

CT 206

ORIGIN OF THE LEGENDS

OF

ABRAHAM, ISAAC, AND JACOB.

CRITICALLY EXAMINED

BY

A. BERNSTEIN.

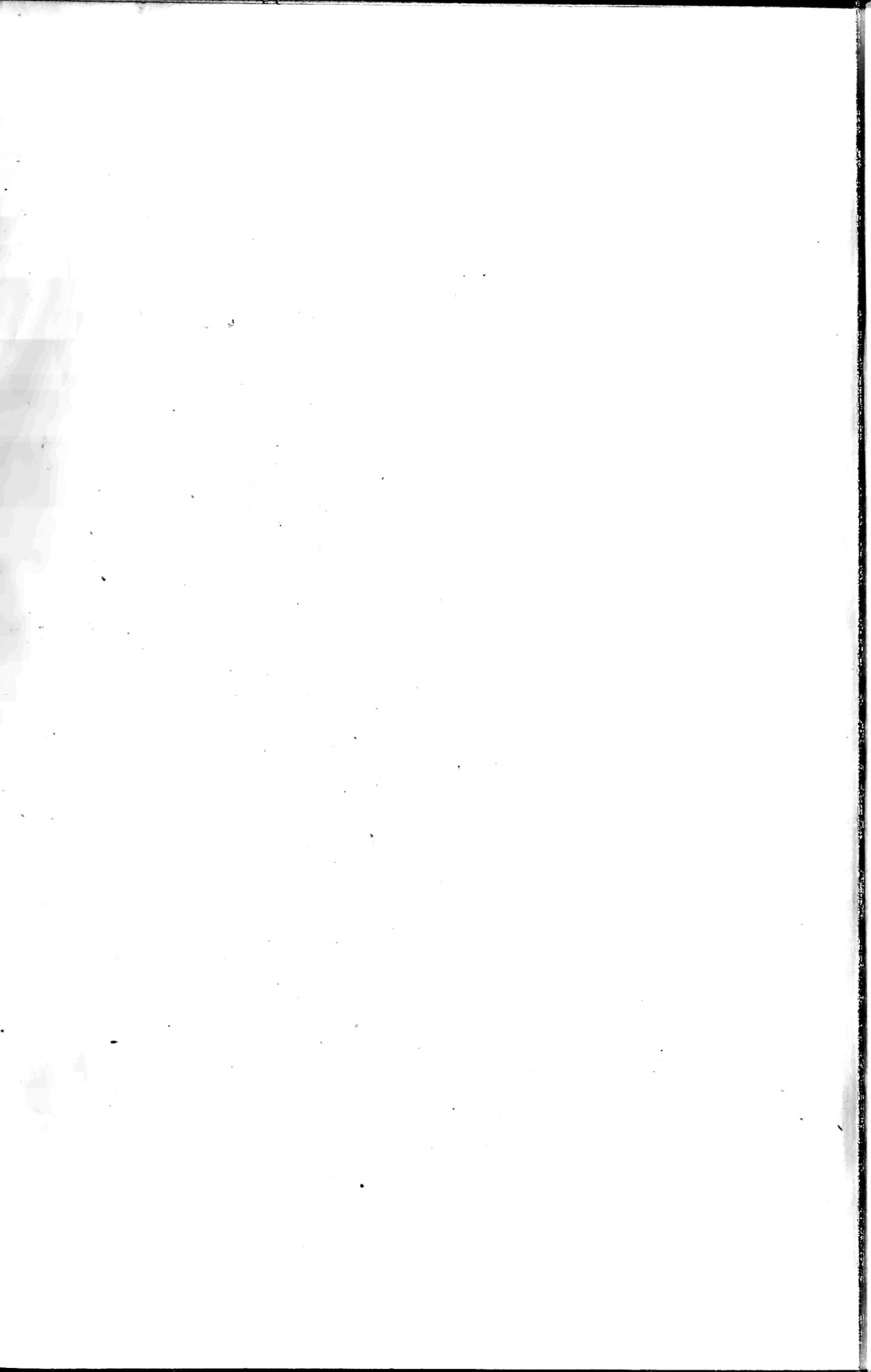
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.



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NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

WE publish this very ingenious and somewhat extraordinary little work, for the sake of the many valuable suggestions it contains.

We cannot, however, do so without at the same time expressing our regret, that the author has not availed himself of the assured results of modern criticism on the language of Genesis.

He has thus allowed himself to drift into theories respecting the harmonisation of the legends of the patriarchs, which we cannot regard as conclusive.

On the other hand, it is satisfactory to see that, though arrived at through a very different process, the author gives the time of Rehoboam and Jeroboam as that of the principal actors in the legends ; thus agreeing very nearly with the time ascribed to their composition by the Bishop of Natal, namely, the early part of the reign of David and Solomon.

NOTICE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE translator of this little work knows well that she has to ask the forbearance of its readers for many defects of style and inelegancies of expression.

In performing her task, however, she preferred a literal translation to the chance of weakening, by freedom, many of the subtle ideas of the author.

She hopes she will be sufficiently excused when she signs herself

A GERMAN LADY.

P R E F A C E.

THE scientific examination of the Bible-text, and particularly of the first Book of Moses, has long ago put beyond doubt the fact, that that Book is not an original work, the composition of one author, but an adaptation and agglomeration of *earlier writings* upon the like subject, which have been lost ; we can, however, in its present form, appreciably discern the earlier writings. The most gifted and learned critics of our time have endeavoured, with extraordinary zeal and talent, to draw this distinction, even now a great task, the conclusion of which is still far in the distance.

The examination of the Text, however, has left almost untouched one preliminary question, which, in our opinion, is of essential influence upon the final result. This preliminary question is, whether the lost original writings, which are the foundation of the present Text, were consistent with each other, or whether they were not rather writings of a partisan character, which originally *conflicted*, and were, only later, at the termination of the contest, *moulded* into consistent history. We are led to make this preliminary enquiry by reason of important historical facts.

The Hebrew people, the remains of whose literature we have before us in the shape of the Old Testament, not only was, like every people, split into parties, but up to a thousand years before our Chronology, consisted of ten or twelve Republican Cantons which often

warred with each other. These Cantons, however, were united into a complete Monarchy, first under Saul, then under David and his son Solomon: but after the death of Solomon (about a hundred years after the Union), the monarchy split into *two* kingdoms which engaged in sanguinary wars with each other. Now, the first Book of Moses is a work which evidently was not written till after kings existed in Israel. Without referring to innumerable scientific proofs of this fact, verse 31, chapter xxxvi., is so convincing, that all attempts of orthodoxy to prove the Book to be *older*, are and must remain mere subterfuges. The verse runs thus, "*And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.*" The author of Genesis, therefore, was well aware of the Monarchical period in Israel. As that period, comprising two centuries and a half, was, with few exceptions, replete with sanguinary wars and violent conflicts, between the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, it is probable, that the lost original writings, which are at the foundation of our present Text, may have reflected these continuous feuds in their polemics.

During the examination of this question, possibility has grown with us to certainty. We believe we shall be able to prove in the history now before us of the Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that the traditions upon which it is based, have been of a most conflicting nature. And this proof is the subject of the present work.

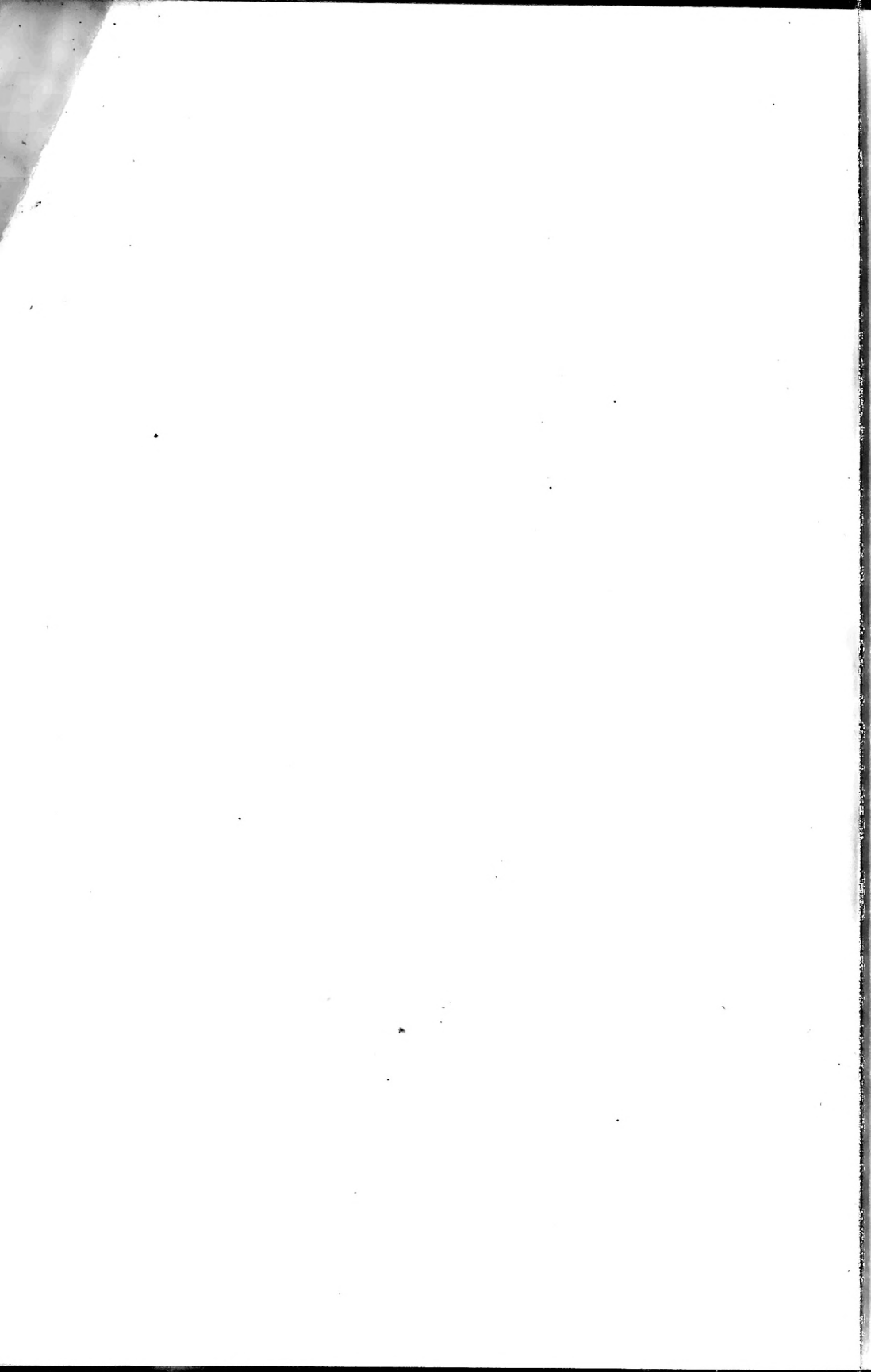
In publishing this, we are fully aware, that in elucidating the truth, many hard struggles will be necessary. Not, indeed, with Orthodoxy, which has long become too self-satisfied to care for the results of mere science. Now and then it puts its feelers out of its snail's shell of Belief, to see if science, as prophesied by the luminaries of theology, has mended its ways, and become a convert to Faith. But as that is not the case,

and, as Orthodoxy knows very well, *never* will be, it withdraws its feelers piously, and retreats self-contented into its well-furnished little shell. The struggle which this work will have to maintain, is with traditional views, which obstinately sway even severely-searching science, and which are conquered with the greatest difficulty, when they are already fitted into a successful system of research.

One of these views, is the division into *Elohistic* and *Jehovistic* portions, the happy results of which we fully acknowledge. In the following work, we have, upon principle, avoided this division, not that we think it unnecessary, but that we wish to point out a separation of older date. The *Legends* are *older* than the *Writings*. The severing and separating of the *Legends* must practically *precede* the severing and separating of the *Writings*. Should we succeed in establishing a firm position for this preliminary work, the further task of separating the *Writings* may, we hope, the way being cleared, be continued with better success.

A. BEERNSTEIN.

BERLIN, *January* 1871.



ORIGIN OF THE LEGENDS OF ABRAHAM, ISAAC, AND JACOB.

I.

LEGEND AND HISTORY.

POPULAR Legend is not the history of the nation, but in its wonderful accounts it reflects the wishes and hopes of a people, which form the basis of their history. The tales about the origin of a people embody the poetical conceptions of the race concerning their past—conceptions framed in accordance with the notions and prevailing tendencies of the time, in which they originated. The description of the lives and deeds of our forefathers, in the dim past, have their true value, only as revelations of the tendencies whence those descriptions sprang. They do not enlighten the darkness of the primitive period they trace, but they cast an interesting light upon the times in which they were thought out and written down.

This applies, in common with other peoples, also to the Hebrews, and to their cycle of legends about the supposed ancestors of their nation. The family history of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, though not historical in itself, affords us a historic insight into that period, during which those legends first originated, and were ultimately collected and written down. Although a critical review of these family stories, of their origin and development, destroys the current assumption, that

we can know anything about the times thirty-five hundred years ago, it still yields rich results, as it throws light upon the social and intellectual condition of the people out of which these legends arose about twenty-five hundred years ago. To clear up the subject from this latter point of view is the purpose of the following examination.

II.

THE NAMES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

It may be suitable to devote a few words to a consideration of the names of the three Patriarchs.

The names of "Abram" or "Abraham," "Isaac," properly "Itzchak," or "Ischak," and "Jacob" occur but once in the Bible. Although the Bible comprises a period of thousands of years in history, and presents thousands of names of historical persons, yet the hypothetical names of the Patriarchs are exclusively appropriated to these hypothetical personages, and are given to no one else. This isolation of names, recurs, however, with other persons, as, for instance, with the sons of Jacob, and with Moses and Aaron, and is, therefore, not so much a matter of surprise with the Patriarchs. Still, with some exceptions, this occurs only in the case of persons who do not belong to history, but to legend. Such names, therefore, must not be regarded as accidental but as premeditated, and so to say, provisory, indicating the fate of the persons to whom they belong. Care is also taken in the legendary reports of them, to *supply motives* for the names, and thus to indicate that persons are mentioned, whose names have had to be invented along with their deeds. This remark refers to the names of the three Patriarchs alike; though there are essential differences in the meaning and origin of them. The name of "Abram" has a very suitable significance. It means "high Father," and, for a Patriarch, is certainly very appropriate. Possibly it may

have the signification of "Father of Aram," or "Father from Aram," in Mesopotamia, whence the Patriarch is said to have migrated to Palestine. This signification fully agrees with the character of the person as legend has created it. The legend tells us too, that at a certain time of his life he received a new name from Jehovah, the name of "*Abraham*," as a sign that he was destined to be the "Father of many nations," a signification which, with some ingenuity, may be given to the name. It is self-evident, however, that one would not designate a new-born infant, as "High Father," or "Father of many people." Nor has the human mind the power to foresee in the lifetime of a man, whether his descendants will constitute a great people. Entirely impossible was this, in the lifetime of Abraham, as one hundred and fifteen years after his death, according to Biblical chronology, his supposed grandson, Jacob, undertook the migration to Egypt, accompanied by only seventy persons, who were all the family he had. The name of Abram or Abraham being uncommon, we must conclude, that the Patriarch, even if he had existed, as the first Book of Moses describes him, never could have borne this name in his lifetime.

The name of Isaac, properly Itzhak or Ischak, although uncommon, has a signification, which renders its bestowal less improbable. Its meaning is very unpretending, and as it is more probable that a remarkable man should bear an insignificant name, than that the greatness of a man should coincide with the pregnant import of his name, we cannot very well raise a doubt as to the name of Itzhak, or Ischak, provided, of course, the existence of the Patriarch can be established. The more striking is the fact, that in the first Book of Moses, uncommon pains are taken to throw, directly and indirectly, a light upon the signification of this name. Literally, the name means "he laughs," "he jokes," "he kisses," "he rejoices," or, as a proper name, "the laughing one," "the joking one," "the joyful one," &c. To give such a name

to a child requires no explanation. Still the author introduces a variety of incidents, with no other purpose than to justify this harmless name. First of all, God (Elohim) (Gen. xvii. 17, &c.) announces to Abraham the birth of a son, whereupon Abraham falls upon his face and "laughs," in consequence of which Elohim commands him to call the son "Itzchak" (Isaac). Soon after, (Gen. xviii. 10) one of the guests predicts to Abraham the event, already sufficiently guaranteed by a higher authority. Sarah, the wife of Abraham, standing inside the door of the tent, hears the prophecy, and "*she laughs.*" Jehovah calls Abraham to account about this incredulous laughter, and Scripture tells us that he reproaches his wife, but she denies the fact absolutely, and Abraham, evidently indignant, exclaims, "Nay, but thou didst laugh." In due course, we are further told (Gen. xxi. 1-10), that the Son is born, and called Isaac, Itzchak. Again Sarah says, "God hath made me to *laugh*, so that all that hear will laugh with me." These direct allusions and interpretations are followed by many a story, alluding to laughter and sport in connection with Isaac. Thus Sarah sees with jealousy, that Ishmael, the son of Abraham and the bond-woman Hagar, *laughs and sports*, a gaiety which she considers the exclusive privilege of her son. Later on, (Gen. xxvi. 8) King Abimelech of Gerar, perceives that Isaac *laughs or sports* with Rebekah, his wife. Now, when we consider how few are the events in the Patriarch's life transmitted to us, subtracting what belongs to the history of Abraham and Jacob, how little remains, we are inclined to say, that there is nothing peculiar to Isaac, but his name and its conspicuously frequent interpretation. We are thus constrained to think that there is a more serious reason for this name than appears on the surface.

The strangest name is that of "Jacob." If "Abraham" is suspicious, because it agrees too well with a Patriarch's position in history, the name of Jacob, on the other hand, startles us by its *dishonour-*

able signification. Jacob means, "impostor," somebody who catches hold of his neighbour's heel to trip him up. The latter meaning is illustrated by the political narrator himself. (Gen. xxv. 26). In the metaphorical signification, the narrator represents Esau as explaining the name by the apparently well-founded exclamation "is he not rightly named *Jacob*, for he hath supplanted me these two times"? A name of such dishonourable meaning may have been accidentally given to a child, who afterwards grew up to importance, supposing that name to be so common, as to have lost all implication of insult. When however, as in this instance, the name is quite uncommon, one has reason to suspect other motives for its origin. Now, had Jacob's life been free from any moral blame, one might still believe he had come by his name accidentally. But there are recorded in the history of his life, so many incidents which prove him worthy of his name, that one cannot help supposing that it was designedly given. Inquiry into the origin of the appellation is therefore justified. Besides, there is the circumstance, that another name "Israel," which evidently has a glorifying signification, is also given to Jacob. Whether Israel may mean "Conqueror of a God" or "Champion for God," or "El rules," it unmistakeably points to the intention to substitute a sublime name for an ignoble one. Two distinct versions are given of the bestowal of the name of Israel, (Gen. xxxii. 28, xxxv. 10), it being particularly enjoined on either occasion "thy name shall be called no more Jacob." The name of Israel is also phonetically so widely different from that of Jacob, that one cannot at all place this change of name in analogy with the change from Abram into Abraham. The more surprising therefore is it, that the narrator in the first book of Moses entirely drops the name of Abram after its change, and only speaks of "Abraham," whilst he scarcely heeds the change of Jacob's name, although it

is so much more important, and so evidently designed to glorify the patriarch. Notwithstanding the two-fold injunction against the use of the old name "Jacob," it is, except in some trifling matters, employed throughout. Yes, the same Elohe, who had twice prohibited the name of "Jacob" and imposed "Israel" in its stead, is represented by the narrator (Gen. xlv. 2) as calling Israel with particular stress "Jacob, Jacob." Thus, the names of the Patriarchs offer many a puzzle, for the solution of which we are compelled to look more closely into the accounts given of their lives.

