

THE SCHWEICH LECTURES ON
BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, 1931

ANCIENT HEBREW
SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOM
AS INDICATED IN LAW
NARRATIVE AND
METAPHOR

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BY
R. H. KENNETT

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P R E F A C E

THE Lectures contained in this volume were delivered in December, 1931, by the late Professor Kennett, and the preparation of the MS. for the printers was far advanced at the time of his regretted death last year. In fact, there was only a small section (pp. 79–89) where the full notes were wholly unrevised. The peroration was also wholly unwritten, as it was taken from the late Mr. Austin Kennett's description of an actual Ordeal by Fire.

The work required, when the papers were put into my hands, was therefore little more than verifying the quotations and correcting the proofs. The labour of making the Indices I was able to entrust to the careful hands of Mr. G. A. Yates, B.A., of St. John's college, Cambridge, who is the last of Dr. Kennett's pupils. I was the first, having begun to learn Hebrew from him in the summer of 1886.

The many pupils who came in between Mr. Yates and myself will recognize in this book the characteristics of Kennett's spoken voice, the amazing fullness of detail, so easily and so lightly employed to illustrate and not to confuse, and the happy mixture of critical boldness with appreciation of what is preserved in the text. Kennett was above all things what the Gospel calls an instructed scribe, and in this book he brings forth out of his treasure things new as well as old.

F. C. BURKITT.

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ADDENDA

PAGE 19, note 3, *add* ed. of 1903, p. 207

„ 20, „ 3, „ ed. of 1903, p. 194

LECTURE I

INTRODUCTION

THE subject of ancient Hebrew social life and custom must of necessity attract all serious students of ancient Hebrew literature. The present treatment of it therefore is no pioneer work, but is rather, in the main, the treading of a path trodden in many generations by many earnest explorers. Any one, accordingly, who attempts to deal with such a subject is indebted to the labours of many predecessors, and his only justification for traversing the path which they have trodden is that even the most carefully constructed and most frequented roads sometimes prove inadequate to the exigencies of modern heavy traffic, and need in places both widening and strengthening by the application of fresh material.

In this course of lectures it is proposed to consider only the evidence supplied by the Hebrew Scriptures. Although much useful illustration can be gained both from the Near East as it exists to-day, and from the customs of peoples of more or less primitive culture in various parts of the world, it must not be forgotten that even the 'unchanging East' has changed in the course of centuries; and therefore that it must not be assumed that what may be observed at the present time is in all respects identical with what existed in the age covered by the Hebrew Scriptures. Accordingly, before attempting to illustrate an ancient Hebrew phrase or story by modern usage, it is desirable to subject such a phrase to careful scrutiny in order to determine whether the proposed illustration is suitable to each occurrence of it. In this connexion it is particularly important to emphasize the paramount necessity of a careful study of Hebrew metaphor. That light should be thrown on a nation's social life and custom by its laws and by its stories of its past is indeed self-evident; but it is too often overlooked that equal light

may be found to proceed from a careful study of the metaphors which are commonly used.

Hebraic diction is essentially a metaphorical diction. Even in words which we translate by abstract terms a careful examination of the original roots will frequently show that in these words we have metaphors not as yet completely crystallized into abstracts. Even the word commonly rendered 'glory', for example, has not entirely lost its earlier meaning of that which is valuable, which in turn—perhaps in consequence of the weighing of uncoined gold and silver—is associated with the idea of heaviness.

It is surprising, in view of the abundant use of metaphors in Hebraic speech, that in times past, even among the most learned exponents of the Hebrew Scriptures, very little attention has been paid to this leading characteristic of Hebraic metaphor and to its strongly marked difference from, for example, English figures of speech. Yet it should surely be evident even to the casual reader that whereas among ourselves consistency is insisted upon, and mixed metaphors greeted with ridicule, a Hebrew could combine in one sentence two or more figures of speech which to our English minds are totally irreconcilable. This peculiarity is due to the fact that in the Hebrew mind the *idea* conveyed by each metaphor was immediately separated from the particular figure of speech which illustrated that idea. Disregard of this characteristic of Hebrew diction has had most deplorable consequences. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the serious differences of belief and outlook among religious people at the present day are in most cases due to a literalizing and a consequent misunderstanding of Hebraic figures of speech, which in their original connexion were understood by those to whom they were addressed as not intended to be taken *au pied de la lettre*.

But though it would be easy to devote a whole lecture—indeed a course of lectures—to the subject of Hebraic metaphor, considerations of time forbid reference to more

than one of its special characteristics. In particular, attention is almost invariably directed towards the *effect* of what is used as an illustration rather than to its progress or to its external characteristics—with the result that a Hebrew may illustrate the idea of something which he has in mind by anything of which the *effect* is similar ; though in its *external characteristics* that which is used as an illustration may appear to be quite dissimilar to that which it is intended to illustrate.

Metaphors must, of course, be taken from what is familiar ; and though a metaphor may become crystallized into a proverbial expression, and its use may continue after the passing away of that which suggested it, it must always be possible to infer from it the state of things which originally caused it to be used as an illustration of an idea.

Thus, if in such an august audience as the present it is not out of place to use a very homely illustration, the common maxim that it is unwise to ‘ buy a pig in a poke ’ may be accepted as evidence that at one time, before the activities of the R.S.P.C.A., pigs were frequently carried to market in sacks. If such a deduction is once accepted as reasonable, it will be evident that in the use of metaphor we have a store of evidence bearing on life and custom, and that this is particularly true in connexion with Hebrew metaphor.

A caution is here necessary. Inasmuch as a considerable portion of the ancient Hebrew literature which has come down to us is in poetry, it is essential that some of the common characteristics of this poetry should be clearly understood. Every one is aware that the most prominent feature of Hebrew poetry is parallelism, a statement in one clause being followed by a parallel clause containing a similar idea. It may, however, be overlooked that there are various kinds of parallelism, one of which in connexion with our present subject must be clearly understood. This is what is known as ‘ divided parallelism ’ in which the ideas expressed in the two parallel clauses must not be taken separately

but combined together. A good example of this is found in the anticipation that 'corn shall make the young men flourish, and new wine the maids'.¹ The author certainly did not hope that the young men should have all the corn and the maids all the new wine—a most undesirable arrangement—but that corn and new wine, signifying the abundant satisfaction of physical needs, should make the young men and maids flourish. Similarly the prophet's hope that the non-Jewish peoples should bring Zion's sons in their bosom and that her daughters should be carried upon their shoulders,² must not be understood to mean that boys were carried in one way, and girls in another.

In connexion with the title of this course of lectures, 'Hebrew Social Life and Custom', it must be emphatically stated that under this heading a considerable diversity of usage will be included. Not only are the canonical Hebrew Scriptures spread over a period at least as long as that which has elapsed between the poet Chaucer and our own time, a period during which more than one foreign influence must have made itself felt, but it must be recognized that the Hebrew-speaking population of David's kingdom was composed of many ethnic elements representing different stages of culture and of what is intimately connected with culture, viz. religion.

Recent researches, among which may specially be mentioned *The Witch Cult in Western Europe*, by Miss Margaret Murray, have made us familiar with the extraordinary vitality of pre-Christian rites and beliefs in our own country, and heterogeneous as is the pedigree of the 'true-born Englishman', to use Daniel Defoe's sarcastic term, the subjects of King David were even more heterogeneous. Between the servile and totally illiterate peasantry of Palestine, in the days of the Hebrew monarchy, and the contemporary aristocracy—not necessarily rich—who cherished the tradition of the higher religion of their forbears during the sojourn in the wilderness under the leader-

¹ Zech. ix. 17.

² Isa. xlix. 22.

ship of Moses, there may well have been as great a difference, both in belief and practice, as there was between a Richard Hooker or a George Herbert and the rabble who assembled for their primitive pagan rites on All-Hallows Eve or on May Day.

But as it is impossible rightly to reconstruct the social life and custom of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in our own country without recognizing the diverse elements which Mr. John Buchan has made to live in his novel *Witch Wood*, so we cannot reconstruct the social history of Israel without recognizing the presence in the population of elements differing almost as widely in belief and practice as may exist to-day in a country the inhabitants of which are in the main illiterate pagans, though some have responded to higher civilizing and religious influences.

Further, it must be recognized that when two streams meet, the one clear, the other turbid and muddy, there must of necessity be a certain amount of blending after they have come in contact. The clear stream may to some extent purify the muddy: but in so doing its own volume of clear water must be diminished—with the result that after the confluence of the two streams, while on the one hand the mud gradually becomes less evident, it is increasingly difficult to find water that is not to some extent contaminated.

It is important therefore to emphasize the fact that though it may be considered proved that certain very primitive customs existed in Palestine during the period covered by the Hebrew Scriptures, it does not follow that such customs were observed by all who called themselves by the name of Israel. It is just as unreasonable to suppose that an Amos or Hosea or Isaiah—not to mention the rest of the goodly fellowship—practised some of the customs the existence of which in their days is abundantly proved, alike by a careful examination of the Hebrew Scriptures, and by archaeological exploration, as it is to imagine that a Bishop Fisher or a Thomas More took part in the orgies of witches' sabbaths.

Moreover, even after the incorporation in Israel of various ethnic elements, the Palestinian population was subjected to a number of external influences which must have affected to some extent social life and custom. It was the policy of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings to prevent revolt in the districts which they had conquered by breaking down nationality. In accordance with this policy the Assyrian government during the seventh century B.C. introduced into Northern and Central Palestine, from which the leading and influential inhabitants had previously been transported, groups of settlers from other conquered regions;¹ in addition to which the successive political changes in Western Asia can scarcely have been without effect on the population of Palestine, particularly after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. Although we may well believe that the life of the peasantry remained comparatively little changed, the contact with Hellenism undoubtedly exercised no small influence on city life and also directed Hebrew thought into fresh channels. We cannot *assume* that customs, of the existence of which there is evidence in the Greek period, had come down from more ancient days, nor that what may have been prevalent in the early days of the Israelite conquest of Palestine, especially on the edge of the desert, still survived in the Hellenistic period. On the whole, however, due allowance being made for such a far-reaching reform in the religious cult as the limitation of sacrifice to one altar, and for the political changes before mentioned, the Hebrew Scriptures present to us a fairly persistent culture.

With this proviso, it is proposed in this course of lectures, solely on the evidence of the Hebrew Scriptures, to sketch the life of Hebrew men and women from birth to the grave, and to give an account of the various activities in which they might engage. It is not intended to consider modern customs or even the discoveries of archaeological excavation, except in so far as they make clear what might otherwise be deemed uncertain.

