaning; but if we accept נִאֲוִיִּי, this would presuppose the Song's having been committed to writing some time before the Blessing of Jacob was brought into its present form (cp Gen. 49. 13).

When J wrote, Dan was still indeed honoured (2 S. 20.18 6), but possibly somewhat as a survival of a time gone by; it was not felt to be a living force in Israel—Bilhah was but a concubine (Gen. 35.22). It must not, however, be inferred, from the fact that the 'Blessing of Jacob' says Dan judges its people like an Israelitish tribe (v. 16), that, when the Blessing took shape, Dan was felt to be hardly in reality a part of genuine Israel at all. It is clear, from the early authority referred to above (2 S. 20.18 6), that the city of Dan was proverbial as a well-known home of genuine old Israelitish ideas and practices, which is the more credible that we are told that its priests traced their origin to Moses¹ himself (Judg. 18.30). We need not wonder, then, if the importance of this sanctuary was formally acknowledged in some way or other (see CALF, GOLDEN, § 1) by Jeroboam I. [*q.v.*]. The N. settlement of Dan, however, perhaps did not amount to much more than the town of that name. Nor need the repeated mention of the town in the standing phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba,'² which not unnaturally suggests that it had some importance, have really had any political significance. Both places may have owed their celebrity to their ancient sanctuaries.

This may perhaps help us to understand the preservation of such an unrivalled collection of popular legend as we find in the latter part of Judges, unless indeed the stories of the Samson cycle are quite as much connected with the geographical district about Zorah, etc. (cp the mention of a place called Sa-ma-ša-na in that neighbourhood at least as early as Rameses II.; Lepsius, *Denkm.* 144.1; cp BETH-SHEMESH, 1; SAMSON) as with any particular Israelitish tribe; they involve Hebron, if הֶבְרֹן in Judg. 16.3 is correct, and may be thought to have some relation to the stories of SHAMMAH and SHAMGAR (*q.v.*).

In Amos's time the northern Dan still ranked with Bethel (? so We. *ad loc.*) and Beersheba as a representative sanctuary (Am. 8.14; on the reading cp AMOS, § 20); but, whatever it was then, the troublous time which ended with the fall of the N. kingdom (2 K. 15.29) and the changed conditions which resulted must have profoundly modified the position even of an ancient sanctuary town. This would perhaps account for the absence of all mention of it from P's geographical scheme. Still, even in the days of Jeremiah, although the phrase 'Dan to Beersheba' had given place to 'Geba to Beersheba' (2 K. 23.8), an invasion was felt to be begun when the enemy passed Dan (Jer. 4.15 8.16).

If any legends ever gathered round the name of the eponymous head of Dan, they have entirely perished.

4. Traditions. All the more noteworthy is the abundance of traditions about the tribe. These are of two kinds. First there are the stories which, after circulating orally for many generations, were eventually committed to writing, and afterwards given so large a place in the latter portion of our present Book of Judges (*q.v.*, § 16). These are among the best-known of the traditions of Israel. Then there are the most valuable fragmentary notices in Josh. 19.47³ Judg. 13.4 *f.*—mere scraps rescued from what the pre-exilic histories had to tell of the fortunes of this tribe (on the 'Blessings' see below, § 8). All these traditions, however,—both those that may fairly be treated as historical in their nature, and those that are mainly legendary—deal with two closely related points, the struggles which the tribe had with its non-Israelite neighbours, and its migration northwards.

Dan, it would seem, made the attempt to push its way down from the highlands of Ephraim (see above, § 2) into the territory still completely dominated by the

¹ On the true reading, see MANASSEH.

² This phrase really occurs only seven times (all between Judg. 20 and 1 K. 4.25 [5.5]), and in certain of these passages it may be suspected of being late. The Chronicler (perhaps naturally) prefers the reverse order (Beersheba to Dan: 1 Ch. 21.2 [= 2 S. 24.2 'Dan to Beersheba'], 2 Ch. 30.5f.). See *Expositor*, Dec. 93, pp. 411-421 ('Dan to Beersheba': the literary history of the phrase and the historical problems it raises).

³ 6B has *ουδα* for *δαν* in v. 47 (*i.e.*, 47 *ba* of MT), *ου* having been ditographed from the preceding *υου*.

Canaanites. Whether it at first succeeded (Josh. 19^{47a}, if we read נָשָׁא; cp E and 2 K. 61) and then was driven back (Judg. 134) by the Philistines (cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 18. n. 1) or—since it is difficult to see how 'Philistines' could be changed, editorially or by a gloss, to Amorites—by the Canaanites (Judg. 134 *f.*), or whether it never really established itself at all satisfactorily to the SW. of Ephraim, being forced back before it had really settled, we can hardly say. On some grounds it would perhaps seem probable either that it separated quite late from Ephraim or that it settled for some considerable time. Otherwise we should perhaps hardly have such clear traditions of the incidents of the subsequent migration (contrast the legendary character of the Samson stories); although it is not at all clear what the history of these traditions is (see above, § 4). In any case, it seems pretty clear that the main strength of the clan (קַנְזַנִּים) migrated northwards; but did not some remain? Probably.

Not so much because the MT represents the 600 fighting men as being *some of* the clan (Judg. 1811; E 'clans,' $\delta\eta\mu\omega\nu$) of Dan (for the partitive preposition D , which here has the same letter not only after it but also before it, might very well be due to dittography), nor perhaps because the existence of a remnant is needed to explain the copious traditions of the early fortunes of the tribe already referred to (see also below), but because it is difficult otherwise to account for the priestly writer assigning it solely to the southern territory.

Those who remained, however, seem hardly to have been able to make good a separate tribal existence; for it was, according to J, not Dan, but the house of Joseph, that finally gained the upper hand over the Canaanites (Judg. 135)—whatever that may refer to (see Bu. *XI. Sa.* 18, n. 2).

According to Josh. 19⁴⁷ (emended text), the border of the children of Dan was too narrow for them, and so

6. Migration. they went up and fought against Leshem (Lesham?) and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called it Dan. It is possibly the same writer who explains in Judg. 134 that the overcrowding of Dan was because 'the Amorite' forced them into the hill country. This Dan (see next article) became, as we have seen, if it was not already, a famous sanctuary, and it is not surprising that the story of its incorporation into Israel was a favourite with those who put into literary form the traditions of Israel's early days.

Many as are the obscurities of the narrative as we now have it in Judg. 17 *f.*, one thing is clear: several hands have worked at it (see JUDGES §§ 312). A deputation of Danites, after consulting a priest in Mount Ephraim, find a roomy district, easy of attack, in the far north, and return to Zorah to conduct their tribesmen thither. On the route they manage in one way or another to get the priest they had consulted to accompany them with the image he tended, which, having settled in their new home, they constitute their national palladium.

The main points in this story must be facts. How long the sanctuary maintained itself we do not know exactly (see the two independent representations in Judg. 18³⁰ *f.*, and cp

7. Cycle of legends. SHILOH, JONATHAN, 1). Of a very different character are the stories that have gathered round the name of Samson; but they are more naturally treated elsewhere, the more so that we cannot be quite sure how far they are really to be regarded as Israelite in any ordinary sense, not to say Danite. See SAMSON.

Whether the metaphors of the serpent (Gen. 49¹⁷) and the lion's whelp (Dt. 3322) in the several 'Blessings' are simply later echoes perpetuating the memory of the famous raid on Leshem, or whether they point to a repetition of such raids by this lion-city itself (Stade, *GVV* 1168), we do not know; the latter is not perhaps unlikely.¹

¹ The metaphor of the serpent on the way, biting the horse's heels and throwing the rider backwards, has been supposed to refer to embarrassment of the Aramaeans in their wars with Israel.

At a later date, indeed, these references came to be interpreted of the southern Dan (Targ. Onk.) and of Samson in particular (Targ. Jon. and Jerus.). The fact, however, that P has nothing whatever to tell us of the territory of the N. Danites perhaps shows how this might come about.¹ On the other hand, the eulogistic sense in which the words are explained is remarkable in view of the ill odour that attached to the name of Dan in later times (see below, § 9).

What the outlines of the district assigned by P to Dan were, P nowhere states; perhaps he was himself unable to formulate any (cp the case of Simeon, Josh. 191-9). That he meant them to be inferred from his account of the adjacent tribes (Benjamin, Judah, Ephraim) is possible; but he is not usually afraid of repetition. Of the sixteen (in MT seventeen) places which P assigns to Dan, eight may be regarded as identified beyond reasonable doubt (see ZORAH, ESHTAOL, IR-SHEMESH, AJALON, TIMNAH, EKRON, JEHUD, BENE-BERAK), while ME-JARKON (*v. v.*, and see RAKKON, MAKAZ) must probably be sought in the neighbourhood of *Rās el-Ain*. In Josh. 15 the same writer assigns not only Timnah (*v. 57*) and Ekron (*v. 45*), which are historically best known as Philistine cities, but also Zorah and Eshtaol, where if anywhere the Danites were settled, to JUDAH.²

Still less to be trusted is the account of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 122, end), which, likewise ignoring altogether the N. Dan, actually makes S. Dan extend as far N. as Dor and as far S. as Ashdod. Although P represents Dan as, next to Judah, the largest tribe at the end of the nomadic period (Nu. 2643), both P and the Chronicler³ tend otherwise to give the tribe the scantiest possible consideration. In Joshua it is the last to have its lot assigned to it (19⁴⁰ *f.*). The Dan fragment is the last of those collected in Judg. 1 (2.34 *f.*). The tribe stands last in the list in 1 Ch. 2716-22. In Rev. (chap. 7) it is omitted altogether (see below, § 9), and the same fate seems to have befallen it in the genealogical lists in 1 Ch. 2 *f.*⁴ In the form of the list now appearing in Gen. 4623= Nu. 2642 *f.*⁵ (both P), indeed, Dan is credited with one family; but one cannot be quite sure that the statement may not be a very late addition founded on the notion (propounded in modern times by Bertheau, *ad loc.*) that Aher (= 'another') in 'HUSHIM, the sons of Aher' (1 Ch. 712b), was a circumlocution for Dan rather than a corruption of Ahior or some other name (see BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. a). At all events, the omission of a Dan list from his lists by the Chronicler would be no

¹ It might indeed be argued from four of P's lists of tribes—the two census lists (Nu. 120 *f.* 26), and the two camp lists (21 *f.* 10)—that Dan is regarded as a northern tribe, being grouped in a triplet with Asber and Naphtali. But (1) it is immediately preceded by Benjamin, and (2) in the list of tribal representatives who took part in the census Gad is not, as in the census and camp lists, oddly classed with Reuben and Simeon, but with the triplet in question: that is to say, the four concubine tribes are taken together.

² On the other hand, the Chronicler probably did not really mean to make Gath-rimmon Ephraimite (1 Ch. 669 [54]): see next note but one.

³ A peculiar fact is that P makes the associate of Bezaleel of Judah in the construction of the tabernacle a Danite (Ex. 316), whilst the Chronicler makes Hnram-abi, who had the same position in the work of Solomon's temple a man of Tyre whose mother was of Dan (but see 1 K. 714, with Klo's note, and cp HURAM-ABI). P makes the mother of the man who 'blasphemed the Name' son of a woman of Dan by an Egyptian (Lev. 2410 *f.*).

⁴ In the Chronicler's list of tribes in which Levitical cities were appointed (1 Ch. F54 [39] *f.*) Dan appears to be omitted; but *v. 61* [46] is obviously corrupt. A comparison with its source in Josh. 2120-26 [P] shows that the name of Dan has dropped out, whilst the fact that Ephraim also, though preserved by E in 1 Ch. 661 [46], is dropped in MT shows that the omission is not intentional. It has accordingly been restored by Kan. in *HS* and Ki. in *SBOT*. In the enumeration of the towns by name farther down (*v. 67* [52]-81 [66]) Dan is again omitted (this time without the company of Ephraim); but the probable explanation of this omission of Dan is that either the Chronicler or some copyist has accidentally omitted Josh. 2123; for the consequence is that *v. 24* is copied as if it belonged to *v. 22*, Ajalon and Gath-rimmon being assigned to Ephraim, and the Kohathite cities becoming eight, instead of ten, as stated above in 1 Ch. 661 [46].

⁵ Hushim (H S M) = Shubam (S H M).

DAN

stranger than his omission of Zebulun, which has three families assigned it by P in Gen. 46 14 = Nu. 26 26.

It is a fact, however, that in later times Dan was in disrepute. In the Targums, indeed, as we have seen, the tribe is held in high esteem; but in Talmudic times this is changed. Thus *Midr. Rab.* on Numb. declares that when Jeroboam went from tribe to tribe none joined him so readily as Dan. In the Talmud (*Shabbath* 66), accordingly, Dan represents idolatry. Further, out of the very same passages so favourably interpreted in the Targums, there was evolved, in connection with Jer. 8 16, the remarkable notion (appearing in *Test. xii. Patr.*) that Beliar is in some peculiar way connected with the tribe, which, it is declared, will transgress against Levi and Judah, 'for in the Book of Enoch it is said that their ruler is Satan; but the salvation of the Lord will arise out of Judah and Levi, and he will fight against Beliar.' With this is connected the tradition that the Antichrist is to come of the tribe of Dan. Already in *Iren.* (v. 302) we find the fancy—it may be more than a fancy—that this is the explanation of the omission of Dan from the list of those that are sealed (*Kev.* 7 5-8).

H. W. H.

DAN (דָּן; ΔΑΝ). 1. A city 'in the valley which belongs to BETH-KEHOB [*g.v.*], *Judg.* 18 28; conquered by the Danites. It was the most northern city of Israel: note the phrase 'from Dan as far as Beersheba' (see above, 994, n. 2). Its original name was LAISH [*g.v.*]; in *Judg.* 18 29 the change of name is accounted for. Historical references to it occur, not only in *Judg.* 18, but also in 2 S. 24 6 (where *jaan* is appended to Dan by a singular error of the text; see DAN-JAAN); also in 1 K. 12 29 (golden calf), and 1 K. 15 20, and 2 Ch. 16 4 (Benhadads invasion). The reference to the name Dan in Gen. 14 14 need not, in the present writer's opinion, be counted; it is true, the city afterwards called Dan is meant, but the anachronistic 'Dan' is simply a scribe's error for 'Laish'; the true text probably is, '... and pressed after them, he and his servants, as far as Laish, and smote them.'¹

One of the supposed arguments for the late date of Gen. 14 must therefore be abandoned; but this by no means involves regarding that strange narrative as historical. The anachronism in Dt. 34 1 remains. The site of Dan has recently been fixed by G. A. Smith (*HG*, 473, 480 *f.*) at Bāniās, on the ground that the situation of Bāniās is so much stronger than that of Tell el-Kāḏī (cp *CÆSAREA*, § 7). The fact is undeniable, yet not decisive. From *Judg.* 18 we do not gather that Laish was a place of exceptional natural strength; its inhabitants were a peaceful folk, who trusted not in their fortress but in their remoteness from troublesome people like the Danites.

Theodorett no doubt favours our eminent geographer's view. 'The present Paneas,' he says, 'was called Dan'² and even Jerome (on Ezek. 48 18 and on Am. 8 14) speaks of ban as being where Paneas now is. The *Jerus. Targ.*, too (on Gen. 14 14), calls Caesarea Philippi 'Dan of Caesarea.' These vague statements, however, do not carry much weight. On the other hand, Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10 1 v. 31 viii, 84; *BJ* iv. 11) expressly says that Dan stood at the 'lesser fountain of the Jordan, in the plain of Sidon, a day's journey from that city, and that the plain, around it was extremely fertile. Eus. and *Jer.* (*OS* 114 26 249 32) speak still more definitely. 'A village, four miles distant from Paneas, on the road to Tyre; it was the boundary of Judæa (ἄριον τῆς Ἰουδαίας), and at it the Jordan takes its rise.' Jerome adds: 'De quo et Jordanis flumen erumpens a loco sortitus est nomen. Ior quippe ἄρθρον (id est fluvium sive rivum) Hebræi vocant' (cp *JORDAN*). A glance at any handbook of geography will show what spot is here meant.

Four miles west of Bāniās, in a well-watered district, is one of the two great fountains of the Jordan. It rises at the W. base of an extensive cup-shaped mound, called *Tell el-Kāḏī*. Now Kāḏī in Arabic and Dān in Hebrew both mean 'judge,' and the fountain bears a

1 There is a corrupt duplication. Read [עליהם] יִרְבֵּק עליהם עיר-לישא. עיר-דן יִרְבֵּק עליהם עיר-לישא. C. Niehuhr has already suspected a place-name in ליליה. In fact, the Pasek after עליהם warns us that the text is doubtful. Ewald (*GVI* 173) supposed that דן was substituted late for שִׁי—an arbitrary and inadequate theory.

2 On *Jer.* 415 (*Opera* 1770), 2433).

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name (Leddān) which also may perhaps be an echo of the name of the old city. The very fact that Tell el-Kāḏī is now said to be unhealthy suggests one reason more for identifying it with Dan, for Josephus (*BJ* iv. 1 x) expressly says that the marshes of Lake Semachonitis (Huleh) extend northwards as far as Daphnē (Dan), where are the sources of the Little Jordan (Leddān). Probably, however, in antiquity, when irrigation was better cared for, the place now called Tell el-Kāḏī was perfectly healthy. On the whole, the grounds of the proposed identification seem to the present writer to be strong. Robinson, Guérin, Porter, Uhl, and Moore have given their support to the same theory.

Tell el-Kāḏī rises out of a dense jungle of thorn-bushes and rank weeds. 'Its circumference is about half a mile, and its greatest elevation above the plain eighty feet. There are some traces of old foundations, and heaps of large stones on the top and sides of the S. part of the rim, where perhaps the citadel or a temple may have stood. There are also ruins in the plain a short distance N. of the *tell*. There are doubtless other remains, but they are now covered with grass and jungle' (Porter).

See Rob. *BR*: Guérin, *Galilee*, 2 338 *ff.*; G. A. Smith, *HG*, *l.c.*; *PEF Mem.* 1 139 *ff.*; Buhl, *Geog.* 237 *f.*; Moore, *Judges*, 390.

2. For Dan in Ezek. 27 19 AV, see JAVAN, § 1 g.

T. K. C.

DANCE. 'There is a time to raise the death-wail and a time to dance,' says the Preacher (*Eccl.* 3 4).

1. Among the ancients: in Egypt, etc. We have not now to discuss the origin of the practice of dancing, nor its connection with funeral, as well as with festival observances. We may assume that from a very early period it has been an expression of joy, and has been accompanied by music and song. The musical instrument employed may be no better than a wooden drum;¹ but without some music there can be none of that rhythmic movement which we call dancing. The principal occasions of dancing are, in an ancient community, religious. If these assumptions are, as far as our evidence goes, true for Polynesia, still more obviously are they true for early Egypt and Babylonia. The happy-tempered Egyptians loved their various dances, and cultivated the art both in public and in private festivities, both in war and in peace; but the primary impulse was religious.² In Babylonia and Assyria, too, the art of dancing flourished. 'To dance' (*raḳādu*) is a synonym for 'to rejoice'; and so great was the demand for singers (music and singing naturally go together with dancing) that Hezekiah king of Judah was made to send singers as well as other women of the palace to Nineveh (*Prism Inscr.* 3 39).³

Neither Egypt nor early Babylonia, however, can be presumed to have influenced the primitive Israelitish customs, except, indeed, through the Canaanites. Of much greater importance are our scanty notices of Arabian dancing. What the Bedouin dancing is to-day can be seen as near to civilisation as Jericho. Wild as it is, it is not without rhythm and measure.⁴ There are also still some relics of the primitive religious dance. Besides the dancing at the merry Circumcision Feast (*muzayyin*), combined with sacrifice, there is the well-known custom of 'circumambulating' the Ka'ba or Holy House at Mecca seven times. This procession is a true substitute for a very old heathen rite.⁵ The prince-poet Imrāl-Kais likens a herd of wild kine (ox antelopes) to a group of girls, gown-clad, going swiftly round the

1 Gill, *Front Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, 252.

2 See Erman, *Egypt*, 216.

3 Correcting *KB* 297 by *Del. Ass. HWB* 257 b.

4 Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 131.