III.

THE TERRITORIAL HOME.

The enquiry leads us next to another point which is of essential influence upon the origin of the legends; we mean, the question of territory, where the legends sought their theatre, and where they also as a rule originated.

Although the scene of the lives and deeds of the Patriarchs seems, in general, to be one and the same, it is in particular, thoroughly different. Abraham, migrating from Mesopotamia, and at Jehovah's bidding, "walking through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it," (Gen. xiii. 17), settled down finally about Hebron, the oldest town in what was later the kingdom of Judah. He is said though, to have sojourned many days in the land of the Philistines (Gen. xxi. 34), but this assertion, which we shall consider further on, does not alter the fact, that Hebron was his chief abode. There he obtained, after his return from Egypt and his particularly defined separation from Lot, the promise of property for his progeny, and there he built an altar to Jehovah. There he received the news of the defeat of the kings of the land and of the imprisonment of Lot, and thence proceeded with his men to beat the enemy, but far beyond the most northern

frontier of the land (Gen. xiv. 13). There also the promise of issue was vouchsafed to him. The narrator, however, (Gen. xx. 1) lets him set out on a journey towards the south, and sojourn there in the land of the Philistines in Gerar. There apparently Isaac was born; there also Abraham concluded an agreement with Abimelech, in whose country he sojourned for a long time, but did not settle, as is evidently purposely indicated by the word ויגר (Gen. xxi. 34), in antithesis to וישב (Gen. xx. i.; xxii. 19). One abode of Abraham was also in the vicinity of Gerar, in Beersheba, which belonged to the kingdom of Judah. Thence he began his journey to Moriah, where Isaac was to be immolated. Abraham also returned there, to dwell. Still, even the abode in Beersheba was not the real one of the patriarch. We find it mentioned that his wife Sarah died in *Hebron*, and that Abraham called himself a "stranger and a sojourner in the place," גר ותושב a stranger, though a resident, (Gen. xxiii. 4.) Then the purchase of a hereditary burying-place was concluded with great formality, and particular stress is laid upon its possession being honestly acquired by purchase. There also, in all probability, Abraham died, and there, as is specially mentioned, was buried. From all these facts we are justified in concluding that Hebron was the chief abode of Abraham, and that only peculiar circumstances made his timely appearance in other countries necessary.

The scene in which Isaac appeared and always remained, was the utmost south of the kingdom, where the land of the Philistines, the land of Edom, the desert, and the frontier town Beersheba, border upon each other. There he was born. After his wanderings with Abraham, who intended to sacrifice him on a mountain in the land of Moriah, he returned with him (Gen. xxii. 19) to Beersheba. Not far off, in the desert near the well Lachai-roi, was his abode, where his wife was introduced to him. (Gen. xxiv. 62.) There also his

sons Esau and Jacob were born to him. A famine, which caused him to migrate, did not carry him further than Gerar in the land of the Philistines (xxvi. 1), whence he returned home to Beersheba and there he lived in his old age, stricken blind (xxvii. 1.) If Isaac had ever left this locality, it can, according to the narrator, have been only temporarily, and for the purpose of burying Abraham. (Gen. xxv. 9.) The more remarkable is it that the narrator further on (Gen. xxxv. 27), still shows Isaac living in *Hebron*, even with this addition, contrary to all former statements, "*where Abraham and Isaac sojourned.*" Excepting this passage, we see in Isaac a patriarch whose whole life was passed in a small district, with Beersheba, which is situated on the very frontier of Palestine, as a centre.

The narrative about the patriarch Jacob leads us into very different territory. He started from Beersheba, the alleged abode of his father, and went to Haran in Mesopotamia, where he remained for about twenty years. But already, on his journey there, his elaborately related dream (Gen. xxviii. 10, &c.) caused him to consecrate a place, and even to endow it with the name of "Bethel," a place which was destined to be the centre of worship in Israel. On his return—the history of his life says—a meeting with Laban caused him to give the name of Gilead to the frontier mountains of Israel. The town of Mizpah also received its name from Jacob, and so did Mahanaim. Crossing the Jabbok an event occurred which caused him to call the place Peniel. Not far from thence he built booths for his cattle, and called the place Succoth. He afterwards reached Shecem (Gen. xxxiii. 18), where he bought part of a field for current money. There he erected an altar, calling it "El, God of Israel." Later on we find a double scene related with many essential differences, in which, however (xxxv. 1-15), it is agreed that Jacob again went to Bethel and gave that place its historical name. In the one narrative (Gen. xxxv. 1) God com-

manded Jacob to *dwelt** in Bethel. Notwithstanding, we soon hear that he wandered from Bethel to a place called "Ephrath" (xxxv. 16), where Rachel, Jacob's wife, is said to have died and to have been buried after the birth of his son Benjamin. Another place where Jacob pitched his tent is called Migdal-Eder. (xxxv. 21.) At last, we hear (Gen. xxxv. 27) that Jacob came to Hebron, and there (Gen. xxxvii. 14), where Joseph separated from him, Jacob seems to have dwelt until, in accordance with Joseph's wish, he migrated to Egypt. Again, he halted at Beer-sheba, and travelled to Egypt, where he ended his life. Considering all these wanderings, we observe that with Jacob's history there is connected a series of new places, which are said to have gained importance only through him. Most prominent amongst them is Bethel, which no less than three times was invested by him with that solemn name, so that one sees at once that in this place, geographically, the point of his life lay. Remarkably enough, all the places which date their names from Jacob's visit, are, like Bethel, situated in the territory of what was, later on, the *Israelitic* kingdom.

Characterising the three patriarchs, externally, after the chief geographical places which are given as scenes of their existence, we must say that Abraham was the patriarch of Hebron, consequently of the *Judaic* territory; Jacob, as decidedly the patriarch of Bethel, consequently of the *Israelitic* territory; whilst, on the other hand, Isaac held a most limited geographical territory, in the south of the country, in Beer-sheba.

It is true, however, that the narrative brings Abraham in his migration unto the place of Shecem. (Gen. xii. 6.) Bethel and Ai are also mentioned, as the two places *between* which Abraham pitched his tent, and where he erected altars and invoked the name of "Jehovah," but it can certainly not be without intention that

* *ושב שם*, and dwell there.

the narrator does not let Abraham visit these places, and only lets him take his principal abode in Hebron. (Gen. xiii. 18.) Equally characteristic is it in the history of Jacob, that he gives names and importance to the places only whilst he is travelling in *Israelitic* territory, but that this *influence instantly ceases* when he is on *Judaic* ground.

After all, taking the places Hebron, Beer-sheba, and Bethel to be the three ancestral seats of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we have reason to suppose that upon a closer view of these ancestral homes many an enigma about the narrative of the patriarchs may be solved.

IV.

INFERENCES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE LEGENDS.

In order to find a solution of the problem, we must, first of all, oppose the idea, that the narratives of the lives of the Patriarchs were founded on traditions of the times in which they are assumed to have existed. On the contrary, an unbiassed critic can have no doubt, that all so-called *historical* representations of ancestors, Patriarchs of a people, belong to legend. This legend is not, by any means, as old as the people, but only develops itself, when a people has long existed as such, and has a particular interest, political or religious, to date their origin, in the most simple manner possible, from one family, and from one highly-praised ancestor. In truth, a people never can issue from one ancestral couple immigrating into a country. It needs a thousand years of completely undisturbed multiplication of the descendants of one couple, to form a population. A tranquillity like that, has never been, nor will ever be enjoyed by a people. The changes of destiny, on the contrary, push multitudes through multitudes, annihilate old families, and bring new ones forward, which commingle and never can trace their origin upwards to

the first genealogical point. Even in modern times, when America shows an example of immigration entering at once into civilization, and where historical documents are able to prove the course of development, there is not a single instance when a family, even in a small way, has developed into a separate people. In times of old, however, where only tradition records family history, and especially in countries where there was immigration into densely peopled territories, and where wars of centuries have not yet extinguished the original inhabitants, there, any tradition of ancestors, whose descendants form one people, is nothing but a fancy, which was fostered and nursed by the people and ornamented according to want and local conditions, to be then accepted and believed as history.

This view, founded on unprejudiced hypotheses, leads us to think, that the histories of the three patriarchs, alleged to have dwelt in three different parts of Palestine, had not originally their *present coherence*. Every circle of legends about the life of a patriarch seems to us rather to have originated *separately*, and in the very place which pretends to have been the chief abode of the patriarchs. Consequently each of these legends has developed itself separately, and borrowed its colouring from its locality, and from the tendencies circulating there. The particular legends are of very different dates, and have only by degrees amplified and formed into cycles. In order to understand the present setting of the legends which have been worked into one family history, we must, first of all, divide them into their original forms, and doing so, we arrive at the following results, for which we will furnish proofs, as far as they can be gained from the existing material.

The results of our enquiries are the following:—

1. Each of the patriarchal legends stands in politically religious connexion with the place where its hero is said to have lived.

2. Between the three legends there exists no such harmony as would appear from their present form; on the contrary, each of the three patriarchs formed, originally, a strongly marked politically religious contrast to the other.
3. By the side of a worship and a patriarch, originating in the republican time of the Hebrew people, and particularly of local duration in Beersheba, there developed itself a worship, and a legend adorning such worship, in each of the two kingdoms under which the Hebrew people lived for a long time.
4. As long as there were conflicts between the kingdom of Judah, and the kingdom of Israel, a violent conflict was also kept alive in the mouth of the people, at the two chief places of worship, concerning the true patriarch, whilst the spurious one was designated an impostor.
5. The contest about the real patriarch subsided when the violent wars, and the jealousies of the kingdoms terminated, and when the populations were more and more animated by a consciousness of their connexion with each other. When the kingdom of Israel had perished entirely, the legends began to blend, and finally formed a family history of harmonious coherence. *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, who had originally been contrasts to each other, grew by degrees to be *Father, Son* and *Grandson*. Thus sprang through narrative and ingenious journeys from place to place, the coherence, which now presents itself as "history."

We intend to introduce, in order, the detailed proofs of these views.

V.

WORSHIP AND PATRIARCH IN BEER-SHEBA.

It is a long acknowledged truth, that the places of worship are also the native places of the legends of a people. At the same time, it is in the interest of the guardians of the worship, to give to those places the holiness and sanctity of great age, and to throw the legends into the greatest possible depths of antiquity, when an ancestor of the present people had ascertained or even founded the holiness of the place.

“Hebron,” “Beer-sheba,” and “Beth-el,” are such places of worship ; they did *not even* harmonise, but disputed about precedence. If in each place a separate legend of a patriarch was developed, intended to make the place sacred, it is natural, that the patriarchs also should have presented contrasts.

Beersheba appears to be the oldest of the three places of worship, although Hebron claims a greater age. (Numb. xiii. 22). First of all, the situation of Beer-sheba was very suitable for such a place. At the most southern point of Palestine, near to the desert which bordered upon the land of the Philistines, the territory of Edom, and the abode of the Bedouin races, such a place was one of necessity to all travellers, where they could find protection and counsel in misfortune, comfort and hope before impending dangers, and opportunity for thanksgivings and sacrifices, after past dangers. The name of the place is also explained in such a way, that Abraham and Abimelech, the king of the Philistines, vowed to each other, with an oath, “that child and child’s child should not make war upon each other.” It was a sort of city of covenant, consecrated by the holy number of *seven*, as it is said in one passage (Gen. xxi. 28) that Abraham made Abimelech a present of *seven ewe lambs*, and in another, that Isaac digged, or digged up again, *seven wells* in this part. (Gen. xxvi. 33). A circumstance which indicates the great age of Beer-

sheba as a place of worship, is, that its specific patriarch Isaac, when he makes his appearance, is scarcely recognisable. Not one of his actions is his incontestable property. Of the occurrences in his life, there is not one especially traceable to him. Subtracting from the scenes before us, what belongs to Abraham's and to Jacob's history, nothing remains for Isaac but an empty name, for which the narrator continually gives new motives.

Such a pallid representation of a patriarch is most likely to show a higher antiquity than that of the others. But there are further circumstances added, which make this age more probable.

What kind of worship was reigning there can no more be ascertained. The old prophet Amos from Tekoa, a town only a few miles distant from Beersheba, declaims against the pilgrimage to Beersheba. (Amos v. 5.) He exhorts them to avoid this place of idolatry, and not to consult its oracle: "But seek not Beth-el, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beer-sheba." Further on: (Amos viii. 13, 14.) "In that day," when the judgment of God will arrive, "shall the fair virgins and young men faint for thirst, they that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say: Thy God, oh Dan, liveth, and the manner of Beer-sheba liveth—even they shall fall and never rise up again." This prophet, the oldest, whose words have come down to us, is the only one who knows anything of the worship reigning in Beer-sheba, but he is also the only one who mentions the name of Isaac. (ישחק Ischak). He prophesies that the high places of Isaac shall be desolate." (Amos vii. 9) He is indignant, because the priest of Bethel tries to induce the king to forbid him inveighing against the "*house of Isaac*." Not without importance for our subject is the fact, that the priest of Bethel says to Amos: "O thou seer, go flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there." (Amos vii. 12). The advice of the priest indicates to the prophet the

land of Judah, where such speeches against the heights of worship, against the house of Isaac, and the sanctuary of Jacob in Beth-el, would be listened to with favour, and would earn the prophet a living.

From all this we may conclude that, at the time of Amos, the worship in Beer-sheba was still practised and gave support to the legends of an ancestor Isaac. But the flowery period of this worship must have soon passed away, because the other prophets who lived and worked scarcely half a century after Amos, speak only of Beth-el and do not mention Beer-sheba, and because they do not refer to a knowledge of the patriarch Isaac. This fact is not astonishing with Isaiah, because this most sublime prophet avoids throughout, all traditional allusions, and mentions neither Abraham nor Jacob as patriarchs, nor Moses and his guidance. But his contemporary, the prophet Micah, who is full of traditional reminiscences of legends, who speaks of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam as the heralds of God, who reminds us of the peculiar events between Balak and Balaam, finishes with bright hopes for a better future, when Jehovah will take compassion and "perform the truth to *Jacob* and the mercy to *Abraham*, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old." (Micah vii. 20). *That no reference is made here to Isaac is certainly not accidental.*

Thus we are only limited to speculation about the worship in Beer-sheba. Perhaps the God who was worshipped there bore the name of "Pachad" פחד "fear," "terror." Anyhow, it is remarkable that in one and the same scene between Jacob and Laban, the God of Isaac is twice designated by the word "Pachad." (Gen. xxxi. 42 and 53). As Itzhak or Ischak expresses the contrary of terror, viz., "joy," "laughter," it is possible that the worship in Beer-sheba was founded on the very contrast of these sensations. *The fear, the terror of the Desert, and the rejoicing, the laughter, on returning thence to the inhabited places of Beersheba, may*

very appropriately have been symbolised by a God and a protecting patriarch.

The part which legend assigns to Isaac is also quite appropriate to the position of Beer-sheba. The terrors of the adjacent desert consisted in want of water, and in warlike and rapacious attacks by neighbouring people, such as the Philistines, the Edomites, and the Ishmaelites, who roved through the desert in hordes. The legend equips Isaac well for a protector against all those evils. It ascribes to him the merit of having dug seven wells. Beer-sheba is said to have been the seventh of these wells, and therefore to have received the name of "Seven wells." (Gen. xxvi. 33.) Isaac is also said to have been the brother of Ishmael and the father of Esau (Edom), and to have *loved the latter particularly well*. He is said to have concluded treaties of intimate friendship with the Philistines, and, upon a wish of the king Abimelech, to have sworn mutual peace. The traveller, therefore, who had shewn reverence to the "Pachad" of Isaac, and legitimated himself as belonging to the house of Isaac, was justified in the belief that he would be protected in the desert from the faintness of thirst, and shielded against attacks.

We are well justified in a further hypothesis about the age and the disappearance of the worship in Beer-sheba, when we consider the fate of Beer-sheba itself.

According to the dates in the book of Joshua, it follows that in the old republican times the town of Beer-sheba belonged to the canton of Simeon. This canton, or tribe of Simeon, which is stated to have undertaken the war of conquest against the original inhabitants, jointly with the canton of Judah, disappears, however, very soon from history. One does not know what became of the tribe of Simeon, whether they were banished in a war, annihilated, or whether they migrated of their own accord as chronicles indicate. (1 Chron. iv. 42.) Anyhow, the canton of Judah succeeded as heir to Simeon, and in all historical dates

Beer-sheba is from that time considered as an uncontested possession of the canton of Judah.

Such a change of political fate brings at all times, and in all cases, a change of traditions and worship. When in legends, gods lead and direct the fate of a war, the gods of the conquerors invariably hurl down the gods of the conquered from their height. Even to Jehovah are ascribed such conquests over the gods of other nations. (Exod. xii. 12.) The change of *power* always goes hand in hand with a change of ideas as to the *rights* of the ruler, and, if not directly, yet by degrees, the new idea absorbs the old and impotent one, or modifies it, and new views imperceptibly permeate.

Thus we may suppose that the god "Pachad" and the patriarch "Isaac" in Beer-sheba descended from old Simeonic times, when the Edomites, the Philistines, and the Ishmaelites, no less than the Simeonites, worshipped the sanctuaries of Beer-sheba. When Beer-sheba fell into the possession of Judah, the authority of the worship necessarily suffered, and Pachad, as well as Isaac, were half forgotten. But as local worship and as local patriarch they continued to exist, and only a prophet, like Amos, who was born near Beer-sheba in Tekoa, and who as "herdsman" may have visited the heaths of Beer-sheba, knew something of this worship, and inveighed against it as against Bethel, although it was in importance much inferior to the latter.

If we have in this way justified the view that the legend of Isaac is the oldest of the three, we hope to tread on more certain ground in considering the patriarch of Hebron, who, as the *Judaic* and reigning one, was, under the name of Abraham, so grandly equipped by legend that he must necessarily put Isaac in the shade.

VI.

HEBRON AND ITS PATRIARCH.

When the hero of a younger legend is destined to surpass the hero of an older one, it is generally effected by appropriating to the former everything laudable which was related of his predecessor. This plan has been so fully carried out with reference to the legend of Abraham against Isaac, that even the harmonist, who attempted to reconcile them and keep Isaac at the side of Abraham, found it impossible to preserve one *special* trait for Isaac.

The younger legend forthwith ascribes the benefit of the wells round Beer-sheba to Abraham, so that it only leaves to Isaac the praise of having re-opened these Abrahamic wells when they were choked up. (Gen. xxvi. 18.)

The predilection of the legend of Isaac for an ancestress, who from her beauty is in danger of being taken into the harem of the king (Gen. xxvi. 6, &c.), is surpassed by the legend of Abraham to such a degree, that not only the insignificant king Abimelec of Gerar (Gen. xx. 1-18), but also the great Pharaoh, king of Egypt, actually take the ancestress Sarah into their harems. (Gen. xii. 14, &c.) But while the wife of Isaac is not touched by the danger, and needs no providential intervention, Abraham's wife is saved in both cases by the *direct* interference of Providence when she was in imminent danger.