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 24-41; cf. Ezra iv. 2, 9 f.

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS

At the birth of a child, the mother was delivered either, as among the modern Bakitara,¹ standing in a crouching posture,² or supported on a small stool resembling a potter's revolving wheel.³ We read of professional midwives,⁴ but in many cases the attendants were probably merely some experienced married women.⁵

After the cutting of the umbilical cord, the omission of which is mentioned by Ezekiel in the case of an infant neglected from birth,⁶ the infant was washed and rubbed with salt,⁷ and then wrapped in swaddling bands.⁸ There is no mention of a cradle, and if not carried at the breast,⁹ the infant was presumably laid on the floor or on a bed.

Ordinarily the child seems to have received a name at birth, sometimes from the mother,¹⁰ sometimes from the father,¹¹ and sometimes from those who officiated at the birth or to whom the child was first presented.¹²

The circumcision of male infants on the eighth day appears to have been a comparatively late development,¹³ only becoming general when the sacrifice of the firstborn on the eighth day was entirely prohibited.¹⁴ The story of the vicarious circumcision of Moses¹⁵ was perhaps told as a precedent for such a practice. At any rate, when the book of Joshua took shape it was believed that those who had grown up under Moses' leadership were uncircumcised.¹⁶

The purification ceremonies prescribed for the mother

¹ J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara*, pp. 157, 242. ² 1 Sam. iv. 19.

³ Exod. i. 16. ⁴ Exod. i. 15; cf. Gen. xxxviii. 28.

⁵ 1 Sam. iv. 20; cf. Gen. xxiv. 59.

⁶ Ezek. xvi. 4. ⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.*; cf. Job xxxviii. 9.

⁹ Ruth iv. 16.

¹⁰ Gen. iv. 1, 25, xxxv. 18; 1 Sam. i. 20, iv. 21.

¹¹ Gen. iv. 26, v. 29, xxxv. 18; Hos. i. 4, 6, 9; Isa. viii. 3.

¹² Ruth iv. 17. ¹³ Gen. xvii. 12 (P).

¹⁴ Exod. xxxiv. 20; contrast xxii. 29, 30 (*Heb.* 28, 29).

¹⁵ Exod. iv. 24, 26. ¹⁶ Joshua v. 5-7.

after giving birth to a child are found only in the later stratum of Pentateuchal law,¹ and though there is good reason to believe that the law in this respect is in accordance with ancient Palestinian custom,² it is not evident whether such customs belonged originally to what may be called the Mosaic as well as to the Canaanite elements of the population.

Unless a wet nurse was employed, as was apparently sometimes the case with the wealthier classes—e.g. Rebekah³ and Joash⁴ were thus suckled—the mother suckled her own children, who were not weaned for a considerable period. This is stated by the mother of the seven brothers martyred under Antiochus Epiphanes to have been three years,⁵ and as long a period is implied by the fact that the infant Samuel was actually given over to the sanctuary at Shiloh as soon as his mother had weaned him.⁶ The length of time that intervened between birth and weaning gives point to the mention of Lo-ruhamah's weaning,⁷ which doubtless indicates the date at which her father Hosea predicted the realization of the miseries suggested by her name.⁸ During the time when a mother was suckling a child, she and her husband lived apart,⁹ as is the case at the present day among various African tribes;¹⁰ consequently there would normally be an interval of from three to four years between the births of children of the same mother. This fact explains why *seven* children were commonly regarded as the maximum number that a woman might be expected to bear.¹¹ Thus Leah had six

¹ Lev. xii.

² Purificatory ceremonies after childbirth survive to this day among primitive people: see J. Roscoe, *The Bangarhol*, p. 112; *The Bagesu*, pp. 24, 25; *The Bakitara*, p. 245.

³ Gen. xxiv. 59.

⁴ 2 Kings xi. 2; cf. also Isa. xlix. 23.

⁵ 2 Macc. vii. 27.

⁶ 1 Sam. i. 22-4.

⁷ Hos. i. 8.

⁸ For a similar indication of a date cf. Isa. vii. 14, viii. 3 f.

⁹ 1 Sam. ii. 21, compared with i. 24 and Hos. i. 4, 8.

¹⁰ J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara*, pp. 246, 247.

¹¹ 1 Sam. ii. 5; Jer. xv. 9.

sons and one daughter, and the before-mentioned mother of the martyred brothers seven sons. Jesse indeed had eight sons,¹ and, if the Chronicler, whose genealogies are not above suspicion, may be trusted, two daughters,² but it is not stated whether they were all by one wife.

The weaning of a child, at all events of an heir, was the occasion of a feast.³

It may be noted that the various stages of childhood were designated as those of: first, sucklings (Heb. sing. *yōnēk*), i.e. children under three years of age;⁴ secondly, weaned children (Heb. sing. *gāmūl*), i.e. above three, but, according to our notions, still in infancy;⁵ thirdly, boys and girls (Heb. sing. *yēledh*, *yaldā*) able to take care of themselves.⁶ Another term in use to denote a child was *'ōlāl* or *'ōlēl*. It is uncertain precisely what period of childhood this covered, but it seems certain that a child so designated would be classified by a modern Board of Education as an infant.⁷ The Hebrew *nd'ar* answers generally to the English boy, whether very young or adolescent, and, as in colonial usage, is also applied to servants and subordinates of various ages.⁸

Children belonging to the wealthier classes, both below and above the age of three had nurses both female⁹ and male,¹⁰ who may be compared respectively to the Indian *ayahs* and *bearers*. Baby children were carried in the arms,¹¹ older children astride on the hip¹² or on the shoulder.¹³ It is pleasant to know that children sat on the lap and were played with.¹⁴

¹ 1 Sam. xvii. 12.

² 1 Chron. ii. 16.

³ Gen. xxi. 8.

⁴ 1 Sam. xv. 3.

⁵ Gen. xxi. 8.

⁶ Zech. viii. 5.

⁷ See Hos. xiii. 16 (*Heb.* xiv. 1); Mic. ii. 9; Jer. vi. 11, ix. 21 (*Heb.* 20); Joel ii. 16.

⁸ See Exod. ii. 6; Isa. viii. 4; Gen. xxxvii. 2, xliii. 8; of servants Judges vii. 10, 11; 1 Sam. ii. 13, 17; 1 Kings xx. 14.

⁹ 2 Sam. iv. 4; Ruth iv. 16.

¹⁰ Num. xi. 12; 2 Kings x. 1; Isa. xlix. 23.

¹¹ Num. xi. 12; Ruth iv. 16; Isa. xlix. 23.

¹² Isa. lx. 4, lxvi. 12.

¹³ Isa. xlix. 22.

¹⁴ Isa. lxvi. 12.

Concerning childhood and its interests, the Hebrew Scriptures do not afford much evidence. For love of children as such—apart from the great desire to keep the father's name in remembrance and to maintain the family in power—there are not many examples, but happily there are some. The anticipation of a good time coming, when young boys and girls will play in the more open parts of Jerusalem¹ was surely written by a child-lover, who delighted to watch children's games, and likewise the ideal picture of infants playing without risk of hurt.² Similarly the story of the little Shunammite boy who went out to his father to the reapers³ implies a love of the presence of children.

At an early age both boys and girls appear to have taken their part in the various activities connected with their homes, such as gathering fuel,⁴ overlooking sheep and cattle,⁵ driving them to the watering place,⁶ and fetching water.⁷

General education, as we understand the term, was almost non-existent in the days of the Hebrew monarchy, and probably to a much later period. Children, however, received not only moral instruction from their parents,⁸ but were also taught historical ballads, such as the song of Deborah,⁹ and the poems in which the prophets set forth their teaching. Reading and writing were not, however, universal accomplishments,¹⁰ and the metaphorical statement that the trees of the (Assyrian) forest would be so few that a child could write down the number of them,¹¹ is no proof that most children learned to write. Indeed the presence of an official at the royal palace styled *sôphêr*,¹² of which perhaps 'secretary' would be the best rendering,

¹ Zech. viii. 5.² Isa. xi. 8.³ 2 Kings iv. 18.⁴ Jer. vii. 18.⁵ 1 Sam. xvi. 11.⁶ Gen. xxix. 6; Exod. ii. 16.⁷ Gen. xxiv. 15 ff.⁸ Deut. iv. 9, vi. 7, xi. 19, xxxi. 22; Joshua iv. 21, 22; Prov. iv. &c.⁹ Judges v. 11.¹⁰ Isa. xxix. 11, 12.¹¹ Isa. x. 19.¹² 2 Sam. viii. 17.

makes it not improbable that at all events in the early days reading and writing were not necessarily royal accomplishments. The great importance attached to the signet-ring¹ must originally have been due to the fact that the owner of the ring could not necessarily sign his name. Further evidence of a common inability to write may be found in the custom of giving some article of personal property in lieu of a written IOU.² Thus Judah gives Tamar his signet with the cord suspending it and his staff as a pledge till he sends her the promised kid.³ In like manner Jesse bids David bring back from his brothers at the front some article or articles as a proof that they are alive⁴—which reminds one of Rowland Hill's discovery of a blank letter sent to a sister by a brother, who could not afford postage, in order that she might then know that her brother was alive, and he, by the return of the letter might have the same assurance about his sister.

It is possible that an argument as to a general ability to write may be urged from the statement that words of *tôrā* will be written on the door-posts of the houses.⁵ This injunction, however, even if it was intended to be taken literally,⁶ which is doubtful, does not prove that each householder could write.

Of the way in which those children who were taught to read received their instruction we have no direct information. Of professional teachers (Heb. *m'lamme'dhîm*)⁷ there

¹ Jer. xxii. 24; Hag. ii. 23.

² This will explain the giving of garments in pledge, which had to be returned at nightfall. Many will wonder how under such conditions a pawnbroker's business could be carried on.

³ Gen. xxxviii. 17, 18.

⁴ 1 Sam. xvii. 18.

⁵ Deut. vi. 8, 9.

⁶ It is at least possible that the original meaning of this passage is that the words of *tôrā* (or Jehovah's direction as to what is right and wrong), which should be written on the heart (cf. Jer. xxxi. 33; *Heb.* 32), are to take the place of written amulets whether bound on the arm or written on the door-posts. Cf. Ps. cxli. 3.

⁷ The Heb. *môrê* is not a teacher of secular accomplishments.

is no mention before the Greek period.¹ We hear indeed of disciples (Heb. *limmúdhim*),² but the term would be applicable to the recipients of oral instruction.