5 See We. *Ar. Heid.* (1) 106, 165; and cp Hesiod, *Theog.* 259 (the Muses dancing round the altar on Helicon); Thucyd. 4 30; Liv. 26 9; Verg. *Æn.* 8 285; Plut. *Thes.* 21, ἐχόρευσε περὶ τὸν κερατῶνα βουμόν.

Dawâr or sacred stone. Mohammed himself could not abolish this custom. The procession round the Kaaba is really the *Hajj*: this term is now applied to the Mecca pilgrimage; but its root-meaning plainly is to go in a circle (cp Ps. 10727 וְהִתְהַלְּכוּ).

Pre-Islamic Arabia explains much that is characteristic in Israelitish life. This is specially true of religious rites.

3. Hebrew ḥag. The chief original Hebrew term for a religious dance was doubtless חַג, *ḥag*. The rendering 'feast' or 'festival' will indeed suffice in most cases, but only because religious festivals necessarily included the sacred dance, at least as long as the sacred stones remained in the sanctuaries. In Ps. 11827 Cheyne (*Psalmist*¹¹) renders 'Bind the procession with branches,' with reference to the swiftly moving procession which took the place of the older dance; Baer, more boldly, 'Bind the dance' (*i.e.* the dancers). Unfortunately, the text of this passage is not free from corruption;¹ but it is, at any rate, permissible to recognise the sacred dance in Ex. 109, 'Let my people go that they may keep a feast with dancing to me in the desert'—not that all would take part in the dance: the dancers would represent the people, all of whom would 'rejoice before Yahwê,' as the phrase was. Perhaps we may compare 1 S. 3016, if חַגִּים (applied to the Amalekites who had plundered Zilrlag) means 'circling in the sacred dance' (see BDB). At any rate, in Ps. 424 [5] the best sense is obtained by reading, not חַגִּים חֹלְלֵי, 'a multitude that kept holiday' (AV), but חַגִּים חֹלְלֵי, 'the music of those who kept festival'² (הַמִּוֶּזֶן, 'music,' Am. 523 Ezek. 2613). That dancing is here referred to, however, is not evident.

Words for dancing in general. (1) חַגֵּז, *ḥāḡēz*, or חַגֵּז, *ḥāḡēz* (Arab. *ḥahika* 'to laugh,' whence *maḥḥakū* 'mimus'; Syr. *ḡahakh*; Ḥ *paḥsev*) meaning 'to sport, or jest.' Though commonly used to denote any kind of sport (Gen. 219, RVmg. 'playing'; 268 RV 'sporting'), it may denote simply 'dancing' (see 2 S. 65=1 Ch. 138 Jndg. 1625 Jer. 314).

2. In late writings we meet with רָקַד, *rāqad*, prop. 'to leap.' 1 Ch. 1529; Ass. *raḡādu* [see above]; Syr. *raḡādū*, Pa. 'to dance,' Aph. 'to lament' (*plangere*); Tg. רָקַד; Ḥ *ḡraḡadū*, *raḡadū*; cp Ar. *rakada*, 'to move the feet, to hop.'

3. The root חָרַד, *ḥāḡad*, 'to writhe, whirl,' Judg. 2121 (whence מְחַרְחָרִים, *māḥḥārīm*, מְחַרְחָרִים, *māḥḥārīm*, 'dance,' χῶρός) suggests a more intricate movement.

4. Lastly, we have in 2 S. 616 the two ἄπ. λεγ. חַגֵּז, *ḥāḡēz*, and חַרְרָר, *ḥārḥār* (the latter also in v. 14) (Ar. *karra*, 'to advance and retreat,' *karḥara*, *ḥl*; 2 S. 614 חַרְרָר, Targ. חַרְרָר, Pesh. *meḥabbah*, Vg. *saltabat*). Most probably, however, חַרְרָר should rather be read חַרְרָר (Che.): the former of these participles is justified by the facts brought together by Toy, *JBL* 16 178 f. [197], which show that פָּסַח (*pāsaḥ*), the root of פָּסַח, means virtually 'to dance,' and the latter by the authority of 1 Ch. 1529.

Dancing, then, was of the essence of a primitive religious festival. It was not the choral dances (מְחֻלֵּי) that provoked the wrath of Moses (Exod.

5. A part of primitive religion. 3219): Miriam's 'dances' were evidently congenial to all (Exod. 1520 f.; cp Judg. 1134 1 S. 186 21 11 [12]). It was the worship of the steer-god that angered the great leader. The Hebrews never ceased to be religious dancers, though the form of the ceremony may have changed. Some idea of the early rite may be gained from the account in 2 S. 614 of David's dancing 'before Yahwê' (*i.e.*, before the ark; cp. v. 5). Michal indeed took her husbands act amiss. She was too unimaginative to see the meaning of a practice which was beginning to be antiquated. She thought that by leading the dance in such attire, and mixing with the common people, her husband was playing a part which

¹ Che. reads—

Make melody with dancing (וְהִתְהַלְּכוּ) and with timbrels,

Make melody to our king, make melody.

² Che. *Psalmist*¹².

was within the province of a woman only, and unworthy of his character and office. David's answer well expresses his own devoutness, though he cannot have guessed what issues of world-wide importance hung upon the transference of the ark to Jerusalem.'

Again, at the great religious crisis in the reign of Ahab it is not the 'dancing' that Elijah disapproves, but its connection with a bad, foreign religion. The prophets of Baal, we are told, 'leaped'—*i.e.*, danced after a special rite—around their altar, not eucharistically, but as suppliants (1 K. 1826). Elijah, though too confident of his Gods favour to attempt to work upon him by ritual, does not hesitate to use the word פָּסַח ('to leap') in his taunting address to the Israelites (v. 21).² Indeed, Toy seems to have shown that the spring-festival called Pesah (EV Passover) derived its name from the dances (פָּסַח, see above, § 4 4) connected with it. A conservative prophet like Elijah could never have opposed religious dances.

Indeed, one may fairly say that prophecy itself—at any rate, that represented by Elisha—was under some obligations to dancing. The inspiration of those who belonged to the guilds of prophets (see PROPHECY) was prepared for by music and rhythmic movements of the body (cp 1 S. 1011 1920-24). It was the wild proceedings of prophets when in this preparatory state that degraded the whole order in the eyes of many Israelites (cp 2 K. 911). It is difficult, when looking at dervishes performing their exercises, not to think of the so-called 'sons of the prophets' (again see PROPHECY). 'Ulemas and dervishes with the chief mufitis at their head were leaping, bounding, swaying their arms, and whirling in time to the din of drums, trumpets, and cymbals which followed them' (Tristram).

For the stated religious ritual of the pre-exilic age we are ill-provided with authorities. Still, we know that

6. At festivals. the three great festivals (especially that of Tabernacles) were celebrated with an exuberant joy which expressed 'itself in dancing. The Psalter proves that even in the post-exilic age dancing as well as music formed part of divine service (see Pss. 1493 1504). Eucharistic procession (no doubt at a quick pace) round the altar was customary (266, and according to MT [see above], 11827). Processions of God also, which, from the mention of maidens with timbrels, may be presumed to have been a dance-festival, arespoke of (Ps. 6824 [25], *SBOT*). Ps. 876, however, is too obscure to be quoted.

There was dancing at tribal and family festivals (cp the place-name ABEL-MEHOLAH [*g.v.*], 'dancing meadow'; 1 K. 1916). It was at a yearly tribal festival that the daughters of Shiloh came forth for choral dances (Judg. 2121 מְחֻלֵּי לַחַיִּים), and there is a singular story, which almost seems like an attempt to account for marriage by capture (see M'Lennan, *Primitive Marriage*), respecting the Benjamites who chose wives from among the dancers (לְמִתְהַלְּלוֹת). We must apparently take this in connection with the curious custom referred to elsewhere (CANTICLES, § 9; ATONEMENT, DAY OF), which was evidently greatly toned down in post-exilic times. The young men and maidens of Jerusalem danced in the vineyards, not without results, on the evening of the 15th of Ab (this was the festival of Wood-carrying³) and of the Day of Atonement, and sang edifying songs on marriage (Mishna, *Ta'anith*, iv. 8). A dance performed by the chief men of the city was a special incident in the festivities of the Feast of Tabernacles. At the close of

¹ Che. *Aids to Criticism*, 55 f.

² On this passage see Klo., and for a fuller development of the meaning *JOR*, July 1898 (p. 568); cp Jastrow, *JBL*, 1898, 1108 f. It is useless to compare the Phœnician divine title *βαλμαρκως*—*i.e.*, בַּעַל מַרְקָא, 'Baal of dancing' (Baethg. *Beitr.* 25 261)—and other similar forms. They have all grown out of Melkart, the name of the Baal of Tyre (Texter).

³ See Jos. *E/i*, 176, and cp Neh. 1035 [36] 1331, Del. *Iris*, 96.

the first day men of piety and repute, singing hymns, danced with torches in their hands. No one who has not seen this joy, said a proverb, has seen true joy (*Succa*, 5 1-4). Thus the severity of the Law could not extinguish the impulse in the Jewish people towards rhythmic movement.

There was, however, one kind of dancing against which wise men protested. It is no doubt of Greek dancing-girls that Ben Sira is thinking when he warns his readers not to 'use the company of a woman that is a singer' (Ecclus. 94). Hellenism, indeed, was even more dangerous morally than religiously. It is just possible, too, that when on Herod's birthday the daughter of Herodias came forward to amuse the guests (*ἐν τῷ μέσῳ*, Mt. 146; cp Mk. 622 Lk. 1525) her style of dancing was derived from the pantomimic solo-dance of the hired female dancers of Greece.¹

The few occasions in the Bible in which dancing is referred to may be said to have an interpretative value.

Biblical references. It was not always necessary to mention that a happy event was celebrated by dancing, because early readers would supply this detail mentally for themselves. We are thankful, however, that the writers did sometimes mention the dancing, and that so they interpreted for us many other passages. Dancing was continually in request in Israelitish and in Jewish society (Jer. 31413 Mt. 1117 Lk. 732 1525). Thus (as in Assyrian) 'dancing' and 'rejoicing' were synonymous terms (Lam. 515 Eccles. 34 Ps. 301 [12]). It is an improbable idea of Leyrer (*PRE*²) that there is a reference to a kind of square dance in Cant. 71 [613] (*הַחֲמִשָּׁה הַחֲמִשָּׁה*; see MAHANAIM). Much more safely may we suppose a reference to a sword-dance, such as Wetzstein found as a part of the wedding ceremonies in Syria (cp CANTICLES, § 9). Dancing has, of course, always been popular at weddings; and the virgins in the parable who go out to meet the bridegroom no doubt looked forward to a merry choral dance. Modern Arabs still sing and dance with lighted torches on the day of a wedding.

Lucian, *De Saltat.*; Spencer, *De Saltat. vet. Hebr.*; 'Saltatio' in *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.*; Tanz' in *PRB* (2) 15206; Riehm, *HWB* (2) 1636f.; Wetzstein, *Zeitsch. für Ethnol.*, 1873, p. 285f.; Franz Delitzsch, *Iriz* (ET), 189-206; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, 207-210; Grove (Lilly), *Dancing* (95); R. Voss, *Der Tanz u. seine Gesch.* (69).

DANIEL (דָּנִיֵּאל, Kt.; Kr. דָּנְיָאֵל [Bä. and Ginsb.], Ezek. 141420 283; דָּנְיָאֵל—i.e., God is my judge, or, the defender of my right; ΔΑΝΙΗΛ [BNAQT]. The name דָּנְיָאֵל occurs in a Palmyrene inscription (De Vogüé, *La Syrie centrale*, no. 93). On the name Daniel in Ezek., see the suggestion in ENOCH, § 1.

1. A man of extraordinary wisdom and righteousness (Ezek.; see above). This Daniel appears to have become proverbial, as did Noah and Job; but when and where he was thought to have lived we are not told.

2. A Jewish captive, said to have been carried to Babylon 'in the third year of Jehoiakim' when Jerusalem was taken (Dan. 1126), and to have become, through his supernatural wisdom, chief of the sages of Babylon and the minister of successive dynasties. The latest date mentioned in his life is the third year of Cyru's (Dan. 101; cp, however, 121). Outside the book which bears his name, and the apocryphal additions to it, the only biblical passages which mention this Daniel are 1 Macc. 260 and Mt. 2415 (= Mk. 1314). The former contains only a didactic reference to the story of the lions' den. The latter apparently makes Jesus speak of 'Daniel the prophet'; but, as the form of the citation shows, it is rather the evangelist who speaks (cp B. Weiss, *Das Matthäusevangel.* 508). See DANIEL, BOOK OF.

¹ Or, if Oriental analogies be preferred, we may consult Thomson, LB, 555-6; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, 208; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* 1240 294f.; cp also Erman, *Anc. E.*... 249-250).

3. A priest of the line of Ithamar in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, § 2; ii. § 15 (1) d), Ezra § 2 = 1 Esd. 829 (*γαμνηλος* [B], *γαμνηλ* Δ), a corruption of *δανηλ[ος]*, not = Gamahel, as van Hooacker; and signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 06 [7]. Among his contemporaries we find a Mishael (Neh. 4), an Azariah (Neh. 102 [3]), and a Hananiah (Neh. 1023 [24]). Cp. Dan. 17.

4. One of the six sons born to David in Hebron; his mother was Abigail (1 Ch. 31; see DAVID, § 11, iii. d). According to 3a, the name is miswritten for Delaiah (cp 3); but, as Kloppore plausibly thinks, it is rather a corruption of Dodiēl (דָּדִיֵּאל); 3b reads Δαλονια—i.e., Δαδονια = Dodiāh (דָּדִיֵּאל), another form of the same name. Cp the names Dōdai, Dōdo, Dōdavahu. 3b, however, has Δαμνηλ; Jos. (*Ant.* vii. 14) Δανήλος. The || 2 S. 33 has Chileab (כִּילֵיָב) in MT, but 3b reads Δαλονια; the other versions (Cod. 243, in Field, 1550) Δβια. Chileab, though adopted by Kl. (Chron. *SBOT*), is surely wrong¹ (cp Berachoth. 4a). This was David's second son, and after the death of Amnon would be the heir to the throne. His brothers Absalom and Adonijah played so important a part that it is surprising that nothing is told of their elder brother. Perhaps he died early or was removed.

DANIEL, BOOK OF. If we adopt the mediaeval division of the book into twelve chapters,² the first six form a narrative half, which can be distinguished naturally enough from the second, in which Daniel records his visions. More important, however, than any such division into twice six chapters is a recognition of the fact that the aim of the book is not historical but parenetic: it aimed at exhortation and encouragement. It falls, accordingly, into several more or less detached and (so to speak) independent pieces or pictures, designed to lift the minds and hearts of its original readers, the contemporaries of the tyrant Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, above the oppressive present to the heights of a glowing piety and a strong spiritual faith. These detached pieces, of which there are ten, Ewald groups so as to divide the book into (a) an introductory part (chap. 1f.); (b) a second part (chap. 3-6), containing four narratives prefiguring events; and (c) a third part (chap. 7-12), containing four prophetic pieces. This threefold division is favoured by the consideration that the twice four pieces contained in parts (b) and (c) then serve as further amplifications of part (a)—for (a) also contains a narrative prefiguring events (chap. 1), and a Messianic prophecy (chap. 2) in which four kingdoms (corresponding to the four beasts of chap. 7) are followed by the everlasting Messianic kingdom which brings the history of the world to its close.

The first of the ten pieces thus indicated (chap. 1) tells how Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon after a siege and capture of Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim king of

2. **Contents.** Judah (605 B.C.) took Daniel and three other youths of noble descent from Judah to Babylon, where he had them brought up for the service of the royal court. Casual mention is made of some of the sacred vessels having been conveyed to Babylon—as the author intends afterwards (chap. 5) to speak of their desecration—and we are told with some minuteness of the scrupulosity with which Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah guarded themselves against certain pollutions, and how, marvellously God rewarded them for this: when they came to stand before the king, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and enchanters in his realm.

The second piece (chap. 2) relates an astonishing proof of the supernatural wisdom of Daniel, by means of which he was able to save his own life and the lives of the other magicians. The king insists on having the dream which has disturbed him not only interpreted but also, first of all, recovered for him, and Daniel meets the unreasonable demand. The great image seen by the king is interpreted as signifying by its head of gold the present kingdom of Nebuchadrezzar, whilst the remaining parts of the body of silver, brass, and iron are referred to three kingdoms which are destined to follow the Babylonian. The fourth kingdom, to which, as a divided kingdom, the legs (of iron) and the feet (partly of iron and partly of clay) correspond, is followed by the everlasting kingdom set up by the God of heaven. Just as the stone cut out without hands breaks in pieces the whole image, and itself becomes a great mountain that fills the whole

¹ לאב in כלאב is the beginning of לאבניל; כ is a miswritten fragment (for נ) of the true name of David's son (cp NAMES, § 4). Kerher's derivation of the name from 'Caleb' is surely too precarious (*Hebr. Eigennam.* 36).

² The division into chapters has been unskillfully made at three points: chap. 11 ought not to begin till 1126; and in MT chaps. 3 and 5 ought to end, as in EV, with 330 and 531 [61] respectively.

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earth, so every earthly dominion must give way before the imperishable kingdom of God.

In the *third* piece (3 1-30) we are told how as a punishment for their refusal to worship the great golden image which Nebuchadrezzar had set up, the three friends of Daniel (himself silently passed over) were cast into the burning fiery furnace, and how at last, when the fire had not been able to hurt the men of Judah who had been thus steadfast to their faith, the great

view is compelled to do homage to their god. The *fourth* piece (4 1 [3 31]-4 37 [34]) tells, in the form of a proclamation by Nebuchadrezzar to all the peoples of the whole world—a form which is not carried out with uniform consistency—how an evil dream (which the king himself in this instance relates) had thrown him into dismay, and how Daniel alone was able rightly to interpret the vision, prophesying to the king that as a punishment for his pride he should for a long time hereafter of reason, Nebuchadrezzar is thus for a third time constrained to give the glory to the Ruler of heaven.

Next, in the *fifth* piece (5 1-5 21 [61]), we have Belshazzar's feast and overthrow: we are told how in a wild orgy this king, unwarned by the fate of his father Nebuchadrezzar, desecrated the sacred vessels of the temple, and thereupon was horror-stricken by the miraculous handwriting on the wall.¹ The explanation of this, which Daniel alone was able to give, was soon shown to have been correct, for that very night the king was slain, and his crown passed to Darius the Mede.

The *sixth* piece (6 1-28 [2-29]), that of Daniel in the lions' den, has reference exclusively to Daniel—just as a corresponding section, that of the burning fiery furnace, relates only to his three friends. We here read how King Darius suffered himself to be induced by his nobles, who were envious of Daniel, to promulgate the foolish decree that any one who for the space of a month should offer any petition to god or man should be thrown to the lions. Naturally Daniel transgressed this command; but the king, who had been compelled against his will to consign his faithful servant to punishment, soon became convinced of his error by the protection which Daniel's god vouchsafed to his worshipper, and, condemning the accusers to the fate which they had prepared for Daniel, commanded all his subjects to serve Daniel's god.

The *seventh* piece (7), the first in the prophetic section, is a picture in companionship to chap. 2, and dates from the first year of Belshazzar, not from the time of Nebuchadrezzar, to which the first group of four pieces belong. If, moreover, as we read in 10 1, the last great vision which Daniel saw immediately before his death is to be assigned to the third year of Cyrus, exactly seventy years after Daniel's deportation from Judah, it seems fitting that the *eighth* piece also should be assigned to the Babylonian period, and that only the last two prophetic sections should be given to that of the Medes and Persians. Most of the years—they amounted to an ordinary lifetime—that Daniel spent in the East must have fallen under the reigns of the Babylonian kings; for, whilst Darius the Mede was already in his sixty-second year when he ascended the throne of Babylon (5 31 [6 1]), Daniel saw only the beginning of the reign of his successor Cyrus the Persian.

In chap. 7 we have Daniel's account of his vision of the four beasts, from each of which successively the supremacy is taken away to be at last and for ever bestowed upon the Messiah, one 'like a son of man' who comes from heaven, and so at the same time the kingdom is possessed by the saints of the Most High.