The treaty also which Isaac concluded with the king of the Philistines, is repeated to a stronger degree in Abraham's case. Abimelec and his general, Picol, who merely ask friendship from Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 28), entreat their friend Abraham to confer this friendship upon "*son, and son's son.*" (Gen. xxi. 23).

The town of Beer-sheba, which is said to have derived its name from *Isaac* (Gen. xxvi. 33), receives its name in the legend of Abraham in a much more solemn way,

on account of the vow of eternal friendship which *Abraham* and Abimelec mutually swear. (Gen. xxi. 31).

Isaac, who is represented to be the *brother* of Ishmael, is outflanked by the younger legend through the much more important fact that Abraham is the *father* of Ishmael.

The only uncontested deed of Isaac's is the erection of an altar in Beer-sheba where he invoked the name of Jehovah. The younger legend certainly does not place so holy an altar in Beer-sheba; probably it begrudges the town this honour, still an action of Abraham is related which derogates from the deed of Isaac. Abraham planted a tamarisk* in Beer-sheba—probably a specimen, the sacredness of which was firmly established in the belief of the people—and he there invoked the name of Jehovah, the eternal God. יהוה אל עולם

Only upon one point the legend of Abraham is unable to surpass that of Isaac. Edom, the son of Isaac, "*whom he loveth*," stands in no special relation to Abraham. But this advantage of Isaac, the Judaic hero *could* not possibly touch; because at the time when the legend of Abraham appeared, there was enmity between Judah and Edom which could not be kept under by legends of peace.

But the legend of Abraham did not spring up simply in mere competition with that of Isaac. It was devised with a deeper intention and a more comprehensive political and national significance. The figure of the local patriarch of Beer-sheba stands to the imposing form of the patriarch of Hebron, as the local patriotism of a small republican canton to the national patriotism of a state which puts itself at the head of a kingdom.

In fact, the birth of the legend of Abraham is *not older but younger than the Judaic kingdom*. In the guise of the private life of a wandering patriarch, we have before us the picture of a governor of the whole

* אשל, אשר, פחד, are in a certain sense, nearly synonyms.

country, with full powers. The point of the life of this patriarch shows but too clearly the bold idea of King David to form here an intervening kingdom of great dimensions, which would be able to ward off from both sides the threatening conflict of Mesopotamia and Egypt.

The legend makes Abraham migrate from Mesopotamia, and keep throughout his life, with zealous logic, the consciousness of his relationship to his Asiatic home. The intention is, to prove that *animosity against Mesopotamia could never take root in the kingdom of Judah*, as the ancestor was a blood relation. Scarcely had he become acquainted with the land into which he had wandered, when a famine drove him to Egypt, where he had the adventure most flattering to Sarah's beauty, but rendered harmless by the intervention of Jehovah. Thereupon he left Egypt, loaded with *riches*, and returned to Canaan. Thus the patriarch had, at the very beginning of his migration, measured the boundaries of his power, *which he became entitled to claim for his descendants*. "Unto thy seed will I give the land from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates," (Gen. xv. 18) a proud word, which could only have been spoken *after the bold deeds of David who verified them*. *Before him* in the dissensions of the republican cantons which often had fought against, and ruined each other, even the boldest imagination of legend could not assign such a task to the Hebrews.

Another instance of entirely *Davidic* tendency, is the relation to Ammon and Moab, which represents Abraham in his family relation to Lot, the ancestor of those peoples. Abraham is represented as guardian to and protector of Lot, whose father, a brother of Abraham, had died early. Lot wanders with Abraham into Canaan, goes with him to Egypt, returns enriched with Abraham to Canaan, where the pasture is not sufficient for their large flocks herding together. Abraham, with

more than paternal benevolence, advises a separation (Gen. xiii. 8), and gives Lot the choice of the direction. Lot chooses the flourishing fields around Sodom, whilst Abraham takes up his abode in the plains of Hebron. After the separation Abraham continues to be Lot's benefactor and preserver. He delivers him from captivity and saves his entire possessions from the hands of foreign conquerors (Gen. xiv. 16). Abraham's compassion for Lot also extends to his abode in Sodom, for which he implores Jehovah's mercy. (Gen. xviii. 23). To this intercession Lot evidently owes his preservation from the ruin of Sodom. The intention of the legend to win the sympathy of the population of Moab and Ammon for the patriarch and his descendants is undeniable, and is the more striking as another legend is added to it, (Gen. xix. 30-38), which creates these nations in drunkenness, incest and immorality of the female sex.

To win these people by sympathy and to claim the old blood relationship between Abraham and Lot, notwithstanding a hatred, which is clearly shown in the latter legend, is an endeavour, which could only be made at a time, *when Moab and Ammon had already been conquered by David, when clever politicians deemed it necessary to reconcile people to their fate and to comfort them for the loss of their independence, by the flattering knowledge, that they were of one and the same descent with the conqueror.*

If those traits of the legend of Abraham show the Judaic patriarch to be of a stamp very different to the local Simeonic patriarch of Beer-sheba, everything else, which is related of Abraham, tends to complete the picture of a hero, who, in all directions, is richly endowed with the attributes of a "high father" (Abram,) or a "Father of many people." (Abraham.)

He migrated into the country at Jehovah's bidding. He entered neither Shecem nor Bethel: those were places, hostile to Judah; but with a true Judaic feeling,

he erected "altars" in their neighbourhood, and invoked the name of Jehovah. After his return from Egypt, he wandered again through the country, even to its geographical centre between Bethel and Ai, and again invoked Jehovah; a fact *which meant the religious occupation of the country for Jehovah!* After Lot had separated from him, (Gen. xiii. 14.) and Abraham's tribe had been in a way purified of the later worshippers of "Cemosh" and "Milcom" he received the command to walk through the land, northward and southward, eastward and westward, "in the length of it and the breadth of it," because all that country was to be his. Such a man is not the hero of a republican canton, but rather a monarchical hero, who suffers *no* division of government, and who supports David's principle of unity in the name of Jehovah.

Abraham took up his abode in Hebron. This is the city which boasts of having been built seven years before Zoan in Egypt (Numb. xiii. 22). That city, as legend tells us, was governed by a race of giants: it was the primeval city, the city which Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, desired as an inheritance for all his descendants, because of his faithfulness (Joshua xiv. 6, &c.). Moreover, it is the city to which Judah owes its origin. This city, as the history of David relates, (2 Sam. ii. 1.) was *directly recommended* by Jehovah to David, after Saul's death, as his abode. This city was also the residence of David during the first seven years of his reign.

There the patriarch again built an altar, and invoked the name of Jehovah: but not in the way he was accustomed to do, as a passing guest, but as a stranger and an inhabitant, preserver, and ally of the former possessors, who recognized his mission as a "Prince of God." (Gen. xxiii. 6.) But Hebron was not only the ancestral seat of the Judaic kingdom, whence the Elders of Israel fetched David to give him the crown of the whole undivided realm, but it was also the *seat of the Judaic worship at the time when David already resided in Zion.*

Absolom, his son, pretended to have to go there, *in order "to fulfil a pious vow to Jehovah"* (2 Sam. xv. 7-10,) and there he began his rebellion and was crowned. The patriarch in Hebron, with the prospect of possessing as his inheritance all the land northward and southward, eastward and westward, formed, as we see, a fit model for the legend of *David's state-unity*.

From this place, the legend makes its hero, Abraham, undertake a triumphal march (Gen. xiv.), which is thoroughly *in keeping with David's character*. Four great kings of Asia make war against the people of five small kingdoms, supposed to have existed in the territory of the Dead Sea. The Asiatic kings conquered all around, slew, in the valley of Sidim, the native kings, among whom was the king of Sodom, and took the prisoners and all the booty with them. A fugitive reported these facts to Abraham, who forthwith armed all his allies, followed the conquerors, overtook them in the extreme north, in Dan, fought with them and pursued them even beyond the boundaries of the land, as far as Hoba on the left hand of Damascus, retook the booty and brought back all the prisoners.

This unparalleled triumph of our hero, to whom the whole land was to owe life and property, is further enhanced by the disinterestedness with which Abraham refused any portion of the spoil. Only the combatants, the allies and the inhabitants of the environs of Hebron, took their portion. Abraham solemnly lifted his hand unto Jehovah, the most High God, the possessor of heaven and earth, and swore that he would take neither a thread nor a shoe-latchet.

To the moral and religious occupation in the name of Jehovah, to whom Abraham erected altars at the most celebrated places, whom he everywhere invoked and from whom he everywhere received promises of proprietorship, were superadded *martial reconquest* and with it *legal right*. *A better claim for the annexation of the whole land to Judah, could certainly not be made.*

The constant partisanship, with which the legend presents the figure of Abraham, is still more decidedly shown in the point, that he was the one with whom Elohe made a covenant, and to whom He ordained the circumcision as an indestructible sign in the flesh. The circumcision is, according to all conscientious enquiries, by no means of *Hebrew origin*. It existed and still exists with many peoples who bear no relation whatever to the Hebrews. The Hebrews themselves, when they immigrated into Palestine, were all *not circumcised*, (Joshua v. 2-8), and most probably accepted the custom from the original inhabitants of Palestine, who are nowhere designated as not circumcised. This remark is only made about the Philistines, who had only just immigrated, and it is unremittingly repeated with them, (עֲרִלִים).*

From the fact that the name of "uncircumcised" was an insulting one in David's time (1 Sam. xvii. 26, &c.), we may conclude that to the circumcision was ascribed a sanctifying, consecrating power adhering to entire tribes. To attribute the origin of this ceremony to Abraham was consequently a strong argument to *concentrate universal veneration upon this patriarch by all tribes who thought the custom holy*.

However, all this was not sufficient for the Judaic legend. The patriarch from Hebron must also be entitled to possession *by civil right*. Divine promises may be denied by sceptics, conquests may be annulled by defeats, and moral victories of ancestors invalidated by immoral actions of descendants. *Nothing, therefore, would suffice but a civil proceeding before princes and assemblies of people, when a real purchase was concluded for ready weighed silver, in open negotiation before all who went in and out*. Only such an action could procure the never-to-be-doubted possession, which nobody had a right to touch, and which gave a char-

* We shall give details about the original inhabitants of Shecem later on.

acter, never to be extinguished, to the sovereign power of the ancestral seat.

The legend of Abraham presents to us this civil proceeding with special elaboration and precision. The name of Hebron (Chebron) has too much affinity of sound with Kibron (burial-place) to remain unexplored by legend. Whose burial-place could be more worthy of adorning this very ancient city than that of the ancestor Abraham! The burial-place of an ancestor, a saint, or more particularly of the founder of a religion, is known to offer always the most pious and welcome pretext for the conquest of it, and of the whole country around, *at any price*. It could not be imagined that *such* an argument in favour of possession would not be noticed by a venerator of Davidic conquest.

By means of the sword Abraham would not gain anything for himself. Presents and rewards he refused disinterestedly in Palestine: a burial-place, first for his wife and afterwards for himself, he would only buy for current money (Gen. xxiii. 9), and then, indeed, only in a public manner, which has no parallel for subtlety and diplomatic precision. The whole of the 23rd chapter of the first book of Moses is a masterpiece, rarely seen, but admirably fitted for its purpose.

Even with all this, the hero of Hebron would not be a universal patriarch were one trait wanting in his history which could glorify the *real* central seat of David's united kingdom. It was not right that the modern Jerusalem should surpass the ancient Hebron, particularly in the *cultivation of legends*, which always need the dark soil of high antiquity. But legend could not leave the new central seat unconsidered, especially as the grandeur of young Jerusalem excited the jealousy of the old religious and political places,—a jealousy which, in the time of David's grandchildren, led to separation from the united kingdom, and to the formation of the separate kingdom of Israel. Popular report is not critical. It does not avoid anachronisms, and

thereby often betrays its youth and arbitrariness to the scrutinizing eye; but it possesses, as a rule, enough critical tact to conceal the fault against chronology by a vague description of time and locality. The legend of Abraham shews this critical tact, relative to Jerusalem, in two points. First of all, there arrives, on his return from the great war of deliverance, one "Malci Tzedek" (a king of justice), king of Salem (Gen. xiv. 18), in order to greet the preserver of the country with bread and wine. That Salem means Jerusalem cannot be proved, and yet cannot be doubted, as the psalmist (Ps. lxxvi. 3) particularly designates Jerusalem by that name. Its king bears the honourable title of "king of justice," and is, still more than that, "the priest of the most high God." This priest of the most high God not only greets Abraham, but blesses him, "and he gave him tithes of all." Who is the receiver? It cannot be proved, but yet cannot well be doubted, that the priest must be the receiver of the tithes. Thus Abraham already beforehand knew the King of Jerusalem as the King of Justice, and brought the tithes to Jerusalem. This was sufficient for legend to glorify Jerusalem, and to annihilate the competition of any other place of royalty or of worship.

Legend, however, knows how to date another great progress of civilization from Abraham, and with the vagueness which legend loves in anachronistic statements, it is transferred to a place which is doubtlessly, though not provably, meant to be Jerusalem.

Human sacrifice existed in Palestine up to the historical period. Legend relates (Gen. xxii.) that Elohe asked from Abraham the sacrifice of his son, and that Abraham was ready to make it, but that when the son lay upon the altar, already bound, and the knife to slay him was raised, an angel of "Jehovah" bade him stop, and that Abraham offered instead a ram caught in the thicket by its horns.

In all legends a deep meaning is hidden behind the

simplicity of a plain representation, and such is undoubtedly the case here, when the reversion from human to animal sacrifice is represented in the homely shape of legend. As unassumingly as the narrative alters from Elohe to Jehovah, letting the former *claim* the sacrifice while the latter *prevents* it, so unassumingly would legend place this great progress in civilization to the credit of *the great patriarch of Judah*. Not less does the legend endeavour to remove the related event to *the mountain of the temple in Jerusalem*, although the anachronism is carefully concealed, so that we may still doubt whether Moriah (verse 2) and Mount of Jehovah (verse 14) really mean the place of the temple in Jerusalem.

Looking at the whole round of separate legends which unroll the picture of a universal Patriarch, under the popular guise of a simple family history, we may well say that, with uncommon mastery, it knows how to fulfil its partisan purpose under the plain cover of simplicity. In the materials for legends of the Hebrews, Abraham takes as prominent a place as is due to the ancestor of so powerful a conqueror and king as David.

VII.

THE LEGENDS OF ABRAHAM AND THE PROPHETS.

Although we know that legends grow only very slowly and imperceptibly, and that through entire generations traditions may continue unaltered, and often, as we shall soon show, undergo a great change through political events, which deeply affect the life and views of the people, and thereby, when complete, frequently seem insolvable riddles—still, we believe, from all that has preceded, we are justified in arriving at the following conclusions.

First of all, we may accept as probable that the patriarch Abraham was not a *direct invention of Davidic*

partisanship. At the place where he was venerated, and particularly at his supposed burial-place in Hebron, an Abraham, may already, at the time of the republic, have been known, named, and poetically adorned. The legends at first as harmless as the history of Isaac, grew with the fate of Hebron ; but they did not receive their universally grand character, before the enthusiasm about David's mission was at its height. This bloom of enthusiasm did not however coincide with the blooming period of David's reign, but was developed later, when under the splendour and weakness of Solomon's reign, the hero-king stood in an ideal light before the nation, and in the fancy of the people grew higher and higher as an object of national enthusiasm. The weaker his successors were, the less they understood how to keep up the unity of the kingdom, and the more violently did blame attach itself to those royal houses *which did not walk "in the ways of Father David."*

If in that way, the circle of the Abrahamic legend, beginning in the simple time of the republic, gradually acquired in Solomon's time a national, political, and religious importance, we may still suppose that it reached the height of development, only *after the division of Israel from Judah* and after jealousy and wars between the two kingdoms had, during the following decennial period, lifted legendary fancy to an important height.

The next impulse was given by the legend of *the Patriarch of Bethel*, which appeared in the kingdom of Israel. But before considering this rival patriarch, we must answer two questions which might excite doubt in reference to our already proclaimed views.

The first question is, why should Shiloh (1 Sam. i. 3, &c.), which, approaching the Davidic time, was the place of worship, be silently passed by in the Abrahamic legend? Why should not the Davidic legend have drawn Shiloh into the circle of Abraham's

activity, when it was the intention of those legends to bring the patriarch, significantly at least, *into the neighbourhood* of all places of worship, in order to proclaim Jehovah, as was the case for instance with Shecem and Bethel? The second question is of a different nature, although akin to the first. If Abraham be really a figure intended to glorify the Davidic Judah, why, with the exception of the concluding verses in Micah, which we have already quoted, do the old Judaic prophets not mention him, either figuratively or personally?

We answer these two questions in one sentence: that the Davidic aim, viz., *universal monarchy*, and the aim in Shiloh, *a strong Republic*, necessarily conflicted with each other. But it was as decidedly in the interest of the monarchical party to crush Shiloh down to insignificance, as it was in the interest of the Shilonites to make the strongest opposition to royalty, even to David's kingdom.

In Shiloh lived the prophet and judge Samuel, a staunch republican, than whom no one could be found more firm and inflexible. His words (1 Sam. viii. 2), in which he describes the kingdom, are as bitter as they are just. It is certainly stated that Samuel secretly anointed the shepherd boy as king (1 Sam. xvi. 13), but this is a mere invention of Davidic historians, who want to bring Samuel's authority into action for their ideal monarch. He who could think of kings as Samuel did, would not voluntarily anoint them. It is a subject too of no doubt, that the disciples of Samuel, the prophet's pupils, were no more royalists than their teacher. Shiloh, on the contrary, was the place where the demagogic conspiracy against the Davidic universal monarchy was initiated. It was the prophet and demagogue Ahijah of Shiloh (1 Kings xi. 29) who directly incited Jeroboam to rebellion. As a fact, one might say, that *Ahijah was the destroyer of the Davidic kingdom!* There really existed scarcely any monarchically minded prophets. They were all, according to

circumstances, democrats, republicans, theocrats, and in many cases, demagogues. Isaiah and Micah, who saw their ideal in a better future, painted it (Isaiah ii., etc., and Micah iv., etc.,) as a time of everlasting peace, when God would reign and kings be superfluous. "Nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." This hope for eternal peace between people and people, is thoroughly anti-monarchical. Although Isaiah, in cases of danger for the state, and of national sufferings, addresses consolation to reigning kings, still he is, and remains, thoroughly the true man of the people, who with glowing ire makes princes and their accessories feel the weight of his words, and harshly criticises the debauchery of princes and the passion for dress of the ladies of the court. Between the true prophethood and the kingdom, there existed a conflict such as could only exist between absolutism and democracy. Therefore it is not surprising, that suddenly with David's appearance the importance of Shiloh should vanish; that again at the time of David's grand-son, Rehoboam, a Shilonite should stir up a powerful conspiracy, and that Shiloh, after the revolution, separated from the kingdom of Judah, should rise in war against the *Israelitic* kingdom; and that in the end, after the prophets dispersed in all directions, it should fall into entire ruin.

Thus it is easily explained, why the Davidic development of legends, lets Abraham pass Shiloh by in silence, and why the prophets, the Shilonites and their successors, attach no value to the legend of Abraham.

VIII.

THE PATRIARCH OF BETH-EL.

The legends of the patriarch of *Beth-el* form a most striking contrast to those of Abraham.

One need only picture to oneself the part that Beth-el played in the division of the *Israelitic* tribes from

the Davidic kingdom, to see at once, that the patriarch of the name of "*Israel*" or "*Jacob*" was only invented for the sake of glorifying *Beth-el*, in order to give to that new place of worship a popular nimbus, which enabled it to compete with Jerusalem.