It is, however, not improbable that we have a reference to a spelling lesson given to children. The prophet Isaiah states that his jeering opponents complained that he dinned the same lesson into their ears over and over again, as though he regarded them as mere infants.³ The curious words *šāw lašāw*, *šāw lāšāw*, *ḵāw lāḵāw*, *ḵāw lāḵāw*, which have long puzzled commentators, become both intelligible and pertinent, if without any correction of the consonantal text, and with merely a slight separation of some of the letters now joined into words, and with the consequent change in vocalization, they are understood as an elementary spelling lesson, thus: ‘*šādhē wāw* (i.e. the letters of the alphabet) are for *šú*’—or, as we should say, ‘spell *šú*,’—‘*šadhē wāw* spell *šú*; *ḵoph wāw* spell *ḵú*, *ḵoph wāw* spell *ḵú*’; the syllables *šú* and *ḵú* being chosen as examples of spelling, because the sound of them would suggest connexion with the words for ‘filth’ and ‘vomit’, which occur in the preceding verse, concerning which Isaiah says that all tables are full of them.

We may reasonably suppose that, at all events in earlier times, reading was a somewhat more common accomplishment than writing,⁴ though we find writing where we should scarcely expect it.⁵ It is to be noted that ‘to read’ sometimes means to ‘hear read’.⁶ In any case, as in the Middle Ages, and as is evident from the use of the word *ḵārā*, all reading was reading *aloud*.

In addition to Isaiah’s hint as to the sort of spelling lesson given to children, the prophet’s books also contain lessons, based on some external object, which are probably imitations of the mode of teaching given to children in schools. There is no close relation between the teaching of

¹ Prov. v. 13; Ps. cxix. 99.

² Isa. viii. 16.

³ Isa. xxviii. 9.

⁴ 2 Kings v. 7.

⁵ Judges viii. 14.

⁶ 2 Kings xxii. 16, compared with xxii. 10.

Amos¹ and Jeremiah, such as exists between Hosea and Jeremiah, yet in certain passages which have no direct connexion one with another, they follow a formula which in all likelihood was derived from some common experience. The prophet is asked what he sees, and his answer when given is made the basis of a lesson.

In general the discipline of a child was mainly in the hands of his father.² Apparently it was always fairly strict, but in the older Hebrew literature we do not find inculcation of severity towards children such as characterizes and disgraces the Hebrew literature of the Greek period.³

Respect for parents, nevertheless, was insisted upon to an extreme extent, and the punishment of a son who flouted his parents or struck them was as severe as that which in Europe in comparatively recent days was inflicted on a soldier found guilty of similar disrespect to a superior officer.⁴ It had not occurred to Hebrew legislators that parents might wantonly and unjustly provoke their children to wrath.

Happily there is another side to the picture, and the love of a mother for her children is implied in more than one passage.⁵

Parental power over children was almost unlimited. The Deuteronomic law, it is true, does not allow the parents themselves to put their children to death:⁶ but like much else in Deuteronomy, this may be by way of reform, and reflects the growing sense of individual rights. Judah in an earlier period is represented as ordering his daughter-in-law Tamar to be burnt,⁷ and the abominable suggestion of Lot⁸ and of the old man in Gibeah⁹ are

¹ Amos vii. 8, viii. 2; Jer. i. 11-14.

² 2 Sam. vii. 14; 1 Kings i. 6; Deut. viii. 5.

³ Prov. xxiii. 13, 14; Lam. iii. 27; cf. Eccclus. xxx. 1, 2, 9-13.

⁴ Exod. xxi. 15, 17; Deut. xxi. 18-21.

⁵ 1 Kings xvii. 17 ff.; 2 Kings iv. 19 ff.; Isa. xlix. 15, lxvi. 13.

⁶ Deut. xxi. 18-21.

⁷ Gen. xxxviii. 24.

⁸ Gen. xix. 8.

⁹ Judges xix. 24.

related without reprobation. No argument, of course, can be based on exceptional cases, such as from time to time occurred in the stress of famine.¹

It may, however, be considered certain that before the reforming movement which originated in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, at all events in what may be regarded as the more Canaanite section of the community, children could be sacrificed on the eighth day from birth, or if not then, at some later period. Not that we are justified in concluding that all the firstborn males were actually sacrificed, for doubtless in many cases a price was paid to redeem them, or they were brought up as slaves of the sanctuary. It is, however, to be noted that Micah's vehement denunciation of the sacrifice of the firstborn² was uttered at a time when the brother of the reigning King Hezekiah had been sacrificed by his father Ahaz;³ and it is also to be observed that the Elohist version of the law claiming all firstborn for God⁴ makes no distinction between the firstborn of men and cattle. In the Jahvistic recension of the law⁵ a rider is added to the effect that all human firstborn must be redeemed, but this rider is doubtless the work of the redactor who combined the two documents. Obviously no one who felt towards human sacrifice the burning indignation of a Jeremiah⁶ or a Micah could have drawn up *ab initio* the laws just referred to in the form in which we have them; and indeed the prophet Ezekiel⁷ shows that he is acquainted with laws professing to emanate from Jehovah, demanding the sacrifice of the firstborn. He says that such laws were given as a punishment for the people's sin. Similarly no one who cherished the teaching found in the great Prophets could have told

¹ 2 Kings vi. 28; Jer. xix. 9; Deut. xxviii. 53-7; Lev. xxvi. 29; Lam. ii. 20.

² Mic. vi. 7.

³ 2 Kings xvi. 3.

⁴ Exod. xxii. 29, 30; note that the word rendered in the English version 'dam' is the ordinary word for 'mother'.

⁵ Exod. xxxiv. 19, 20.

⁶ Jer. vii. 21 f.

⁷ Ezek. xx. 25, 26.

the story of Abraham¹ without making it clear that Abraham's determination to sacrifice his son was due, not to a divine command, but to Abraham's superstition. In like manner the narrator of the story of Jephthah clearly recognizes Jephthah's determination to sacrifice a human victim.² Fatted calves do not ordinarily go out of the door of a house to meet a returning conqueror.

In any case a father might voluntarily sell his daughters into bondage.³ The later law mitigated the rigour of ancient custom.⁴ A man's sons might be seized by his creditors, as indeed the father himself might be ;⁵ but there is no evidence that he could voluntarily sell his sons, and the contrary is implied by Jeremiah.⁶ The Deuteronomic law, as noted above, safeguards the rights of children, not only in forbidding that they should be punished for their father's offences,⁷ but in insisting that a firstborn son by a hated wife must not lose his birthright in favour of a younger son by a beloved wife.⁸

There is pretty clear evidence that, in the earlier period covered by the Hebrew Scriptures, among the Canaanite elements of the population, when a boy reached manhood, before he married, he underwent an initiation ceremony of which circumcision was a prominent feature. The primitive character of this ceremony is sufficiently indicated by the fact that it was performed with flint knives.⁹ When Moses is taken ill in the first years of his married life, his Midianite wife concludes that he has incurred the Divine wrath by omitting to be circumcised, which among her people was a *sine qua non* before marriage. She therefore decides on bringing about the vicarious circumcision of Moses in the manner described in the account of Moses' return to Egypt.¹⁰ The story of the circumcision of the

¹ Gen. xxii. ² Judges xi. 39; cf. ver. 31.

³ Exod. xxi. 7; Neh. v. 5 ff. ⁴ See e.g. Lev. xxv.

⁵ 2 Kings iv. 1; Deut. xv. 12. ⁶ Jer. ii. 14.

⁷ Deut. xxiv. 16. ⁸ Deut. xxi. 15-17.

⁹ Exod. iv. 25, 26; Joshua v. 2-5. ¹⁰ Exod. iv. 25, 26.

Shechemites¹ has doubtless been modified in accordance with later orthodoxy.² The reference to circumcision by Jeremiah³—which in the unqualified injunction ‘Be ye circumcised to Jehovah’ may show signs of modification by a later hand in accordance with later orthodoxy—implies that circumcision which is outward in the flesh is of no avail.

Of the sport of youths there is little direct evidence. It may be taken for granted, however, that truly marvellous dexterity in the use of the sling was gained by many a friendly contest.⁴ Similarly we cannot doubt that Asahel’s fleetness of foot⁵ had been proved in many a race.

The story of Jacob’s wrestling and the device resorted to by his opponent when the latter found himself unable to gain the mastery,⁶ suggests definite wrestling rules, and that it was not ‘playing the game’ to grip ‘below the belt’.⁷ The training of youths for war by letting them slay prisoners is suggested by Gideon’s bidding his elder son slay Zebah and Zalmunna,⁸ and something of the nature of a tournament seems to be implied by Abner’s proposal to Joab that ‘the young men should come and *play* before them’.⁹

A certain amount of betting is implied by the story of Samson’s wager.¹⁰

MARRIAGE

There is no decisive evidence in the Hebrew Scriptures as to the average age of a man at the time of his marriage. The ages of the patriarchs when they married, as arrived at by a combination of various passages of the Pentateuch, can obviously not be used as a criterion. Few people will

¹ Gen. xxxiv.

² For a discussion of an historical incident underlying this story, see *Old Testament Essays*, pp. 28–9, by the present author.

³ Jer. iv. 4.

⁴ Judges xx. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 40–51.

⁵ 2 Sam. ii. 18; cf. Jer. xii. 5.

⁶ Gen. xxxii. 24.

⁷ Gen. xxxii. 25, 26; cf. Deut. xxv. 11.

⁸ Judges viii. 20.

⁹ 2 Sam. ii. 14.

¹⁰ Judges xiv. 12 ff.; cf. Isa. xxxvi. 8.

admit the probability that Rebekah, when her husband Isaac was in extreme old age¹—Isaac is said to have lived to the age of one hundred and eighty²—should have represented herself as weary of her life from anxiety lest her darling son Jacob—born when his father was sixty³—should follow the bad example of his twin brother Esau, who had married when his father was a hundred years old, in taking to wife a Hittite lady.⁴

Moses according to the correct translation of the Hebrew text⁵ seems to have married soon after he arrived at man's estate.