If, in 7 25, the angel's interpretation of one of the horns of the fourth beast has already unmistakably pointed to a king who persecuted the Jews on account of their religion, it is made still more apparent in the *eighth* piece (in the interpretation which Gabriel gives of Daniel's vision in the third year of Belshazzar) that by the fourth kingdom, which arises after the reigns of the Medes and Persians, we are to understand the Grecian empire of Alexander the Great and his successors. By the reader acquainted with Jewish history the description of the horn which at first was small, or of the bold overbearing king who deprives the Most High of his continual burnt-offering and gives up his sanctuary to wanton desecration, and at the same time rages furiously against the holy people, cannot fail to be understood as referring to the Syrian king Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) who, by his religious edict (1 Macc. 1 41 f.), designed to bring about the establishment of the Greek cultus throughout his whole dominions, and, by setting up an altar to the Olympian Zeus upon the altar of burnt-offering in Jerusalem (Dec. 166), provoked the revolt of the Maccabees (167). The eighth piece contains the comforting promise that after 2300 evenings and mornings the temple of God will be again restored to its rightful position, and the shameless king overthrown, but not by human hand.

The *ninth* piece (chap. 9), after a prayer of Daniel which, notwithstanding its borrowings from Ezra 9 and

¹ Cf. recent Ganneau's theory (*J.A.*, 1886), accepted by Nöld. (*Z.A.* 1 414 f.) and Bevan, that the mysterious inscription consists really of names of weights, is rejected by Behrmann. See MENE.

Neh. 9, is still pathetic, gives Gabriel's interpretation of the seventy years, predicted by Jeremiah, as meaning seventy weeks of years, after the lapse of which the day of salvation is to dawn.

Whilst this vision comes to Daniel in the first year of the reign of Darius the Mede over the kingdom of Babylon, the last or *tenth* piece (chaps. 10-12) is dated from the third year of Cyrus his successor. In correspondence with the great importance of this last vision is the long introduction, after which, by a sketch (chap. 11) mainly devoted to the complicated relations between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, and a picture of the downfall of the Syrian tyrant, the final destiny of the people of God is brought more precisely into connection with universal history. Chap. 12, however, does not give any one absolutely precise indication of the exact time when the troublous days, such as have never before been known, are to come to an end: it vacillates between 1290 and 1335 as the number of days that are to elapse between the setting up of the idolatrous worship in the temple and the coming of the glorious time of the end.

The view taken over by the church from the synagogue, which makes Daniel not only the principal hero

3. Authorship. but also the author of the book, has not unreasonably passed current among theologians down to the present century. To the unprejudiced reader the book appears to claim to have been written by Daniel. The narratives in the first six chapters do not expressly make this claim; but in 7 2 we find Daniel himself presented as the narrator by the use of the first person singular. The use of the third person in chaps. 1-6 and in the beginnings of chaps. 7 and 10 is not against the authorship of Daniel (cp Am. 7 12 f.), who, at the beginning of chap. 8 and of chap. 9, speaks in the first person in giving the date. The close connection of chaps. 1-6 with the visions which follow may fairly be held to carry over the claim for Daniel's authorship to the beginning of the book also. No attentive reader will allow himself to be

4. Unity. misled as to the oneness of the authorship of the book by the fragmentary or detached character of the ten pieces of which it is composed, if he attentively observes how the earlier portions allude to the later, and conversely how the later portions attach themselves to the earlier, and how the same general manner of presentation, thought, and language pervades the whole.

The organic unity of the Book of Daniel, denied by Reuss and Lagarde, has been once more defended by Frhr. von Gall in a monograph (see below, § 23). The grounds, however, which he offers (123 f.) for regarding 9 4-20 as a late insertion are no more than plausible. The contents of this section are of a higher type than those of the hymns in the apocryphal additions to Daniel. A certain solemn fulness is characteristic of the liturgical style, and is not wanting in passages which may have served the author as his models—e.g., Ezra 9 and Neh. 9. Von Gall's changes in 9 2 f. are arbitrary; the change in the names of God, which is quite appropriate, proves nothing. It is a pure fancy that the author of Daniel, who was acquainted with the Book of Jeremiah, does not regard misfortune as penal; see 4 34 5 22 30, etc. Besides, if we expunge 9 4-20, how much remains for chap. 9? Only ten verses. This is surely not enough for the ninth of the pieces which form the book.

What has been said as to the true unity of the book is only apparently contradicted by the **5. Interchange of language.** use from 2 4d to the end of chap. 7 of the Aramaic language in a book otherwise written in Hebrew.

This interchange of language has given rise to many hypotheses. Spinoza thought the first seven chapters might be an extract made in the time of Judas the Maccabee from old writings of the Chaldaeans (cp Bertholdt. *Eiul.* 1508 f.). Huetius, on the other hand, suggested that the whole Book of Daniel had been originally written in Aramaic, and shortly afterwards translated into Hebrew, and that, the original work having been partly destroyed in the dark days of the Seleucidæ, the text was restored by borrowing the Heb. sections that we now have from the Heb. version (cp Berth. *Eiul.* 1544, 1549). It is hardly an improvement on this view when J. D. Prince, adopting the theory of Lenormant and Bevan, says: 'The work was probably written at first all in Hebrew; but for the convenience of the general

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reader, whose language was Aramaic, a translation, possibly from the same pen as the original, was made into the Aramaic vernacular. It must be supposed then that, certain parts of the Heb. manuscript being lost, the missing places were supplied from the current Aramaic translation (*Book of Daniel* [90], p. 13).

The hypothesis that 'the Heb. edition was partly destroyed in the troubled Seleucid period, and the missing portions supplied from the Aramaic version,' leaves unexplained why the change of language should occur precisely at 24, where the Aramaic language happens to be mentioned. This name cannot be regarded as a gloss, although 'the author of Daniel evidently fell into the error of regarding "Chaldæan" as the language of Babylonia. If to begin with, the loss of *part* of a MS of no great length is in itself very improbable, still less satisfactory is the assertion that in the second century before Christ such Palestinian Jews as were able to read books at all could hardly understand any Hebrew. Reusch is right when he says (*Einl. in das AT* [9], 1870, p. 118): 'The change of language occurs in the middle of a section that cannot be divided (24), which shows that the author was so familiar with both languages that he could glide from one into the other without noticing it, and could assume for a great proportion of his contemporaries a knowledge of them both.' No one asserts as Prince expresses it, that both languages 'were used quit; indifferently'; the author of Daniel and his readers were certainly more at home in the Aramaic vernacular. When Prince asks why chap. 7, 'which is indivisible from the succeeding prophetic Hebrew portions,' was written not in Heb. but in Aram., we may answer that chap. 7 was written in the same Aramaic idiom as chap. 2 simply in order to make every observant reader feel that the book was one, and that the four visions were inseparable from the six narratives.¹

The change of dialect is made quite naturally thus: In chap. 2 the author has introduced the 'Chaldæans' as speaking the language which he believed to be customary with them; afterwards he continues to use the same language on account of its greater convenience both for himself and for his original readers, both in the narrative portions and in the following (seventh) chapter, the piece in companionship to chap. 2; for the last three visions (8-12) a return to Hebrew was suggested by the consideration that this had from of old been the usual sacred language for prophetic subjects. Whether the Aramaic of Daniel, which is closely allied to that in Ezra, can really be taken as historically the language spoken in the Babylonian court in the sixth century B.C., or for the native language of the Chaldæans, cannot be discussed until we have faced the whole question of the historical validity or invalidity of the book (see § 10). It is enough in the meantime to say that the Aramaic or 'Chaldee' portion of Daniel cannot possibly have formed an independent work; on the contrary, the change of language serves to bind the different parts of the work into a firmer uni . . .

The position of the Book of Daniel with reference to historical fact, a question most intimately bound up with that of its date, can be discussed to advantage only after we have, in a purely exegetical way (Bleek in *JDT*, 1860, p. 53 ff.), firmly established the fact that makes for the unity of authorship in all five prophetic pieces (chaps. 2 and 7-12): the fact, namely, that the range of vision in each case reaches down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, in whom afflicted Israel discerned the culmination of all that had been hostile to God in all history, and that, with Epiphanes' destruction, which is regarded as imminent, the dawn of the Messianic time is expected. This done, we shall have no difficulty in finding other weighty reasons for fixing the composition of the book of Daniel at a date shortly before the death of Antiochus IV.

The extraordinary precision with which the exilic Daniel seems to prophesy about things that are to happen several centuries afterwards is particularly conspicuous in chap. 11, where, for example, reference is made in v. 18 to the victory which the Consul Lucius Scipio gained over Antiochus III. at Magnesia, in Lydia, in 190 B.C., or in v. 30 to Popilius Lænas, who in the name of the Roman Senate forced Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C. to quit Egypt with great precipitancy, upon

¹ Considerations of space prevent us from considering the hint thrown out by v. Gall (123) that it is not yet critically established that the LXX was based on the text in the two languages, or the complicated hypotheses of König (*Einl.* 384) and Ryssel (*TLZ*, 1895, col. 560 ff.).

which the king, as we learn from 1 Macc. 130 ff., wreaked his wrath upon his Jewish subjects. Although predictions of this sort are nowhere found in the writings of the prophets of the OT (cp PROPHECY), orthodoxy was long accustomed to take special delight in contemplating predictions which had been so wonderfully fulfilled (cp the case of the name of Cyrus in Is. 4428). In the present century, however, as the historical sense became quickened, difficulties began to present themselves against assumptions which were contrary to the analogy of the prophetic writings and found their support merely in the dogma of a magical inspiration.

7. Always In spite of Pusey's energetic warning against 'half-measures,' modern Antiochus IV. apologists, pressed by the constantly increasing historical difficulties caused by cuneiform decipherments, have been driven more and more to seek refuge in the 'half-measures' thus deprecated, so that, as Bevan (*Dan.* 8) humorously says, 'the defenders of Daniel have, during the last few years, been employed chiefly in cutting Daniel to pieces.'

It may suffice if reference is made here to hut one of the equally arbitrary and nugatory attempts which have been made to save the authenticity of the book as a whole by surrendering its oneness of authorship. Zockler in his exposition of the Book of Daniel (70) declared 115-39 to be a later interpolation; he had come to see quite clearly that such a piece of history could never have been Dened by an exilic prophet. The attempt, however, was just as vain as the attempt made elsewhere to change the name of Cyrus (Is. 45 1) into an appellative, for it left altogether out of account Dan. 243 and the relation of that verse to 116 17. These two verses treat of two unlucky intermarriages between Seleucids and the Ptolemies: namely, v. 6, of the marriage of Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, with Antiochus II. Theos, and v. 17, of that of Cleopatra (daughter of the Seleucid Antiochus III., the Great, and thus sister of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes), from whom all the Egyptian Cleopatras have taken their name, with Ptolemy V. Epiphanes. But these marriages are quite plainly alluded to in 243, where we read as follows regarding the kingdom represented in the vision by the legs of iron and the feet partly of iron and partly of clay: 'And whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men, but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron doth not mingle with clay.' From this it follows at once that by the fourth kingdom in chap. 2 is meant that of Alexander the Great, which became divided into that of the Seleucids and that of the Ptolemies (the other kingdoms of the successors of Alexander have here no interest for the author, and are, therefore, passed over). But if in chap. 2 the first of the four kingdoms has been made out to be the Babylonian, and the Greek to be the fourth, it follows from what we are told of the dynasties under which Daniel himself lived, that the second and the third kingdoms, touched upon so lightly in Daniel's interpretation in 239, must be the Median and the Persian. Still more clearly than in chap. 2 does the author's special interest in the period of the fourth kingdom disclose itself in the visions of Daniel; the relations of the people of God to Antiochus Epiphanes possess such great importance, because, immediately upon the fall of this tyrant—which is to be brought about without human intervention (cp 234 45 with 8 25)—the Messianic kingdom is forthwith to be set up. It is universally admitted that the reference to Antiochus Epiphanes is as plainly manifest in the second vision (8 9-14 23-25) as it is in the last vision (11 21-45), which occupies itself wholly with the reign of this king. Chap. 12 17 11 ff. also relates to his persecution of the saints and its longed-for cessation. To the unprejudiced interpreter there can be no possibility of doubt that in the three other pieces also the range of vision is limited to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. What is true of 243 is true also of 7 8 ff. 20 ff., where the little horn (cp. 89) *tu* whose power the saints are delivered up for three times and a half (cp 7 25 with 127), must again be the same persecutor who had made himself so hateful to the Jews. The same holds good, finally, of chap. 9. Here the sixty-two year-weeks which follow the first seven present, it is true, a historical difficulty which will have to be discussed (see § 20); but thus much at least is certain, that the 'anointed one' in 9 26 is the high-priest Onias III., who was put to death in 171 B.C.,¹ so that the last year-week comes down to 164 B.C., and the suspension of sacrifice and offering which is predicted in 9 27 for the second half of this week enables us plainly to see that it is the action of Antiochus Epiphanes that is referred to.

Now, on the assumption of the authenticity of the book, it is very hard indeed to understand how, out of the ten pieces of which it is composed, **8. Authenticity.** so many as five, in which the coming of the Messianic kingdom is predicted, should stop short at the reign of a Seleucid sovereign whose king-

¹ Cp., however, ISRAEL, § 69.

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dom—not to speak of the Greek kingdom out of which it and the other Seleucid kingdoms had arisen—had no existence in the days of the exilic Daniel.

Even the early father Hippolytus did not fail to notice the allusions to the history of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies which occur in the book of Daniel; but it was the Neo-platonist Porphyry (*ob.* 304 A.D.) who first drew the right inference from the acknowledged facts, and took Daniel's professed authorship to be a mere literary form, ascribing the book to a Jew who wrote during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. As, however, this denial of the authenticity of the book came from an opponent of Christianity, it produced no effect. It was necessary that, within the Church itself, a truly scientific and historical method of dealing with the OT should arise.¹ This has at last come to pass. As the result of the labours of several generations, we can safely hold it to have been established, as one of the ascertained results of science, that in chap. 7 we are to understand by the fourth beast the Grecian Empire, by the eleventh horn Antiochus Epiphanes, and by what is related regarding this horn the religious persecution under that king; as also that the author of the book wrote in his reign. A fundamental rule of all sound exegesis was violated when the utterances of chap. 7 were not interpreted in the light of the other four parallel texts, but were torn from their connection in the book in order to give them a meaning divergent from the sense of the rest of the book, as if the fourth beast signified not the Grecian but the Roman Empire. To interpret the four kingdoms as denoting those of Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome, seems, indeed, by grouping the Medes and Persians under one empire, to offer a series which, from a historical point of view, can be more easily accepted than that of Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Greece; but this last series alone gives the true sense of the book, which represents the Median kingdom of Darins as being the second of the four world-monarchies, and places this as an independent intermediate link between the Chaldaean and the Persian monarchies (cp 61[53]; 832091), distinguishing it quite plainly from the Persian, which it makes out to be the third. With our perfectly certain knowledge, derived from the cuneiform inscriptions, that there never was any such Median empire between those of Babylonia and Persia (cp PERSIA), the authenticity of the Book of Daniel falls to the ground. Quite apart, however, from the numerous contradictions of history to be afterwards spoken of (§ 10, etc.),—contradictions which absolutely exclude the supposition that the author was an eye-witness living during the period of the 'exile,'—the fact that the horizon of the book is throughout bounded by the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the fierce persecutor of the Jews and their religion, with whose fall the Messianic salvation is represented as being ushered in, makes it abundantly plain that the figure of the exilic Daniel is employed only as a literary form. The Messianic hope could not possibly have taken this special form so early as during the 'exile,' but only under the oppression of the Syrian tyrant who

¹ Gunkel, *Schöpfung*. 325. [Doubts as to the authenticity of the Book of Daniel were uttered again in the seventeenth century by Hobbes (*Leviathan*, 33) and Spinoza (*Tract. theol. polit.* 10); hut Anthony Collins, the 'free-thinker,' was the first who treated the subject with something like modern thoroughness. As Lechler has shown, the eleven grounds which Collins adduces (*Scheme of Literal Prophecy*, 1726, p. 149 ff.) are mostly those on which recent criticism relies for proving the Maccabæan date of Daniel. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that critical doubts were confined to sceptical theologians. Richard Bentley, scholar and apologist, had reached by 1701 a conviction of the late origin of Daniel. Jehb in his monograph (97 f.) makes too light of Bentley's doubts. In spite of Whiston's somewhat disparaging language, it is clear that Bentley found serious difficulties both in the narratives and in the predictions of Daniel, in consequence of which he 'supposed the book to have been written after the time of Onias the high priest, and that this Onias was Daniel's Messiah' (see Whiston's *Memoirs by himself*, Lond. 1749, p. 108 f.) Whiston was a Boyle Lecturer.]

sought to extirpate the religion of Israel, and to compel the Jews to adopt the idolatrous worship of Greece.

The book of Daniel being, as Wellhausenwell describes it (*IJG*², 240 f.), 'a hortatory and consolatory writing for the persecuted, designed to strengthen and cheer them by the knowledge that within a very short time the overbent bow will break,' its author was able to allow himself great freedom in the use of his materials. His aim was not the communication of historical information. Using as a vehicle the materials, historical or unhistorical, that tradition had placed at his disposal, he availed himself of the literary artifice of employing the name of the exilic Daniel to gain weight for the ethical and religious truths which he desired to set forth.¹ As in the cases of Job and Jonah, so also in that of the book of Daniel, a great injustice is done if the standard of strict historicity is applied,—a standard by which the book is not in the least intended to be tried. We find in it (cp Kamph.

10. Unconcern about history. *Daniel*, 16 f., 28 ff., 45) not only many historical errors but also, frequently, a magnificent unconcern about historical possibilities, of which the author, in spite of his great literary art, certainly was not always conscious. If it is permissible to find in 68, no less than in the demand mentioned in 211, a scornful reference to that religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes which the pious Jew could regard only as a piece of insanity, these passages without doubt contain other conscious allusions to historical fact. In many cases, we can quite confidently conjecture their presence, though we do not always quite understand them. If it is only with difficulty that we are able to form any visual image of the fiery furnace (3), or of the lion's den (ti), still less are we able to comprehend how Daniel, who had constantly remained steadfast to the God of Israel, could have come to be the chief of the heathen Magi (243); and in like manner we fail to make clear to ourselves how Daniel (cp 826 124) could have managed to secure that what he had seen should remain a secret for centuries. The matter becomes at once natural and intelligible if we suppose that the exilic Daniel was simply employed as a literary device by a writer of much later date, who regarded the fury of Antiochus Epiphanes as the last visitation of the people of God before the blessed time of the end should come. Anachronisms and historical difficulties of every sort occur throughout the whole of the book, not only in its preliminary narratives.

Orthodoxy shows a natural reluctance to recognise the unhistorical character of the book. As even its latest expounder,² although dating it in the Maccabean period, greatly exaggerates its historical value, and justifies himself in his refusal to recognise its true character by urging that in substance the book is not pure invention, but rests upon tradition, it seems fitting to call attention to one outstanding instance in which tradition is no guarantee of historical truth, before we proceed to enumerate some samples of the unhistoricity of the book.—Among the apocryphal additions to Daniel contained in 6, that of the 'Dragon at Babel' (cp Schr. in Riehm's *HWB*) is certainly not pure invention. This legend, which in its present literary form is very late, had already been brought into relation with the old Babylonian mythology by Schrader and Ball (Wace, *Apocr.* ii. 348 ff.); but quite recently Gunkel (*uf sup.* 320 ff.) has conclusively shown that what lies at the root of it is the primeval Babylonian myth of the conquest of the Chaos-monster or the great

¹ 'It is possible, no doubt that he derived some part of these narratives from Jewish or Babylonian popular stories. But even if we accept this conjecture, the historical setting, the moral purpose, and the skill in presentation are all 'his own' (Chc. *EB*⁹, art. 'Daniel').

² Georg Behrmann, *Hand-cornmentar*, 1894.

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dragon Tīamat by the god Marduk.¹ Instead of merely pronouncing this apocryphal narrative, as Zockler (*Apocr.* [91], 215 221) somewhat imprudently does, foolish and silly, we ought rather to learn from it that dependence on ancient tradition is not incompatible with complete unhistoricity.

As a contemporary, the author of Daniel 11:21-39 was in circumstances which enabled him to depict with the utmost accuracy the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and his two Egyptian campaigns; but for the concluding portion of ch. 11 he can no longer be taken as a historical source, inasmuch as *vv.* 40-45 go beyond the author's present; the actual course of events in which Antiochus Epiphanes perished on an eastern raid in the Persian city of Tabæ in 164 B.C. is glaringly inconsistent with the author's anticipation that the king, after a successful expedition against Egypt, was to meet his end suddenly in Palestine.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the book was written during the life-time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

11. Language. The conclusion that it belongs to a very late date in the post-exilic period is forced upon us also by its language.