A glance at the causes and the effects of this great revolution will prove what we say.

The new capital of Jerusalem was, under the gorgeous reign of Solomon, the centre of the Davidic monarchy. It was a fatal error of this king, that he wanted to raise a young state, formed through mighty and successful wars, to a splendour only fit for the great old monarchies, between which it was situated. Jerusalem, the capital, united in itself all the luxury and wantonness of the age. The people, accustomed to plain republican ways, felt the yoke of monarchy grievously (1 Kings xii. 4), and yielded only with reluctance to the central state, which was governed from a new centre, and which obscured the old traditional places of worship and government. Temples, gorgeous buildings, fleets, harems, gold, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, statues, images, singers, dancers, and literary fancies might well flatter the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and might even call forth enthusiasm for the monarchy in the canton of Judah; but they could dazzle a strong republican simple people only for a short time. The old towns were filled with violent anger against the new Jerusalem, eating up the country. Therefore Solomon's death was the signal for the breaking out of the conspiracy, which the prophet Ahijah, the Shilonite, and Jeroboam, the Ephraimite, had already initiated in King Solomon's lifetime (1 Kings xi. 26-40). Rehoboam, the foolish son of Solomon, was obliged to go to Shechem, the old chief place, in order to be crowned at the assembly of States. There, through Rehoboam's pride, the revolution broke out. Its leader, Jeroboam, became king of the new realm, and the *whole* people acknowledged him, with the exceptions of the canton of

Judah, and the canton of Benjamin, which had been humiliated through David's sanguinary persecutions. The new king resided in Shecem. But afraid that the people in pilgrimage to Jerusalem might again turn to David's house, Jeroboam by way of competition erected two *new* places of worship: one *at the frontier of Benjamin in Beth-el*, the other at the most northern end of the kingdom, *in the city of Dan* (1 Kings xii. 26-30).

Whilst the worship at Dan, in the furthest north, does not seem to have been of more importance than the one in Beer-sheba, in the furthest south, the worship in Beth-el was potent enough, to do the most complete damage to the pilgrimages to Jerusalem. All the prophets accuse Beth-el of the worst apostasy. But the priest in Beth-el called it "*the king's chapel*," "*the king's court*," (Amos vii. 13) *which nobody was to speak against!*

Is it conceivable that such a place of worship could be successfully established without an endeavour to give it the prestige of great antiquity? If we look at the tales of Jacob, which are related in the first Book of Moses, keeping to the fundamental thought, that these tales are before us in a form which systematically harmonises, and are intended to harmonise, the historical dissention of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the result is clear that Jacob was equipped by the legend to be *specifically a patriarch of Beth-el, and a rival of Abraham*. After the division of the kingdom a Jeroboamite patriarch is opposed to the David-like patriarch, as fit to surpass the latter, as Beth-el was to outdo old Hebron and Jerusalem.

Let us look closer at the new patriarch. We pass over, at first, the history of Jacob's youth, which we shall have to consider at a later stage, and begin with the scene which forms an introduction to his patriarchal mission. Jacob arrived after travelling (Gen. xxviii. 10, 22) at a place called "*Luz*;" there the sun had set,

and he took one of the stones of that place, put it for his pillow, and lay down to sleep. He dreamed and behold! a ladder was set up on the earth and the top of it reached to heaven and the angels of Elohe were ascending and descending on it. And behold! Jehovah stood above it and said: "I am Jehovah, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth (in quantity), and thou shalt spread abroad to the west and to the east, to the north and to the south, and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed." And behold, "I am with thee and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of." And Jacob awakened out of his sleep and he said: "Surely Jehovah is in this place and I knew it not" (up to the present). Then he was afraid and said: "How fearful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." And Jacob rose up early in the morning and took the stone that he had put for his pillow and set it up for a pillar (מצבה), and poured oil on the top of it, and he called the name of that place Beth-el (house of God). Luz had been the name of the city in former times. And Jacob made a vow saying: "If Elohe will be with me and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace; then shall Jehovah be my God, and this stone, which I have set for a pillar (מצבה) shall be God's house, and of all that thou wilt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee."

A greater glorification of Beth-el could scarcely be imagined! How welcome it must have been to King Jeroboam, who erected there the house of God, and had the door of heaven put in the same place! How particularly welcome this legend must have been to the

priests in Beth-el "whom Jeroboam had made of the lowest of the people and not of the sons of Levi," (1 Kings xii. 31)—who did not wish that the tenth should be brought to Jerusalem, to which, according to the Hebron legend, Abraham had already given it, but to Beth-el, where the new patriarch had expressly engaged to bring it! From those concluding words relative to the tithe, and which, without any motive, speak to God in the second person, whilst until then God has always been mentioned in the third person, we judge that particular value was attached to the point *that the tenth should appear for Bethel as a personal and very intimate obligation, vowed face to face, an obligation which could never be got rid of!*

The competition with Abraham is fully expressed in the promise of the whole land as a possession to the descendants of Jacob. That promise so entirely comprises all that gave a providential value to Abraham's mission, that the patriarch of Judah becomes quite superfluous.

Certainly the basis of all this glorification of Beth-el is only a *dream*, and it may well be thought that it need not be so pretentious; but he who considers what is still before us, as remains of the Israelitic literature in that of the Judaic, cannot fail to perceive that the literary production in Judah is sober in comparison with the poetry of the Israelitic narrative. With the point that represents the glorification of Bethel, begins an entire cycle of Israelitic literature, which embraces the history of Jacob and Joseph to the end of the first Book of Moses. From that time the dreams never cease. Jacob dreams in Haran (Gen. xxxi. 11). Laban is visited in a dream, (xxx. 24). Joseph dreams twice foreshadowings of his fate (xxxvii. 5, &c). His fellow prisoners, the butler and the baker of Pharaoh, are visited by dreams (xl. 5). Pharaoh himself dreams, and Joseph's wisdom as an interpreter of dreams influences the fate of Egypt. In the end Elohe also comes.

to Jacob "in the visions of the night" (Gen. xli. 2), in Beer-sheba, and gives him promises which claim unlimited confidence. When one comes to consider, that in the mouth of the people, a dream often is thought *much* more significant than a perception with open eyes, one would rather see in the dream in favour of Beth-el, another argument for undoubted glorification of the place. What a patriarch *dreamed* was certainly thought in Israel much more *trustworthy* than what the people could *at any time see with their own eyes*.

Nor can we fail to see, upon closer consideration, that the story of this dream had necessarily a more intense influence upon the imagination of the people than the soft, modest, and half-concealed intimations of a glorification of Jerusalem through Abraham. As a successful rebellion is much more energetic than legitimacy, so is the legend of revolution much more powerful than the legitimate one. Beth-el is not veiled like Jerusalem under "Salem," "Moriah," and "Mount of God," but it appears *openly* with all its pretensions as does Jeroboam the rebel himself. Such things always impose upon a people. *Novelty* alone could have brought Beth-el into bad credit and raised doubts. Although Beth-el was in Samuel's times already a place where one went "to Elohe," (1 Sam. x. 3) still one had not yet an idea of *such high importance*. But why should surprise prevent any one from fully acknowledging Beth-el, when the patriarch himself avowed *that he had not known it before*, and that he saw only *now* in his dream *that Jehovah dwelt there and that the door of heaven was opened there!*"

But it was not only the religious importance which had to be won for Beth-el; but the whole of the political importance, which through David's bold deeds had glorified the kingdom of Judah, had to be annulled in the tradition of the people and to be turned through bold inventions towards the new kingdom of Jeroboam. Whatever war might accomplish was tried with un-

daunted energy. The war between both kingdoms raged fully twenty-four years. But war requires also *the belief of the people in a justification for war*, and to this belief the new patriarch offered plenty of material in the kingdom of Israel.

Before the establishment of the monarchy the Hebrews lived in ten or twelve cantons which governed themselves as republics. The names of these cantons are certainly *not* the names of persons. In some of them one recognises clearly the names of the gods who were worshipped there as: "Zebulon" the On of heaven, "Dan" the Judge, "Gad" the god of Fortune, Venus. It is not unlikely that Benjamin was a district where "Meni" was worshipped (Is. lxxv. 11). Other names of cantons probably originated in geographical or historical reasons, which can no more be followed up. However that may be, it is absurd to allege the population of ten or twelve cantons to be the issue of as many sons of one and the same father. An idea like this can no more be believed than perhaps an assertion that an ancestress "Borussia" had a number of children, each of whom was the founder of a Prussian province.

But the justification of Jeroboam's politics required strong belief from the people, and for the sake of such a strong belief the patriarch of Beth-el was made ancestor of all the cantons. The chief object in view was naturally to claim a privilege for the canton. "Ephraim" Jeroboam's home (1 Kings xi. 26). Ephraim, which is synonymous with "Joseph" (both mean fecundity, multiplication, and characterise the canton as densely populated), had to be fully justified by the legend of Beth-el in the privilege which Jeroboam usurped. With this intention a complete cycle of legends was marked out, which might rival in system the cycle of the legends of Abraham, surpassing them far in poetical elaboration, and which, in parts, are a real masterwork of epic style, whilst polemically they are

as regardless of the Judaic cycle of legend as Jeroboam was of the Davidic dynasty.

IX.

THE CONFLICT OF THE CYCLES OF LEGEND.

We proceed now to show the parallelism, the rivalry, and lastly, the cutting polemics of these legends.

The patriarch of Beth-el went direct to Mesopotamia to marry. The legend of Abraham which—as a proof of Judah's intimate relation to Mesopotamia—has a wife *fetched* thence for the son of the patriarch, is much surpassed by the new legend, which lets Jacob travel there in *propria persona*. He married two wives, sisters. One of them, the elder, was imposed upon him and he hated her (Gen. xxix. 31). The other, the younger one, was the beloved, for whose sake he joyfully served as a herdsman for fourteen years. The former, the hated one, bore him sons; the latter, the beloved one, remained childless for a long time. Each of the two wives brought to the patriarch her maid, so that she might number her children as her own. In this way ten sons were born to the patriarch in Mesopotamia, each of whom received the name of one of the cantons of Palestine, and was intended to count as its ancestor. But the mission of the patriarch was not fulfilled thus. He waited patiently. At last the beloved wife also bore him a son, who received the name of Joseph, and *directly* after his birth (Gen. xxx. 25) the patriarch wished to return to the land of promise. Then, at length, he saw his mission fulfilled, because not only was he going to take home the ancestors of *all* the cantons, but also *the own son of the beloved one, the son full of promise*, who was to be subject to wonderful fates in the war with his brothers, the children of the unbeloved one and of the maids, and who was destined to wear the crown, the crown of the kingdom of "Joseph" "Ephraim" "Israel," of the kingdom which Jeroboam, the Ephraimite, had founded.

The intention of this history is clear enough. The peaceful relations of the kingdoms of Jeroboam to neighbouring Mesopotamia, could scarcely be better expressed than by the family legend, that all cantons of this kingdom, Judah included, were no more than *colonies, peopled by the children who had been born to the patriarch in that district.* Why the legend makes an exception "with Benjamin" we shall soon consider.

But such very near family ties have their dangerous points. A Mesopotamian conqueror might easily thereby have proved well-founded pretensions to these colonies sprung from his blood. For this reason the separation of the patriarch from Mesopotamia was not a light matter. Chapters xxx. and xxxi. contain a very elaborate discussion about property between Laban the representative of those countries and the patriarch, a discussion which, like every one of its kind, does not pass without serious moments of threatened conflict, but which in the end terminates with a contract of peace, the validity of which was unexceptionable.

The contract of peace was concluded as we see (Gen. xxxi. 23) at the frontier of the country, in the Mount of Gilead. There, at a place no longer to be traced, and probably remarkable for its towering rocks, the treaty was concluded at the express wish of Laban. The companions of both parties gathered stones and constructed a rocky hill. This hill "Gal" was to be "witness." Thence originated the name "Galeed," "Gilead" (גלעד). On the heights was a beacon, a watchtower, giving the motive for calling the place "Mizpah" (מצפה, מצבה), because, as Laban exclaims, Jehovah shall judge between me and thee." This hill and this Mizpah shall be witnesses that *I will not pass over this frontier to thee, and thou wilt not pass over to me in hostile intention.* Solemn vows, a meal, and a hearty leave-taking concluded the contract of peace.

We may assert, with great probability, that this legend has for its foundation a real political motive,

from the time of Jeroboam. It is a matter of course that neither Egypt nor Mesopotamia could observe with indifference the growth of a bold, vigorous monarchy, out of a conglomeration of small powerless strips of land, upon a border, which formed the natural guard at the people's bridge in Suez. Although one cannot say that David's kingdom really extended from Egypt's "brook unto the Euphrates," still, it is a fact, that all through this wide territory his power made itself felt. David's glorious wars against Aram, and his treaty with Toi, king of Hamath, could not appear insignificant. In Egypt those events were considered with attention. Solomon received a daughter of Pharaoh from Egypt, as his wife, which really was no small concession to so young a kingdom, considering the pride of caste of the Egyptian dynasty. Nevertheless, Egypt was soon filled with jealousy of the Davidic kingdom. The Court received, in a friendly spirit, Hadad, a fugitive prince from Edom, who was waiting for the death of David and his general, Joab, to free his country from the yoke of the Davidic reign (1 Kings xi. 14-22). The Edomite prince found such favour in the sight of Pharaoh, that he gave him as a wife, the sister of his own wife, the queen, and allowed him to undertake, after the death of David, the war of deliverance in Edom.

Just as in Egypt, a fugitive, "Rezon," proved in Damascus a lucky adversary of Solomon, (1 Kings xi. 23,) we may also conclude with certainty, that Jeroboam, as a fugitive in Egypt, leagued himself with the Court there, against the kingdom of Judah. This alone explains that five years after Jeroboam's reign in Israel (1 Kings xiv. 25), Shishak, king of Egypt came up to Jerusalem, took away all the treasures of the temple and the palace, but left the kingdom of Israel perfectly intact. Although we must not accept the repeated statement that the war between Jeroboam and Rehoboam lasted "all their days" as an exact ex-

pression, still we cannot doubt that Shishak had been incited to this predatory invasion against Rehoboam, by the former fugitive in Egypt, then king Jeroboam in Israel.

Under such political conditions, it was quite within the reach of probability, that Jeroboam should not fail to strive for friendly opinion for his newly formed kingdom in the North East ; not, however, by means of patriarchal legends of ancient times, but by means of real diplomatic negotiations, such as had been usual in the time of David (2 Sam. viii. 10). But when a friendly treaty of this kind had been concluded, it was quite natural, that for the ingenuous belief of the people, it should be represented as a family picture of the life of Laban and the Patriarch of Bethel.

This well contrived plan, to consecrate in a popular spirit, through the Patriarch of Bethel, the peaceful relations between the newly formed kingdoms of Israel and Mesopotamia, was surpassed by the cleverness, in which the same legend made the much more intimate relation of Jeroboam to Egypt, palatable to the people.

It would have been an easy matter to give to the real son of the Patriarch and his beloved wife, the name of "Ephraim," and thus to introduce the ancestor of the canton who was to have the vocation to stand at the head of all, as a true Mesopotamian. But the intimate relation of Jeroboam to Egypt required a much more subtle plan. Joseph, the real son of the Patriarch, was to come from the Euphrates, but diplomacy was not satisfied with this title alone. It was necessary that the real son should be hated, persecuted by his brothers, and left to die ; should be saved from being murdered by a feeling of humanity in the bosom of the eldest of his brothers, Reuben, and through God's wonderful interposition, sold as a slave at the advice of Judah, the most mighty of the brothers.

Joseph, thus arrived in Egypt, rose to the posts of preserver, benefactor, and powerful minister of Egypt.

Pharaoh gave him as a wife, the daughter of Potiphera, priest of On, in the temple of the Sun, Heliopolis, and he had by her, Ephraim, the ancestor of Jeroboam, the new king. He was, in truth, only a grandson of the Patriarch, but for that very reason, Jacob solemnly adopted him in Egypt as his own son (Gen. xlviii. 5). By the maternal side, however, Ephraim was related by blood, *at the same time, to Mesopotamia and Egypt.* How could he fail to be incontestably acknowledged as the crowned one, among the brothers? (Gen. xlix. 26, and Deut. xxxiii. 16).

X.

ANIMOSITY AGAINST THE JUDAIC LEGENDS.

If already a slight sketch of the Ephraimitic legend suffices to show its Jeroboamic tendency, a closer inspection of details affords a deeper view of the entire want of consideration, and of the hostility with which that legend attacks the Davidic dynasty. It needs only impartial observation to discover in the rich, much altered, and even mutilated material, the fundamental characteristics which the legend had in its original shape. By this means there are also opened to our view large portions of the side scenery, which under the present harmonious covering present themselves to us as so many dark problems. We perceive, not a *one-sided* attack proceeding from a legend only, but a *mutual* conflict of the two legends. We observe how, besides the eternal wars of the kings Jeroboam and Rehoboam, of which history contains but scanty records, religious contests also of an embittered nature were recorded and fought out in the popular tales.

First of all, let us divert our attention from the great Jeroboamic characteristics which the legend presents for Ephraim's glorification to some smaller traits which strengthen our conviction by their number rather than their weight. For this purpose we cannot consider the

events in the same order as they are described in the first book of Moses, but, as the conclusion will show, our digressions for a few moments will always be with a view to compass the entire round of legends.

After the patriarch had taken leave of Laban, he forthwith sent a message of peace and friendship to Esau, who at once hastened to meet him, and demonstrated his brotherly love to such a degree, that the patriarch exclaimed that Esau's face appeared to him as though it was "the face of God," (Gen. xxxiii. 10). Before however this meeting took place, the patriarch had at night (xxxii. 24, &c.) a struggle with a real God, a matter we shall afterwards consider. At present only the one fact is of interest, that the patriarch saw there also a "face of God" face to face, so vividly indeed, that he could not help calling the place "Peniel," God's face (פני אל).

The conference with Esau having been satisfactorily concluded, the patriarch proceeded. He built a house and erected "booths" for his cattle, wherefore he called the place "Succoth." But he did not remain there. He went to Shechem and encamped before the city. There he bought part of the field where he pitched his tent from the hand of the children of Hamor, the father of Shechem for the price of a hundred kesitah, and he erected there an altar and called it "El God of Israel."

If we stop a moment to consider the latter passage in particular, there is no doubt that the word "altar," (מזבח *mizbeach*), does not at all agree with the word *vaiatzeb*, ויצב, which informs us of the setting up. For the erection of an altar we find everywhere either *vaiiben*, יבן, "he built," or *vaiias*, ויעש, "he made," or also, *vaiakam*, יקם, "he erected," whilst the word *vaiatzeb* is only used for the erection of a pillar *matzebah*, which is clearly based upon the uniformity of sound and origin of both words. We have evidently only the choice of assuming either the verb or the substantive as the wrong reading, and we shall have to

consider for which rectification we have to pronounce. Certainly we find in the further history of the patriarch that he also "built" an altar מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbeach*, in Bethel, (xxxv. 7.) but we have already quoted the plan according to which (xxviii. 18-22.) he erected a pillar "Matzebah" in Bethel; in the same chapter xxxv. while, according to verse 7, he built the "altar" in Bethel, his wandering to Bethel is again related where he set up a Matzebah, (v. 14.) "a matzebah of stone," as is added with peculiar stress. Inquiring further, we find that the same patriarch raised up a matzebah in Gilead (Gen. xxxi. 45.), and finally that he set up another upon the tomb of Rachel (Gen. xxxv. 20). Now we are well justified in the opinion that the fact cannot be accidental, that Abraham should never set up a pillar but always build "an altar," for which he always invoked the name of "Jehovah," and that it should be a speciality of our *new* patriarch throughout, *only* to set up *pillars*, and never to invoke or exclaim "Jehovah," but always "El" or "Elohe:" he even sometimes called *the erected stone itself by that name*.