It is implied that Nahlon and Chilion were still young men when they died leaving widows.⁶

If we may accept the number given in 2 Sam. v. 4 f. as approximately correct and may suppose that Absalom was born in Hebron, he can scarcely have been much more than twenty at the time of his death; for Adonijah,⁷ who, according to what is evidently the true text of 1 Kings i. 6,⁸ was not born till after Absalom's untimely death, was older than Solomon,⁹ and therefore cannot have been much less than twenty when David died. Yet for five years before his death,¹⁰ Absalom had his own establishment,¹¹ and presumably was married. Adonijah at the beginning of Solomon's reign was an applicant for the hand of Abishag. Hezekiah, who was not the eldest son of Ahaz,¹² is said to have been twenty-five years old when his father died at the age of

¹ Gen. xxvii. 2, 41.

² Gen. xxxv. 28.

³ Gen. xxv. 26.

⁴ Gen. xxvii. 46.

⁵ Exod. ii. 11. 'When Moses was grown up' is a harmonizing mistranslation. The correct rendering is, 'It came to pass in those days that Moses grew up and went out', &c. The rendering of the English version is a dishonest attempt to harmonize Exod. ii with Acts vii. 23.

⁶ Ruth i. 5, 9.

⁷ Adonijah, however, cannot have been born at Hebron.

⁸ The correct text is undoubtedly יָלַד (not יָלְדָה).

⁹ 1 Kings ii. 22.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. xiii. 20.

¹¹ 1 Kings ii. 13.

¹² See 2 Kings xvi. 3.

thirty-six,¹ but this is obviously impossible; he cannot therefore have been twenty-five years old at the time of his accession, and is more likely to have been a mere child.² Ahaziah, son of Jehoram of Judah, was born when his father was about eighteen,³ and Joash when his father was sixteen.⁴ In any case, however, we can scarcely take the age of royal princes at the time of their marriage as a sure indication of the age at marriage of the average peasant. In the fifth century B.C.⁵ twenty was regarded as the lowest age for military service.

Since in ordinary cases a man purchased his wife from her father,⁶ the age of marriage would doubtless depend upon the time when the prospective bridegroom could raise the purchase money. Happily it is clear that marriage was not so sordid a business as might appear from the custom of buying the bride, and we have examples, not only of married love,⁷ but also of love at first sight.⁸

In the matter of marriage generally there was evidently a wide diversity of custom. While polygamy and concubinage were taken for granted in the narrative of the Hebrew Bible,⁹ and the former at all events is definitely recognized in law,¹⁰ there is no passage in the canonical Prophets which so much as hints at the recognition of such practices, and there are several which apparently presuppose monogamy.¹¹ Here as in much else we may doubtless trace the higher ideal to the Mosaic Hebrews,

¹ 2 Kings xviii. 2, compared with xvi. 2.

² Cf. Isa. iii. 4, 12.

³ Compare 2 Kings viii. 16, 26.

⁴ 2 Kings xi. 21, compared with viii. 26.

⁵ See Num. i. 3 (P).

⁶ Cf. Gen. xxix. 18, 27; 1 Sam. xviii. 25.

⁷ 1 Sam. i. 8; Ezek. xxiv. 16, 18.

⁸ Gen. xxix. 11, 20; 1 Sam. xviii. 20, 21.

⁹ Gen. xvi. 1, 2, xxix. 26, 28, xxx. 3, 4, 9, 10; 1 Sam. i. 2; 2 Sam. iii. 2, 5, 7.

¹⁰ Deut. xxi. 15; Lev. xviii. 18. The prohibition in Lev. xviii. 18 concerns only sisters.

¹¹ Cf. Isa. viii. 3, liv. 5; Ezek. xxiv. 16-18; Hos. ii. 16, 19; Mal. ii. 14 ff.

and the lower to the Canaanite elements. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that nowhere is polygamy regarded with more complacency than by certain late writers,¹ the author of the book of Esther, for example, and the Chronicler.

In the more primitive strata of Hebrew literature we find distinct traces of forms of marriage of which there is no evidence at a later date. Thus the statement in connexion with Adam and Eve that a man is to leave father and mother and cleave to his wife and that they are to become one flesh, or, as we should put it, blood relations,² is directed against an obsolescent custom of certain exogamous clans, and it is implied, in the words of Robertson Smith, that 'the husband is conceived as adopted into his wife's kin—at any rate he goes to live with her people'.³ This, which from our point of view is not a very satisfactory arrangement, is at least a great improvement on the sort of marriage which Samson contracted, in which his wife remained with her people and he visited her from time to time.⁴ In this sort of marriage kinship was of necessity reckoned not with the father's but with the mother's people; and traces of mother kinship are found, even when the form of marriage on which it was based was probably obsolete, in the fact that a man could marry his half-sister on his father's side,⁵ but not on his mother's side. The Law of Holiness, it is true, forbids marriage with the daughter of either father or mother,⁶ but from the contradiction between the marriage laws in Deuteronomy as compared with the Law of Holiness,⁷ it may well be that the prohibited degrees as stated in the latter were not at first generally accepted. The transition from the reckoning of

¹ Esther ii; 1 Chron. iii. 1-9, xiv. 3, xxviii. 5; 2 Chron. xi. 18-21, xiii. 21.

² Gen. ii. 24.

³ W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 176.

⁴ Judges xiv, xv. 1-6.

⁵ Gen. xx. 12; cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 13.

⁶ Lev. xviii. 9.

⁷ Deut. xxv. 5 ff., contrasted with Lev. xviii. 16.

kinship through the mother to the reckoning of it through the father, doubtless was only brought about very gradually. In the betrothal of Isaac and Rebekah¹ it is not clearly understood at the time that Rebekah shall go to Isaac. The fact that she does so is represented as her own decision.² Another trace of the time when the wife normally remained with the clan is found in the fact that the nuptial tent is regarded as the wife's, not the husband's.³ The later nuptial canopy (*huppa*) may be regarded as a survival of this.

In any case, whether the bride remained with her clan or took up her abode with her husband, a purchase price was paid to her father or male guardian.⁴ This indeed is not definitely stated in the story of Rebekah, though it is not improbably hinted at in the presentation of valuables to her brother and mother.⁵ The comparative novelty of a wife's accompanying her husband instead of remaining with her own people is clearly shown in the story of Jacob. Laban, though he cannot deny that Jacob has paid a price for Leah and Rachel, insists that Jacob has no right to take them away from him,⁶ and that their children belong to him, whereas Leah and Rachel, reasonably enough from our point of view, maintain that their father by accepting a price for them has forfeited any claim to them.⁷ Betrothal was regarded as binding.⁸

The earliest record of a wedding being celebrated by a feast is the story of Jacob,⁹ but it may doubtless be regarded as a common custom. Of some of the ceremonies at such a feast we get a glimpse in the account of Samson's wedding, a riddle and a wager.¹⁰ The association of brides-

¹ Gen. xxiv. 45 ff.

² Gen. xxiv. 58.

³ Gen. xxiv. 67, xxxi. 33; Judges iv. 17; see W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 168.

⁴ Gen. xxix. 15 ff., xxxi. 15, 43; Exod. xxii. 16, 17; 1 Sam. xxviii. 23 f.; 2 Sam. iii. 14.

⁵ Gen. xxiv. 53.

⁶ Gen. xxxi. 43; cf. ver. 31.

⁷ Gen. xxxi. 14-16.

⁸ Deut. xxii. 23 ff.

⁹ Gen. xxix. 22; cf. Jer. vii. 34.

¹⁰ Judges xiv. 12 f.

maids with the bride is found as early as the story of Samson.¹ The mention of certain girdles worn by the bride² suggests that the unfastening of these by the husband was a ceremonial act. A feature common to the stories both of Jacob and Samson is that the marriage contract was not final till the bridegroom and bride had cohabited for a week.³ Laban is afraid that Jacob may decamp leaving on his (Laban's) hands a daughter not legally married, and Samson having left before the week is up,⁴ the father of the woman he has espoused considers the marriage as null, and gives her to another husband.⁵ In any case the parents normally arranged the marriage,⁶ though Esau married in defiance of his parents.⁷

In the Greek period when the magnificence of Solomon was popularly related as a set-off against both Persian and Greek splendour,⁸ the bridegroom seems to have played the part of Solomon, and his procession to fetch his bride was an imitation of a royal progress.⁹

¹ Judges xiv. 10 ff. ; cf. Ps. xlv. 14.

² Jer. ii. 32.

³ Gen. xxix. 27 ff. ; Judges xiv. 12, 18.

⁴ The correct rendering in Judges xiv. 18 is not 'before the sun went down' but 'before he went in to the (bridal) chamber'.

⁵ Judges xiv. 20.

⁶ Gen. xxiv. 1-4, xxxiv. 4-8; Judges i. 12 f., xiv. 1 f. ; 1 Sam. xviii. 23, 25.

⁷ Gen. xxvi. 34 f.

⁸ 1 Kings iv. 21 ff., x. 14 ff.

⁹ Cant. iii. 6-11.

LECTURE II

HOUSES

IN what sort of a home did a young couple setting up independent housekeeping take up their abode?

At least as late as the exile¹ there were a considerable number of people, not necessarily all regarding themselves as the spiritual sons of Jonadab the son of Rechab,² who continued to live a nomadic life in tents. As noted above, a household consisted of more than one tent.³ Such tents were similar to those of the modern Bedouin, of black haircloth,⁴ and their structure is referred to as something familiar.⁵ At the entrance to such a tent there would commonly be a projecting awning.⁶ It is to be noted that the word 'tents' (in the plural) continued to be used in the sense of 'home', even when the reference is not to any temporary encampment.⁷

In the matter of permanent houses there was evidently nearly as wide a diversity as existed in the British Isles down to the beginning of the Tudor period, from the single-roomed cabin of the peasant to the mansion of the wealthy, commonly built, like a fifteenth-century Manor House, round one, or even more courtyards.

The majority of poor houses were constructed either of unbaked bricks,⁸ or of unhewn stones cemented with clay. That baked bricks were not commonly used in the construction of houses is probable from the fact that it is mentioned as a peculiarity of the people of Babylonia that they burnt their bricks which served them as stone.⁹ It

¹ See Jer. xxxv. 7.

² Cf. Isa. xxxviii. 12; Judges iv. 11; Cant. i. 5.

³ Cf. Gen. xxxi. 33.

⁴ Cant. i. 5.

⁵ Isa. liv. 2.

⁶ Gen. xviii. 1, 10.

⁷ Judges xix. 9; 1 Kings viii. 66, xii. 16; cf. Ps. xci. 10.

⁸ This is perhaps indicated in the metaphor used by Job (iv. 19).