The many Persian words in the book are, in the mouth of Daniel, anachronisms which clearly testify against the authenticity of the book; as also testifies the use of the word *Kasdim* (EV 'Chaldæans' [*q. v.*]) for the Babylonian priests, soothsayers, or magicians. True, our book sometimes, in agreement with those prophets who lived under the new Babylonian kingdom, understands by the *Kasdim* the people who had the predominance in Babylon (cp Dan. 38 530 91 with Is. 43:14); but it stands alone, opposed not only to the Assyrio-Babylonian *usus loquendi* but also to that of all the rest of the OT, in the manner in which it everywhere else (cp 224, etc.) makes *Kasdim* synonymous with 'Magi,' a practice which is found, long after the downfall of the Babylonian empire, in Greek and Roman authors. As the number of words borrowed from Persian certainly exceeds a dozen, the few Greek expressions do not come so much into account; but attention is worth calling to *psantiērîn* in Dan. 3:5, because this form, alongside of the Greek *psalterion*, proves the influence of the Macedonian dialect (which substituted *n* for *l*), and because it is in the case of this word that the Semitic derivation of the foreign words in Daniel, so much insisted on in the apologetic interest, is strikingly seen to be untenable.

The non-Hebrew language of Dan. 2:4 ff. is introduced as being the speech of the 'Chaldaean,' and is kept up by the author down to the end of chap.

12. Aramaic. 7, because in his time (though not so in 2 K. 18:26) both languages were readily understood; it is thus possible for us to form definite conclusions as to its character. Although it is called Aramaic correctly, it is at the same time intended to be taken as the language of the 'Chaldaean,' and this on any assumption involves a historical error. The biblical Aramaic (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 3 f.) is now known to belong to the West Aramaic group and to be closely related to the language of the Targums and of the Palmyrene and other inscriptions. We know also that this language, of which the remains preserved to us come for the most part from Palestine, did not, as the language of current intercourse, supersede the old Hebrew (which had now begun to assert its claim to be regarded as a sacred language) until the end of the third century B.C. The actual language of the 'Chaldaean' also we know from the cuneiform inscriptions to have been Semitic, but very different from the West Aramaic, so that Luther's free translation of 2:4—'Then spake the Chaldee to the king in Chaldee'—is indeed exegetically correct but historically false. If, on the other hand, in order to avoid supposing that Aramaic was confounded with

¹ Similarly Marduk reappears later in the Christian knight St. George.

'Chaldaean,' it is maintained that the court language at Babylon was Aramaic, we may point to the linguistic peculiarities of the old Aramaic inscriptions,¹ which abundantly show that the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel could not have been spoken in Babylon in the sixth century.

How little the Book of Daniel can be depended on in matters of history appears from its very first verse. Not

only do the real contemporaries (cp Jer. 46:2 Ez. 26:7) of the famous Chaldaean king call him Nebuchadrezzar; but also Strabo, in transliterating the name, comes near the cuneiform form. In Dan. 11, on the other hand, the name is given in a later corrupt form (with *n* instead of *r*) in connection with the unhistorical statement (cp Jer. 25:1 36:19 29) that Nebuchadrezzar conquered Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. Whatever be the case with the rest of the OT, Daniel betrays no trace of acquaintance with cuneiform; the error made in 48 [5] is an urgent warning against any attempt to interpret the writing on the wall in 5:25 by reference to the real speech of the 'Chaldaean.' In 4:8 [5] Daniel's name Belteshazzar, which is already taken in the LXX to be the same as Belshazzar (51), the name of the alleged last Babylonian king, is wrongly supposed to be a compound of the divine name Bel (Is. 46:1), although Bēl-šar-ušur (that is, 'Bēl preserve the king') and Belaššu-ušur (that is, 'may his life be preserved') are philologically distinct.² It would take us too far afield were we to show how even Nebuchadrezzar's insanity and the equally unhistorical conception of Belshazzar or even of the legendary Darius the Mede whom Xenophon's romance, the *Cyropædia*, cannot make a historical person carry us back to traditions which, widely different as they seem, in part at least, to have been, were in any case greatly distorted. How strained are the author's relations with history can be seen by a glance at chap. 11:2 f. As only two Babylonian kings are known to him, so he knows of only three Persian sovereigns besides Cyrus (10:1), their names being those of the four that occur elsewhere in the OT (cp Ezra 4:5-7); as Xerxes is clearly intended by the fourth, this sovereign is made to be the successor of Artaxerxes (whom he really preceded), and the contemporary of Alexander the Great.

In these circumstances Driver's correct statement (*Introd.* (6) 510), that 'the book rests upon a traditional

14. Daniel basis,' ought not to have been followed by the statement that 'Daniel, it cannot be doubted, was a historical person, one of the Jewish exiles in Babylon.'

A book which does not admit of being used as a historical source, save for the author's own time, cannot possibly be a guarantee for the existence of an exilic Daniel. When we cast about us for information concerning Daniel independent of our present book, we find that the name Daniel is of rare occurrence in the OT, being met with (see DANIEL i. 1) only once on perfectly historical ground; and, moreover, what is very remarkable, we find also in Ezra's time (see DANIEL i. 3) a Mishael, an Azariah, and a Hananiah (cp Dan. 1:6)—a coincidence of rare names which led Bleek to conjecture that our author had thrown back the contemporaries of Ezra by more than a century in order that he might represent them as living

¹ Cp Dr. *Introd.* (6) 503 f. (the language of Daniel, [c] end). We possess monuments of the official use of Aramaic for the times of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Persian supremacies, which indicate that there was in the case of the smaller parts of speech, such as the relative and demonstrative pronouns which have special value for the determination of the age of a language, a notable difference of form between the older and the younger Aramaic. Whilst the old Aramaic of the inscriptions from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C. has *ni* and *ni*, in biblical Aramaic these much used particles have the forms *ni*, *ni* and *ni*. The Book of Daniel is thus, in its use of *ni* for the older *ni*, quite in agreement with what we know of the usage prevailing in Aramaic inscriptions and books dating from the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D.

² On the name and asserted kingship of Belshazzar, and on Darius the Mede, see BELSHAZZAR, DARIUS, 1.

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in the time of the 'exile' at a heathen court, and showing an example to his countrymen under the oppression of the heathen. This hypothesis and that of Cheyne (*OPs.* 107) are, at any rate, preferable to the view of Ewald, who places the original Daniel among the North Israelitish exiles at the court of Nineveh (*Prophets*, 511).

In confirmation of the date (during the lifetime of Antiochus Epiphanes) already made out, we have many additional facts which point to the early Maccabean period even if they do not enable us to fix the time with absolute precision. Among these are the *argumenta e silentio* supplied by the fact that Daniel is not named by the son of Sirach who wrote about 190 B.C. (*Ecclus.* 48 f.), and—a still weightier argument—by the complete absence of any influence of Daniel upon post-exilic prophetic literature. Conversely this book, to which the angelic names Gabriel and Michael, the resurrection (12; cp *ESCHATOLOGY*), and a collection of sacred bootles that included the prophecies of Jeremiah (92) are known, plainly reveals its dependence not only on Jeremiah and Ezekiel but also on the post-exilic Book of Zechariah. If the absence of Daniel from *Ecclus.* 496-70 is itself a proof of late origin, a still stronger proof lies in the fact that it has found its place in the Hebrew canon, not in the second division, the collection of prophetic books, but in the third or last division, between Esther and Ezra (cp *CANON*, § 49). Not until the time of the LXX (which, moreover, has treated the text of Daniel in a very arbitrary fashion) does it find a place, after Ezekiel, as the fourth of the 'great' prophets, and thus it comes to pass that once in the NT¹ Daniel is designated as a prophet.

The very arbitrary treatment of the MT of Daniel in the LXX, particularly in chaps. 3-6, and the false interpretation of 925 ff. (*šābhū'im*, 'weeks' confounded with *šibh'im*, 'seventy') brought it about that long before Jerome's time, Theodotion's translation of Daniel (already employed by Irenæus)² superseded the LXX in ecclesiastical use. Though Theodotion did not remove the apocryphal additions not found in MT, yet, by making use of Aquila's version, he brought the text of the LXX into closer relation with MT. From a MS (Cod. Chisianus) of the LXX in the library of Cardinal Chigi, not very old, but supplied with Origen's obeli and asterisks, an edition of the LXX Daniel was published at Rome in 1772, and another and better one by Cozza in 1877. The Syriac Hexaplar version of Paul of Tella, edited by Bugati in 1788 and photographically reproduced by Ceriani in 1874, is justly held to be purer than the text of the Cod. Chisianus (*Swete's* 87), which is, indeed, full of errors. The text-critical importance of 6 is, for the Book of Daniel, fortunately very small; so far as the integrity of the consonants of the original text is concerned, the book is one of the best preserved in the whole OT.

As distinguished from the older prophets the Book of Daniel is often spoken of as the first apocalypse (cp *Dan.* 219). It makes a revelation of the coming end of the world, although in a veiled manner, so as to avoid the dangers of open speech. Upon the basis of his study of earlier writers (92),³ and conscious of his own divine

¹ In Mt. 2415, but not in the || Mk. 1314.

² Porphyry, too, made use of Theodotion's translation and even (according to Jerome's express testimony) regarded it as the original (cp *Bevan, op. cit.* 3).

³ Following on a suggestion of Nöldeke (*Attest. Litt.* 224), Prof. Bevan has offered this interpretation of 92, 'I understood the number of years by the Pentateuch,' the special reference being to Lev. 26 1821 2423, where it is declared that the Israelites are to be punished *seven times* for their sins. 'The 70 weeks become intelligible if we suppose that the author of Daniel combined Jer. 25 11 29 10 with Lev. 26 18 ff.' 'The 70 years of Jeremiah were to be repeated 7 times, and at the end of the 490th year the long-promised deliverance might be confidently expected.' But the expression 'seven times' has here, as in Prov. 2416, simply the sense of 'often.' The text in 92 cannot ascribe to Daniel a *comprehension* of 'the number of the years by the (holy) books,' because such a comprehension is, as a fact, only

enlightenment, the author wrote his work of admonition and comfort in the name of the ancient Daniel; it is only ignorance (cp the excellent remarks of Ball in Wace's *Apocr.* 2307) or misapprehension that can lay to his charge as a fault his employment of a literary form which was common throughout antiquity. We must not, of course, unduly exaggerate the feeling, no doubt prevalent in the Maccabean period, that prophecy had become extinct—a feeling which may have contributed, along with other causes, to the choice of this literary form. Our author pursues the same lofty moral and religious aims which were sought by the older prophets, and it is by no means his intention to gratify a merely idle curiosity. In presenting, as still future, past occurrences in which, as one world-empire perished after another, he saw the hand of his God only as preparing the way for that which was still really in the future, the downfall of the last and most direful enemy of the good, and the coming of Messiah's salvation, there was a double advantage. The people who were in the secret were able to recognise in what he wrote the circumstances of their own time, although only darkly alluded to; and what had happened already supplied a guarantee for the certainty of that which was still to happen. The author lives in the firm faith that everything has been fully foreordained in the counsels of God (cp 7 12): the Almighty is steering the whole course of history towards the salvation of his people (cp *Smend's* lecture on 'Jewish Apocalyptic' in *ZATW*, 1885, p. 222 ff.). Cp *ESCHATOLOGY*.

If we turn now to the question how our author set about fixing by computation the date of the accomplishment of the Messianic hopes of the Jews, we are able to arrive at a more precise determination of the date of his writing. It must have been either soon before, or soon after, the purification of the temple. This we learn from the number given in 814. As already said, the years of weeks (cp 2 Ch. 3621) present some historical difficulty, inasmuch as, after the first seven weeks of years (which suit the Babylonian 'exile'), instead of the 62 x 7 = 434 years of the interval which we should expect to find between Cyrus and the death of Onias III. (538-171 B.C.), we are, according to the actual chronology (which gives 367 years), 67 years short. As the Jewish Hellenist Demetrius, however, who wrote about 210 B.C., has fallen into a mistake precisely similar to our author's—a mistake which could easily be made in the absence of a fixed era—we need not be surprised at such an error in a book historically so inaccurate as that of Daniel. The last week of years, which begins in 171 B.C., extends (precisely reckoned) to 164 B.C., and it has certainly contributed greatly to the esteem in which the book has been held, that Antiochus Epiphanes actually did die in the year 164. For our author the division of the seventieth week of years into two equal parts was suggested by the history of his time, inasmuch as towards the end of 168 B.C. the Abomination of Desolation was set up, and idolatrous worship in the temple began. The three-years-and-a-half which remain after deduction of the historical three-years-and-a-half stand for the still incomplete period of the last and greatest tribulation in the course of which our book was written. For the correctness of this second number (3½) faith had to be the guarantee; and that it was known to be a round number or a number of faith is shown not only by the vague periphrasis in 725 and 127, where the plural 'times' takes the place of the linguistically impossible dual, but also by the three numbers, 1150 (cp the 2300 evenings and mornings in 814), 1290, and 1335 days, used in an approximate way to express three years and a half—apparently with precision but in reality only in round obtained through the angel in *evr.* 14-27. Besides, it is unnatural to explain the phrase 'the books' as referring to the Pentateuch when the context speaks only of Jeremiah. Behrmann's rendering of מִן הַסְּפָרִים ('I took notice of') is preferable to that of Bel-an and of EV ('I understood').

17. Pseudo-nymity. Ignorance (cp the excellent remarks of Ball in Wace's *Apocr.* 2307) or misapprehension that can lay to his charge as a fault his employment of a literary form which was common throughout antiquity. We must not, of course, unduly exaggerate the feeling, no doubt prevalent in the Maccabean period, that prophecy had become extinct—a feeling which may have contributed, along with other causes, to the choice of this literary form. Our author pursues the same lofty moral and religious aims which were sought by the older prophets, and it is by no means his intention to gratify a merely idle curiosity. In presenting, as still future, past occurrences in which, as one world-empire perished after another, he saw the hand of his God only as preparing the way for that which was still really in the future, the downfall of the last and most direful enemy of the good, and the coming of Messiah's salvation, there was a double advantage. The people who were in the secret were able to recognise in what he wrote the circumstances of their own time, although only darkly alluded to; and what had happened already supplied a guarantee for the certainty of that which was still to happen. The author lives in the firm faith that everything has been fully foreordained in the counsels of God (cp 7 12): the Almighty is steering the whole course of history towards the salvation of his people (cp *Smend's* lecture on 'Jewish Apocalyptic' in *ZATW*, 1885, p. 222 ff.). Cp *ESCHATOLOGY*.

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numbers. Behrmann, with Cornill, continues to fix the date of the book as in the beginning of the year 164, because the number in 814, which does not seem to be symbolical, is held to point to the purification of the temple as having already been accomplished; but Cornill,¹ reckoning backwards 1150 days from 25th December 165 B.C., sought to make out 27th October 168 as the probable date of the religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes. The difference of 45 days between the number in 1211 and that in 1212, which it is merely arbitrary to attempt to explain as a gloss, points to months of 30 days. In that case the 1290 days (v. 11), or 43 months, would fit in if we were to add an intercalary month to the 42 months of the three years and a half. However we may reckon (cp H. Oort in *Th. T.* 28, 450 [94]), the end of chap. 9 forbids the dissociation of the restoration of the temple service from the final close so decidedly that the present writer now unites with Kuenen and Wellhausen in preferring the usual view, according to which 814 still lies in the author's future, and holds the date of the book to be 165 B.C.

When the book, which rapidly became popular, first began, perhaps as early as 150 B.C. (cp 1 Macc. 154

19. Apocryphal additions. 259 f.), to be translated by Egyptian Jews into Greek, the legends of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon (cp Bevan.

45), which may very well have had an independent circulation,² had certainly not as yet been taken up into it. In fact, as late as the fifth century A.D. we have it on the authority of Polychronius that the Song of the Three Children was still absent alike from the Syriac version and from the original text. We cannot tell at what date it was that these apocryphal additions (which are contained in all the MSS that have reached us) were taken up into the Greek and the Syriac Daniel. In view of the great popularity of their contents, shown by the variety of the forms in which they are presented, we can only conjecture that they must have been adopted comparatively early (the book from the first was freely rendered rather than faithfully translated in the LXX), although the growth of the four different Syriac texts of Susanna (cp Wace, 2330 f.) may have been later. The so-called genuine LXX text, which we possess in the Cod. Chisianus (Sw. 87) and (in Syriac) in a valuable Milan MS (cp Swete, *Septuagint*, vol. 3, p. ii f.) contains, of course, the additions just as fully as do the many MSS which give us Daniel in the text of Theodotion, already described above (§ 16) as a revision of the LXX. Swete (as above) has conveniently printed together the text of Theodotion, which obtained ecclesiastical sanction, and that of the LXX, which had lain in oblivion for almost fifteen centuries. Even if we suppose, with Schiirer (*PRE*³ 1640), that the LXX text must have been in existence before the Daniel legend received new developments in Greek, we may safely assume that the additions to the Greek Daniel had been made before the beginning of the Christian era. The balance of probability is that they were not translated from any Semitic source, but were originally written in Greek (cp Pnsey, Daniel, 378 f.). They are distinguished—as indeed is the LXX version of Daniel—from the Jewish Greek that prevails in the rest of the LXX by their purer and more elegant diction; another indication in the same direction is the well-known play upon Greek words in Susanna (vv. 54 f. 58 f., cp HOLMTREE), which even Julius Africanus urged as proof of the spuriousness of the piece in his letter to Origen, who wished the narrative to be retained in the canon. As Protestants are in no way bound by the

20. **Susanna.** decree of the Council of Trent (cp Wace. *Apocr.* 1368 f.), which declares the apocryphal additions to be true history, and as we hardly require a full enumeration of reasons such as is given, e.g., by Reuss (*Das AT übersetzt*, 1894, 741 f.) in proof of the unhistorical character of the Susanna

¹ See his *Die Siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels*, 1889.

² Cp above, § 10.

legend, we are able to approach without any prejudice the question as to the language in which it was originally written. It may be frankly conceded that in view of the small extent of the additions—plainly the work of a Hellenistic Jew (or Jews)—and in view of the fact that even in the case of a comparatively poor language it is always possible by *free* translation to imitate any play upon words whatever, we have not the means that would enable us to prove conclusively that the original language was Greek.

To estimate the additions correctly, we must consider their substance rather than their present Greek form. Without prejudice to the literary freedom which is manifestly presupposed by their present form and by the fact that the Susanna legend appears in several shapes (cp Salmon in Wace, p. xlvi), it is clear that they contain more or less of traditional matter, and, like the canonical book itself, cannot be regarded as pure invention. So long ago as 1832 Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Vortr.* 122 f.) called attention to the fact that traces are preserved in the Haggādā of wonderful doings of a Daniel famous for his wisdom—e.g., the fight with the dragon, already mentioned, in Midrash *Ber. Rab.* par. 68 (in Wiinsche's transl., Leipsic, 1881, p. 334). As for the position of the legend of the beautiful Susanna, whom Daniel (represented in v. 45 as a very youthful boy) saves from the false accusation of the two elders by his wise judgment, Theodotion, for the sake of the presumed chronological order, has placed it before Dan. 1 (though after chap. 1 would be more appropriate), while the LXX and Vg., on the other hand, place it as a thirteenth chapter after the twelve canonical chapters; Bel and the Dragon being a fourteenth. Daniel's wise judgment recalls 1 K. 316 ff.; but the lascivious old men recall still more Ahab and Zedekiah, the two adulterous false prophets living in Babylon and threatened by Jeremiah (cp Jer. 29²⁰⁻²³ with Sus. v. 57), about whom the Talmud and Midrash have so much to say. Briill even thought that he had discovered the explanation of the flower-name Susanna in the Midrash *Wayyikra Rabba*, par. 19 (p. 129 in Wiinsche's transl.), and Ball (*Wace*, 2330) would fain have it that the piece is an anti-Sadducean 'tendency' writing. More likely is the connection suggested by Ewald (*GVV*³ 4636) of the Susanna story with a Babylonian legend, an allusion to which occurs in the Koran (*Sur.* 296), of the seduction of two old men by the goddess of love.