After this, one may well allow that in the passage itself (xxxiii. 20), we must also read "pillar" matzebah, instead of "altar," *mizbeach*, and that, in consequence, the patriarch set up in Shecem a stone, calling it "El, Elohe, Israel," "God, a God of Israel." How much this is antagonistic to Judaic worship is clearly shewn by the so-called Mosaic law, in the following words,—“Neither shalt thou set thee up any pillar, matzebah, *which Jehovah thy God hateth.*” (Deut. xvi. 22.)

The above mentioned circumstance, however, causes us to ask why a place before Shecem should be honoured in this way? But when we recollect that Abraham upon his first entry into Canaan (Gen. xii. 6, 7), came also exactly unto the place of Shecem and there built "an altar, *mizbeach*, to Jehovah," it is sufficiently clear that it was incumbent upon his com-

petitor and adversary to set up a pillar matzebah, in that very place for "Elohe," and even to designate *the stone itself* with the title of "El," God.

The wonderful purchase, too, for a hundred Kesitah is nothing but a competing side-piece to Abraham's purchase of an hereditary burial-ground. How much a Kesitah is worth we do not know. Judging by Job xlii. 11, we are justified in thinking it of value. A hundred such pieces of money may be more than 400 shekels of silver, the sum paid by Abraham at the purchase at Hebron. But the competing legend is right in representing the new patriarch as liberal. He founded something greater than Abraham's burial-ground. *The place was to be the burial-ground of Joseph*; so the continuation of the legend (Joshua xxiv. 32) states. To the glory of Hebron as Abraham's burial-place, Shecem is here opposed as the burial-place of the crowned one among the brothers. There a Davidic, here an Ephraimitic memorial, which might well take up the challenge for precedence.

But will not the new patriarch, be himself buried in *Hebron*? According to the present harmonious compilation of the material of the whole of the legends, yes, but according to the originally contrived and energetically worked out legend, *no*. We will show this, when we have more closely observed the territory on which we are now standing.

We are before Shecem, as the narrator states, the stations of the patriarch were, "Mizpah, Mahanaim, Succoth and Peniel." Now we have cause to remember, that those places were not, simply, as they are represented, places of encampment, pasture-grounds, and places where one saw *God's face*. They are places full of historical reminiscences. Mizpah is the place where Saul was appointed king, he whose dynasty was overthrown by David (1 Sam. x. 17). Mahanaim is the city where the adversaries of David, after Saul's death, proclaimed his son Ishbosheth as king of all

Israel (2 Sam. ii. 8). Shecem is the place where, in the republican period, which was called the time of the Judges, the unfortunate attempt was made to establish a kingdom. The hero, Gideon, has left in Succoth and Peniel memorials of the severe punishment which he inflicted upon the chiefs of those towns, because they would not give him bread when he fought against the enemies of the country, Zebach and Tsalmunna (Judges viii. 10). When the hero returned, the royal crown was offered to him. One of his sons, however, Abimelech of Shecem, knew how to raise himself by lucky intrigues, and after having murdered seventy of his brothers upon a stone, founded a kingdom, which was ruined after wild energy and bloody anarchy, but not until Shecem, the birthplace of the miserable kingdom, had, by self-chosen tyrants, been ravaged by fire and sword. But the town recovered. Nay, it soon became the centre of popular life, because there, the assembly was held, which was to crown the grandson of David. There Jeroboam appeared and destroyed the Davidic monarchy. The Judaic minister of Finance, Adoram, appears to have been stoned to death in Shecem, whereupon the legitimate king fled to Jerusalem (1 Kings xii. 18). Then Jeroboam seized the sceptre, and was proclaimed king in Shecem, where he took up his residence. His first royal act was to build the fortress of Peniel, and to establish worship in Bethel.

Remembering that this was the birthplace of the life and deeds of a new patriarch, it is clear why legend cannot pass over this portion of Jeroboam's kingdom without conferring a special sanctity upon Shecem. Was it not the first residence of the king Jeroboam, just as Hebron was of David, and certainly as worthy as the latter, of a great patriarch's visit and adoration?

But Peniel also, the first fortress of Jeroboam, deserves the honour of high consideration. The patriarch named the place thus, because there he had seen God "face to face." We possess too few historical records

of Jeroboam's reign, to judge why it was necessary for Jeroboam's patriarch to confer, also, upon Succoth, the honour of a visit. But the coincidence of "Mizpah, Mahanaim, Shecem and Peniel" in history and legend, is sufficient to prove that *legend makes the patriarch appear wherever history glorifies the adversaries of David, and the king Jeroboam.*

We have, however, not yet done with Shecem. We see, in legend, a whole chapter dedicated to a sanguinary romance, enacted in Shecem (Gen. xxxiv.). Is not some *Jeroboamic partisanship* concealed behind this little masterpiece?

We shall treat this question presently: but first, we must make the history a little clearer than it appears at present, and we must glance over some other matters, before we are able to throw a light upon the true intention of the romance.

A romantic adventure is very well placed here. If the patriarch of Hebron experienced the same at the Courts of Abimelech and Pharaoh, we must not grudge to his competitor an event of this nature, especially as it concerns a virgin daughter who is put to no other use in the whole of the legend. But what really is supposed to have happened there, why it was invented, and how the occurrence took place, has been entirely altered by interpolation, and can only become clear, when the partisanship for Jeroboam has been thoroughly unveiled, and all its want of consideration laid bare.

That we have in chapter xxxiv. of the first Book of Moses a mere legend is sufficiently proved by the fact, that a person of the name of "*Shecem the son of Hamor*" never existed. Hamor is the name of a patrician *who, in the time of the Judges, exercised his power in Shecem*, and therefore was called "Father of Shecem" אבֵי שֶׁכֶם. The generation itself was called (Gen. xxxiii. 19, and Joshua xxiv. 32), "the Sons of Hamor," or "*Men of Hamor.*" (Judges ix. 28). If one imagines Hamor and Shecem to be father and son,

verse 19. of chapter xxxiii. of the first Book of Moses, has no meaning. According to that, Jacob bought a piece of land* מִיד חָמוֹר אָבִי שָׁנָם *from the children of Hamor, father of Shecem*, which might very much more simply have been expressed by *from Shecem and his Brothers, the children of Hamor*. The legend contained in chapter thirty-four is thus based upon a *misinterpretation* of the words "father of Shecem." That there is nothing historical in the legend is evident from the circumstance that according to it Hamor and Shecem, and *all males of the city*, were killed, all women and children taken away, whilst according to the historically authentic book of Judges (chap. ix. 28), the patrician family of Hamor still existed at the time of Abimelech, consequently about *five hundred years after the alleged destruction!*

In fact, the 34th chapter is originally a libel upon all the grown-up sons of the patriarch. Joseph was then a mere child and naturally took no part. Simeon and Levi were specially accused of having broken their faith and word in a most sanguinary way, against the confiding, loving and well-intentioned Shecem; for, according to the original story, the princely youth Shecem did not take Dinah and defile her by force, but "he loved the damsel," spoke kindly to her, and asked his father Hamor to give him the damsel to wife. (Gen. xxxiv. 3, 4). The last words of the second verse, which state the contrary, are a later addition and incoherent. He who can and does satisfy his desire so unreservedly, is neither loving nor modest enough to ask his father's permission.

The following verse, the fifth, has also been interpolated; in the correct original text, verse 6 excellently joins verse 4. The right text also contained only the first words of verse 7, which relates how the sons of the patriarch came out of the field and overheard

* From the children of Chamor (*who was called*) *abi shecem*.

what the father of Shecem said to the patriarch. Whatever else verse 7 relates of the grief and wrath of the sons is interpolated, a fact which is clear, not only from its purpose, but also from the circumstance that it spoils the flow of the tale. It is sufficient proof of the want of genuineness of this addition, that here "Israel" is mentioned as a people, of whom naturally the sons of Jacob could know nothing. In verse 13 again, the latter words are interpolated quite idly, and only for the purpose of expressing something which gives a different character to the story. In verse 27 also, the last words, which betray their heterogeneousness through disturbing the text, ought to be omitted. And clearly the whole of the concluding verse 31 should be omitted, if one would re-establish the original narrative.

That our idea about the original text is not an arbitrary one, follows from reading the chapter, omitting all the words denounced by us as interpolations. The coherence of the story is more close, and the character of Shecem gains in probability. Only a sincere lover, not a violent voluptuary, who has already satisfied his lust, can be thought capable of the exacted sacrifices. The very circumstance, that in a short tale one can in six passages omit entire sentences without disturbing the coherence, and that on the contrary by doing so, and without adding a single word, one adds to the sense, is a good proof that the original text *might* have read thus. With this *probability* we are satisfied until we show by other proofs that the text *really* read as we allege.

For this purpose we must introduce two other parts of the legend, one of which is only a fragment, but still evidently betraying its intention; the second portion has been preserved in a more elaborate shape, and although veiled, when closely considered, the intention is clear. This intention is: *to libel the elder brothers of Joseph.*

The fragment in question consists of the two verses 21 and 22 of the 35th chapter of the first Book of Moses. That these two verses belong together, is clearly shown from the designation of our patriarch as "Israel;" thus these two verses form a striking contrast to the preceding and successive parts in which, as usual, the patriarch figures as "Jacob." As we have to consider more elaborately, the origin of both names, we will only precursoryly observe that the name of "Israel" is certainly intended to be the more honourable one of the patriarch, and that we must therefore regard those two verses which use that name, conspicuously enough three times, as a fragment of truly Israelitic Ephraimitic production. This fragment mentions an incestuous deed of the eldest son of Leah, Reuben, the first-born of the patriarch. "Israel" heard of this incestuous deed, perpetrated by his son and . . . here the narrative breaks off, leaving us to draw our own inferences as to the probable continuation.

The mildest conjecture is this: that there, originally, followed a passage, condemning Reuben's deed, declaring him to have forfeited his right of primogeniture, and conferring the same upon another son of the patriarch. Who that should be is beyond doubt, when, upon the adoption of the two sons of Joseph, Jacob says (Gen. xlviii. 5), "Ephraim and Manasseh, as Reuben and Simeon they shall be unto me." In the first Book of Chronicles (v. 1, 2) this transfer of *primogeniture to Ephraim is expressed, together with the motive, with most complete decision*. Here we see *Ephraim* step into *Reuben's* place, a fact quite in keeping with the Ephraimitic treating of legends.

When, however, we compare with this the first Book of Moses, chapter xlix. verses 3, 4, where the patriarch upon his death-bed remembers Reuben's deed of incest, and declares him to have forfeited his right of primogeniture, we come necessarily to the conclusion, that the passage omitted in our fragment must have run *much more severely*. How severely we cannot know.

But it is sufficient for us to gather that a truly Ephraimitic legend has devised this scandalous deed against Reuben, *for the very purpose of having him dethroned from his birthright by the patriarch.*

The second portion we must here refer to, is the entire 38th chapter of the first Book of Moses. In this, Judah, the fourth son of the patriarch, is shown in a light which is to lay bare the stain of his existence. Judah went to Adullam where lived his friend "Chirah." He married a "Canaanite," the daughter of "Shuah." His eldest son was called (ער) "Er." He was *displeasing* in the eyes of Jehovah, therefore Jehovah slew him. His second son was called "Onan" (אונן); he died in consequence of his *sexual sins*. The third son's name was "Shelah," and, as it is mysteriously stated after his name (v. 5): he was at "Cezib" when she bore him. Cezib is certainly the name of a place, and the addition may therefore signify, that the mother had named the boy Shelah, because the father Judah happened to be in Cezib at the time, absent from home. Cezib has, however, a second meaning. The prophet Micah, overflowing with "plays upon words," in order to attach political thoughts to local names, knows and makes use of this second meaning. Cezib means "deception, lie," and is used by the prophet in this sense (i. 14). Now, as Shelah, in our narrative, serves to deceive Tamar's hopes, held out by Judah, the allusion to Cezib is appropriate. However this may be, *Judah's sons are all represented as despicable.* Even Judah himself fell into bad ways and was trapped into the snares laid by his daughter-in-law Tamar, *who played the prostitute.* Thus only did Judah found a generation, from which King David is said to descend, from a son of Judah, called "Paretz" (פרץ), meaning "breaking through," in which manner he is supposed to have behaved towards his brother at his birth.

Veiled as the libel is here, it becomes apparent, as soon as we cast a glance upon David's family. The picture which this libel draws of Judah hits *David*

himself sharply. The "Canaanite"—namely, whom Judah marries—is no other than the "Hittite," the wife of "Uriah the Hittite," (murdered at David's command,) whom David himself married adulterously. (2 Sam. xi. 12.) This wife of Judah is said to have been the daughter of a man of the name of Shuah. Therefore she is a "Bath-shuah," and is thus called. (Gen. xxxviii. 12.) But Bath-shuah is also Bath-sheba herself, as one may conclude from Chronicles. (1 Chron. iii. 5.) The eldest son died, *hateful in the sight of God*, just like the first son of Bath-sheba. (2 Sam. xii. 15.) This son of Judah is alleged to have been called "Er" (עֵר); why? because reading it backwards (רע, *wrong*) it means "bad," "wicked." The second son is called Onan (אֹנָן), and dies for sexual sins. He is no other than David's son "Amnon" (אֲמֹנֹן), who meets his death on account of his sexual sins. (2 Sam. xiii.) The Tamar of Judah's story is the same, who was dishonoured by Amnon, the daughter of David, who, in spite of her misfortune and her purity, to the entire ruin of her good name, is humiliated to a person who plays the part of a public harlot. And Shelah (שֵׁלָה), who does not die,—add only to his name the letter נ, and you have שלמה, Solomon! The addition of Cezib in giving the name means certainly to convey, that behind this peaceably sounding "Solomon" there is naught but lies and frauds of his father David.

It is probable that Chirah, the friend mentioned in this libel upon Judah, was no other than Chiram, king of Tyre, and a friend of David's house. To him the part is allotted to run about with a kid and to search for the harlot, to whom his friend had pledged the royal insignia, "signet, bracelets and staff." The place where the "harlot by the wayside" is sought is called Timnath; this is a reminiscence of Samson's love-adventure at the place of that name. (Judges xiv.) "Adullam," however, where Judah stopped with his friend Chirah, is really the name of a town, but here,

probably, only another writing of Adunam, עֲדֻנָם, which means "seat of voluptuousness." Lastly, the point of the tale, the breaking through of Paretz, is only a counterpart to the violence which was related of Jacob's birth, in the Judaic legends, as we shall further prove.

If this story of Judah is disclosed as a bitter personal libel upon David, the source whence it sprang cannot be doubted. We have before us a Jeroboamic production full of spite and venom against Rehoboam. And where is this libel? In the history of Joseph, which is to glorify the Ephraimite. The narrator, who is about to shew us the ancestor of Jeroboam, *the pure, chaste Joseph*, in the house of Potiphar, interrupts himself at the most convenient point to shew first the reverse of the picture, the ancestor of David, in a subtly devised obscenity, where each pretended person is, as intended, *a stain upon David's house*.

That this libel has been preserved shews the great *naïveté* of the later harmonists, who accept a bitter libel like this as "history." But it gives us also an approximate idea of what might appear too harsh even for such mild censorship. From what is allowed to happen to *Judah*, we may judge what has been buried for *Reuben*.

We are certainly limited only to dark hypotheses; but the whole libel upon Judah, which hits David and his house so sharply, leads us to the conclusion that the fragment about Reuben was similarly intended. Strange as Reuben's deed sounds, it agrees perfectly with the shameful act of Absalom, David's son, which the second book of Samuel (xvi. 22) mentions. Absalom was at that time the eldest son of David, as Amnon the elder had been murdered at Absalom's command, and Daniel the second son, whom Chronicles mention (1 Chronicles iii. 1), seems to have died earlier, as all communication about him is wanting. But the eldest son, when he takes possession of his father's harem, thereby, as we see in Absalom's history, irrevocably entered upon the full inheritance, and the natural con-

sequence would be, if he did not settle with his father, the disinheriting of the son. The legend, which made Reuben perpetrate the deed of Absalom, was, on the one hand, intended to remind one of the stain upon David's house, and, on the other, to shew the legitimacy of the degradation of Reuben, the "hated" Leah's eldest son, in favour of the descendants of the beloved Rachel.

In that manner Reuben and Judah were treated, but there existed still, not so much as cantons as "sons of Leah," two more persons, Simeon and Levi, between Reuben and Judah; and we are completely justified in the view already expressed, that the 34th chapter of the first book of Moses did not originally read as it does now, where Simeon and Levi, as avengers of the honour of their sister, seem half justified, but that all the passages which assert the forcible violation of Dinah are later additions. The original purpose of the legend was certainly no other than to *extinguish from the memory of the inhabitants of Shecem, the residence of Jeroboam, an old reminiscence of a sanguinary annihilation of Shecem, through the son of Gideon, of Joseph's tribe, who was their chosen king* (Judges vi. 15, and ix. 45), and in its stead to insert a feigned destruction, which the *brothers* of Joseph, without the patriarch's wish or knowledge, had brought about, and that at a time *when Joseph was yet a child*.

In this history, not only Simeon and Levi are accused of a most murderous breach of faith against the confiding brotherly Shecem, but *all* the brothers who hated Joseph, are said to have taken part in the plundering of the city, and the robbing of the women and children, and all that was in the houses (Gen. xxxiv. 27—29).

The harmonist, indeed, has not only endeavoured to soften, through his additions, the deed of Simeon and Levi, but also in the supposed last admonition of the patriarch (Gen. xlix. 5-7), lets these two brothers *alone* appear answerable.

XI.

THE PATRIARCH AND BENJAMIN.

But how stands it with Benjamin the youngest of the brothers? Why does the legend not permit this alleged ancestor of the canton to be born like the others (Gen. xxxv. 24-26) in Mesopotamia? Why should Rachel, the mother of Joseph, pass at the same time for the mother of Benjamin, so that a second son of the beloved wife should exist, who might compete with the first?

The solution is easily found if we do not lose sight of the fundamental thought that our whole cycle of legends is designed to popularise the Jeroboamic kingdom, by glorifying the patriarch of Beth-el, and that for this purpose the Judaic-Davidic kingdom is humiliated without the slightest consideration, and attempts are made to deprive it of any moral influence over the people. For this purpose the work of the Jeroboamic legends enters at any price into any relation *which might be used in some way* against the kingdom of Judah. Such a handle lay geographically and politically ready in the shape of the canton of Benjamin.

Geographically the canton of Benjamin was so situated that a war between the two kingdoms must necessarily have taken place first upon that territory. The military road, where the enemy had to cross defiles, mountain passes, ravines and ridges, in order to pass through Benjamin to Jerusalem, is mentioned by the prophet Isaiah with keen brevity (Chap. x. 28—32). The possession of the canton of Benjamin therefore was a matter of vital importance for Judah. Of course the Israelitic kingdom had the same interest to acquire that territory, and as far as the wars through twenty-four years of Jeroboam's dynasty made it possible, they certainly tried to acquire it strategically. However, if one may believe the strongly coloured statements in Chronicles, Jeroboam was not very successful in war

(2 Chronicles xi). With greater industry, therefore, did the legendary material turn to his moral conquests, and thus the seed fell in Benjamin upon a soil made sensitive and susceptible through David's barbarous spirit of persecution against the generation of King Saul.