⁹ Gen. xi. 3.

was also noted as a Babylonian peculiarity that they used bitumen in lieu of clay as cement. Baked bricks were, however, in use in Palestine, as pavement,¹ and in the latest period, for the unorthodox construction of altars.² The bricks mentioned by the Prophet Isaiah³ may have been either baked or unbaked.

A house, whether of unbaked bricks or of unhewn stone cemented with clay, afforded little protection from night attack by a burglar who could, in the Hebrew phrase 'dig through'⁴ the wall. Hence darkness became a natural metaphor for a time of danger and light of security.⁵

Lime is mentioned as produced by burning,⁶ but there is no reference to its use as mortar, and it seems rather to have been used in whitewash or to form a thin coat of plaster.⁷ Some sort of superficial plaster to hide bad building is mentioned by Ezekiel.⁸

Houses of hewn stone were regarded as a mark of wealth and luxury.⁹ Such houses might have the inner walls lined with wood,¹⁰ which might be painted¹¹ or even inlaid with ivory.¹² Stone quoins in the superior sort of buildings are referred to metaphorically as that which insures stability. This metaphor was so common that the word 'corner' could even be used alone to denote prominent men.¹³

The poorer one-roomed house or cabin commonly sheltered cattle as well as the family. The little ewe lamb of

¹ Exod. xxiv. 10 (*Heb.*).

² Isa. lxxv. 3.

³ Isa. ix. 9.

⁴ Exod. xxii. 2; Jer. ii. 34; Job xxiv. 16; cf. Ezek. viii. 8, xii. 5, 7, 12.

⁵ Isa. lx. 1, 2, 19; Zech. iv. 2, 10. The comparison of seven lamps to Jehovah's eyes is to be explained as follows: a house brilliantly lighted up would be safe from attack; a land to which Jehovah's eyes are directed likewise is safe.

⁶ Amos ii. 1; Isa. xxxiii. 12.

⁷ Deut. xxvii. 2, 4.

⁸ Ezek. xiii. 10, 15.

⁹ Amos v. 11; Isa. ix. 9.

¹⁰ 1 Kings vii. 7 ff.; Jer. xxii. 14; Hag. i. 4.

¹¹ Jer. xxii. 14.

¹² 1 Kings xxii. 39.

¹³ Judges xx. 2; 1 Sam. xiv. 38.

Nathan's parable, which drank out of the poor man's cup and lay in his bosom,¹ was evidently housed with him and his children. The witch of Endor had a fatted calf in the house.² A like state of affairs has lasted in Irish cabins till recent times, and may still be seen in the East, where, however, the part of the floor occupied by the human inmates is generally on a somewhat higher level.

The roof was ordinarily flat, constructed of beams³ laid in the walls. Brushwood was laid above these and covered with earth, which was rolled or beaten hard. Such a roof, though it might resist a shower, would leak in heavy rain, and the annoyance caused by the continual dripping is used as a graphic illustration of the misery of living with a nagging wife.⁴ On such roofs arbours (Heb. *sukkôth*) of interwoven boughs could be constructed,⁵ or more solid summer houses.⁶ With or without such a shelter the roof afforded an asylum to a harassed husband.⁷ A parapet to the flat roof is made compulsory by the Deuteronomic law,⁸ and a staircase leading from the roof to the ground—the existence of which is presupposed in St. Matt. xxiv. 17—is perhaps indicated in the account of the proclamation of Jehu as King.⁹ Since no outlook was afforded by the windows, those who wanted fresh air¹⁰ or desired to see what was going on outside the house naturally went on to the roof.¹¹

The house was commonly of one story,¹² but the better class of house might have an upper floor.¹³ An upper room apparently not covering the whole roof seems to be indicated in the account of the guest chamber constructed for Elisha.¹⁴ Roofs were also used for other purposes; in the absence of a courtyard they could be utilized for various

¹ 2 Sam. xii. 2 f.

² 1 Sam. xxviii. 24.

³ In Gen. xix. 8 the word 'beam' is used in the sense of 'roof'.

⁴ Prov. xix. 13, xxvii. 15. ⁵ Neh. viii. 16. ⁶ Judges iii. 20.

⁷ Prov. xxi. 9. ⁸ Deut. xxii. 8. ⁹ 2 Kings ix. 13.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. xi. 2. ¹¹ Isa. xxii. 1. ¹² Cant. ii. 9.

¹³ 2 Kings i. 2, xxiii. 12. ¹⁴ 2 Kings iv. 10.

domestic needs such as the drying of flax,¹ and in the later days of the monarchy we even read of altars upon them.²

The large houses, which would frequently be constructed of hewn stone,³ might be built round one or more courtyards,⁴ and contained a number of apartments.⁵ The very wealthy had different residences for summer and winter.⁶ Windows were closed in with lattice,⁷ through which, since there was no chimney, the smoke of the fire escaped.⁸ A projecting window in a house built on the city wall is probably indicated as that through which the spies were let down.⁹ In the poorer houses the fire was doubtless on the floor. A brazier with a fire is, however, mentioned in the royal palace,¹⁰ and one is perhaps implied in Amnon's bedroom.¹¹

The slightly superior houses seem to have been 'but and ben',¹² in which case the inner room would presumably be the bedroom. Bedchambers are mentioned at various periods.¹³ The 'chamber of beds', in which Joash as a little child was hidden from Athaliah,¹⁴ is best understood as the dormitory in which the female servants and attendants slept, into which a man would not penetrate.

The bedrooms of the larger houses would seem to have been as a rule on the upper floor; at least this is the natural inference from such expressions as 'to go up upon a bed'.¹⁵

In addition to sitting-rooms and bedrooms, royal palaces, and doubtless other mansions, had store-rooms for

¹ Joshua ii. 6.

² Jer. xix. 13; cf. Zeph. i. 5.

³ 1 Kings vii. 9; Amos v. 11; Isa. ix. 9.

⁴ 2 Sam. xvii. 18; Neh. viii. 16.

⁵ 1 Kings vii. 8-12.

⁶ Amos iii. 15; Jer. xxxvi. 22.

⁷ Cant. ii. 9.

⁸ Hosea xiii. 3.

⁹ Joshua ii. 15.

¹⁰ Jer. xxxvi. 22, 23.

¹¹ 2 Sam. xiii. 8.

¹² 1 Kings xx. 30, xxii. 25; 2 Kings ix. 2.

¹³ Judges xv. 1; 2 Sam. iv. 7; 2 Kings vi. 12.

¹⁴ 2 Kings xi. 2.

¹⁵ 2 Kings i. 4; Ps. cxxxii. 3.

valuables,¹ and even lumber-rooms.² We may be sure that Solomon's daily menu required extensive kitchen premises and larders, and we have mention of wine-cellars³ and oil-stores.⁴

The larger houses sometimes had a porch or vestibule. It was in such a vestibule⁵ that, according to the more correct reading of the LXX, Ishbosheth's portress was sifting wheat, to be ground in a hand-mill, when overcome by the noon-day heat she dozed and fell fast asleep, so that Rechab and Baanah slipped past her and murdered Ishbosheth in his bedroom.⁶

The outer door-posts seem to have had inscriptions probably originally of a magical character to protect the house.⁷ We read of locks and keys in connexion with the palace of Eglon, King of Moab, and of the royal palace at Jerusalem.⁸ In the latter case the key of the palace is part of the insignia of office with which the chief official of the palace is invested, in much the same way as the incumbent of a present-day parish is, upon his induction, given the key of the church door.⁹

For their water supply, houses which could not depend on a well or a perennial spring in the neighbourhood stored water in rock-hewn cisterns. Hence to drink the water of one's own cistern was a proverbial expression meaning to be content with what home afforded.¹⁰ The unsatisfactory character of such cisterns as compared with a spring is the point of the emphatic words which Jeremiah puts into the mouth of Jehovah: ¹¹ 'Me they have forsaken, a spring of fresh water, hewing out for themselves cisterns—broken cisterns at that—which cannot hold the water.' A few fortunate people have wells in their

¹ 1 Kings xv. 18 ; 2 Kings xiv. 14, xvi. 8, xviii. 15.

² Jer. xxxviii. 11. ³ 1 Chron. xxvii. 27. ⁴ 1 Chron. xxvii. 28.

⁵ 2 Sam. xi. 9. ⁶ 2 Sam. iv. 6. ⁷ Deut. vi. 9.

⁸ Judges iii. 23, 25 ; Isa. xxii. 22.

⁹ Cf. also St. Matt. xvi. 19.

¹⁰ Prov. v. 15 ; cf. 2 Kings xviii. 31.

¹¹ Jer. ii. 13.

courtyards.¹ The water from such wells appears to have been drawn by means of a rope and pulley.² Water was brought into Jerusalem, and perhaps into other large towns also, by means of a conduit, and large reservoirs were also constructed.³

There are several indications that sanitation, as the word is nowadays understood, was not neglected. Eglon, King of Moab, could satisfy his natural wants without leaving his cool sitting-room,⁴ but it is not clear whether in this connexion some portable contrivance is meant, or some permanent arrangement in the outer wall, such as may still be seen in what remains of the apartment in which Mary Queen of Scots was imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle. There were public conveniences.⁵ It is probable that there were sewers, whether open or closed, but they are not actually mentioned. The sanitary regulations to be observed by an army in the field⁶ doubtless represent what was the rule in country districts at home.

FURNITURE

Furniture, as we understand the term, in the poorest houses scarcely existed. The bed, which was often a mere rug on which the clothes worn in the day-time did duty as bed-clothes,⁷ appears to have been lifted off the floor,⁸ and was probably on a ledge by the wall. The richer houses appear to have possessed some sort of portable bedsteads.⁹ Such bedsteads, which might be used as divans during the day,¹⁰ were sometimes of elaborate workmanship inlaid with ivory.¹¹ We have no mention of linen sheets, but there would be a mattress or rug to lie upon, and one or

¹ 2 Sam. xvii. 18, 19.

² Eccles. xii. 6.

³ 2 Kings xviii. 17, xx. 20; Isa. vii. 3.

⁴ Judges iii. 24.

⁵ 2 Kings x. 27; cf. Ezra vi. 11.

⁶ Deut. xxiii. 12, 13.

⁷ Exod. xxii. 26, 27.

⁸ 1 Sam. xxviii. 23; cf. Gen. xlviii. 2, xlix. 33.

⁹ Cant. iii. 7-11. 'Litter' (R.V.) is the same word as is translated 'bed' in the passage referred to above; cf. 1 Sam. xix. 15; 2 Sam. iii. 31.

¹⁰ Amos iii. 12.