While in Susanna Daniel, as his name implies, appears as a judge, he comes before us in the

21. **Bel and the Dragon** of Babylon (see vv. 24-28)—which immediately follow in all MSS and editions.

as the successful opponent of heathenism, distinguished for wisdom and piety. In the first of the two, Daniel convinces the king (called Cyrus only in Theod.) of the fraud practised by the priests of Bel, who pretended that their god was an actual living deity, while it was they themselves with their wives and families who consumed the food and drink offered to Bēl. After the execution of the priests and the destruction of the helpless Bēl and his temple (v. 22) we read (vv. 23-42) of further exploits of Daniel in Babylon. He subdued the invulnerable dragon (Job 41:8 [26] ff.) which they worshipped with divine honours, by throwing indigestible substances into its jaws, whereupon the king at the instigation of his enraged people caused the destroyer of their gods to be cast into the lions' den (cp Dan. 6); here he was divinely protected, and supported by food miraculously brought to him from the land of Judæa by the prophet Habakkuk (cp Ezek. 83). In § 87 (see Sw.) the superscription of the twofold narrative of Bēl and the Dragon runs: 'From the prophesy of Habakkuk, the son of Jesu, of the tribe of Levi.' Here, doubtless, there is a reference to some Jewish prophetic legend, although only Theodotion calls this Habakkuk a prophet (see HABAKKUK). The only addition

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which, strictly speaking, supplements the canonical book of Daniel is the double hymn introduced after 323, consisting of 67 verses numbered in Greek and Vg. as

The EV treats this entire section as one, headed 'The Song of the Three Children'. Three Children'; Luther, following the Vatican subscription, divides it into two, under the titles 'The Prayer of Azariah' and 'The Song of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace.' The prayer named after Azariah (cp Dan. 17) is spoken in the name of the three friends; but its language is as general as if the entire Jewish people, oppressed and penitent, were speaking. After a brief connecting narrative relating their miraculous preservation from the devouring fire—a preservation regarded as an answer to Azariah's prayer—we have in vv. 52-90 the song of praise sung at the same time by all three together. This speaks of the deliverance from the fire only in the verse where they call upon themselves by name (v. 88). whilst the rest takes the form of a prolonged litany, reminiscent of Ps. 103²⁰ ff. and still more of Pss. 136 148 and Ecclus. 43, where in quite general terms all created things are summoned to praise the Lord.

To the bibliography in Bevan's *Short Comm. on Daniel* (Cambr. '94), p. 9, and in Strack's *Einl.* ('08), p. 214 f., add Kamph. 'Daniel' in *SBOT*; Dr. *Introduct.* ('7) 23. Literature. 488-515; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 524-537; Che. *OPs.* 94, 105 107, *Founders*, 303-371; Behrmann, *Das B. Daniel*, Göttingen, 1894 (his exegesis is conscientious and sober; his etymologies are weak, but he criticises Kautzsch's *Gramm.* in several points successfully); Breasted, *Hebraica*, July ('91), p. 244 ff. (on the proof of the recent origin of Daniel derived from syntax), Lohr, 'Text-krit. Vorarb. zu einer Erklärung des B. Daniel,' *ZATW.*, 1895-96; Dillm. *A Tliche Theol.*, Leipsic ('95), p. 522 f., 538, Baer, *Libri Dan. Ezr. et Neh. Text Mas.*, etc., 1882 (with pref. by Franz Del., and 'Babylonian glosses' by Friedr. Del.); J. D. Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* ('99); Nestle, *Marc. u. Mat.*, 1893 (see pp. 35-42); Marti, *Kurzg. Gram. des Bibl.-Aram. Sprache*, 1896 (note especially the Texts and Glossary). The commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel has recently been edited by Bonwetsch (*Hippolytus' Werke*, i.; Leipsic, '97); see also Bonwetsch, 'Studien zu den Komm. Hippolytus' in *Archiv f. d. älteren christl. Schriftsteller*, i. ('97); Bludau, *Die Alexandrin. Uebersetzung des B. Dan. w. ihr. Verhältniss z. Mass. Text* ('97), an instructive exposition of the problems presented by the LXX: chaps. 1-37-12 in the LXX are a real translation of text-critical value; the deuterocanonical parts are most probably based on a Semitic original. G. A. Barton, 'The Comp. of the Book of Daniel,' *JBL*, 17 ('98) 62-86 (against unity of authorship); F. Buhl, *PREP* ('98), 4 445-457. A. K.

DAN-JAAN (דַּן יַעֲנַן; εἰς δὲ ἀν εἰδὸν καὶ οὐδὸν [B], εἰς ἀν ἰδὸν καὶ ἰοῦδαν [A], εὖς ἀν [L]; IN DAN SILVESTRIA [Vg.]), a place mentioned (2 S. 246) in a description of the limits of David's kingdom, after the 'land of TAHTIM-HODSHI' (q.v.). Conder (*Hdbk.* 408), following Schultz, identifies it with *Daniän*, a ruined place between Tyre and Akka, 4 m. N. of Achzib. That, however, is too far west. 'Dan' must be the historic Dan, and -jaan (for which Ges.'s *ya'ar* 'forest' is a poor conjecture; but see 5^A Vg.) is plainly corrupt. To emend the text so as to read '(they went) to Dan, and from Dan they went round (בְּיַד דָּן וְיָדָן) to Zidon' (We., Dr., Ki., Bu.) is possible. It is better, however, especially if Klostermann is right in his emendation of Tahtim-hodshi, to change -jaan into *wē'-iyōn*, 'and (to) Ijon'; Ijon, like Kedes, belonged to the territory of Naphtali. We should then continue, 'and they went round (בְּיַד דָּן וְיָדָן) to Zidon.' Observe that Klostermann's emendation (יָדָן) is easier, and probably gives a better sense than that of Wellhausen and Driver. It is also proposed by Gratz. T. K. C.

DANNAH (דַּנְיָה; PENNA [BAL]), a city of the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15⁴⁹), mentioned between Socoh (Shuweikeh) and Debir. Suitable to this position in the modern *Idhna*, the *Ἰδνα* of the OS, 6 m. SE. of Beit-Jibrin; the variation in the form of the name is a not unusual one (cp *Ibzik* and *Bezek*).

DAPHNE (ΔΑΦΝΗ [AV]), 2 Macc. 4³³. See ANTIOCH, 2, § 1.

DARIUS

DARDA (דָּרְדָּרַי), one of three wise men, sons of MAHOL (the Chronicler differs; see ZERAH), compared with Solomon (1 K. 4³¹ [511]; 6 4²⁷: ΔΑΡΔΑ [B], ΤΟΝ ΔΑΡΔΑ [A], ΔΑΡΔΑΕ [L]). In 1 Ch. 26 the name appears as Dara (*δαρα* [BA], *δαραδε* [L]); but, as it seems intended to be analogous in form to Chalcol [Chalcal?], a second *d* is indispensable. The largest group of MSS of 6 read in 1 K. and 1 Ch. *του δαρδα*; three cursives in 1 K. have *του δαρδαν* (so Arm.). Pesh. Targ. and some MSS (Kenn.) support MT in both passages.

DARIC (דָּרְכַּנִּים, דָּרְכַּמֹּנִים), RV 1 Ch. 29⁷ etc., AV DRAM [q.v.].

DARIUS (דָּרְיֹוּשׁ; Old Pers. Dārayavauš, Darayavaš; Bab. *Dāri'amuš* (*vauš*); Sus. *mTariyamauš* (*vauš*); Δαρ[ε]ῖος [BNAQL 87]).

1. Darius the Mede, son of Ahasuerus, Dan. 6¹ [2] 28 [29] 91 and 111 (*κυρου* [BAQ—i.e., Theod.; 87—i.e., the LXX], *Δαρειου* [Aq. Sym.]). The name is here applied in error to the conqueror of the new Babylonian empire. In Dan. 91 Ahasuerus is the father of Darius the Mede, who, we are informed (cp 11n, 'was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans' after the death of Belshazzar. We are told of Darius that he was then (638 B.C.) sixty-two years old, from which it follows that Ahasuerus his father must have been a contemporary of Nebuchadrezzar. With this agrees Tob. 14¹⁵, where it is said (but not by N that the population of Nineveh was deported by Nebuchadrezzar and Ahasuerus. All this proceeds upon a mistake. Nineveh was conquered by Cyaxares (Old Pers. Uvakhshātara), the predecessor of Astyages, with the assistance of Nabopolassar (Nabū-pal-ušur) the father of Nebuchadrezzar. In the list of Median kings one searches in vain for a name that can by any possibility be taken for that of Ahasuerus or Darius. Even if it be argued that Darius was indeed a Mede, though nowhere called king of Media, we have to reckon not only with the notices given by the Greek historians but also with the Nabū-nā'id-Cyrus cylinder, from which it appears that Cyrus himself, immediately after the fall of the capital, ascended the throne of Babylon and appointed to the governorship of the province of Babylon Gobryas (Old Pers. Gaubaruva, Bab. Ugbaru or Gubaru), governor of Gutium, who, it would appear, was superseded, as king, by Cambyses the Persian. This Gobryas may very well have been the person who, seventeen years afterwards, joined forces with Darius Hystaspis against the pseudo-Smerdis. As governor of Gutium, which lay on the Median frontier, he may well have been called a Mede, and, as the ally of Darius, have been confounded with him. The name, however, of the father of Gobryas was Mardonius (Marduniya), not Xerxes, and it is not to be supposed that Cyrus made such a political blunder as to entrust the control of so important a province as Gutium to a Mede. See DANIEL, BOOK OF, § 13.

2. Darius I. Hystaspis, king of Persia (521-485 B.C.), who allowed the Jews to rebuild their temple, is referred to in Ezra 4⁵ 24 5⁵ 6¹ Hag. 1¹ 2¹⁰ Zech. 1¹ 7, and probably in Neh. 12²².¹ His liberality towards the Jews is in complete accord with what we know otherwise of his general policy in religious matters towards the subject nations. He took the great Cyrus for his model, and contrasts strongly with Cambyses.

If Cambyses dealt the sacred Apis-hull of Memphis a mortal wound, Darius presented the city with a new Apis, and restored the temple of Amun-Ra at the oasis of El-Khargeh with great splendour. In Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægean, temples were indeed sometimes destroyed by his generals, especially where, as at Naxos and at Eretria (Herod. 696 101),

¹ It is stated in Neh. 12²² f. that the priests were registered under 'Darius the Persian'; the Levites (if we emend the text) not till the period from Eliashib to Jaddua. The text of v. 22 f. has passed through changes, probably through the redaction of the Chronicler. So Koster's, *Herstel.* 109. [For other views see Meyer, *Entst.* 103, and NHEMIAH, § 1.]

DARKON

revenge was to be gratified; but he himself gave special orders to spare Delos, and also caused three hundred talents of incense to be burnt on the altars of Apollo and Artemis. If he discerned some affinity between Apollo and his own god Mithra, he may well have seen resemblance enough between Yahwë and Ahura-mazda to lead him to do homage to the god of Israel.

C. P. T.

3. Darius III. Codomannus, the last king of Persia (1 Macc. 1 a. Cp DANIEL, BOOK OF, § 13; PERSIA.
4. 1 Macc. 12 7 AV; RV ARIUS. See SPARTA.

DARKON (דַּרְקוֹן; BDB compares Ar. *daraka*, 'hasten,' *daraka*^{ms}, 'shield'; ΔΑΡΚΩΝ [B], Asp. [AL]). The R[']ne Darkon, a group of children of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); EZRA 2 56=Neh. 7 58 (Αορρω [BNA])=1 Esd. 5 33, LOZON following 6BA Δοζων (δερκων [L]).

DART. On the various Heb. and Gk. words see WEAPONS.

DATES (שָׁרֵף), 2 Ch. 31 5 AV^{mg.}; EV HONEY (*q.v.*).

DATHAN AND ABIRAM (דָּתָן וְאַבִּירָם, ΔΑΘΑΝ, meaning obscure; and אֲבִירָם, see ABIRAM), Reubenites who led a revolt against Moses in the interval between the return of the spies and the final march towards Canaan.

In Nu. 15-17 the revolt of Dathan and Abiram is mingled and confused with another revolt, that of Korah.

1. The story: Consequently, it is difficult, indeed impossible, to interpret the narrative as it stands. There are sections of the narrative from which Korah disappears altogether. We have three causes for the revolt: impatience with the civil authority of Moses, discontent with the exclusive right of the Levitical tribe (as against Israel in general) to exercise priestly functions, and a desire on the part of the Levites who were not descended from Aaron to vindicate their equal right to the priesthood. These various motives are not combined, but appear in various parts of the narrative independently. The confusion reaches its highest point when we are told that the company of rebels who had already been swallowed up by the open earth were devoured by fire from Yahwb (cp 1633 with 35).

If, however, we turn to Dt. 116, we find the means of escaping from this confusion ready to our hand. There

2. In Deuteronomy. Moses begs the Israelites to remember what Yahwk their God 'did to Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, the sons of Reuben; how the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up and their households and their tents and every living thing that followed them, in the midst of all Israel.' From this passage, with which cp Ps. 10617, we might naturally conclude that the Deuteronomist had a text of early Israelite history before him, in which the revolt of Dathan and Abiram was mentioned without any reference to Korah, and the rebels, instead of being devoured by fire, were swallowed up alive by the earth.

We ask, therefore, if any such independent narrative of the revolt led by Dathan and Abiram can be extracted

3. Original narrative. from the composite text of Nu. 16. The answer must be given, and is in fact given by all recent scholars, in the affirmative. We have but to read 16 1 b 2 a 12-15 25 26 27 b-32 a 33 34 by themselves, in order to obtain an account which is nearly complete and is also consistent and intelligible. This is the history from which the Deuteronomist has borrowed his summary—from which he has taken not only his facts but also his words and phrases. That, however, is not all. The verses just mentioned form a literary unity. Their style is partly that of the Yahwist, partly that of the Elohist, whose allied works here, as elsewhere, have been combined by an editor into a whole. The rest of the narrative in ch. 16 f. is in the style of the priestly writer (P), a style so clearly marked and uniform that it cannot be mistaken. The Deuteronomist makes no allusion to the priestly narrative—for the simple reason that in his time it did not exist. One difficult remains. In *v.* 1 On is mentioned as one of the rebels

DATHEMA

but not a word is said of him in the sequel. Here in all probability the text is corrupt, and most scholars accept the emendation proposed by Graf (*Gesch. Bücher*, 39): 'Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben.' The emendation is abundantly justified by a comparison of Gen. 46 9 Ex. 6 14 Nu. 26 8 1 Ch. 5 3.

When disentangled from the later priestly story of the rebellion of Korah, with which it was mingled

4. The old tradition. by the compiler of the Hexateuch, the old tradition is in substance as follows. Dathan and Abiram belonged to Reuben,

the oldest tribe, which had, however, forfeited its claim to the hegemony or principedom among the sons of Jacob (see the so-called Blessing of Jacob; Gen. 49 3 f.). As Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram resent the supremacy of Moses. When Moses bids them come up to judgment, they insolently refuse. They reproach him with his unfitness for rule. Instead of leading them into a land flowing with milk and honey, he has led them away from Egypt, which deserved to be so described, and has exposed them to the deadly perils of the wilderness. It is only by blinding the people that he can maintain his position. Moses, in answer, protests that he has neither done them any hurt nor robbed them of so much as an ass, and he begs Yahwk to pay no respect to their offering. These last words refer, apparently, to the sacrifice which every Israelite might offer for his household, and may be compared with Gen. 4 4 f., where the Yahwist tells us that Yahwk looked favourably on the offering of Abel but not on that of Cain. The writer is not thinking of any special priesthood, but simply takes for granted that Yahwk, whose favour was always sought by sacrifice, will not accept the offering of rebels against just authority. Thereupon Moses, accompanied by the elders of Israel, goes down to the tents of his opponents. He predicts the divine chastisement which will fall upon them, and his threat is fulfilled. The earth opens her mouth and Dathan and Abiram go down into Shēöl, the receptacle of the shades: only, they, unlike other men, go down into it alive. Their wives and little ones perish with them.

We have made no attempt to distinguish between the work of the Yahwist and that of the Elohist. There

are marks of style and expressions **5. Redaction.** proper to the one and to the other, and again and again the same thing is mentioned twice. Kuenen (*Ond.*⁽²⁾ § 8, n. 14) and Kittel (*Hist.* 1 212 n.) attribute the narrative (of course after exclusion of P) as a whole to the Elohist; Cornill (*Einl.*⁽⁴⁾ 20), with better right, to the Yahwist. The frequent doublets show that two hands have been at work. We believe that Yahwist and Elohist told much the same story, and that the editor who combined their histories into one here made the Yahwist his basis, adopting at the same time some expressions from the Elohist. We cannot see any solid ground for Dillmann's belief that the Yahwist represented Dathan and Abiram as claiming the priesthood. He urges the words in *v.* 15, 'respect not thou their offering'; but such a curse, while all Israelites were allowed to sacrifice, might be naturally invoked against any enemy. The Yahwist makes little or no mention of a special priesthood, and though, no doubt, he was familiar with the institution, assuredly did not impugn the right of lay Israelites to offer sacrifice. The whole narrative now before us depicts a rebellion directed against Moses as a civil ruler. Had Dathan and Abiram claimed to exercise priestly functions we should have heard more about it. See KORAH. W. E. A.

DATHEMA (Δαθεμα [A], -θαίμα [N], -μεθα [V], Syr. ܕܬܘܡܐ in 1 Macc. 5 9; Διαθημα το φρουριον, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 81), one of the strong places in Gilead to which the Jews had betaken themselves when threatened by Timotheus and his host. It was relieved, with great slaughter of the enemy, by Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5 9 8 24 ff. 29 ff.).

Dathema has not been identified; from the description it must have lain between Bosora and Maspha (Mizpeh). The Syr. reading may be only a mistake for *Damtha* (Ew. *Hist.* 5 214); hut within the distance from Bosra of a night's march (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 3) lies the modern *Remthek*, a considerable village and station on the *Hajj* road (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 17).

DAUGHTER. The word 'daughter' (לַדָּ, θυγατήρ) in EV often has Hebraistic senses, the chief of which are here mentioned.

1. Native Canaanite or Philistine women are 'daughters' of Canaan (Gen. 36 2) or of Philistia (2 S. 1 20).

2. 'Daughter' is a synonym for 'girl' or 'woman' (Gen. 30 13 Jndg. 12 9 [30 'daughters'] Cant. 22 6 9); in addressing a person (Ruth 28 Ps. 45 1 Mt. 9 22).

3. The population of a place, or the place and its population, may be called collectively a 'daughter.' A typical phrase is לְיִשְׂרָאֵל (Is. 18 10 32, etc.): lit. 'daughter of Zion,' but, since the genitive is appositional, more correctly rendered 'people of Zion' (so sometimes in *SBOT*). So, too, 'daughter of Babylon' (Ps. 137 9), 'daughter of Egypt' (Jer. 46 11 19 24); also 'daughter of my people'—i.e., my country-people (Is. 22 4 Jer. 41). A phrase which is generally synonymous is 'sons' (i.e., inhabitants) of Zion, Babylon, etc. See *ZDMG*, 40 169; König, *Syntax*, § 255 e.

4. Dependent towns may be called 'daughters.' Thus the 'daughters of Judah' in Ps. 48 11 12 are the cities of Judah (cp *GENEALOGIES*, i. § 1. Cp the use of 'mother' for a provincial capital in 2 S. 20 19. See *TOWN, VILLAGE*).

5. 'Daughter,' like 'son,' in combination with a noun, may also express some speciality of character or capacity. Examples of this are few in number. A 'daughter of Belial' is certainly a 'grossly wicked person' (1 S. 1 16). 'Daughter of troops' (בַּת צְבָאוֹת; Mic. 5 1 [4 14]) is explained 'those who subject to attack'; hut the text is doubtful. 'Daughters of music' (לְיוֹלָיוֹת, 'daughters of song') in Eccles. 1 24 might he singing women; hut others think that the sounds of music are thus figuratively described.