The whole kingdom of Saul is historically enveloped in a very impenetrable fog. Saul's character is dark; his age, even his reign, a problem, and still more enigmatical is the fact that he was capable of converting into a monarchy a republic, which had been so completely split up into special cantons. But what speaks for him incontestibly is the affection which the people, with the single exception of Judah, displayed towards him, and the fidelity which they manifested, even seven years after his death, to his thoroughly incapable son, Ishbosheth.

Saul was a *Benjamite*, and therefore the attachment to him and his descendants was of longest duration in the canton of Benjamin; but this sympathy extended also to the adjacent mountains of Ephraim, and it was not unfrequently called into action by the adversaries of David, when inciting little rebellions against him. The rebel Sheba, son of Bicri (2 Samuel xx.), who after the rebellion of Absalom raised the flag of insurrection in favour of Saul's heirs, is called Benjamite as well as Ephraimite (Verses 1 and 21). His home may have been in the frontier mountain where some places were situated, which at one time belonged to Benjamin, at another to Ephraim. In the mountains of Ephraim a jealousy of Judah was felt even in peaceful and quiet times, and so the sympathy of Benjamin, which had been so deeply outraged by David, could always be reckoned upon.

It is true that David's persecutions of the family of Saul, which has rightly procured him the name of "bloody man" (2 Samuel xvi. 7), had exterminated the last offspring of that dangerous family. What is related to us of the last blood-scene (2 Samuel xxi. 14) is

well calculated to prove that thence any trace of a Saulic revolution was destroyed. In the will of David (1 Kings ii. 8, 9) we find an admonition to his son Solomon, not to spare the Benjamite old rebel Shimei, the son of Gera, to whom David, in a capricious moment of power, had granted a free pardon, but "*to bring his hoar head to the grave with blood.*" In fact there is no instance during Solomon's reign beyond this recommended one that another execution of Saul's partisans was needed. From the fact that the Benjamites at the time of the revolution in Shechem still sided with Judah, we must draw the conclusion that their former attempts at revolution were incited only by the direct members of Saul's family, and that after that family had been extinguished no rebellious voice could sound.

However, the strategic importance of Benjamin was such for Jeroboam, that he continually tried to fan the flame of rebellion, naturally relying upon the presumption that *Joseph and Benjamin were the real sons of the patriarch and his beloved wife Rachel, and that therefore Benjamin must undoubtedly cleave to the house of Joseph.*

In itself, this assertion was not exactly a new invention but only the working out of an already existing idea. From the moment when, after Saul's death, David split the already united kingdom by severing Judah, and the fate of Saul's descendants depended upon the attitude of the powerful canton of Ephraim, the Benjamites considered themselves *partisans of Ephraim or Joseph.* The rebel Shimei son of Gera was of the family of Saul and therefore a Benjamite (2 Samuel xvi. 5), and even after his last submission had hoped for grace, because he had been the first "of all the house of Joseph" who had come to beg David's pardon and to acknowledge him (2 Samuel xix. 20). But this idea does not as yet bear the imprint of one which produces partisan legends. The Jeroboamic struggle against Judah first brought Benjamin into the

great cycle of legends of the Patriarch of Bethel—into a place *fit for the interest of the Ephraimites*. The legend runs thus (Gen. xxxv. 16). The patriarch journeyed from Bethel, the sacred place where Elohe talked to him direct, through the district of Benjamin toward “Ephrath,” which is *Bethlehem* in Judah. Before he reached that city, “a little piece of ground before,” his beloved wife Rachel was taken in labour. She bore a son, but his life was bought with the mother’s. She dying, called him Benoni, “*son of my pains*,” but the father called him Benjamin, son of the right hand. There Rachel was buried, and the patriarch set a pillar on her grave, a “matzebah” “and *that is the pillar of Rachel’s grave unto this day*.”

Looking at this statement quite apart from its Jero-boamic tendency, one can at once recognise its legendary character, as it forms again only a parallel to the legend of Abraham. As Sarah there, so Rachel here, is intended to consecrate a particular spot by her grave. But to this legend is also added, for the sake of proof, a historical memorial which has long ago challenged criticism to a severe examination of the accuracy of the legend; and the result has so much *turned against* such accuracy that we are more even than in all other portions of this cycle of legends, referred to *partisanship* as the only motive.

In the first book of Samuel (chapter x. 2), Rachel’s sepulchre is simply mentioned as a designation of the locality which Saul had to pass. According to that, the grave of Rachel was situated on the way between Ramah and Gibeah, therefore in any case, *north of* Jerusalem, whilst according to the legend in question it is alleged to have been in the *south*, ten English miles from Jerusalem, in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. Now there would be no difficulty in accepting the sepulchre of Rachel in the north of Jerusalem near Ramah as the tomb of a woman unknown to us, but celebrated in her time. Besides that monument which was

known in Saul's time, a second one might have existed founded by our patriarch near Bethlehem, and containing the earthly remains of the ancestress of the Benjamites. But apart from its being a miraculous incident that two monuments of the same name should exist north and south of Jerusalem, there is a passage in the prophet Jeremiah (chapter xxxi. 15.) where "Rachel's" voice was heard in Ramah "lamenting over her children wandering as exiles." Rachel is beyond doubt the ancestress indicated by legend. Her voice in "Ramah" is therefore a clear proof that the prophet Jeremiah knew nothing of a grave of Rachel in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. This grave of Rachel therefore is an invention of our legend, and we have serious cause to look for the true motives why legend should try to transfer the birth of Benjamin, the death of Rachel and her tomb, into the very heart of Judah, the neighbourhood of Bethlehem.

From all that we have proved about the partisanship of the patriarchal legends of Bethel, the solution of things follows naturally.

It was in the interest of the Jeroboamic policy to *gain the canton of Benjamin at any price*. Therefore Benjamin was preferred to all the so-called brothers of Joseph. The longing for Benjamin is treated in a masterly way in Joseph's history. Joseph is deeply moved when he sees him again for the first time (Gen. xliii. 29): "Elohe, be gracious unto thee, my son," he exclaims, rushing from the room because his feelings overcame him. He weeps in an adjoining room and washes his face in order to hide the traces of his tears. In a masterly spirit, approaching in dramatic effect the most noble creations of art of any time, the historical conflict between Judah and Joseph about the territory of Benjamin is introduced in this history, (Gen. xlv. 11-34), as a family scene in Egypt. Judah is ready to sacrifice himself and to bear slavery rather than abandon Benjamin. Then Joseph discovers himself.

He is the master, the benefactor, the provider for all, the mighty one, who can take revenge for all the malice of his brothers, but who deals good for evil.

The brothers all stand ashamed and frightened, but he falls upon Benjamin's neck and weeps, and Benjamin weeps upon the neck of his *magnanimous brother* (Gen. xlv. 15). The climax of Joseph's history however is reached in the concluding scene (l. 18-21), when all his brothers kneel down before him and exclaim "we are thy servants," and Joseph comforts them, that they thought evil against him but Elohe had turned it into good! He promises to nourish them and to provide for them, comforts them and speaks to their hearts. Benjamin alone is innocent and pure, and must naturally cleave more completely to his magnanimous brother in true love. But what is behind all these scenes, wrought out as they are with such beauty and masterly art? Nothing but the plan *to gain, through the territory of Benjamin, an entrance into the very heart of Judah.*

The monument of their common mother in Bethlehem was to be liberated. Benjamin had to recognise, that there, at the place of his birth, he had to reclaim for himself a dear memorial of his beloved mother from the usurpation of Judah. And more than the burial ground of the common *mother* had to be conquered, more still, *it was necessary to conquer also the tomb of the patriarch himself.* Of the patriarch? Certainly this sounds strange, if one accepts as matter of faith the text of the story as it has been worked out by the harmonist in chapters xlvii. 1 as the original. Luckily for a closer examination, the harmonist, evidently moved by the beauty of the original before him, has only slightly accommodated these chapters to his idea, by displacing, interpolating, and omitting: anyhow he has preserved enough of the Ephraimitic spirit of the original to enable us to re-establish it in the main. Then it sounds of course quite differently.

The passages which we have to examine begin with

verse 29 of the 47th chapter, and end with verse 13 of the 50th chapter of the first book of Moses. The material for this narrative is, in language and contents, so uncommonly rich, that the scientific critic has here an extraordinary scope for exploration. We, however, influenced chiefly by our task, intend simply to concentrate our attention upon this point, that an Ephraimitic idea permeates the intermingled text.

Truly Ephraimitic is every part where the name of the patriarch "Israel" pervades the whole story. Where it alternates with the name of "Jacob," the text is, to say the least, suspicious. Doubtlessly Ephraimitic is the text in every passage which represents the son of Joseph, Ephraim, as much preferred by the patriarch: doubtful, at least, is the text where the sons of Joseph are represented as equal but not *superior* to the actual sons of the patriarch. Ephraimitic is the text when it shows Joseph in intimate relations with the patriarch, doubtful when the text introduces Joseph *in the midst of his brothers*. Ephraimitic is the text when it specially mentions *Rachel*; doubtful, at the least, *when it mentions Leah and is silent about Rachel*.

When we examine the text again upon these assumptions, we find that two facts are stated in two different versions, which we are still able to distinguish clearly from each other.

One of the facts is, that Israel discusses directly with Joseph (chapter xlvi. 29-31), where he wishes to be buried, and makes him swear that he will do as his father bids. In this discussion, it remains throughout doubtful *where* he is to be buried, it certainly says (ושכבתי עם אבותי) "when I lay me down with my fathers," and afterwards "bury me in their burying place" (וקברתני בקברתם) from which it might follow that he meant the tomb of his "fathers." But the expression, "when I lay me down with my fathers," is only a metaphor for *death*, by no means implying reference to particular ancestors. Anyhow, doubt may

still be entertained as to where the wished for grave was to be. But besides this particular discussion with Joseph *alone*, there exists a second portion (chapter xlix. 29-32) where the same subject is discussed *with all the sons*, and where the burial place is most accurately indicated, *as if it were important to avoid a misunderstanding under any circumstances.*

After the death of the patriarch it was necessary to execute his will. Joseph sent a communication to Pharaoh, begging leave to travel, in which he says (chapter l. 5) "my father made me swear, saying: behold I die! in my grave *which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan*, there shalt thou bury me." Where he had prepared such a grave is not said. But the text continues that the sons all did as their father had bidden them to do; and again, it is related with painful precision (verse 13) that they buried him in the cave of the field of Macpelah, and the buyer "Abraham," and the seller "Ephron," and the place are cited so accurately, and with such stress, as if, after all the detailed descriptions in four complete verses (Gen. xlix. 29-32) it was necessary at any cost, *that any other idea about the grave of this patriarch should be emphatically averted.*

What different idea then could arise? Wherefore all these details about a place which apparently nobody had doubted? For the purpose of elucidating these questions, we must look at two other portions of these chapters, which also refer to one and the same subject, but with decided variations.

The patriarch adopts Joseph's sons (chapter xlviii. 1-6). He is called "Jacob" in that passage. He puts Joseph's sons upon an equality with his own two eldest sons. Ephraim and Manasseh shall be to me as Reuben and Simeon. Then without any motive, and referring to neither what had preceded, nor to what follows, comes a verse which speaks of Rachel's death, and of her grave in "Ephrath, which is Bethlehem." And now

follows from verse 8 to the end of the chapter, a wonderfully drawn picture of the blessings which the patriarch of the name of "Israel" bestows upon the sons of Joseph, not thinking at all of his other sons, but blessing most Ephraim; to whom he specially says, verse 20, בן בֵּרֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל with, in or by "thee, shall Israel bless." In this sentence which is elucidated, Israel means the *people* of "Israel," *not yet existing* at the time of the patriarch.

Comparing the two portions, the adoption of the two sons of Joseph (verses 1-6), and the high preference for Ephraim (verses 8-20), one does not fail to remark that the latter part is entirely Ephraimitic, while the preceding part suggests a *mitigation* of the same fact, a sort of balance, by which Ephraim's importance is not denied, but still, according to rank, is only placed *equal* with Reuben's and not by any means at the head of all others.

If it be correct that here one and the same scene is before us, in two portions of different significance, which compared with each other certainly do not agree, and if we must accept the first portion as interpolated, because in the second (verses 8-9), the patriarch does not even know *who these two children are whom he is just said to have adopted*, then we must consider, where the lost seventh verse ought to be put which stands between the two portions, and is not to be brought into any natural relation with one or the other.

Certainly there is ample ground for asserting that this seventh verse, which refers to the tomb of "Rachel," belongs entirely to the conversation with Joseph, as lower down (chapter xlix. 31) the remembrance of "Leah" and her grave belong to the conversation of the patriarch with the other sons.

In other words, there exist two versions of where the patriarch wished to be buried. According to the one, he had only discussed the matter with *Joseph*; according to the other, he had communicated *to all his sons*

his wishes in that respect. According to the one version, he had indicated to Joseph the grave, *אשר כריתי לי*, as that "which he digged himself" (chapter l. 5); according to the other, he had indicated it to his sons, with uncommon elaboration and precision, with all the details of main and surrounding circumstances, which we find in the verses 29-32 of chapter xlix.

Here we have exactly the same thing as before, with the glorification of Ephraim; first, a truly Ephraimitic description of the grave, and secondly, an amelioration devised by the harmonist, and treated with particular care and accuracy, in order to remove the trenchant difference of the Ephraimitic legend. And withal, the harmonist has only moved the 7th verse, which betrays the original text, from its correct place, and has only altered one word, so that he offers the opportunity of re-establishing the original text.

Doing this, and replacing the text, it would read thus:—* *ושכבתי עם אבותי ונשאתני ממצרים וקברתני בקברי* * (Gen. xlvii. 30.) *כי אני בבאי מפרן מתה עלי רחל בארץ כנען בדרך בעוד כברת ארץ לבא אפרתה ואקברה שם בדרך אפרת הוא בית לחם (Gen. xlviii. 7.) ויאמר אנכי אעשה כדברך (Gen. xlvii. 30.)*

In the translation, the correct text, by transferring the seventh verse from chapter 48 to its right place, would run thus: "When I lay me down with my fathers, thou shalt carry me out of Egypt and bury me in my grave: for when I came from Padan (Mesopotamia) Rachel died on the road, in the land of Canaan, when there was yet but a little way to come unto Ephrath. And I buried her there on the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem." And he (Joseph) said, I will do as thou hast said.

Where the patriarch wished to be buried is no more doubtful after this; and all this coincides exactly with Joseph's alleged communication to Pharaoh (chapter

* Possibly there may have followed the words *אשר כריתי לי* (Gen. l. 5.) which I digged for myself.

l. 5), that he would bury his father *in the grave which he had digged for himself*.

If now the accuracy of this text be proved, it cannot be a matter of doubt that this, as well as the whole legend of a grave of Rachel, the mother of Joseph and Benjamin, is nothing more than an attempt of the Ephraimite Jeroboam, to attract the Benjamites to his side in his wars against Rehoboam.

As "Abraham and Sarah in Hebron," so "Israel and Rachel" were to have a common grave near Bethlehem. To acquire this grave from Judah was to be the task of Joseph's sons, and especially of Benjamin, who was the dying Rachel's son of sorrow, and who could never be forgetful of the noble Joseph's brotherly love.

XII.

MUTUAL ELUCIDATION OF LEGEND AND HISTORY.

He who after what has preceded has arrived with us at the conviction that behind the patriarchs of Hebron and of Beth-el stand historical personalities veiled by the nimbus of legend; and that the apparently simple idyllic events of the family lives of those patriarchs, are only the ingenious reflections of the great events of their time, will have no objection to follow our attempts to draw from both causes the eventual solutions of mutual elucidation, *i.e.*, of supplementing history by means of legend, and of making legend more intelligible by means of history.

We propose to limit ourselves in that task to one fixed point, namely, to the question why the legend of the patriarch of Beth-el, in relation to neighbouring nations, deviates so essentially from the legends of the patriarch of Hebron?

We have already seen how the heroes of both legends maintain with careful consideration friendly relations to the great neighbouring states of Mesopotamia and Egypt. The Hebron legend represents in a mild mod-

erate form dignified legitimacy ; the Beth-el legend in an exaggerated degree, unscrupulous usurpation. Does not the Beth-el legend for the purpose of glorifying the intimacy of Jeroboam with Egypt, go so far as to bring the patriarch himself into a personal audience with Pharaoh, where the patriarch, *in coming and in going bestows "his blessing"* upon Pharaoh. The more surprising is it that the two cycles of legends differ almost purposely in their relations towards small neighbouring nations. The legend of Abraham seeks, partly through histories of descent, partly through treaties of peace, to keep up friendly intercourse with the Philistines, with Ammon and Moab, and the Ishmaelites ; whilst the Beth-el legend passes these tribes and nations in entire silence. On the other hand, the Hebron legend throws Edom completely out of sight, whilst the Beth-el legend dedicates elaborate scenes to this relation, and shows the patriarch as the peace-seeking brother of Esau (Gen. xxxii. and xxxiii).

The solution of these facts can only be given by history, of which legend is the reflection. In those legends is shown the reflection of the terms on which on one side, the Davidic dynasty, on the other side the Jeroboamic usurpation stood, and were obliged to stand with neighbouring nations.

David was a warrior who, sword in hand, conquered the small surrounding nations, and who, during a state of war, repressed any opposition by prodigious cruelty (2 Sam. viii). But when the bloodshed was over he tried to win their sympathies where they could be won. In Ammon, Moab, and in the land of the Philistines this course succeeded for a long time. The warlike expeditions of the Philistines ceased. The Moabites appear to have been obliged, through the fortress Peniel having been built by Jeroboam at the frontier river, to join the kingdom of Israel, and they only recovered courage a century later under their king Mesha to strike for independence (2 Kings iii). It was almost as long before

Ammon ventured to rise against the kingdom of Judah (2 Chron. xx), and this being so, the Hebron legend stands also on friendly terms with those subjected nations, and through blood alliances as well as through treaties of peace, manages to keep up a long connection with the hero of the Judaic legends, Abraham.

The case is different with Edom, and partly also with Damascus. Both were subdued by David, but their resistance was not so soon broken. Military stations had to be erected in both kingdoms (2 Sam. viii. 6, 14). Especially in Edom, Joab the captain of David, initiated bloodshed which lasted full six months (1 Kings xi. 16), "until he had cut off every male in Edom." Therefore we hear also, very soon after David's death, of an opposition in Damascus, organised by Rezon, who caused many difficulties to Solomon (1 Kings xi. 23). From Edom, however, a young prince, "Hadad," fled to Egypt, met there, as we have already mentioned, with a friendly reception, married the sister of the Queen of Egypt, and after David's death returned to his country to liberate it (1 Kings xi. 14-22).

As we already know, Egypt was also the refuge of Jeroboam when he was obliged to leave his country after his conspiracy with Ahijah, the Shilonite, had been discovered. We have already shown the high probability of the intimacy of Jeroboam with the Egyptian court. Unprejudiced statement (1 Kings xi. 40) seems to put it beyond any doubt. The legend which makes the patriarch of Beth-el bless Pharaoh bears the seal of veracity upon it. This intimate friend, as we are already aware, soon after Jeroboam's fortunate usurpation, invaded Jerusalem and spoliated it thoroughly.