¹¹ Amos vi. 4.

more coverlets, which might be of rich materials.¹ It is contemptuously said of the King of Babylon² in his death that his under mattress consists of worms, and that his coverlet is of maggots. Og's 'iron bedstead', which was long to be seen in Rabbah of Ammon,³ has been explained as a sarcophagus, perhaps of basalt. It may, however, have been a state bed, the huge size of which was not due to the stature of the king, but merely to megalomania.

The table (*shulhān*) in the ordinary houses was not necessarily more than a mat or skin spread on the ground and reserved for food. Such seems to be the meaning in the description of the careless feasting in Babylon⁴ where by *šāphūth* we are perhaps to understand the carpet spread on the floor round the mat or skin on which the food was placed. The use of the same word *shulhān*, however, in the description of the Temple furniture certainly implies that it might be a table in our sense of the word; and a like inference is to be drawn from Amos's picture of those who, while reclining on ivory couches and sprawling on divans, ate the flesh of lambs and fatted oxen.⁵ In houses where there was a raised table there would be stools or chairs for those who sat at it,⁶ and, in the houses of the wealthy, divans.⁷

It is somewhat strange that we have no mention among household furniture of anything of the nature of a chest; but the use of the same word to denote a coffin,⁸ the so-called 'ark of the covenant',⁹ and a chest for the reception of contributions to the restoration of the Temple,¹⁰ suggests that the kind of thing indicated by the word was not unknown. Valuables, such as uncoined silver, used in commercial transactions, were probably placed in earthen vessels, and, as in the days of Samuel Pepys, hidden in the ground. Earthenware jars, of various sizes and shapes,

¹ Prov. vii. 16. ² Isa. xiv. 11. ³ Deut. iii. 11. ⁴ Isa. xxi. 5.

⁵ Amos vi. 4; cf. Ezek. xxiii. 41. ⁶ 2 Kings iv. 10.

⁷ Amos iii. 12, vi. 4; Ezek. xxiii. 41; Esther i. 6.

⁸ Gen. 1. 26. ⁹ Exod. xxxv. 12. ¹⁰ 2 Kings xii. 10.

regarded as of little value,¹ were used not only for holding water² or oil,³ or storing grain, meat,⁴ &c., but also as receptacles for such things as documents.⁵

Pegs were affixed to the walls of the house on which various articles could be hung.⁶

Skins for containing liquids, except the skins of game, could scarcely have been in use before the publication of the Deuteronomic law, for the skin of a domestic animal which had been presented at the altar would have been sacred and unavailable for ordinary use. There is, however, mention of skins for holding liquids in passages both pre-Deuteronomic⁷ and late.⁸

While drinking vessels and the like in the houses of the rich were not uncommonly of precious metals,⁹ the supply of crockery in the poorer houses was extremely limited, and the wash-basin¹⁰ may well have been used for many purposes. In Nathan's parable the lamb drinks out of the poor man's cup.¹¹ Even to-day guests who partake of the courteous Bedouin hospitality may be offered milk from the vessel out of which he has seen the goat drinking a few minutes before. So likewise the bowls which were used to contain intoxicating liquor¹² served other uses, and also the somewhat flatter bowl in which Sisera was given curds and milk.¹³

Besoms for sweeping were in use,¹⁴ but there is no indication of the material of which they were made.

It is remarkable that there is no mention of kindling a fire *ab initio* by striking flints,¹⁵ and to avoid the necessity of so doing a lamp was kept always burning, and was

¹ Lam. iv. 2.

² Gen. xxiv. 14; Eccles. xii. 6.

³ 2 Kings iv. 2.

⁴ 1 Kings xvii. 12, 14, 16.

⁵ Jer. xxxii. 14.

⁶ Isa. xxii. 23, 24.

⁷ Gen. xxi. 14, 15, 19; 1 Sam. xvi. 20.

⁸ Ps. cxix. 83: see also Prov. xxx. 33.

⁹ Gen. xlv. 2; 1 Kings x. 21.

¹⁰ Ps. lx. 8.

¹¹ 2 Sam. xii. 3.

¹² Zech. xii. 2.

¹³ Judges v. 25, vi. 38.

¹⁴ Isa. xiv. 23.

¹⁵ Cf. 2 Macc. x. 3.

indeed the sign of the occupation of a house.¹ Such a lamp was presumably of earthenware with a wick of flax.² The poor man, who was compelled most carefully to husband his supply of oil, could probably not afford to keep more than one lamp burning at a time, so that the light of seven lamps³ would be considered a very brilliant illumination, sufficient of itself to safeguard the house from attack by nocturnal burglars. Candelabra supporting more than one lamp were used by the wealthy, and the hospitable couple of Shunem⁴ provided one for Elisha's room.

Fires specially for heating appear to have been a luxury. We hear of a brazier in the royal palace in December,⁵ and Amnon's bedroom seems to have been warmed in a like manner.⁶ As late as the time of Haggai⁷ the district about Jerusalem was evidently far better wooded than at the present day, but even so the poor could scarcely have kept fires of wood continually burning. In general, wood fires depended on dead branches and sticks that could be picked up,⁸ and the scarcity of fuel would necessitate great economy. Where wood was unavailable the thorns⁹ and moor plants¹⁰ in which Palestine abounds would be used, and (probably by the poorest) dried cattle dung.¹¹ Wood specially hewn was doubtless expensive and was mainly used for the altar fire.¹² Hewing and carrying wood for fuel were unskilled occupations, and hence considered degrading.¹³

Among what we should regard as the kitchen utensils were pots, of various sizes and shapes, for boiling meat—which seems to have been the most usual way of cooking it in earlier times—and for heating water.¹⁴

¹ 1 Kings xi. 36, xv. 4; 2 Kings viii. 19; Job xviii. 6; Prov. xiii. 9, xxiv. 20.

² Isa. xlii. 3.

³ Zech. iv. 2.

⁴ 2 Kings iv. 10.

⁵ Jer. xxxvi. 22.

⁶ 2 Sam. xiii. 8.

⁷ Hag. i. 8.

⁸ 1 Kings xvii. 10, 12; Jer. vii. 18.

⁹ Eccles. vii. 6.

¹⁰ Ps. cxx. 4.

¹¹ Ezek. iv. 15.

¹² Gen. xxii. 3.

¹³ Joshua ix. 23, 27; Lam. v. 13.

¹⁴ 1 Sam. ii. 14.

For baking, portable ovens¹ were used, which were heated by a fire lighted within them, like the old English ovens, or round them. Since they were breakable,² they were presumably of coarse earthenware. Each household would possess one, and it is a sign of the breaking-up of households by war and famine when the women bake their bread in one oven.³ Normally every household would have home-made bread, but in the reign of Zedekiah Jerusalem had a 'street of the bakers' where ordinary bread was sold,⁴ though it is not improbable that in the more prosperous times the shops in the street would have sold what we should rather classify as confectionery.⁵ Since in Nehemiah's time there was a 'tower of the ovens'⁶ a guild of bakers may have found some form of co-operative baking more economical.

Although great reliance cannot be placed on the text of the passage concerning the cakes which Tamar cooked for Amnon,⁷ it seems to be meant that they were cooked over a brazier in some sort of liquid, and this suggests a frying pan. At any rate a flat iron plate, apparently a 'girdle', is mentioned by Ezekiel,⁸ and a similar utensil is used in one sort of cereal oblation.⁹ It is reasonable to suppose that the counterpart of some of the utensils mentioned in connexion with the Temple would also be found in domestic kitchens. There is no mention of any dish specially intended for holding cooked meat, though such doubtless existed. In addition to the various appliances for cooking there would necessarily be various vessels for holding both liquid and solid food; and we read of pails or pans for milk,¹⁰ and also of some comparatively small jugs or jars.¹¹

¹ Gen. xv. 17.

² Lev. xi. 33, 35.

³ Lev. xxvi. 26.

⁴ Jer. xxxvii. 21.

⁵ Compare the mention of bakers, Gen. xl. 2, 16 f.; 1 Sam. viii. 13.

⁶ Neh. iii. 11, xii. 38.

⁷ 2 Sam. xiii. 9.

⁸ Ezek. iv. 3.

⁹ Lev. ii. 5.

¹⁰ Job xxi. 24.

¹¹ 1 Sam. xxvi. 11; 1 Kings xvii. 12, xix. 6.

Among the necessary utensils, each household would possess millstones for grinding.¹ The grinding of corn was considered derogatory to manly dignity;² it was ordinarily done by the women of the household, and, where there were female slaves, by them.³

Preliminary to grinding it was necessary to sift the grain to separate from it any pebbles which might have been taken up with it from the threshing-floor.⁴ This process, for which of course a sieve was required, was known as ‘cleaning’, according to the more correct Hebrew text underlying the Septuagint account of Ishbosheth’s murder: the word is the same as is used in Isaiah’s parable of the vineyard⁵ to denote the cleaning of the ground. The Revisers of the Authorized Version have entirely missed the point in Amos ix. 9. Since they started with the preconceived idea that ‘to fall to the ground’ must necessarily be something bad, they have translated the word which means ‘pebble’⁶ by ‘grain’. But the purpose of sifting corn is that the grain may fall through the meshes of the sieve, and the pebbles and other refuse be retained in it. This is not only suitable to the metaphor which Amos uses, but is shown to be correct by a like metaphor of Ben Sira :

In the shaking of a sieve the refuse remaineth,
So the filth of man in his reasoning.⁷

FOOD


In the food of the inhabitants of Palestine during the period covered by the Hebrew Scriptures there was doubtless as much variety as in their homes. The staple food of nomads is milk, and it is likely that even among those who

¹ Num. xi. 8 ; Deut. xxiv. 6 ; Eccles. xii. 3, 4.

² Lam. v. 13 ; Judges xvi. 21.

³ Isa. xlvi. 2.

⁴ Amos ix. 9.

⁵ 2 Sam. iv. 6 ; Isa. v. 2 ; ויסקלוו is to be connected with the Syriac .

⁶ As in 2 Sam. xvii. 13.

⁷ Eccles. xxvii. 4.

cultivated the land milk formed a considerable portion of their diet. We know that to the end of the Jewish monarchy the Rechabites cultivated neither cereals nor vineyards.¹ Both goats and cows were kept for milking, but the former seem to have been far more numerous.²

It is remarkable that nowhere is there any reference to the process of milking. Ewes *may* have been milked,³ and this is the view taken by the R.V. of Deut. xxxii. 14, but inasmuch as *se* (the *nomen unitatis* of which *šôn* is the collective) may denote either a sheep or a goat,⁴ this cannot be positively asserted.