DAVID (דָּוִד, דָּוִד; δαυ[ε]ιδ [BAL]¹). The name may be explained (1) as meaning 'beloved, a friend, NAMES, §§ 5, 56; or (2) as meaning 'paternal uncle,' if we pronounce דָּוִד (i.e., Dōd), for which Gray (*HPN* 83) offers Semitic analogies, though the explanation is certainly 'at first sight unlikely'; or (3), best of all, as an abbreviation of Dodiēl, which was perhaps the name of one of David's sons (see DANIEL i. 4), or of Dodijah = DODAI (*g. v.*). See also DODO.

The chronology of the life of David is most uncertain. We have elsewhere (see *CHRONOLOGY*, §§ 29, 37) assumed 930 B.C. as the first year of the reign of Rehoboam. To accept the round number of forty years assigned to the reign of Solomon in 1 K. 11 42 and to that of David in 2 S. 54 and in 1 K. 2 11 as strictly historical, would be uncritical. The chronological statements referred to are, at most, editorial guesses which may, as good critics think, be not very far from the mark.² The early history also of David is in many respects uncertain. It intertwines to a great extent with the still obscurer record of his predecessor (see SAUL); and keen criticism is necessary to arrive at the kernel of fact which there undoubtedly is in the legends that have come down to us. Winckler indeed denies that there is such a kernel of facts in the romantic story of David's early vicissitudes. Such exaggerated distrust, however, appears to arise from a preconceived theory respecting David, and most critics hold strongly to the view that the imaginative element in the story of David is but the vesture which half conceals, half discloses, certain facts treasured in popular tradition. If it should appear that this imaginative element contains some details which we have allowed a warm place in our regard and it would pain us to miss from the history of Israel, we must comfort ourselves with the thought (1) that what remains unshaken becomes more precious than ever, and (2) that even pure legends are of great historical value for the characterisation of the age which produced them.

(a) *First appearance.*—The only ancestor of David

¹ The MSS generally have δᾶδ. Lag. gives Δαβιδ in a few places.

² See Kamphausen, *Die Chronol. der hebr. Könige*, 16 f.; cp (for David) St. *GPT* 1 264 297. *W.L.* (G1 174) questions this.

mown to early traditions was his father Jesse,¹ who was

1. Stories of earlier days. believed to have been a citizen of Bethlehem.² David was the youngest of his four³ sons (so 1 S. 17 13 14 [B omits]; cp 16 5-9), and was sent to keep his father's sheep in the steppes of Judah. Such at least is the statement of one of our traditions, which, at any rate, has the merit of accounting for the agility, endurance, and courage, so constantly ascribed to David (cp 1 S. 17 34 24 2 S. 17 9). There, too, David is supposed to have acquired that skill in music (cp Gen. 4 20 f.) which led to his first introduction to Saul, after which he became the king's armow-bearer and slew Goliath. This, however, is not in accordance with the older and more trustworthy account, which simply tells us that David was a valiant Israelitish warrior who happened to be also clever with his tongue and with his lyre, and who was sent for from Bethlehem (a feature borrowed, perhaps, from the other tradition) to charm away Saul's melancholy. Nor is the statement that the shepherd-lad slew Goliath the Philistine consistent with the plain and thoroughly credible, because unlegendary, tradition given elsewhere, that the slayer of Goliath was Elhanan, and the period of his exploit not in Saul's but in David's reign* (see ELHANAN, GOLIATH). We must, therefore, if the superior antiquity and probability of a narrative are to count as recommendations, give up the more romantic of the two sets of statements respecting David's introduction to Saul and his early prowess. That he became Saul's armour-bearer and musician need not be disputed.

(b) *Break with Saul.*—Another point in which the ordinary view of the life of David needs rectification is the occasion which gave birth to Saul's jealousy of David. The MT of 1 S. 18 6 states that 'when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistines, the women came out of the cities of Israel, singing, 'Saul hath slain

¹ This is intelligible enough in the light of David's words in 1 S. 18 18 (not in B). That a later age claimed descent for the most popular of the kings from the ancient princes of Judah (Ruth 4 18 ff.) is also intelligible (see RUTH, Book of): David was not to be less distinguished than Saul (1 S. 9 1). Cp the case of Sargon. It was only in the time of Esar-haddon that a genealogy was produced giving the Sargonic dynasty (which had simply usurped the throne) the necessary line of ancestors. See the inscriptions quoted by Wi. (*Hebraica*, 4 52 f.).

² The connection with Bethlehem has been rendered doubtful by Marq. (*Fund.* 23 ff.), who thinks 'that the belief in it arose from a false reading in 1 S. 20 28, where, for 'asked leave of me unto Bethlehem' (cp B²AL) he reads (with Klo.) 'asked leave of me until the meal-time' ('*eth lehem* for *beth lehem*)—a sound emendation. From the fact that David's sister ABIGAIL (1) (*g. v.*) married a man of Jezreel (near Carmel in Judah, the native place of David's favourite wife Abigail), and that David himself took his first wife from that place (see ABIGAIL), Marquart suspects that the hero's real home was farther south than Bethlehem, perhaps at Arad. This view he supports by a plausible but unprovable conjecture, viz., that Shammah the Aradite (so he reads in 2 S. 23 25; see HARODITE)—i.e., the man of Arad—is Shammah, David's brother, and that Ahiam b. Shobab the Aradite (2 S. 23 33; see HARARITE) was also a relation of David. Both these persons were enrolled among David's 'thirty.' The name of the home of David may conceivably have been forgotten, and (quite apart from 1 S. 20 28) a tradition such as that in 2 S. 23 14-17 may have suggested to narrators the choice of Bethlehem for his birthplace. This is probable. Cp Winckler, *Gesch.* 1 24.

³ A later tradition increased the number to seven (1 Ch. 2 13 15) or rather eight (1 S. 16 10 f. 17 12 [B om.]). The names of three out of the seven in 1 Ch. 2 16, (viz., NETHANEL, 2; OZEM, 1; and RADDAI) appear to be fictitious; cp Gray, *HPN* 233, Marq. *Fund.* 25.

⁴ The duplicate narratives of Saul's first meeting with David and of the slaying of Goliath respectively are—
(a) 1 S. 16 14-23 17 1-18 4 (part), and
(b) 1 S. 17 1-18 4 (part), 2 S. 21 10.

On these passages what is most necessary has been stated by Dr. *Introd.* 169; cp also the writers referred to in GOLIATH. W^RS (*OT/C* 2 433) finds some of the arguments for the existence of two opposite traditions as to David's introduction to Saul inconclusive. But there seems no strong objection to regarding the words בְּצֵאתוֹ אֶשֶׁר בַּצֹּאֵן 'who is with the sheep' in 1 S. 16 19 as a harmonistic interpolation (see St. *GVI* 1 224 n. 2; Bu. *Rz.* 28. 211), and it seems unnatural to take the words of Saul's servant in 1 S. 16 18 proleptically. The true continuation of 1 S. 16 23 is not 17 1, but a lost description of David's early exploits (see above), which was followed by 18 6 (in a shorter form)—8a.

his thousands and David his ten thousands,' from which (see *v.* 86) Saul inferred that the ambition of his spoiled favourite would not rest satisfied without the crown itself. It is certain, however, that MT does not give the original form of this passage. Whether the Hebrew text underlying the LXX contained the words 'when David returned,' etc., and the clause at the end of *v.* 8, is a point on which critics differ. Even if, as Budde supposes, the LXX translator, to produce a simpler narrative, omitted these clauses, it is not denied by that critic that the former clause is an editorial insertion;¹ it was not, therefore, the slaughter of Goliath by the shepherd lad that (according to the tradition) made Saul suspect that David nourished hopes of becoming king.

This, however, is merely a negative statement. What was it, we may ask, that, according to the best analysis of chap. 17, aroused the jealousy of Saul? To the present writer, as well as to Stade and Wellhausen, 1 S. 186 (with the omission of the reference to Goliath) seems to presuppose some account of David's early exploits as a warrior which stood in no connection with the story of Goliath, and indeed was removed by the editor to make room for it. It was these early exploits of a trained warrior that excited the jealousy of Saul, but (since *v.* 86-11, which \mathfrak{C}^B omits, are derived, like *vv.* 17-19, which also \mathfrak{C}^B omits, from another source) did not suggest the thought of David's wish for the crown. This is no doubt psychologically intelligible. Saul could not bear the sight of his too popular armour-bearer, and so he transferred him to a post which would remove him from his own immediate presence. The tradition adds that this served to promote David's interests. Even Michal, Saul's daughter (see MICHAL, EGLAH, ITHREAM), fell under his fascination, and her jealous father resolved to put the young captain on a perilous enterprise, promising him his daughter's hand in return for the customary proofs of victory, but secretly hoping that he would never return. David went forth, slew a hundred Philistines, and won his wife;² but the anxiety of Saul went on increasing after such a manifest proof of the divine protection of David.

This is certainly an improvement upon the ordinary view which treats chap. 18 as a homogeneous narrative; but who can assert that this view of the facts produces the impression of being perfectly historical? It will be noticed that we have laid no stress on the song of the women (187). The fragment is indeed clearly ancient; but it seems best understood as coming from a time when David was already king. This, however, is not the most important point. We need a narrative of still greater simplicity and verisimilitude. It is, as Stade remarks,³ more credible that Saul gave his daughter in marriage to David of his own accord, in order to bind the young hero to the family of his benefactor, and that Saul's jealousy broke out after, not before the marriage. Besides, it would be inconsistent in Saul, first, to send David away as a captain of a thousand (1813), and then to bring him back to the court as the king's son-in-law. For this position had attached to it the captaincy of the bodyguard (see 1 S. 2214, \mathfrak{C}^{BAL}), which gave its holder a rank next to Abner the general (1 S. 2025), so that Saul would be continually liable to fresh irritation from the sight of David. We cannot, however, positively assert that Stade's correction of the tradition brings us face to face with facts, and must be content to believe that the early story of David's life is not altogether a popular fiction, without insisting too

¹ See Budde's interesting analysis, as embodied in *SBOT*, Heb. edition. This critic seems to hold that the Goliath-story was originally closed by a description of the festal rejoicing which greeted the returning warriors and especially David, and that the same document then went on to relate the terror with which David's success inspired Saul, the king's removal of David to a high military post, and the episode of Merab. For Stade's view, see SAMUEL, ii.

² On the coarse but not in itself incredible requirement of Saul (1 S. 1525 27 2 S. 314), see MARRIAGE, and cp St. *Gesch.* 1. 232.

³ *GVI* 1. 233; cp We. *CH* 251.

much on the most romantic and interesting, and therefore least certain, parts of it. One of these least certain parts is the account of David's early relations with MICHAL (*q. v.*).

(c) *Various late narratives.*—On the episode of Saul's broken promise of Merab as a wife for David (1 S. 1517-19) it is unnecessary to dwell. The story, as all agree, interrupts the original context of chap. 18, to which the insertion has been clumsily fitted by an interpolation in *v.* 21*b*. We have here, therefore, a notice drawn from a distinct source. The language of *vv.* 17 and 19 seems to presuppose the story of David and Goliath (17 25 speaks of the king's promise of his daughter, and the whole narrative implies that David is as yet a mere lad, too young in fact to marry). It might of course be historical in spite of its close connection with that highly imaginative story. Since, however, Michal, not Merab (\mathfrak{C}^A , however, has *Μερόβ*), appears in 2 S. 218 as the mother of Adriel's children, it is more than probable that the whole episode of Merab rests on a confusion of names.¹ In short, we have two variants of the same tradition, and the form given in 1820*f.* is the more likely to be historical.

Nor need we pause long on some other late narratives. (i.) The account of Samuel's solemn consecration of David as king in 1 S. 16 1-13 has evidently not a historical but a religious motive. To devout readers the 'man according to God's mind' would have seemed to be disparaged if he had not, equally with his predecessor, been anointed by Samuel. (ii.) The episode of David's visit to the prophetic community at Ramab (19 18-24) is an attempt, in the style of the midrash, to explain the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' On this, as well as on (i.), see SAMUEL, ii. § 5. (iii.) The pretended madness of David at Gath (21 11-16; see ACHISH). To these we should, not inconceivably, add (iv.) a part of the story of David and Bathsheba (see BATHSHEBA).

Let us now resume the thread of the narrative. David was at first known to the servants of Saul as a brave warrior and a skilled musician, and also as clever of speech and comely in person. Whatever he did seemed

to prosper, for he had not only unusual abilities, but also a power of fascination which seemed a special sign of the divine favour (cp Ps. 45 2). His prowess in the war against the Philistines marked him out as one worthy to be the king's friend. He was, in fact, rewarded, first of all with the position of a royal armour-bearer, and then with the hand of Saul's daughter, Michal. For a time all went well. In the intervals of military service he played on his harp, and by his skill in music chased away the 'evil spirit' of melancholy, which already threatened to mar the king's career. Saul's gratitude, however, was not proof against the severe trial to which it was exposed by David's growing popularity, and, it would seem, by his close intimacy with Jonathan. The heir to the throne had, like Michal, passed under the spell of David, and become his devoted friend, probably his sworn brother,² and the disturbed mind of the king conceived the idea that Jonathan had stirred up David to be his father's enemy, in the expectation (we must suppose) of succeeding him as king (228). Saul brooded over this idea, and even reasoned with his son on the folly of supposing that his crown, if he came by these unholy means to wear it before the time, would be secure from such a powerful and ambitious subject as David (2031). Hence, tradition reports, Saul 'spoke to Jonathan his son, and to all his servants, that they should slay David' (191), and even sought, in a fit of frenzy, to pierce David with his javelin (1810*f.* [\mathfrak{C}^B omits] 199). Whether it was due to Jonathan's influence that the final breach between Saul and David was averted, we cannot tell; the story in 191-7 seems really another version of that in chap. 20. It is equally uncertain whether the story in 1912-17 has any claim to represent the closing scene in David's life at Gibeah. There are difficulties in regarding it as the true sequel to 198-10. It may possibly come from another source,³ and refer

¹ This is the view expressed in *EB* (9), art. 'David.' WRS there emphasises the fact that the episode of Merab (including *v.* 21*b*), like the section of chap. 17 to which it specially refers, is wanting in \mathfrak{C}^B , the text represented by which he regards as superior to that of MT in chaps. 17*f.* (cp *OTJC* (9) 431*f.*).

² See WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 335; COVENANT, § A: and cp also, with caution, Trumbull, *Blood-covenant* (85).

³ Verse 10 should end at 'escaped,' and *v.* 11 should begin, 'And it came to pass that night that Saul sent' (so \mathfrak{C}^{BA} , but not L).

to a slightly later period in David's life. The daring spirit of that hero might prompt him to visit his wife, even after his first flight,¹ or at least the first reciters of the tale may have meant it to be so understood. There remains the story in chap. 20, which (putting aside the opening words as a misleading editorial insertion, and *vv.* 4-17 as an expansion, due to an early editor² who loved the theme of Jonathan's friendship for David) evidently gives a traditional account of the rupture between Saul and David. Whether it is historical, however, is quite uncertain. There were, of course, gaps in the tradition, especially as regards the earlier period of David's life. Two great facts were certain, viz., the transformation of Saul's original kindness towards David into its opposite, and the firm friendship between David and Jonathan. Out of these facts the reciters of legends, aided by a traditional acquaintance with the general circumstances of the time, had to produce the best detailed account of David's flight from Saul that they could.

As was natural, David turned his steps southward. In the hill-country of Judah he would find hiding-places

3. Flight. enough, and if the arm of Saul threatened to reach him even there, he could easily seek the hospitality of some one of the neighbouring peoples. This, it is true, would be most displeasing to a worshipper of Yahwē (see 2619); but it must have already occurred to David as a possibility, for he soon afterwards placed his father and mother under the protection of the king of Moab (223 f.; see MOAB). At present, his first impulse was to fly with his men to the sanctuary at Nob, or perhaps rather Gibeon (see NOB), where he had already, it would seem, had occasion to consult the priestly oracle (2215). On his arrival, so the tradition declares, he obtained bread, by a plausible but fictitious story, from the consecrated table, and, as a pledge of victory in the king's 'business,' the mighty sword of Goliath (see GOLIATH, § 3). We can hardly venture to accept this account as correct;³ it is most probably a later writer's attempt to fill up a gap in the old tradition. Whatever took place, it is certain that David very soon hastened on to the fortified hill-town of Adullam. Here he was still in his native land, though probably not among Israelites (see ADULLAM); he could worship his own god, and might hope to be safe from his pursuers. In the fort (not the cave) of Adullam he was joined by his family, and by a small band of fellow-outlaws (about 400 in number). Meantime Doeg, the Edomite, who had seen David conversing with the priest Ahimelech at Nob (or Gibeon), had reported the circumstance with details, which may or may not have been his own invention,⁴ to Saul, and the king inferred from the report that Ahimelech had used the sacred oracle in support of reasonable designs of David. It is only his rooted belief in David's treason that excuses the fierceness with which Saul destroyed, not only the eighty-five priests,⁵ but also the entire population of the city of Nob or rather Gibeon (2218 f.); see GIBEON, DOEG, ABIATHAR, BAN. He also indicated the expulsion of David from the royal family by giving Michal, David's wife, to a new husband (see MICHAL).

David now became a captain of freebooters, levying

¹ The danger of such an enterprise was diminished by the reluctance to violate the apartments of women and to attack a sleeping foe, which appears also in Judg. 162, and among the Arabs. Wellhausen cites a closely parallel case from Sprenger's *Leben Muhammad*, 243.

² See the text as bxxhibited by Budde in *SBOT*.

³ It is incredible that David should have passed by the sanctuary without 'inquiring of Yahwē,' nor does the reference to the 'sword of Goliath' incline us much to accept the rest of the story. That the words assigned to Saul in 228 rightly express the king's belief is, however, more than probable.

⁴ It is certainly not impossible that David did take the opportunity of consulting the sacred oracle. The reference to the sword of Goliath in 2210b is interpolated (see Budde).

⁵ So MT Pesh. and Vg.; Ⓢ^{BA} by a manifest error, 305. Jos., combining the two readings, & (Ant. vi. 126). Ⓢ^{L} has 350.

blackmail on those who could pay it, in return for protection against Amalekites, Philistines, or other enemies. We have an attractive and sympathetic sketch of his conduct, and of the generous spirit which softened the harsher details, in chap. 25. Besides the means of subsistence, David looked, of course, for timely warning of the approach of his bitter enemies. In this way he held his ground manfully (with the support of the priest Abiathar) against almost overwhelming odds, trusting that he was being preserved for high ends. He must have felt that none but he could provide Israel with the leader that it needed, though to work directly towards the attainment of the crown would have been contrary to his loyal nature. One point in his favour there was, the value of which can hardly be overrated—viz., the peculiar conformation of the hill-country of Judah. It is necessary for the untravelled student to form by books and photographs some idea of those 'tossed and broken hills where the valleys are all alike, and large bodies of men may camp near each other without knowing it.' Major Conder goes even further, and claims that through recent identifications the narrative assumes a consistency which traditional sites have destroyed. ¹ From Gibeah (Jeba' near Mukhmās) David flies southward to Nob, thence down the great valley to Gath (Tell es-Sāfiēh), from Gath he returns into the land of Judah, then bounded by the Shēphēlah, most of which seems to have been in the hands of the Philistines; and on the edge of the country between Achish and Saul, Philistia and Judah, he collects his band into the strongest site to be found in the neighbourhood of the rich cornlands of Judah. At the advice of the seer he retires to the hills, and if my identification of Hareth be correct, it is but a march of 4 m. distance. Here, as at Adullam, he was also within easy reach of his family at Bethlehem. At Hārās he hears that the Philistines, whose advance he probably barred when holding Adullam, had invaded Kē'īlah immediately beneath him, and it is this proximity alone which accounts for his attack upon the marauders.¹ There can be no doubt that exact identifications of the sites referred to would give the narrative of David's outlaw-period a greater approximation to consistency. But this able explorer's identifications are too often (like that of Gath above) unproven, and he has, on principle, omitted to take account of the composite character of the biblical narrative.²

We left David at Adullam; we next find him before another fortified town (1 S. 23 1-13), called KEILAH (*g.v.*), of which Ahithophel was perhaps a native (see GILOH). His hope was to secure the gratitude of the inhabitants by chastising the Philistines who were besieging it. Supported by an oracle, he attacked and defeated those most dangerous of foes. He was disturbed, however, by another oracle, warning him that the men of Kē'īlah would surrender their benefactor to Saul. The king was, in fact, on his way with his whole fighting force, and David would sooner trust himself to the intricacies of the wilderness than to the 'bolts and bars' of Kē'īlah. Whether David really went from the 'forest of Hareth' to Kē'īlah, is highly uncertain. The anecdote in 23 1-13 is not necessarily the sequel of the connected narrative in 21 1-9 22. Nor can we assume (with Conder) that the generous action related in chap. 24 took place immediately before the events described in chap. 25; for, as critics agree, the narrative is but a duplicate of the traditional story given in a better form in chap. 26.³ If we ask how much of the

¹ *PEFO*, '75, p. 149.