Is it, after all this, imaginable that Jeroboam should have stood in no relation to Hadad of Edom?

Hadad was certainly older than Jeroboam. At the time of David's death he was already married, and at Solomon's death he may have been sixty years old,

while Jeroboam, who wore the royal crown of Israel for another twenty-two years, could only have reached the prime of manhood at Solomon's death. We must also believe, according to present historical records, that the two enemies of David's dynasty did not live contemporaneously in Egypt. The presumption, however, is on the surface, that Jeroboam did not forego gaining for himself so decided an enemy of David's house as Hadad was, and to raise hopes in him for the throne of Edom, should he be his ally.

Of this, even History itself gives *no* solution. But if we only consider clearly what sort of historical personage is concealed behind the patriarch of Beth-el, and when we find a long account of *an embassy with presents, which the patriarch sent to Edom, to his brother Esau, that this brother comes to meet him, and that the patriarch upon beholding the Edomite, expresses his assurance of having seen a face of Elohe, a face of God*—we may then well assert, that Legend, in the harmless garb of a family scene, has preserved a part of History, and that the meeting with the patriarch is only a *legendary reflexion of the historical fact of a meeting between Jeroboam and Hadad.*

Having allowed ourselves in this way to supplement History by Legend, we may also be permitted to elucidate a dark part of legend by a historical statement.

In the story of the patriarch (Gen. xxxii. 25) a scene is pictured, in which at "Peniel," a God wrestled with the patriarch the whole night, until day-break. The God could not prevail against the patriarch; on the contrary, the patriarch held him tight and would not let him go, until he got his blessing. This blessing consisted in the alteration of his name into "Israel," which means: "Champion of God" or rather "Conqueror of God." But the God had left a mark of his strength upon the patriarch, he had touched the hollow of his thigh and put it out of joint in the struggle. And when the sun rose upon Peniel, the *patriarch limped upon his thigh.*

We pass over the curious remark which verse thirty-second makes upon this strange narrative as a subject not within our enquiry.

We, therefore, purpose only to refer to the legend, which evidently endeavours to justify the name of Israel "Champion of God," and we will see, in how far that legend might be based upon historical ground.

The legend of a struggle with a God, does not belong to the curiosities of antiquity. He who dies suddenly has been struck by God, he who suddenly becomes lame has been afflicted by the same fate in a mitigated form, he who sustained an attack of the kind, and came off with only a slightly injured limb could boast of having conquered God, and could consider the conquest as an honour.

As we know now what kind of historical personage is concealed behind the patriarch of Beth-el, we may be bold enough to seek a solution of this "wrestling with God," and the fact that it is easily found is certainly not uninteresting.

In chapter xiii. of the first book of Kings the following story is related at some length :

A man of God came out of Judah, by the word of Jehovah, to Beth-el, just as Jeroboam stood by the altar to burn incense. Then the man prophesied, in an address to the altar, that a son would be born to the house of David who would slaughter all the priests who burned incense upon that altar, and, as a sign, the altar should be rent, and the ashes that were upon it should be dispersed. When Jeroboam heard this he put forth his hand, exclaiming, Arrest him! but his hand remained numb, and he could not draw it in again towards himself, and the altar was rent, and the ashes were strewn about. Then the king begged of the man of God to entreat Jehovah to restore motion to his hand. The man of God did so, and the hand recovered.

The further very strange adventures of this man of

God are elaborately stated at the place mentioned. As they do not concern our subject, we only gather from the miraculous description this much, that on a certain occasion, perhaps at the building of an altar or the erection of a pillar, or perhaps at the building of the fortress of Peniel, a stone splintered and hurt the king Jeroboam, who happened to be present, upon his hand or foot, or upon both limbs, so that he could not move his hand, and was lame.

An event like that was certainly sufficient to be regarded by pious men of Judaic spirit—and their number in Israel was great—as a wonderful sign that *God had struck the sinner*. Jeroboam's partisans have given the opposite interpretation, and pronounced him to be a true "Israel" whom God could not conquer, but only slightly injure, a fact which redounded to the honour of the champion. That this, reflected in the patriarchal legend, sounds somewhat differently, is easily understood in a time where the historical material was used for legendary garb.

XIII.

THE NAMES OF "ISRAEL" AND "JACOB."

We arrive at length at the questions, under which name the patriarch of Beth-el may have been originally introduced, and how it stands about the so-called alteration of name which, in the present text of the narrative, is presented under two different versions? (Gen. xxxii. 28; xxxv. 10.)

"Jacob" signifies, as already remarked, literally, "holder by the heel," which means somebody who trips up his neighbour. But it means also "impostor," and is so thoroughly adopted in that sense in the Hebrew language, that not only personal deeds of *cunning* are designated by the word בעקבה (2 Kings x. 19), but it is also used to picture the general decadence of moral condition. The prophet Jeremiah (chap.

ix. 1-5), describing the moral abyss of his time, where lies, treason, deceit, and perfidy held sway, expresses it with the words, *כי כל אח עקוב יעקב*, that brother will deceive brother. Even the narrator of the patriarchal story causes Esau to exclaim, as already mentioned, "It is well that he be called *Jacob*, for he hath supplanted me these two times." (Gen. xxvii. 36.)

If the fact be surprising that this insulting word should be given as a name for a child, it is the more so when that name is not at all usual and does not recur. It is, of course, most astonishing when such a name is given to a *patriarch*, but most of all, it is surprising when, amongst the stories which are told of this patriarch, many occur which *evidently justify the appellation*. From this fact alone we must conclude that there are particular circumstances in connection with this name, and that the designation "Israel," with its most honourable signification, is a counterpoise to the reproach of the other.

But whence is the name of Israel derived?

As a proper name, it nowhere recurs. It is the name of a people, but also not the proper one—so to say, *the nationally privileged one*—because that sounds unconditionally in contradistinction to *other* nations, *Ebrim* or Hebrews. Israel is only the name of honour by which their own poets and thinkers chose to call the peoples of separate cantons in their *entirety*. Later poets attempted to introduce the still more ethical name of "Jeshurun," the just ones, but they were not able to deprive the name of Israel of its general value. The oldest designation of the people by the name of "Israel" is certainly in the very old song of Deborah. (Judges v.) But the name of Israel culminated to its true value only upon the establishment of the *Jeroboamic kingdom*, which thereafter was simply designated as the *kingdom of Israel*, in opposition to a second *kingdom of Judah*.

When we inquire into the origin of this name, and want to keep aloof from all legendary pictures, we must

look for it in the country bearing the name of "Jezreel," יִזְרְעֵאל (Izreel), a country which was of such importance in the history of the people that we cannot be astonished if they all gradually derived their name from it. In that country existed an old town of the same name. It is not improbable that the "God of Fecundity," יִזְרַע־אל, was worshipped there, and that the town and country being widely celebrated for fecundity, received their name from him. The inhabitants of that table-land took their collective name of "Joseph," "Ephraim," from that "multiplication" and "fecundity." "Jezreel, Joseph, and Ephraim," are in that sense synonymous.

The country of Jezreel comprised a piece of land which formed the largest plain in the otherwise very mountainous country, for which reason also that table-land was the scene of the most important wars of the people which lived in their remembrance for centuries. Upon the plain of Jezreel was fought the battle of Tabor against Sisera which is glorified and immortalized in the song of Deborah (Judges v). The same place was the scene of Gideon's deeds whose "day of Midian" lived for centuries as a day of most glorious remembrance. (Judges vi. 33, and Isaiah ix. 3, and x. 26). There also was fought the unfortunate battle of Gilboa, where Saul and Jonathan fell (1 Samuel xxxi. 1). We find that at a later date, upon this plain were fought battles which always decidedly influenced the fate of the whole land (1 Kings xx. 26, and 2 Kings xxiii. 29). Therefore the population of that table-land felt itself politically supreme, and with the canton of Ephraim at its head, always stood up in jealousy and war against Judah as soon as that nation claimed supremacy.

Under these circumstances it needs no further explanation that the name of the land "Jezreel" passed over in old times to the entire people whose fate was decided in that valley. At first the people may have been called יִזְרְעֵאִים (with a soft z) Isreelim. But the

Ephraimites whose tongue, as we know, sharpened all hissing sounds and pronounced "Shiboleth" as "Sibboleth," (Judges xii. 6), may also have altered "Izreel" into "Israel." The name of Israel would in that way have a very natural origin.

The canton of Ephraim, situated in that valley of Jezreel also turned to its own advantage the spirit against any privilege of Judah. After the death of Saul, Ephraim and Jezreel were the points of opposition against David. The son of Saul, Ishbosheth, was acknowledged there and proclaimed king over *Benjamin* (2 Sam. ii. 9). The town of Jezreel also became later the residence of the king of Israel (1 Kings xviii. 45). The town of Jezreel and the plain of Jezreel are, as we see, so much interwoven with the fate of the people that we cannot think it strange that Jeroboam who made himself *king of Israel* should also have adopted for his patriarch this universal name of the tribes, and let him appear under the denomination of "*Israel*."

But just as natural is it that the defending patron of the rebel was called in the kingdom of Judah a "*deceiver*" or an "*impostor*" a "*Jacob*." The alliance of Jeroboam with the prophet Ahijah, with Shishak of Egypt, with Rezon of Aram, and with Hadad of Edom; the bitter calumnies against Reuben, against Simeon and Levi, the libel upon Judah, the part taken by the rebel in the assembly at Shechem, the agitation in Benjamin—all this could not be regarded in Judah other than as a web of high treason, of lies and frauds and deceit intended to ruin the house of David. The malignant legends were reciprocated by malignant descriptions of the patriarch. One professed to know how *already at his birth he had been a supplanter* and therefore received from his parents the name of Jacob. In face of the intrigues of Jeroboam who tried to persuade Hadad to revolt against Judah, one could readily allow that Jacob was *the brother of Esau*, but a brother who deceived his brother and only made use of him to ruin him.

Even now, when the harsh differences of the legends have long been smoothed over and reconciled by harmonists, by means of omissions, interpolations, and alterations, we are well able to discern how the Judaic hostility to Ephraimitic legends was more and more nourished by mere libels. Even now we can quote passages of the so-called history of the life of Jacob and Esau which have been added to the already existing slanders in order to heap insult upon insult on "Jacob's" name.

In Gen. xxv. 19, &c., the birth of Esau is related. That their parents were Isaac and Rebekah is a harmonistic supposition of later date, when it was required at any cost *to mould all the patriarchs into one family history.*

In the narrative of the birth of the twins, Esau is so depicted as to supply numerous motives why he should become the ancestor of *Edom* upon the mount of *Seir*. Edom, we mean the country of the name, consisted mostly of red earth and iron-oxide rocks; as Edom denotes "red colour," the name also suited the outward appearance of the country. The mountain also was called "Seir," which means "hairy," and denoted either the stunted and bristly vegetation, or the inhabitants who were thought to be wild and covered with hair. Esau is described as being born "red" in colour and "all over his skin like a hairy garment or cloak;" such description evidently furnishing the motives for the name of the land: Edom, "Seir," the ancestor of which he was intended to be.

Directly after, in verse 29, &c., is related the notorious sale of his birthright for a meal of lentils. There we read: Esau said to Jacob, "Let me swallow down, I pray thee, some of that yonder red pottage, for I am faint," and it is added: therefore was his name called Edom (a red one). Considering that in the 25th verse, the name of Edom for Esau is already fully explained, it is impossible to believe that the story of his birth, and

that of the sale of his birthright, can be one and the same, and have originated from one and the same author. As the first story representing Jacob as tripping up his brother has the purpose of slandering the patriarch; and as the second story, although the harmonist probably smoothed it by describing Esau as rough, implies still more trenchant derision of Jacob, we see clearly enough, how the legends against the patriarch grew by degrees, and outvied each other in degrading the patriarch.

We can call attention to the insertion of another libel, more bitter still, in the midst of a quite innocent text.

Verse 32 of Gen. xxvi. begins with the word יָהִי "and it came to pass," which words are generally the beginning of a long narrative; but in the following verse the narrative breaks off suddenly and a new narrative begins with the word יָהִי "and it came to pass" (Ch. xxvii. 1). This new narrative contains down to the last verse (46) the infamous story of how Jacob lied to his old blind father, how he cheated his brother out of his father's blessing, and how, in consequence, he was obliged to fly, to avoid Esau's first anger.

But the whole of that slandering story does not at all coincide with what the following chapter (xxviii.) relates. According to the latter, Jacob did *not* fly, was *not* dismissed by his father in anger, and had evidently *nothing at all to fear from Esau*. That chapter, in fact, is no other than an exaggerated imitation of the Abrahamic legend. As Abraham (Gen. xxiv.) wished there, so did the father of Jacob wish here, that the son should not marry a "Canaanite," and instead of sending a servant on the errand of wooing, Isaac sends Jacob himself to Mesopotamia. *There is no trace of a conflict with Esau, or of a flight from him*. On the contrary, Esau followed *the good example* of Jacob, to whom he in nowise grudged the farewell blessing, and

married an *Ishmaelite* in addition to his Canaanite wives.

On closer examination of the text, we observe whence these contradictions originate. The original text had literally begun with the ויהי of verse 34 of chapter xxvi. ; thereupon followed verse 35, and then in the closest union the 46th verse of chapter xxvii., upon which chapter xxviii. continues the story logically, and concludes with verse 9. This original story is certainly Ephraimitic. It imitates indeed, as we observed, the legend of Abraham, and tries to surpass it ; but, on the whole, it is otherwise uncaptious. But the Judaic indignation could not allow "Jacob" to pass straight on, with his father's blessing. Therefore that bitter libel was devised, partly to paint the patriarch as black as possible, partly to show the Edomites what they had to think of the brotherly love of the Ephraimites.

And as a matter of fact, Jeroboam's intrigues had no great influence upon Edom. Edom remained with Judah and did not join the kingdom of Israel. It is not impossible, that the libellous legends against Jacob, and his behaviour therein depicted, towards the honest straightforward Esau, contributed much to Edom's staying with the kingdom of Judah.

Somewhat darker and more veiled are the passages which concern Jacob's relations with Laban. The text has been so much intermixed and elaborated by the harmonist, that the Ephraimitic original, and the Judaic libel, can only be disentangled with the utmost difficulty. We must be satisfied with the general characteristic that Jacob remains nowhere unsullied. Whether Laban outcheated him, or he outcheated Laban, is, in the present condition of the text, a question difficult to decide. But as a sign of the most bitter hostility, we must not fail to mention, how the so-called ancestresses are drawn into this scandal. In opposition to the Ephraimitic slander of *Leah* who is designated as "the hated one," (Gen. xxix. 31), the

Judaic pamphletist casts a stain upon *Rachel*, letting her *steal* the images of her father "Teraphim" (Gen. xxxi. 19), and hide them slyly and successfully.

Another point is enveloped also in mysterious darkness, which it is no easy task now to penetrate. Jacob and Esau separated; the latter removed to Edom, the former remained in Canaan. The reason of this separation is so represented in chapter xxxvi. verses 6-8, as to make it obvious how the Ephraimitic legend, in the most clumsy way copied a Judaic Abrahamic one. As Abraham (Gen. xiii. 5-12) separated himself from Lot, because the number of the cattle was too large for one district, such is said also to have been the case with Jacob and Esau. The 6th verse of chapter xiii. is almost literally *copied* in the 7th verse of chapter xxxvi. But so affectionate a parting is not at all to the mind of the Judaic interpolator. Flight, hostility, deadly hatred, fear, presents, and, finally, sly subterfuge, (Gen. xxxiii. 13-14) must be brought in aid. Jacob even promised that he would follow "his lord" Esau slowly "*until he should come to him unto Seir,*" which, of course, *never* happened.

Comparing, now, the conflict of the legends with each other, it is of interest to observe that their heroes are opposed to each other, almost as faithfully, as the historical personages who peep through the veil of legend. We might be induced to say that Abraham stands to Jacob as David to Jeroboam, as legitimacy to usurpation, as simplicity to intrigue. It really seems as though the times, which govern men, imprint themselves upon their imagination. They invent what they experience. They imagine they are painting the pictures of the past, and they create forms which betray their own present to posterity.

XIV.

THE HARMONIST AND HARMONIZATION.

We have tried to ascertain the manner and times of the origin of the patriarchal legends, and we must now proceed to the much more difficult attempt of sketching the history of the development of the legends, and of following them up, at least in a general way, to the shape in which they are now before us. The conflict of legends lasted, in all probability, no longer than the interest of their producers in the continuation of such conflict. Now the epoch of the Ephraimites, the reign of Jeroboam, lasted only twenty-four years. After Jeroboam had reigned for twenty-two years, his son Nadab became king: but in the second year of his reign, he was murdered by one of his captains, Baasha, who then seized the reins of government in the kingdom of Israel and exterminated the whole house of Jeroboam (1 Kings xv. 25-34). Baasha was *no* Ephraimite, but of the canton of Issachar. He continued the wars against the kingdom of Judah, but an alliance of Judah with Aram, forced him to give up, or at least to interrupt the war. Baasha reigned thirty-four years, when his son Elah began to reign, and he, in his turn, was murdered by a captain of his, Zimri, who wanted to govern. But the captain Omri, who led the people in a war against the Philistines, dethroned Zimri and ascended the throne. Omri reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his son Ahab, whose reign lasted twenty-two years. During the reign of the latter, an alliance was formed between Israel and Judah, which lasted some time, and so materially altered the relations of the two kingdoms towards each other, from what they had been under the reign of Jeroboam, that one may well say, the specific Ephraimitic character of the kingdom of Israel disappeared with Jeroboam its founder, although poets and prophets still designated the kingdom by the name of "*Ephraim.*" Comparing Jero-

boam with all his successors on the throne of Israel, we cannot help ascribing to him a high importance. It certainly must redound to his credit, that he was, at least, endeavouring to lean his rebellion on the sympathies of the people, and to *legalize* his reign in a national spirit by traditions and legends.

He was an Ephraimite, and it cannot be denied that the canton of Ephraim had full claim to direct the nation. It is true that the whole structure which he created, and the elaboration of which he favoured, had been built up in his personal interest; still it was based upon a national idea of Ephraim's sacredness, conferred upon it by a patriarch. His religious institutions were arranged after the Egyptian type. He set up golden calves in *Beth-el* and *Dan*, but such idols were neither strange nor unknown to Israel. The legends which were circulated in his time had, although fabricated, a moral and national tendency. He did not by any means despise tradition, on the contrary, he wanted to rival and surpass the legend of Abraham. He had used the necessities of the country as an excuse for his personal ambition to obtain power: but he sought to support his power by ideal formations in the national spirit. His patriarch "Israel" may have been ever so much disfigured by the stories of "Jacob," yet there is about him a characteristic, pious spirit, which sparkles through all his deformities. But in poetic value the sound of Israel's legends far surpass the legends of Abraham. The pictures of Joseph, of Benjamin, and of Rachel, are and must remain masterworks of art, and preserve poetically the type of immortal creations, which mere *tyrants* never had the mind or spirit to produce or to advance.