Milk would ordinarily be consumed in the form of curd (Heb. *hem'a*, modern *leben*).⁵ Abraham gave his guests curds and veal to eat, and milk to drink.⁶ In addition to curds (*hem'a*) milk was also made into *g'bina*.⁷ Since the latter was produced by squeezing the skin which contained the milk⁸—presumably in different parts, thus causing a shaking up of the milk as in a churn—we should perhaps understand *butter* to be intended, since milk in a vessel which has contained curds would curdle of itself without being shaken. Cheese, i.e. compressed curd, seems to have been known.⁹ What is meant by the *šēphôth bākār* which was brought to David at Mahanaim¹⁰ is very doubtful. It might mean *cream* if we suppose that the pointing as *shîn* is incorrect, and that it should be *šîn*, but in this context cream does not appear very probable.

The non-nomad majority of the population doubtless subsisted mainly on various sorts of bread. It must not be forgotten, however, that the word commonly rendered 'bread' is frequently used in a much wider sense. The prophets whom Obadiah supplied with 'bread and water',¹¹ notwithstanding

¹ Jer. xxxv. 7.

² Prov. xxvii. 27; Isa. vii. 21; Exod. xxiii. 19.

³ Deut. xxxii. 14.

⁴ Gen. xxvii. 9; Exod. xii. 5.

⁵ Isa. vii. 15, 22.

⁶ Gen. xviii. 8; cf. Judges v. 25.

⁷ Job x. 10.

⁸ Prov. xxx. 33.

⁹ 1 Sam. xvii. 18.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. xvii. 29.

¹¹ 1 Kings xviii. 4.

the prevailing scarcity, were probably better fed than the children in many English schools a century ago, who having failed to repeat some lesson by heart before breakfast, were punished for the rest of the day by being given nothing but bread and water.

The ordinary bread was made of meal,¹ from which apparently the bran was not separated. Fine flour (*sóleth*) was also used,² but this was a luxury. The most common cereal appears to have been barley,³ which, together with *tébbhen*, i.e. straw chopped up by the threshing-sledges, was sometimes by the very wealthy given even to horses.⁴ Wheat was naturally more prized than barley,⁵ and we may assume that the fine flour mentioned in Solomon's bill of fare was of wheat.⁶

Inferior cereals were also used, e.g. beans,⁷ lentils,⁸ millet,⁹ spelt.¹⁰ We read also of what may perhaps be some sort of cereal called '*arísóth* (plural) : the meaning of the word is, however, very uncertain. Various sorts of grain were sometimes roasted whole and eaten¹¹—as formerly both in England and Scotland. Grain entirely uncooked was sometimes eaten.¹² Lentils, and doubtless other sorts of grain also, were sometimes boiled into some form of porridge.

Corn was usually ground as required, and the meal so obtained might be hastily mixed into dough, and while still unleavened,¹³ baked into loaves of various shapes, '*uggóth*,¹⁴ or *kikk'róth léhem*.¹⁵ The unleavened '*uggóth* would

¹ Judges vi. 19; 1 Sam. i. 24.

² Gen. xviii. 6; 1 Kings v. 2 (E. V. iv. 22); Ezek. xvi. 13, 19.

³ Hos. iii. 2; Ruth ii. 17, iii. 15, 17. ⁴ 1 Kings iv. 28.

⁵ Deut. xxxii. 14. ⁶ 1 Kings iv. 22.

⁷ Ezek. iv. 9; 2 Sam. xvii. 28.

⁸ Ezek. iv. 9; 2 Sam. xvii. 28, xxiii. 11; Gen. xxv. 34.

⁹ Ezek. iv. 9. ¹⁰ Exod. ix. 32; Isa. xxviii. 25; Ezek. iv. 9.

¹¹ 1 Sam. xxv. 18; 2 Sam. xvii. 28; Joshua v. 11; Ruth ii. 14.

¹² Deut. xxiii. 25; 2 Kings iv. 42.

¹³ Gen. xix. 3; Judges vi. 19. ¹⁴ Gen. xviii. 6.

¹⁵ Judges viii. 5.

appear to have been somewhat thicker than the modern Passover cakes, since they required to be turned in baking.¹ The modern Passover cakes would perhaps have been called *r'kikim*.² What sort of cake is denoted by *halla* is uncertain, possibly some sort of perforated cake or biscuit.³

Bread was baked in an oven,⁴ or on a girdle,⁵ or on hot stones.⁶ Leavened bread naturally took longer to make than unleavened. The story of the baking by the Israelites of the unleavened dough which they brought out of Egypt⁷ is clearly aetiological, and due to an attempt to connect the feast of unleavened bread with the Exodus. It is, however, very remarkable that the narrator saw nothing unusual in first mixing meal into dough and afterwards adding the leaven. The leavening in this connexion is in accordance with a method still used in Europe, viz. the mingling with the fresh dough of a piece of the fermented dough from the last baking. Two terms are used to denote leaven, *hāmēš*⁸ and *s'ōr*.⁹ That they were not synonymous may be inferred from their occurrence together in the same context, but we cannot decide with certainty how they differed. The former (*hāmēš*) probably refers to the method of leavening mentioned above. Since we find the latter (*s'ōr*) associated with *d'bhash*, honey,¹⁰ it may be that some mixture containing honey or grape-juice was sometimes used to promote fermentation. At any rate the taste of manna is compared to that of some sort of sweetened flat cake,¹¹ and what appears to have been a kind of pancake cooked in liquid, presumably oil, was made by Tamar in order to tempt the appetite of her malingering and rascally half-brother Amnon.¹² The home baking was done sometimes by the women, sometimes by

¹ Hos. vii. 8.

² Exod. xxix. 2, 23; Num. vi. 15.

³ 2 Sam. vi. 19.

⁴ Lev. xxvi. 26.

⁵ Ezek. iv. 3.

⁶ 1 Kings xix. 6.

⁷ Exod. xii. 34, 39.

⁸ Exod. xii. 15, xiii. 3, 7; Amos iv. 5.

⁹ Exod. xiii. 7; Deut. xvi. 4; Exod. xii. 15, 19.

¹⁰ Lev. ii. 11.

¹¹ Exod. xvi. 31.

¹² 2 Sam. xiii. 8.

the men,¹ and professional bakers or confectioners were of both sexes.²

Oil and honey were used in cooking, but it is not quite certain what is to be understood by the word translated honey. It is possible that in some cases³ it denotes boiled down fruit juice, but of this there is no proof. It is therefore likely that honey is everywhere to be understood in the natural sense of the word ; and, since there is no mention of bee-hives or of apiculture, wild honey is implied.⁴ Honeycomb is definitely mentioned,⁵ and also run honey.⁶

Although we may suppose that the staple food, other than milk, was bread, it must have happened from time to time that the produce of one year's harvest was exhausted before that of the next harvest was ready. Under such circumstances a 'portion of green herbs'⁷ was all that the poor man could get. Some sort of mallow, and even juniper root,⁸ was eaten by those who were famishing. In this connexion it is interesting to recall that the late Patriarch of Antioch stated when he visited Cambridge that his flock were reduced to digging up thistle roots in the lack of all other food. In times of dearth the prophets of Elisha's time concocted a stew of wild vegetables,⁹ into which wild gourds (*paḳḳū'ôth sādhe*) had been put in mistake for *ḳishshū'im*—some sort of cucumber or gourd¹⁰—a mistake which recalls the not uncommon confusion in modern times between poisonous fungi and mushrooms. It is noteworthy that the Hebrew *géphhen* denotes 'bine' as well as 'vine'.

Certain vegetables, e.g. gourds or cucumbers,¹¹ were

¹ Gen. xviii. 6, xix. 3.

² Gen. xl. 1 ; 1 Sam. viii. 13.

³ e.g. Gen. xliii. 11 ; Ezek. xxvii. 17 ; Jer. xli. 8.

⁴ Judges xiv. 8 ; 1 Sam. xiv. 25, 27 ; Isa. vii. 22 ; Deut. xxxii. 13 ; Ps. lxxxi. 16.

⁵ 1 Sam. xiv. 27 ; Cant. v. 1.

⁶ 1 Kings xiv. 3.

⁷ Prov. xv. 17.

⁸ Job xxx. 4.

⁹ 2 Kings iv. 38, 39.

¹⁰ Num. xi. 5.

¹¹ The cultivation of such vegetables in Palestine is certain from Isa. i. 8 ; cf. Baruch vi. 70.

HEBREW LIFE AND CUSTOM

cultivated and were evidently regarded as luxuries. The popular taste inclined to strongly flavoured vegetables such as onions, garlic, and leek.¹

Before the publication of the Deuteronomic law,² animal food scarcely entered into the diet of the poorer section of the population, except on the occasion of an obligatory sacrificial feast. Various sorts of game could be eaten when it was available;³ but even when account is taken of the absence of game laws, and of pretty general skill in the use of the bow and the sling and in the setting of snares, as well as of the fact that Palestine in the days of the Hebrew monarchy afforded more cover for game than at the present time, the poor man's larder, or that which served as such, could not often have contained flesh or fowl. When flesh was eaten it seems to have been originally boiled in water or milk.⁴ At a later period it was roasted.⁵ The legislation in regard to that which had been killed by a beast of prey, or has died a natural death, suggests a growing fastidiousness in the matter. The earliest legislation, which deals only with that killed by a wild beast, forbids the eating of it by man and directs that it should be thrown to the dogs.⁶ The Deuteronomic legislation prohibits the eating of that which dies a natural death,⁷ but allows it to be eaten by the stranger that is 'within the gates' or to be sold to foreigners who may eat it. The later legislation on the subject⁸ puts that which dies a natural death and that which is killed by a beast of prey on the same level. The eating of such flesh, strange to say, is not prohibited as stringently as the eating of blood; only any one who is guilty of it, whether Israelite or stranger, must wash himself and his clothes and be unclean till the evening.

¹ Num. xi. 5.

² Deut. xii. 15.

³ Deut. xii. 15, 22.

⁴ Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21; 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14; Ezek. xlvi. 23, 24; cf. Exod. xii. 9.

⁵ Exod. xii. 9; Isa. xliv. 16.

⁶ Exod. xxii. 31. ⁷ Deut. xiv. 21. ⁸ Lev. xvii. 15; cf. xxii. 8.