² See Conder, 'The Scenery of David's Outlaw Life.' *PEFO*, '75, pp. 41-48.

³ That the story in chap. 26 is more original than that in chap. 24 is obvious. The conversation which it gives is full of antique and characteristic ideas, wanting in chap. 24. That David is recognised by his voice is meaningless in 2416 (cp. v. 8), but appropriate in 26 17. See *Bu. RL. Sa.* 227 f.; and cp. Che. *Aids*, 58-62.

details of these hairbreadth escapes is historical, the reply must be equally disappointing to literalists. The central facts of the stories are all that we can safely rely upon. Such a detail, for instance, as the meeting of David and Jonathan in the wilderness of Ziph (2316-18) is obviously an innocent piece of romance; in fact it is but another version of the favourite story of the 'covenant' between the friends. Nor can we venture to assume that, if David once, in accordance with a chivalrous rule still common in Arabia, spared the life of his sleeping foe, either he or Saul displayed that delicacy of sentiment which a later age attributed to them.

Strangely enough, the two accounts of David's generosity towards Saul are the setting of a perhaps more completely historical story—that of David and Nabal (chap. 26). The portrait of David here given is less idealistic, but seems much more truthful than that in chaps. 24 and 26. Not less interesting is the sketch of Abigail. To her it was that David owed his avoidance of blood-guiltiness. To her, too, he was indebted for the improvement which took place in his social status. As the husband of Abigail, he was no longer a mere freebooter, but the wealthy head of a powerful Calebite family, and so took one step forward towards his ultimate enthronement at Hebron as king of Judah.¹

How long David remained in the Calebite district of Carmel, we do not know. He is next introduced as despairing of being able to hold out any longer against his foe; 'there is nothing better for me,' he said, 'than speedily to escape into the land of the Philistines' (271). So he placed himself and his 600 at the disposal of Achish, king of Gath. Ill at ease, however, among the Philistine chieftains, he induced his new suzerain to give him as a residence the outlying town of Ziklag. Here he still maintained amicable relations with his friends in Judah, and though he craftily professed to be engaged in raids against the Negeb of Judah, he was in reality more honourably employed (see ACHISH, AMALEK, § 3).

At length, in the second year, a change in his relation to Achish became imminent. The Philistine lords, who had probably long been suspicious of his intentions, refused to let David join them in their campaign against Saul. David on his side professed eagerness to fight for Achish; but we are not bound to take his words too literally. Historians, it is true, differ in their view of David's conduct. It seems psychologically probable, however, that David was only too glad to be sent back by Achish to Ziklag, with a charge not to cherish revengeful thoughts against his friendly suzerain (1 S. 29.10, 11). A picture, Homeric in its vividness, is given of the effect produced on David and his men by the sight that met them at Ziklag, which the cruel Amalekites had plundered (803-6). An oracle encouraged David to pursue his foes. He came up with them, and chastised them severely. The account closes with a list of the towns in Judah, to which David sent politic gifts. His ambitious plans were no doubt maturing.

Meantime Saul had fallen on Gilboa and Israel was in a state of chaos. The Philistines were masters of the fertile lowlands of Jezreel and the Jordan, but disdained to interfere with the poorer country of Judah. There were some even in northern Israel who thought that David and David alone could help them, and among these were probably the men of Jabesh-gilead, to whom he sent graciously expressed thanks for their chivalrous rescue of the bodies of Saul and his sons (2 S. 25-7 cp 317). David,

¹ Wi. (*GZ* 125) sees underlying the Nabal-story a tradition that David was 'prince of Caleb' (a tribe or district), and, following C. Niebuhr, he even finds this title in 2 S. 38, where, according to EV, Abner says, 'Am I a dog's head?' but where Wi. renders, 'Am I the prince of Caleb?' (כֶּלֶב). Marquart's theory (see above, § 1, note 2), that David was really a man of S. Judah, might be used to corroborate Wi.'s opinion. In any case, the facts on which Marquart's theory is based illustrate this period. See DOG, § 3 (5).

however, was content to let Abner have his way, and attempt to consolidate the weakened regal authority in the North, nominally for Saul's incompetent son, Ishbaal. For the present, David transferred his residence, in obedience to an oracle, to Hebron, placing his men in the neighbouring towns or villages. The elders of Judah took the hint, and solemnly acknowledged him as their king.

It was not a grand position. As king of Judah, David was no less a vassal of the Philistines than when he was only lord of Ziklag;¹ indeed, he still retained Ziklag. This only shows his caution, however, not his want of patriotism. Even Abner could not venture to let the puppet king Ishbaal revolt from the Philistines;² rest was the first need both of Israel and of Judah. We cannot, however, suppose that David and his band were idle. It is, on the whole, probable that the conquest of the Jebusite fortress of Zion belongs to the period of David's tribal kingship,³ and not (as is generally supposed) to the commencement of his enlarged sovereignty. When the Philistines made that bold attempt to seize David which is related in 2 S. 517, David, we hear, took refuge in 'the stronghold.' It is difficult to suppose that a different 'stronghold' is meant from that mentioned in *vv.* 79 (which there is reason to assign to the same document). The Philistines themselves are uncertain where they will find David; clearly then David had more than one place of residence. We are also told that they 'came up' to seek David, and spread themselves out in the valley of Rephaim near Jerusalem. It is true that where the narrative 2 S. 56-9 is placed, it seems to have reference to the beginning of David's kingship over Israel. Probably, however, something has fallen out before *v.* 6. The lost passage presumably referred to David's removal of his residence to Jerusalem; the narrative which has been preserved explains how the king and 'his men' possessed themselves of the all but impregnable fortress.

By this important conquest David secured his position from all possible enemies, whether Philistine or Israelite. He also doubtless hoped to make Zion what it ultimately became—the capital of united Israel. We may assume that this caused uneasiness to Abner, who doubtless had dreams of a reunited Israel under the sceptre of a descendant or kinsman of Saul. These dreams must have been rudely interrupted by the news of David's success. Abner well understood what the conquest of Zion portended, and it was natural that he should seek to counteract David's ambition. He had no occasion to form an elaborate plan of operations; he had but to allow the unsleeping jealousy of Israel and Judah to display itself. There would be constant border hostilities, and Judah, as the weaker of the two, would (he must have hoped) be reduced to vassalage to Israel, and in time perhaps incorporated into the kingdom. A 'very sore battle' is reported between the men of Ishbaal and those of David by the pool of Gibeon. It began with a mere sham fight; but such a contest could not be expected to end without bloodshed, and Abner must have foreseen this when he and the men of Ishbaal set out from Mahanaim (2 S. 212-17). The result was disastrous for the cause of Ishbaal, and year after year the war was renewed with constant loss of prestige to the house of Saul. Fierce private passions, too, added to the horrors of the time (see ABNER; ISHBAAL, 1; JOAB, 2). At length, Ishbaal being removed, David stood alone, sad but confident, for who else could be thought of in this hour of need? Had he not in the olden time been Israel's leader against the Philistines, and was he not by marriage a member of

¹ This view is accepted by St., E. Mey., We., Kamph., Kittel.

² See Kamph *ZATW* 643-97 [786]; *Ki. Hist.* ii. The older view (see St.) was that Abner upheld the banner of Israel against the Philistines; but Kamph. shows at great length that the evidence will not justify this.

³ See Klo. *Sam. u. Kön.* 146 ff.; *Gesch.* 159.

Saul's house (2 S. 5:2 3:13-16)? So the elders of Israel accepted the inevitable, and anointed the son of Jesse king over Israel.

David was now, according to a not very early tradition,¹ in his thirty-eighth year; seven and a half years had elapsed since he first became king at Hebron. His training had been

7. King over Israel: long and varied, and he might now fairly hope to finish the work which Saul had begun, and remove for ever the danger of Philistine invasions. The Philistines knew what they had to expect from the new king of 'all Israel and Judah,' and lost not a moment in 'seeking him.' They felt towards him as the Syrian king felt towards Ahab: if he were only slain or captured, the fate of Israel was settled. They knew, too, the rapidity of his movements, and sought to capture him before he could retire into his newly-won stronghold of Zion. They were too late for this, and challenged him to battle in the valley of Rephaim westward from Jerusalem (2 S. 5:18-25; cp BAAL-PERAZIM). Two great victories are said to have been won on this occasion by David. We have also a record of individual exploits and of personal dangers run by David in 2 S. 21:15-22 23:8-17 (see ISHBI-BENOB, etc.), which must, it would seem, have stood originally close to 56-12:17-25. It is singular that this should be almost all that is told us respecting what, if entirely David's work, would be the greatest of all his achievements. One more notice indeed has come down to us (2 S. 8:1); but it is tantalisingly short. It states that 'David smote the Philistines and subdued them, and took' something of importance 'out of the hand of the Philistines.' The Chronicler thinks that what David 'took' was 'Gath and its towns' (1 Ch. 18:1), and this is certainly plausible, for deeds of high renown were performed near Gath (see ELHANAN, 1), and afterwards we find 600 men of Gath in David's service (2 S. 15:8; see below, § 11). It is more probable, however, that Ashdod was the city spoken of in the true text (see METHEG-AMMAH). Still it is doubtful whether such a total defeat of the Philistines as the passage just quoted ascribes to David, is historical. That the Israelites were delivered from the dread of these foes is indisputable; but that David broke the power of the Philistines is not probable. It is a reasonable conjecture that the deliverance of the Israelites was helped either by an Egyptian, or by a Musrite (N. Arabian) intervention.² Moreover, the friendly terms on which David appears to have stood with the Philistines at a later time suggest that he had made a treaty of peace with this people on conditions equally honourable to both sides, one of which, as we have elsewhere seen reason to think, was the restoration of the ark (see ARK, § 5).

However this may be, David was certainly not deficient in the qualities of a general. This is plain from his wise measures on the rebellion of **8. Other wars.** Absalom, of which we have very full particulars. His other wars, with neighbours only less dangerous than the Philistines, may be conveniently referred to here. We have a summary of them in the same section that refers to the subduing of the Philistines (2 S. 8:1-14, cp 1 S. 14:47, and see SAUL, 1 § 3), and further information respecting the Ammonite war in 2 S. 10:11 12:26-31. It is important, however, to study these notices critically, both from a purely literary, and from a historical, point of view. The two points of view, it is true, cannot be kept very long apart. A preliminary literary analysis, however, will quickly show us that in 2 S. 8:1-14 we are dealing, not with an origina-

¹ See 2 S. 5:4 (the work of a Deuteronomistic editor).

² If an Egyptian intervention be supposed we must place it during the twenty-first Egyptian dynasty. See WMM (As. u. Eur. 389), who thinks that the notice in 1 K. 9:26 presuppose the Egyptian occupation of Philistia. Observe that Caphtorin is called a 'son' of Mizraim (see CAPHTOR, § 4). The alternative theory, however, seems much more probable (see JQR 1 [1899] 559, and cp MIZRAIM, § 2 b).

narrative, but with a panegyric made up from various sources, containing strong traces of editorial work. As to 2 S. 10 the case is not at first sight so clear; but a further investigation reveals here, too, the hand of the editor. The contents also must be criticised, and this will greatly clear up the problems of literary analysis. The historical results of the whole process are not unimportant.¹

(a) *Moab*.—Little enough is told us of David's war with the Moabites (cp MOAB); but that little is suggestive. With cold-blooded precision the conqueror destroyed two-thirds (such is the meaning of 2 S. 8:2) of the entire fighting force of Moab. The description seems to imply that it was an act of national retaliation, and the offence which caused this may be plausibly conjectured. The kingdom of Ishbaal, as Kamphausen has shown, was by no means so powerful as the early writers supposed. The defeat on Gilboa had brought the Israelites to the verge of ruin, and Saul's feeble successor had to make terms, not only with the Philistines, but also with the Moabites and the Ammonites, to whom his capital, Mahanaim, was only too accessible. It is probable that both Moab and Ammon granted him peace only under humiliating conditions, and we can form some idea of the results that were possible in such circumstances from 2 S. 11:2 2 S. 10:4. David of course had to give these insolent neighbours a lesson.

(b) *Ammon*.—Passing on to the Ammonites, we notice that, if there is a doubt as to the degree of the severity of their punishment (2 S. 12:31),² there is none as to the gravity of their offence (2 S. 10:5). The account of the details of the war requires very careful criticism. The conduct of the host of Israel was entrusted to Joab, and it was owing to the politic self-restraint of this general that David in person stormed the Ammonitish capital, and carried away the crown of the idol-god Milcom (see AMMON, § 8). The difficulty of the narrative is caused by the statements which it contains respecting the Aramaean allies of the Ammonites and the successes which David gained over them.³ Was the Zobah mentioned in 2 S. 10:6 (undoubtedly an ancient passage) as joining with Beth-rehob to send help to the Ammonites, a powerful kingdom N. of Damascus, to which all Aram W. of the Euphrates was subject (as stated in 2 S. 10:16), or was it a small state near the land of Ammon, which on various grounds agrees best with our expectations? If the latter view be adopted, we must regard 2 S. 10:15-19 as a late editorial insertion, akin to the much edited passage 8:3-8, and all that we know respecting David's relations to the Aramaeans is that Joab routed the forces sent by them to help the Ammonites, so that they 'feared to help the Ammonites any more' (2 S. 10:13:19d). The statement of 8:6, in itself so improbable, that David annexed Damascus, is due to a misreading of a passage which appears over again in v. 14. The editor, by mistake, read 'Aram' instead of 'Edom,' and then interpreted 'Aram' as 'Aram-Damascus.'⁴

(c) *Edom*.—Lastly we come to the war with Edom, which, as we are told in 2 S. 8:14, was incorporated by David into his kingdom. We are left entirely ignorant as to the cause of the war,⁵ and know next to nothing of the details, though the conquest of such a difficult region would have been well worth describing. A great

¹ On the criticism, see SAMUEL, ii. §§ 4, 6, and cp Bu. *R. z. Sa.* 245 f., 249 f.; Klo. *Sam. u. Kdm.*; Wi. GI 1:38 ff., 194 ff. For another estimate of the evidence, see ISRAEL, § 19.

² RVmg. gives the more favourable view (on which see Dr. *TBS* 228) that David put the Ammonitish captives to forced labour at public works.

³ See Wi. GI 1:38-144.

⁴ Klo., on the other hand, wishes to correct 'Edom' in v. 14 into 'Aram.' The traditional view of 2 S. 8:5 3 has been thought to be confirmed by 1 K. 11:24; but there the words 'when David slew them' are a gloss, not found in CBL, as Klo. himself candidly points out.

⁵ Wi. regards the war as the resumption of hostilities between David as 'prince of Caleb' and his Edomite neighbours at an earlier period (*GT* 1:194).

victory is ascribed to David in the VALLEY OF SALT (*q.v.*), to the S. of the Dead Sea (2 S. 8₁₃, where read 'Edom' for 'Aram' with **Ḥ**^{BAL}; Ps. 60, title). There is also an incidental reference to the war in 1 K. 11_{15 f.}, which tells us that the Edomites contested every inch of ground, but received no quarter from their conqueror. This is the extent of our information.

To sum up. If it is one of David's titles to fame that he for a time united 'all the tribes of Israel from Dan to Beersheba' (2 S. 24₂), it is another that he secured the united kingdom from foreign attack. From Assyria and Egypt indeed there was then nothing to fear;¹ but the small neighbouring peoples needed the lesson which he gave them. That his suzerainty or sphere of influence extended to the Euphrates is not, however, supported, in the opinion of the present writer, by a thorough criticism of the documents. The editor of 2 S. 8, who perhaps wrote also 10_{15-19a}, confounded the two Zobahs² and made other mistakes, and on the basis of this mis-reading of the evidence he and his school erected the airy fabric of a Davidic empire large enough to be named respectfully among the 'world-powers.' This theory (for such we must call it) fell in with the later tendency to glorify David, and with the idea of a great Messianic kingdom of which the Davidic was a type (Am. 9_{11 f.}, post-exilic; see AMOS, § 10, CHRONICLES, § 9). It cannot be resigned without regret, and should archaeological discoveries disclose some grains of fact which may have assisted the growth of historical error, it will be a satisfaction to find that the ancient editors were not entirely arbitrary in their procedure. That David's power was respected as far north as Hamath (even if the report in 2 S. 8₁₀ be not altogether accurate) need not be denied. The question is, Can it be proved that friendship had given place, on David's side, to suzerainty?

David's next aim was to provide a worthy centre for the united people of Israel. In this he showed a truly masterly statesmanship. The kingship of Saul was not altogether different from the authority exercised by the greater 'judges.' It never entirely divested itself of a tribal character, as is clear from the striking narrative, 1 S. 22₆₋₈. At the risk of alienating the men of Judah, who, in fact, appear as the chief malcontents in subsequent civil disturbances, David transferred his royal residence from the remote southern city, Hebron, to Jerusalem. The new capital had not indeed all the natural advantages which could be wished (see JERUSALEM); but it had two great recommendations: (1) it was neither Israelite nor Judahite, having been recently won by David and his men, and (2) whilst easily accessible from the north, it lay close to David's own tribe of Judah. The king not only strengthened its fortifications, but also consecrated it by solemnly transferring to it the newly recovered national sanctuary (see ARK, § 6) from its temporary home at Baal (see KIRJATH-JEARIM) in Judah. This must not be disparaged as merely a proof of political wisdom. It was this, no doubt; but it also sprang from deep religious feeling, as the old tradition clearly states (2 S. 6₂₁; see **Ḥ**^{BAL}). David felt that the true principle of national unity and strength lay in fidelity to Yahwè, and it is to him therefore that the world is ultimately indebted for the streams of spiritual life which have issued from Jerusalem. That he built a palace for himself, but no temple for the ark, seemed a

¹ It is quite needless to suppose that David made a nominal recognition of the suzerainty of Egypt (Wi. *GI* 1137). This is no doubt necessary corollary to W. M. Müller's theory of the Egyptian conquest of Philistia; but that theory is not here accepted (see above, § 7, end).

² The cuneiform evidence for two Zobahs will be found in Del. *Par.* 280, Schr. *KGF* 122. The historical list of places given in Ašurbānīpa's Annals, 7108-114 (*KB* 2216_{f.}) proves the existence of a Subiti to the S. of Damascus and near Ammon, and apparently distinct from that in the geographical lists (on which cp Tomkins, *PEFQ.* Apr. 1885, p. 113). See ZOBAB.

strange inconsistency to a later age. Whether the course that he took was prescribed by an oracle, it is now impossible to say; the narrative in 2 S. 7, with the accompanying prophecy, is one of the late Deuteronomistic insertions and cannot be safely followed.

(a) Army.—Both in military and in civil affairs David was careful to combine the necessary innovations

with a due regard for the old habits and feelings of the people, which he thoroughly understood. The tendency to disintegration inherent in the old clan-organisation (see GOVERNMENT, § 18) he sought to counteract by the institution of a bodyguard, which was a natural development out of his old band of freebooters. This well-disciplined and absolutely trustworthy 'standing army' was sufficient to exhibit a high standard to the old national militia, but not so large as to excite popular suspicion. Specially honoured were the thirty-seven heroes of whom a list is given in 2 S. 23 (see below, i.). It is uncertain whether they were called 'the thirty' or 'the knights';² but most are in favour of the former view. They were conspicuous for their fearless courage, of which some anecdotes are preserved. Foreigners were by no means excluded from the ranks of the Gibbōrim (AV 'mighty men'). Shortly before the rebellion of Absalom, Ittai the Gittite had entered David's service with 600 other Philistines³ (2 S. 15₁₈), and Uriah the Hittite was one of the trusted 'thirty.' How well these Philistine mercenaries repaid David's confidence, is proved by 2 S. 15_{18 20}; 1 K. 138. (See CHERETHITES, and on later OT references to the king's foreign guards [*e.g.*, Zeph. 18 'Ezek. 44_{6 f.}], WRS *OT/CT*⁽²⁾ 262 n.)