Of Jeroboam's successors, none but Ahab, stands on a higher footing than that of a military usurper who, supported by the army, seized upon power. Not one is designated "*Ephraimite*." The origin, even of most of them is unknown. In Ahab, indeed, a more impor-

tant monarch appears again in Israel. But neither in politics nor in intellect did he pursue the path which Jeroboam had smoothed for him. He sought and made a political alliance with Judah, and induced by his wife, the daughter of a Phœnician king, he raised the worship of Baal, to be the official worship, thus *offering no points of affinity with the traditions of the Ephraimite Jeroboam.*

There was, however, another revolution after Ahab and his son. A captain, "Jehu," was incited by the Jehovistic prophet "Elisha" to seize power. He murdered the king, exterminated the whole house of Ahab, destroyed the temple of Baal, and murdered its priests and followers. Of this Jehu we are told (2 Kings x. 29) that he did not depart from the sin of Jeroboam, and did not destroy the golden calves in Bethel and Dan. From this one might conclude that Jehu was also in spirit a successor of Jeroboam; but, besides there being no further trace of that fact, and not even an intimation of Jehu having been an Ephraimite, the political discussion in the kingdom of Israel now appeared so marked, that all the provinces beyond the Jordan were snatched away by Aram. Consequently all probability speaks against a spiritual flight having taken place in the kingdom of Israel.

The dynasty of Jehu, it is true, counted one other fortunate monarch, who reigned for forty-one years, and who was a successful warrior, but even he did not impede the fall of the Israelitic kingdom. His son again was removed by murder, and the murderer again was hurled from the throne by another murderer. Then Assyria appeared on the scene of our events, with its invasions of conquest, and brought about the complete ruin of the kingdom of Israel.

We quote all these well-known facts for the simple purpose of showing that in the two and a-half centuries of the existence of the kingdom of Israel (from 978-720), no other epoch than the Jeroboamic one shines forth as a period of glorification for Ephraim.

If it is undeniable, that the whole cycle of legends about the patriarch of Bethel aimed at a glorification of Ephraim, and if our proofs be sufficient to show that this did not succeed without continual wars, we must logically conclude *that with the extermination of the Ephraimitic dynasty* (about the year 950 before our usual chronology) *the conflict of the legends with each other was extinguished also. Then the epoch commenced, when in pious minds the conflicting legends gradually intermingled, and their origin faded, until the time arose when the whole material was worked up into a heroically pre-historic account of the whole nation.*

The question, whether, in such remote antiquity, the legends had been reduced to writing, we must decidedly answer in the affirmative, after having conscientiously examined those which remain, and which have not been interpolated by the harmonist. They possess already, in the song of Deborah, (Judges v.) a literary production, the original text of which was doubtless devised very soon after the conquest of Siserah (1330 before our chronology), and was preserved, not only verbally, but in writing. We must not omit to consider, that in respect of literature, Palestine stood upon a different footing to contemporary flourishing states. In great monarchies, where the dynasty is the centre of all interests, the instinct of perpetuation, is satisfied by *magnificent buildings, palaces, temples, pictures, and inscriptions.*

But in republican nations, where no dynasties absorb the common interest, but where rulers and judges, chosen for a time, hold the reins of government, *aristocracy of mind* gains an ascendancy which tries to immortalise its whole thoughts and aspirations in song and speech, and in written records. Therefore the fact must not surprise us that neither mighty Egypt nor Assyria, but the small Palestine, handed down an old literature to posterity. There, too, lite-

rary production was not disturbed by a rising kingdom, but on the contrary was *used as a support, and therefore progressed.*

If we recognise, now, in the Abrahamic legends, the preliminary pictures of the Davidic kingdom, there is no reason to doubt that, in addition to verbal narrative, those legends were reduced to writing in the cultivated places of Hebron and Jerusalem. The literary fancies of Solomon certainly only tended to encourage this production.

Now, if it was Jeroboam's plan to surpass David, it is most probable that he provided for Bethel written documents of the legends. Many a comparison between the Abrahamic and the Israelitic legends shows that favourite turns and figures of speech of the one were used for the other. In illustration, the curious passage from the Abrahamic cycle *יָדְךָ הָחֵת יָרֵכִי* "Put thy hand under my thigh" (Gen. xxiv. 2) is accepted literally, in the legend of Israel (Gen. xlvi. 29), whilst in the whole of the Hebrew literature there is neither a repetition nor any trace of explanation of this form of speech. If we do not adopt the orthodox loophole, that that form of speech was used by the *real* Abraham, and as chance would have it, by his grandson, the *real* Jacob, nothing remains but the supposition that it occurred in the composition of the Abrahamic legend, and *that it was copied in Bethel as a classical, patriarchal turn of speech.* We have also already mentioned that in the legend of Israel (Gen. xxxvi. 7) a whole verse from the legend of Abraham (Gen. xiii. 6) is almost *literally copied*, from which it follows that *written records of both legends existed.*

It is perfectly impossible to believe that the already characterized libel upon David and his family was not written, because all the disfigurements of names produce an effect only when written, whilst verbally, (as for instance *שְׁלֵמָה* for *שְׁלֵה*, and *עַר* and *רַע*) they are entirely lost. One important fact speaks above every-

thing in favour of the reduction of the legends to writing, namely, that we are even now in a position to pick out entire portions of the legends in their almost completely uncorrected shape, as for instance, the whole of chapter xliii., where, in contrast to the preceding chapter, the name of "Jacob" does not once occur, but the name *only* of "Israel" is used; and lastly, the passage in which Ephraim, although the younger brother, is preferred to Manasseh the elder (Gen. xlviii. 8-22). In the 15th and 16th verses, only the few words which mention Abraham and Isaac are interpolated, but, otherwise, the original text stands forth so clearly that one cannot imagine it otherwise than as having been transmitted in a written form.

The Jeroboamic genuineness of this portion cannot well be doubted, from the fact that it is a characteristic of all usurpers, *to prefer the after-born to the first-born*; and as a proof of the genuineness comes the as completely preserved parallel passage of the harmonist (Gen. xlviii. 4-6) which we have already considered.

The reduction of the legends to writing being put now beyond doubt, we may well suppose that with the destruction of the Ephraimitic house, with the extermination of the whole family of Jeroboam, not only the mutual conflict, but also the production of the legends ceased. The thirty-eight years of bloodshed which followed the extermination of the house of Jeroboam was little conducive to literary production. At that time also the rotation of *old* circumstances returned. *Shecem*, the residence of Jeroboam, was abandoned, and in its stead *Thirzah* and at a later time *Samar* were chosen by the new ruler. Unhappy wars and all the new regicides disturbed the course of legendary imagination, and curbed zeal for or against them. A new monarch "Ahab" appeared, who *gave up* the Ephraimitic war against the kingdom of Judah, and who supplanted the *worship at Bethel* by the *worship of Baal*. With this, political conflict also entirely

abated. But religious zeal advanced in the temples of Baal, and their priests presented for persecution *a new object of hatred*, which had no relation whatever to the foregone conflict of the legends. The prophet Elijah was so filled with hatred against the worship of Baal, *that he had no words of wrath left for Bethel.*

The era of harmonizing was evidently advancing in that direction.

XV.

ELIJAH AND HARMONIZATION.

Is the prophet Elijah the harmonist? We do not answer the question in the affirmative. We possess no personal writings of Elijah which guarantee his language. The narrator of his life and deeds, the author of the Books of the Kings, lived much too late to be able to give us authentic statements, and is too fond of miracles to be historically trustworthy. Still we must not leave untouched the little in the history of Elijah which might indicate him as the harmonist. In (chapter xviii. 31) of the First Book of the Kings, we are told that Elijah took twelve stones for the purpose of building an altar, *according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word of the Lord came, saying, "Israel shall be thy name."* Thus we find here, completely expressed by a historical person, belief in a Jacob, who, at Jehovah's bidding, was to be called "Israel." However, these are only words of the *narrator*, to which we need not attach any value. But in verse 36 of the same chapter, words of Elijah himself are reported. If we may give full belief to them, we have before us the most perfect harmonist, because the words run thus: "Jehovah, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant," and so forth. Had these words been historically authenticated, we should not only have

Abraham and Israel, or Jacob already harmonized, but also Isaac would have been joined as an intermediate link. A suggestion for this latter possibility, lies in the circumstance that Elijah upon his travels visited Beersheba (1 Kings xix. 3) and therefore, might have heard some mention of the patriarch Isaac, who had been thrust into the background. Even had he made this journey at a later period, it is still possible, even probable, that Beersheba and its patriarch would not have been unknown to him. However, all these data are and must remain much too unsafe, to be critically valuable. On the contrary, there are strong presumptions for the fact that as the legend of Isaac had been entirely out of the conflict of legends, it did not enter into the harmonizing work for a long time, and that this intermediate link between the chief patriarchs was only at a later time, accepted in its order for the purpose of entirely completing the family history.

First of all the orthography in the alleged speech of Elijah is suspicious. The older authors do not know a Itzchak יִצְחָק but a Ischak יִשְׁחָק. Even the later Jeremiah (chapter xxxiii. 26), and the Psalms (Psalm cv. 9), call him Ischak. The prophet Amos, the only one who knew anything of the worship in Beersheba, speaks likewise only of the "heights of Ischak" and the "house of Ischak." Only the very late books of the Chronicles (1 Chron. xvi. 16), quote Psalm cv. and write Itzchak instead. Anyhow the name in the mouth of the prophet Elijah must be incorrect. But even if one could look over that fact, the astonishing circumstance remains, that the prophet Micah only knows *Abraham and Jacob* as fathers "of the days of old," and does not mention an "Isaac" (at the very end of Micah). Even the very late "second Isaiah" (chapter lxiii. 16), in his surprising expression about Abraham and Israel does not mention Isaac. Another circumstance is added, which makes it probable that in the beginning of the harmonization, Abraham was made the *father* of Jacob.

In the narrative of the dream of Jacob in Bethel, we read (Gen. xxviii. 13). And behold Jehovah stood above it and said, "I am Jehovah, God of Abraham thy *father*." Certainly the words, "and the God of Isaac," are added, but that does not alter the fact that Abraham is designated as Jacob's father. The same version is twice repeated in chapter xxxi. There we read: "Except the God of my *father*, the God of Abraham had been with me." Verse 42 again follows Isaac's name even associated with "Pachad." Laban likewise expresses himself (verse 53), as if Abraham were the *father* of Jacob, and again directly afterwards the "Pachad" of Isaac is quoted.

These passages, together with the words of the prophet Micah, must really make us think that originally the harmonization was only intended to reconcile the legends of *Abraham and Jacob*. As a fact *only those two* were seriously conflicting. The legend of Isaac with its modest pretension to local authority in Beer-sheba, could not be an object of contest when *universal value* and the great struggles between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel were concerned.

When we consider all these points which, though not strictly proof, are still most worthy of regard, we believe we are in a condition to affirm that "harmonizing" *was very slowly advanced*. It may have begun after the ruin of the Ephraimitic generation of Jeroboam. It advanced when with Ahab's reign an alliance was concluded between Judah and Israel. But the *rounding off* of the legends with all the *intermediate links* completing the family picture, was most likely a work of later date; a literary work which probably was begun when the kingdom of Israel had been already ruined, and when the general national grief had reconciled to all minds the conflicting points of legendary materials.

The task of following harmonization in all its phases, belongs so entirely to the *criticism of the text*, that it must be left to a special and elaborate enquiry. The

bible-text, already an object of the most careful criticism through the Elohist and Jehovistic separation of originals, will require, by reason of our indicating the *Ephraimitic and Judaic* formation of the legends a particularly exact analysis. To establish harmony between the three patriarchs as it is now before us, was also no easy or quickly executed task. It was specially necessary to make *geographical leaps* without being able to account for them from natural motives. As they were unable to send out the locally fixed Isaac, it was necessary that Abraham should undertake a journey to the south (Gen. xx. 1), for which all natural reasons are wanting. Again, as they wished to give full importance to the grave in Hebron it was necessary not only to presuppose silently the return of Abraham to the place, but also, contrary to all preceding statements, to affirm that *Isaac* also lived in Hebron (Gen. xxxv. 27). The patriarch Jacob was bound, according to the harmonist, to begin his migration from Beersheba his birthplace, and return on account of the *harmony* to *Hebron* after all his wanderings in the kingdom of Israel, where he played the chief part, though it is inconceivable how any one residing in Hebron should allow his cattle to go to pasture near Shecem, a distance of more than a hundred English miles. Finally, the harmonist, who cannot entirely drop Beersheba, makes Jacob take up his station there when he travelled to Egypt. There also he had another revelation of Elohe (Gen. xlvi. 1-4), with which he was so often favoured in the kingdom of *Israel*, while during the alleged sojourn of Jacob in the kingdom of *Judah*, which lasted at least fifteen years, *Elohe* never appeared to the patriarch.

To follow the harmonization in all its phases, is indeed a very interesting work, which must be separately undertaken. We must content ourselves, therefore, in this preliminary examination with a superficial survey of harmonistic views, as they are shown in the writings of *the most liberally minded of the Hebrew nation, the*

prophets, because those are and must remain the chief intellectual source to which one can most successfully turn for *light and truth*.

Among the Judaic prophets the most sublime Isaiah stands completely free from all traditional hypothesis. It is true that he speaks of a "house of Jacob," but he means only the *nation*, not the descendants of a certain *person*. He speaks of a "house of Judah," but by no word betrays a belief in the legends already in full circulation in his time, about a person of the name of Judah. Of an Abraham or an Isaac he makes no mention. We refer, of course, to the old Isaiah, not to the so-called second Isaiah, as he abstains altogether from any traditional views, and speaks neither of a Moses nor of any other person belonging to the cycle of the legends of the nation.

All this does not yet prove that the prophet was a partisan enemy of traditions, but only that with the rich power of his thoughts and language he needed not the support of old legendary forms, and that from the depth of his soul he was creative enough to dispense with the traditional auxiliaries of rhetoric.

Nevertheless, considering that he, in common with all other prophets, who, like him, condemned the Egyptian politics of the Judaic courts, severely inveighed against the faithlessness of Egypt, we are surprised to find that *there is no allusion whatever to the history of Joseph, and to the great benefit which he is said to have conferred upon the kingdom*. If the prophets had looked upon that story as more than a flattering popular legend of the *Ephraimites*, it would be incredible that there should be no allusion to it. We have mentioned all that bears upon our subject, from the *older prophet Amos* and the prophet Micah, *Isaiah's* contemporary. Amos knew no Abraham and no Jacob, and was only aware of a worship upon the "heights of Ischak," and of a "house of Ischak," whilst Micah, who abounds with old traditions, and who knew

Moses, Aaron, Miriam, Balak, and Balaam, speaks only of *Abraham* and *Jacob*, but not of *Isaac*. He draws, in his speeches, which are directed against the demoralization of the kingdoms of Judah and of Israel, a very marked distinction between "Jacob and Judah." Jacob is with him "Samaria," the capital of *Israel*, whilst by *Judah* he understands the capital "*Jerusalem*." (Micah i. 5.) But he still regards the *unity of the nation* as the ideal of a better future, and this is represented to his mind, as to Isaiah's, as a time "when the mountain of the house of Jehovah shall be established in the top of the mountains" (Micah iv. 1, and Isaiah ii. 2), so that the centre of the happy times would *again be Jerusalem*.

More productive than this survey is an examination of the words of the prophet *Hosea*. He shews, not only a *knowledge* of the *Ephraimitic material of legends*, but also evident traces of *harmonistic tendency*. The prophet himself was most probably an *Ephraimite*. In support of such a view, we may at least quote his unbounded love for "Israel" and "Ephraim," and the touching lamentation over apostasy, and the punishment which it should incur. The whole chapter xi. is a proof of this love and pain, and balances all reasons which might denote a *Judaic* descent of the prophet.

For our subject, however, chapter xii. is of importance. In that chapter a considerable portion of the legends of Jacob is reflected, and undoubtedly the prophet was acquainted with those legends, though, perhaps, in a sense which does not altogether agree with the materials which the legends of Bethel place before us. He speaks of Jacob (chapter xii. 4, 5), "*He took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God: he had power over the angel and prevailed, so that he wept and made supplication unto him: he would find him in Bethel, and there he will speak to us.*"

Dark as the meaning of these verses may be, they

shew beyond doubt that the Ephraimitic legends were in the mind of the prophet. Verse 13 also of the same chapter bears the type of those legends: "And Jacob fled into the country of Aram, and *Israel served for a wife and for a wife he kept sheep.*" But as an Ephraimite himself, and in his love for Ephraim, led on to the most tender and painful utterances, *the prophet feels no more of the old conflict of the legends.*

He already carries within himself the ideal of the harmony, and recognizing the fall of Ephraim, perceives a last ray of hope in *the alliance with Judah.* He sees in the fall of Israel (chapter iii. 4, 5), the fall of king and prince, of sacrifice and statue, of Ephod and Tera- phim, the ruin of government and worship, of state and church.

But afterwards he hopes "that *the children of Israel shall return and seek Jehovah their God and David their king, and fearing shall hasten to Jehovah and to his goodness in the latter days.*"

From the noble Ephraimite there shines forth the *harmony*, which is the basis of the later harmonisation of the *old conflicting legends.* Ephraim did not return. Fate overtook it not long after Hosea's time. When Jeroboam, the Ephraimite, tore asunder the Davidic kingdom, he also destroyed the possibility of the existence of that intermediate realm between two great ones. *The legends of Laban and the eternal peace at the separating mountain of Gilead* (Gen. xxxi. 52) did not prevent Assyria invading the country and destroying the kingdom of Israel. The kingdom of Judah was heir to the kingdom of Israel, and thus adopted also *legends and traditions of Ephraimitic origin.* But it inherited also the *grief of ruin and the emblem of an equal fate.*

For more than a century the kingdom of Judah preserved its ever threatened existence. Its last prophet, the grief-stricken prophet Jeremiah, who saw the "misery of his people," derived the last consolation of

all dying nations from the deceiving fount of a future reconstitution. "Return will the people, return Jehovah," "return history—and *renewed will be the days of old.*"

Therefore the *old time* radiated before his eye, as brilliantly as *the future does in the light of hope*. Not Judah alone, but also "Israel, Ephraim," are included in the bright dream of restoration. *Every remembrance of Ephraim's destructive influence upon the Davidic kingdom now fades*. The prophet sees the return of the banished ones (Jeremiah xxxi. 8-20). He lets Jehovah say, "Behold I will bring them from the north country, they shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them! I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters, in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble, for *I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born*. Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together: for I will turn their mourning into joy and will comfort them and make them rejoice from their sorrow. Jehovah hearkens to "the voice of the weeping *Rachel* in Ramah," the mother of *Ephraim*, "bemoaning her children who have been banished." He hearkens to the lamentations of the mother and comforts her. "Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears. I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus. *Is not Ephraim my dear son, is he not a dear son unto me (or a child that I dandle). For the more I speak of him, do I earnestly remember him again; therefore are my inward parts moved for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith Jehovah.*"

The harmony between *Judah and Ephraim is here, already, so entirely completed*, that the conflicts of the legends have no more echo in the soul of the prophet. Therefore he vows in the name of Jehovah (Jeremiah xxxiii. 25, 26) "by the covenant of day and night, and the eternal ordinances of heaven and earth," that he will not despise the seed of Jacob and of David, that

he will create rulers from amongst them for the returning children of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.*

Jeremiah, the *last* prophet in the falling Judah, is the *first* who introduces the three ancestors in this combination and in this order.

XVI.

CONCLUSION.

The legends of a nation are not its history, but they often reflect in their wonderful images that which history in forgotten centuries has impressed upon the human soul. In the light conflict of the legends harsh struggles of past generations are hidden. But as on the field of battle, the strife having abated, the earth rises fresh over conquerors and conquered alike, and covers all the combatants under one hill, so poetry wreathes for friend and foe the common garland of piety, and from the sight of later times covers with its harmonising veil the discordant struggles of the past.