(i.) The list of heroes in 2 S. 23 enumerates 'the Three' κατ' ἐξόχην:—ISHBAAL (2), ELEAZAR (3), and SHAMMAH (3); then follow Abishai and Benaiah who occupy an intermediary position; and finally, the heroes 'themselves, thirty-seven in all' (2. 39). There is some difficulty in arriving at this number (see ELIKA, ELIPHELET, 2), and the numerous textual corruptions preclude complete certainty as to their names and origin (besides the special articles cp Marq. *Fund.* 15_{f.}).

The heroes seem to have been originally arranged in pairs according to their homes, thus Maharai and Heleb from Netophah (28₈, 29), two from Jattir (38), one each from the neighbouring places of Pirathon and Gaash (30), etc. It is noticeable that they are almost wholly of Benjaminite and Judæan origin, and this supports the conjecture that the list in the main refers to the early part of David's life (cp, *e.g.*, 1 S. 22_{1 f.}), before his supremacy was spread over the rest of Israel. Note the mention of Asahel and Uriah, and that Benaiah is merely the head of David's guard, and has not apparently reached the position he holds in 2 S. 8₁₈ (see below [c] 2). The omission of Joab as the holder of any official position is remarkable, and suggests that he had not yet become 'captain of the host,' although the references in 2 S. 18 (Ahishai, the brother of Joab; cp v. 24), 37 seem to show that he was not unknown. It is highly probable that the whole chapter owes its present form to a comparatively late editor (cp Kue. *Einh.* i, 2, § 22, n. 2_a).

(ii.) In 1 Ch. 11 the same list is substantially repeated—in a few cases with better readings,—and a few names recur in 1 Ch. 27₁₋₁₄ (see below, [c] i.). Verses 41₆₋₄₇ add sixteen other heroes, who, to judge from the gentilicia (often doubtful, see MAHAVITE, MESOBALITE, MITHNITE) were partly of east-Jordanic origin. The authenticity of these names is a difficult question. They may have proceeded from a source common to both compilers (see Kue. *Einh.* 12, § 30, n. 12); but the mention of Reubenites, and the preponderating proportion of theophorous names as well as the relative lateness of such names as Jaasiel, Jeiel, Joshaviah in this chapter, render their genuineness open to question.

(iii.) Further lists of warriors are found in 1 Ch. 12 which enumerates those who came to David (a) at Ziklag (1-22), and (b) at Hebron (23_{f.}). (β) The latter is purely fabulous. It represents the warriors as assembling from all the tribes (not ex-

¹ The modifications introduced into this narrative both by the author of the gloss in 2. 13 and by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 17) are interesting evidence of the constant recasting of old material carried on by the editors. See SAMUEL, ii, § 5, and cp We. *Prol.*, ET, 177).

² שְׁלִישִׁים and שְׁלִישִׁים were sometimes confounded (see 1 Ch.

11_{11 15}, 12_{4 18}, Var. Bib.). Klo. prefers שְׁלִישִׁים (cp Di. on Ex. 14₇). At any rate such a term as 'the thirty' would soon become conventional (see 2 S. 23₃₉). Cp CHARIOT, § 10.

³ Read 'and all the men of Ittai the Gittite, 600 men,' with Klo., Ki., Bu. It seems doubtful whether David had really had any prolonged or bitter strife with the Philistines.

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cluding the two halves of Manasseh D, and gives a theocratic air to the whole by the inclusion of Aaronites. (a) In the first half (1-22) we have probably a few traces of old material, and very possibly a confused recollection of events in David's early life. The lists comprise men of Saul's brethren and of Benjamin (3 ff.), Korahites (6) and men of Gedor (7). In the case of the Korahites it is possible that the Chronicler is thinking of the later priestly class. His inclusion of such warriors among David's band is as intelligible as his ascription to David of the division of priestly courses and other works dealing with the priests and Levites. On the other hand, with Be., we may more probably think of the Judean Korah (1 Ch. 243). It was under David that the S. Judean populations attained power, and it is perfectly natural to suppose that individuals from among them joined him. This, of course, does not mean that the names are necessarily old or genuine. Finally, are enumerated (1) certain Gadites, 'captains of the host' (אֲנָשֵׁי הַצֶּהָרָה), who put to flight David's enemies on either side of the Jordan (8-15); (2) Amasai (= AMASAI, q.v.), who, at the head of men of Benjamin and Judah, came to David in the 'hold' (16-18); and (3) certain chiliarchs of Manasseh (19). Underlying the account of Amasai, we may possibly find the traces of a confused and mutilated recollection of the revolt of Ahsalom, wherein Amasai plays so prominent a part in bringing Judah and the king together (2 S. 1914). S. A. C.]

(b) *Justice.*—To the chief civil duty of a king—the administration of justice—David paid the utmost attention (2 S. 815, cp 144 ff.), for Ahsalom's complaint that the king was inaccessible (2 S. 153) is merely factious. He does not appear to have made any change in the old local administration of justice; but he introduced—simply by acting as supreme judge—an element which profoundly modified the traditional system (see GOVERNMENT, § 19).

(c) *Officers.*—In this and other departments David was aided by his great officers of state (2 S. 816-18); see BENAIAH, HUSHAI, JEHOSHAPHAT 2, JOAB, and below. It is important to notice that in all probability he had a Babylonian scribe or secretary (see SHAVSHA)—a late trace of the early preponderance of Babylonian civilisation in Palestine.

[It will be convenient here to note briefly the lists of David's officers, treasurers etc.

i. 1 Ch. 24, a passage of obviously complex character, after reproducing (qv, 1-15) the first part of the list of David's warriors (see above a1.) in the form of a list of twelve *captains* of divisions (אֲנָשֵׁי הַצֶּהָרָה 1-15), enumerates twelve *princes* (שָׂרִים) of the tribes of Israel (16-24), including Levites, Aaronites, the twofold division of Manasseh and the post-exilic priestly names Honhea, Iddo, Jeroham (?), Zichri; Jaasiel (v. 21) is probably borrowed from 1 Ch. 1147. This is followed in 25-31 by a third list of twelve—David's *overseers* or *treasurers*; the names seem to be old (Gray, HPN 230 ff.), and so far as this goes, the list might be trustworthy (but cp Kue. Einl. 12, § 31, n. π. Besides Gray, HPN 229 ff., see CHRONICLES, § 9, and cp We. Prol. (4) 171 ff.).

ii. David's supreme officers of state are variously enumerated in 2 S. 816-18 (cp 2023-26 [where they are obviously out of place], 1 Ch. 1814-17) and 1 Ch. 27 32-34 (cp Solomon's officers 1 K. 4, and the list given by GBL at the end of 1 K. 2). In the case of the list in 2 S. the genuineness of the passage has been questioned by Bonk (ZATW 12143) and probably rightly. JOAB h. Zeruiah is said to be 'over the host' (הַצֶּהָרָה), but with the exception of 8 10 (David's wars) he appears, on the other hand, to be over the Cherethites and Pelethites (2 S. 207); and BENAIAH, who in the list is credited with this office (v. 18), was 'head of the שָׂרֵי הַבְּרִיקָה' 2 S. 2823b (see COUNCIL, i. 2) and perhaps also 'chief of the brick-kiln' (1 K. 246h GBL; cp 127 1231). JEHOSHAPHAT (q.v.) b. Ahilud was recorder (cp GOVERNMENT, § 21) and Shisha (see SHAVSHA) the secretary. The priests were David's sons (but see MINISTER, CHIEF); but at the head stood Zadok h. Ahitub and Ahithar h. Ahimelech. Abiathar is a descendant of the famous Eli, Zadok is of unknown origin, and although mentioned first (cp similarly 2 S. 15 24 ff. 36) did not obtain pre-eminence until the time of Solomon.

The Chronicler's list (27 32-34) mentions a Jonathan, the דָּוִד of David, as a counsellor, and JEHIEL [q.v.], who was 'with the king's sons.' Ahithophel, and Hushai the 'friend' of David (see HUSHAI), are well-known characters in the revolt of Ahsalom, according to the Chronicler their places were filled by Benaiah and Ahithar. S. A. C.]

(d) In another respect too David followed the example of Oriental kings: with the aid of his ally, Hiram, king of Tyre, he built himself a palace of stone and cedar wood which rose proudly above the low dwellings of Jerusalem. There he combined a regal generosity with a not less regal luxury. Mephibosheth (MERIBBAAL) and Chimham were among his court-pensioners (2 S.

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17 ff. 1928 33 38); singing men and singing women enlivened his repasts (2 S. 19 35).

Another piece of genuine Oriental magnificence was his harem (2 S. 5 13, etc.), which, though it does not seem to have shocked the nation (2 S. 16 21), was fraught with moral danger to the king, and was the source of much of the unhappiness of his later years. It is clear from passages like 2 S. 13 21 14 24 15 1 14 19 12 14 that the moral weakness of his last days had begun many years before, under the influences of his harem.

[Lists of David's sons are found in (a) 2 S. 31-5 (= 1 Ch. 31-3) and (β) 2 S. 5 13-16 (= 1 Ch. 3 5-8 = 1 Ch. 14 3-7). It is probable that originally these stood together, and Budde (SBOT) accordingly places them before 815. (a) The former list gives the names of the six sons born at Hebron and reflects David's policy of strengthening his power by alliances with neighbouring clans or tribes. Besides the two wives from Jezreel (in Judah) and Carmel (Caleh), we have one from the S. Palestinian GESHUR [q.v., 2] and, possibly, one from Gath (see HAGGITH). The two remaining names, SHEPHATIAH (more common in later literature) and ITHREAM, are unknown. The death of Ammon left Chileab (if the name be correct—see CHILEAB) heir to the throne, and it is therefore the more remarkable that nothing whatever is told us of his fate: for an ingenious conjecture, cp Marq. Fund. 25 f. (β) The second list contains eleven names—sons born at Jerusalem. Of these the first two, Shammua (or Shimeah) and Shobab, may probably recur (see above § 1, n. 2). These and the two following (Nathan and Solomon) are, according to 1 Ch. 3 5, all sons of Bathsheba. The statement in Ch. has probably arisen from the desire to render Solomon's birth as stainless as possible (Solomon is mentioned last), since from 2 S. 11 f. it appears that Solomon was really the second son. These names are increased to thirteen in 1 Ch. 3 = 14 by the addition of Nogah and a second Eliphelet. Perhaps Nogah is original and should be inserted in 2 S. (Th. Be.), thus raising the number to twelve; but it is possible that it has arisen from the following Nepheg and should (with Eliphelet) be omitted. It is noteworthy that in 2 S. 5 13-16 G^B (but not G^A) has a double list the second of which (based upon Ch.) agrees with G^L in including the two doubtful names. S. A. C.]

That the government of this great king was perfectly successful cannot, of course, be maintained. His people was far from homogeneous, and it is not surprising that the jealousies of Judah and Israel reappeared. Great discontent was also produced by his attempt to number the people, which was no doubt regarded by his subjects as introductory to an attempt upon their liberties, and was checked only by the rebukes of his seer Gad and the breaking out of a pestilence¹ (2 S. 24).

According to the early narrative, the conscience of the king accepted the rebuke; but most probably David still felt as a statesman that the position of Israel was precarious without that improved military organisation which he had contemplated. On the other hand, he continued to tolerate some ancient usages inconsistent with the interests of internal harmony. The practice of blood-revenge was not put down² and, by allowing the Gibeonites to enforce it against the house of Saul (see GIBEON, RIZPAH), the king involved himself in feud with the Benjamites (cp 2 S. 21 with 168, which refers to a later date). Yet he might have braved all these dangers but for the disorders of his own family. Need we tell over again the story of his great moral disaster? Nowhere is the impossibility of upholding the saintliness of this king more apparent than here. And yet a laudable desire to believe the best of David has perhaps blunted the edge of the scalpel of the critic (see BATHSHEBA).

It is certain that the narrative in 2 S. 111-1225 is not without later insertions and it is very probable that the most fascinating part of the story was imagined by an editor in the interests of reverence and edification—in fact that the process of converting David into a saint had already begun. That later ages were profoundly shocked at David's action is a proof of the providential education of Israel to be the greatest of moral teachers. The Chronicler shows his own feeling very clearly by omitting the narrative altogether, though, had he accepted the view adopted in the late heading of Ps. 51, he would have shown

¹ The event must have been subsequent to David's foreign war: the king has no longer any enemy to fear. On the statement of the boundaries of the kingdom in 2 S. 24 5-7 see TAHTIM-HODSHI, DAN-JAAN, and on the literary criticism of chap. 24, see SAMUEL, ii. § 6.

² It is clear, however, from 2 S. 8 28 f., 14 1-10, that his sympathies were against this barbarous usage.

David to be more nearly a saint than he appears to us in almost any part of the Chronicler's biography.

The effects of David's sin lasted to the close of his life, for the undue influence of Bathsheba is conspicuous in the sad story of the competition for David's crown. Even apart from this, however, the royal princes could not but display the faults due to their birth and education. The narrative is impartially exact. We shudder at the brutal passion of Amnon, and the shameless counsel of the wily Jonadab. If a brilliant suggestion of Ewald may be accepted, we see the 'inauspicious expression,' or in plain English the black scowl that for two long years rested on the face of Absalom,¹ and the panic of the court when the blow was struck, and Amnon was assassinated in the midst of his brethren. Not less valuable psychologically is the graphic description of Absalom's unfilial revolt (see ABSALOM, 1).

On the tragic death of the popular favourite, better thoughts came to David's people, who bethought themselves of the many occasions on which he had saved them from their enemies. The men of Judah, however, took the opportunity of putting forward that claim to precedence (2 S. 19:41-43) which the king's policy had steadily ignored, and a rupture ensued between north and south, which, but for Joab's energy, might have led to a second and more dangerous rebellion (see, however, SHEBA, ii. 1). After this nothing seems to have occurred to trouble the peace of the kingdom. David had not many more years to live, for Absalom's rebellion must have occurred near the last decade of his father's life (Kittel, *Hist.* 2:175). The closing scene in the biography (1 K. 1:1-2:11) represents David as decrepit and bedridden, and an easy prey to the partisans of Solomon. The unedifying account of the palace-intrigue (see ADONIJAH, 1), which placed Bathsheba's son upon the throne, and was followed by the execution of Adonijah and Joab, shocked the Chronicler's sense of reverence. He therefore (as also perhaps the author of a lost Midrash on which he bases his work) substitutes for it a great religious function, in which David plays the leading part, and Solomon appears as the meek recipient of much highly spiritual advice and of minute instructions as to the building of the temple (1 Ch. 22:29).

We have now to estimate the character of David.² We may safely assert that, if the narratives can in the

12. David's character. main be trusted, no ancient Israelite exercised such a personal charm as David, and that he owed this not merely to his physical but also to his moral qualities. In him the better elements of the Israelitish character start at once into a new life. There are some points in him that repel us; in these he is the child of the past. There is more in him that attracts us; in this he is a herald of the future. One of the later writers who have contributed to the story of Saul and David describes the latter as 'a man according to God's mind' (1 S. 13:14), which means, as the context interprets it, one in whom Yahweh God of Israel has found the qualities of a leader of his people (cp Jer. 3:15). That David was an

¹ On 2 S. 13:32 see Ew. *Hist.* 3:172. The suggestion is given in fuller form by Dr. *TBS* 234, whose 'only doubt is whether a word (שׁוֹמֵם) meaning in itself simply "unluckiness" could be used absolutely to signify a "token of unfortunateness" for others.' WRS (DAVID, *EB* 10) accepted the view; We and Bn. are also attracted by it. The present writer prefers Ew.'s alternative suggestion, viz., to read שׁוֹמֵם instead of שׁוֹמֵם (Kt.) or שׁוֹמֵם (Kr.); hut שׁוֹמֵם עַל־פִּי remains unexplained. Almost certainly Grätz is right. Read, with him, שׁוֹמֵם . . . עַל־פִּי, 'for hostility was in Absalom's heart'; cp *EB*.

² The most helpful characterisation of David from a moderate traditional point of view is that of Köh. *Lehrb. der bibl. Gesch.* ii. 1:184-188 373 (84). Owing to the progress of criticism, however, all the earlier sketches of David's character need a thorough revision. A bridge between the old and the new is offered in Cheyne's *Aids*, 15-73, where the results of recent criticism of the Books of Samuel and of the Psalter are presupposed, and all that is still tenable in the earlier estimates of David is restated. See also ISRAEL, §§ 17-22.

honest and vigorous ruler both in peace and in war, the evidence given above sufficiently shows. In after-times his name became the symbol of a righteous ruler (Jer. 23:5), and further criticism of the records has only confirmed the eulogy given to David by Robertson Smith in 1877—that his administration of justice 'was never stained by selfish considerations or motives of personal rancour.'¹ Nor does he deserve to be blamed 'for his cruelty to Israel's foreign enemies, when we consider the imperfect development of the idea of morality in his time, and the fate that would have been in store for himself and his people, had the conquerors and the conquered changed places. He doubtless thought it absolutely necessary to cripple Israel's cruel and malicious neighbours; to the Canaanites at his own door he was gentle.'² Compare him with Sargon or Ašur-bāni-pal, in whom cruelty was joined to the lust of conquest, and how great is his moral superiority! 'Nor can we easily admit a doubt as to the genuineness of his religion. He lived in the fear of God, according to the standard of his times.

The generous elevation of David's character is seen most clearly in those parts of his life where an inferior nature would have been most at fault—in his conduct towards Saul (with which the story of RIZPAH is in no way inconsistent), in the blameless reputation of himself and his band of outlaws in the wilderness of Judah, in his repentance (which we so greatly desire to believe) under the rebuke of Nathan, and in his noble and truly religious bearing on the revolt of Absalom, the accuracy of the account of which is guaranteed by the antique elements which it contains. His unflinching insight into character, and his power of winning men's hearts and touching their better impulses, appear in innumerable traits of the history (e.g., 2 S. 14:18-20 3:31-39 23:15-17). His knowledge of men was the divination of a poet rather than the acquired genius of a statesman, and his capacity for rule stood in harmonious unity with his

13. Was he a poet? lyrical genius. But was David really a poet? Did he, like the Arabian prince Imra' al-Kais, fascinate his half-primitive people by song? The old tradition knows him as a musician (1 S. 16:14-32); late editors of the psalms, but not Amos (as most have supposed³), as a poet. Several poems, too, are ascribed to his authorship in the Books of Samuel, and those who inserted them had a very definite belief on the subject (see SAMUEL, ii. § 7). One

¹ It would be a strange exception to this rule if out of pure vindictiveness David urged his son Solomon to put certain persons who had injured him to death (1 K. 2:1-9). Three answers may be given to this charge. (1) If David spoke in substance these words, it was because he feared to leave Joab's bloodshedding unexpiated and Shimei's solemn curse unneutralised by the death of the offenders: continued clemency would according to the prevalent belief, have been dangerous. (2) The words ascribed to David imply a vigour of mind and a regard for the interests of the kingdom which the narrative does not permit us to assume in the dying king. After neglecting to communicate with the elders of Israel and Judah respecting the successor to the throne, it is not likely that David's mental powers suddenly rallied, so as to enable him to make this forcible and even eloquent speech. (3) This is precisely one of the occasions on which a narrator was likely to invent. Solomon needed to be excused to unfriendly readers for having put Joab and Shimei to death. The excuse (which in the narrator's view was perfectly valid) could best be given by introducing it into a last speech of David.

² The allusion is to Araunah, or rather Adonijah, as the name should probably be read. See ARAUNAH.

³ Even the MT of v. 56 only says, 'Like David, the: devise for themselves instruments of (i.e. to accompany) song. This does not suit the context, which says, 'who chant (read המזמרים; cp *EB* 23:1: fell out) to the sound of the harp,' and then speaks of the wine-hibbing and the rich unguents. Some detail of the banquet must be referred to in v. 57. All but the last word שיר seems to be the conjecture of an ancient editor (before *EB* was made), who found the letters of his text almost illegible. On *EB* see Vollers, *ZATW* 3:267 [183]. Probably the verse should read thus, המזמרים עליהם ונגלו ושמוחו לקול שיר, 'who play on the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of song.' כרויד 'like David' is a gloss, as J. P. Peters and Winckler have independently pointed out. Cp Is. 6:12, and especially Job 21:12; also *Am.* 5:23.