A considerable variety of game existed in Palestine, such as gazelles,¹ deer,² roebuck,³ various kinds of wild goat⁴ and antelope,⁵ and possibly moufflon.⁶ Of the flesh of domestic animals the most commonly eaten was probably mutton,⁷ of which the fat tail⁸ was esteemed a great delicacy, and goat's flesh.⁹ Beef, when eaten by the rich, was the flesh of stall-fed fattened animals.¹⁰ The beef more ordinarily eaten would be the flesh of oxen which might have been used for ploughing.¹¹ The term 'fatling' seems to denote beef.¹²

It is somewhat strange that although doves and pigeons are never mentioned among the ordinary food in ancient Palestine, they could be sacrificed,¹³ and were apparently kept in dovecots.¹⁴ Turtle doves are mentioned as migrating,¹⁵ and therefore it is the more surprising to find them specified as sacrificial victims.¹⁶

Of domestic poultry there is no mention, unless certain fatted creatures called *barbûrim*¹⁷ were birds. Of wild birds partridges,¹⁸ quails,¹⁹ and small birds other than beasts of prey were eaten.²⁰ The eggs which were eaten must have been those of wild birds.²¹

Fish is not mentioned in Solomon's bill of fare,²² although

¹ Deut. xiv. 5, xii. 15, 22.

² 1 Kings v. 3; Deut. xii. 15, 22; Cant. ii. 9, 17.

³ Deut. xiv. 5; 1 Kings v. 3 (E.V. iv. 23). ⁴ Deut. xiv. 5.

⁵ Deut. xiv. 5; Isa. li. 20. ⁶ Deut. xiv. 5.

⁷ 1 Sam. xiv. 34, xv. 4; Gen. xxxi. 38.

⁸ Exod. xxix. 22 and probably 1 Sam. ix. 24.

⁹ Gen. xxvii. 9, 17 ff.

¹⁰ Amos vi. 4; Mal. iii. 20 (iv. 2, E.V.); Jer. xlvi. 21; 1 Sam. xxviii. 24.

¹¹ Isa. xxxiv. 7; Jer. l. 27; Ezek. xxxix. 18.

¹² 2 Sam. vi. 13; Isa. i. 11, xi. 6; Amos v. 22; Ezek. xxxix. 18.

¹³ Lev. i. 14, v. 7; Gen. xv. 9. ¹⁴ Isa. lx. 8.

¹⁵ Jer. viii. 7; cf. Cant. ii. 12.

¹⁶ Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., p. 219.

¹⁷ 1 Kings iv. 23 (*Heb.* v. 3). ¹⁸ 1 Sam. xxvi. 20.

¹⁹ Exod. xvi. 13. ²⁰ Deut. xiv. 11-20, xxii. 6.

²¹ Deut. xxii. 6, 7. ²² 1 Kings iv. 22, 23.

there are a considerable number of references to fishing.¹ Cetaceans, needless to say, were regarded as fish, and the fish-spears of which we have mention² may have been harpoons used in spearing the dugong.³ There is, however, no proof that the flesh was eaten.

In post-exilic times the Tyrians carried on a fish trade at Jerusalem.⁴

It is remarkable that locusts were regarded as legitimate food.⁵ The precedent for this may have arisen when the locusts had stripped the land of all other food.

Salt was, of course, commonly used, both ritually⁶ and as a condiment.⁷ The supply seems to have come from the Dead Sea and its neighbourhood.⁸

Of fruits *au naturel* we read of the following: grapes⁹ naturally head the list, and it is not improbable that, apart from the manufacture of wine, freshly pressed out grape-juice¹⁰ was sometimes taken as a beverage. Next to grapes were figs,¹¹ of which the first ripe fruit was considered a great delicacy.¹² It was an ideal of peace and plenty that every man should possess a vine and a fig-tree, in the shade of which he might sit.¹³ The so-called 'sycomore-figs', in districts sufficiently warm for their growth, were not highly prized as fruit, though they were eaten by the poor. The trees are mentioned as abundant in the foothills west of the main mountain range of Judah, but the uplands were too cold for them.¹⁴ Pomegranates seem to

¹ Amos iv. 2; Jer. xvi. 16; Hab. i. 15; cf. Ezek. xlvi. 9, 10.

² Job xli. 7.

³ Leather from the dugong is mentioned (Ezek. xvi. 10), and as covering for the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 14).

⁴ Neh. xiii. 16; cf. iii. 3.

⁵ Lev. xi. 22.

⁶ Lev. ii. 13; Num. xviii. 19.

⁷ Job vi. 6. ⁸ Ezek. xlvi. 11.

⁹ Hos. ix. 10; Isa. v. 2, 4; Mic. vii. 1; Num. xiii. 20, &c.

¹⁰ Gen. xl. 11.

¹¹ Jer. xxiv. 2; Num. xiii. 23.

¹² Hos. ix. 10; Mic. vii. 1; Isa. xxviii. 4. ¹³ Zech. iii. 10.

¹⁴ Amos vii. 14 is commonly supposed to refer directly to this fruit. The text of the passage, however, is by no means certain. Amos was

have been fairly common,¹ and were evidently prized for their fresh juice.²

Water-melons are mentioned as growing in Egypt³ and were evidently not unknown in parts of Palestine. Apples,⁴ if the word *tappû^ah* should be so understood, are mentioned among various other fruits. The simile in Cant. vii. 8 is at first sight somewhat surprising. It should probably, however, be interpreted as meaning that the scent of the fair lady's breath is as delightful in its way as are apples in their way: compare the simile in Ps. cxxxiii. 2, 3! It is possible that the word *tappû^ah* was once applied to some other tree. We also hear of nuts.⁵

Dried and preserved fruits were also known, such as figs⁶ and raisins.⁷ Raisin cakes of some sort are mentioned,⁸ and may originally have had a ritual significance. What is meant by *ṣṣphôth*⁹ is uncertain. It may have meant some kind of fruit dried and pounded, or possibly bruised grain.

The staple drink among the nomads would be water¹⁰ or milk,¹¹ wine not being drunk by those who, like the certainly not a *bôkēr*, a tender of *oxen*, for in ver. 15 he says that he has been taken from following the flock, and says nothing about sycamore-figs. The word for which *bôkēr* is a misreading is probably *nôkēdh*, which in 2 Kings iii. 4 is applied to Mesha, King of Moab, and in the E.V. rendered 'sheep-master'. The Greek translation of Kings transliterates the Hebrew. In the later title of the book Amos is described as 'one of the *nôkēdhîm* from Tekoa'. Here the unfamiliar word, misread, is taken by the Greek translator as a proper name. In Amos vii. 14 the Greek has *κνίζων*, 'scraping' or 'pricking'. The sycamore-fig is commonly infested by an insect which must be removed by nipping or pricking, so that the Greek translator, being familiar with the process but unfamiliar with the technical use with reference to sheep, understood נקר to mean 'pricker'. בלם שקמים is then an incorrect gloss to נקר.

¹ Num. xiii. 23.

² Cant. viii. 2.

³ Num. xi. 5.

⁴ Joel i. 12.

⁵ Cant. vi. 11.

⁶ 1 Sam. xxv. 18, xxx. 12.

⁷ 1 Sam. xxv. 18, xxx. 12; 2 Sam. xvi. 1; 1 Chron. xii. 40.

⁸ 2 Sam. vi. 19; Hos. iii. 1; Cant. ii. 5; Isa. xvi. 7 (*sic*).

⁹ 2 Sam. xvii. 19; Prov. xxvii. 22.

¹⁰ Gen. xxiv. 46.

¹¹ Judges iv. 19, v. 25.

Rechabites, maintained unchanged the nomadic mode of life.¹ Water drinking, needless to say, was not confined to the nomadic population, but in many places fresh spring water was not available throughout the year, and when it was possible it was stored in rock-hewn cisterns.² It is not improbable that there are some still living, who remember—or whose fathers have told them—what the water used to be like in the days of the old sailing vessels, and such people will readily conjecture what the water collected in the rock-hewn cisterns was like when the supply was getting low! It is therefore probable that all who could afford it mixed wine with the water. Although drunkenness is unsparingly denounced in the Hebrew Scriptures,³ it is evident that a certain amount of alcoholic exhilaration at a feast was not only condoned but regarded as proper.⁴ It is noteworthy that the word for a banquet or feast is literally a drinking. From the warnings against the misuse of wine in the Book of Proverbs⁵ the temptation to drunkenness would seem to have been somewhat greater in the Greek period. Wine which had been kept for a considerable time and had been carefully strained, like ‘old crusted’ port, was much prized.⁶ Ordinary wine was sometimes mixed with spice⁷ to make it more palatable. Vinegar was taken as a condiment: it was forbidden to Nazirites, as being fermented. Whether any kind of alcoholic liquor (Heb. *shēkhār*) other than grape-juice was drunk is uncertain, but it is suggested by the combination of *shēkhār* with *yayin* (wine) otherwise than in parallelism.⁸

Commonly mentioned in connexion with food and drink, though perhaps more frequently used in lamps and

¹ Jer. xxxv. 6 ff.

² Jer. ii. 13.

³ Amos vi. 6; Isa. v. 11, xxviii. 1, 7; 1 Sam. i. 14.

⁴ Gen. xliii. 34; cf. Hag. i. 6; Judges ix. 13; Prov. xxxi. 6.

⁵ Prov. xx. 1, xxiii. 29–32, xxxi. 4.

⁶ Isa. xxv. 6; cf. Zeph. i. 12; Jer. xlvi. 11.

⁷ Cant. viii. 2; Prov. ix. 2, 5; Isa. v. 22.

⁸ Judges xiii. 4, 7; Mic. ii. 11; 1 Sam. i. 15; Lev. x. 9; Deut. xxix. 6.

for unction, was olive oil (Heb. *yīshar*). It is noteworthy that this word is never used of the sacred anointing oil, which is always *shémen*.¹ *Shémen* is actually used of olive oil,² but its original meaning seems to have been animal grease,³ especially of the kidney fat; hence the metaphorical expressions 'the kidney-fat of the oil' and 'the kidney-fat of the vintage and of the corn'.⁴

The Hebrews liked rich greasy food and also sweet things.⁵

MEALS AND BANQUETS

The chief meals of the Hebrews appear to have been at noon⁶ and in the evening,⁷ though hospitality to guests was bound by no set rules.⁸ Presumably some light refreshment was taken in the morning before work was begun, but there happens to be no reference to such a thing, even when we should expect it. Saul took leave of Samuel in the early morning without partaking of any breakfast.⁹ The toppers whom Isaiah denounced began their potations in the early morning and continued till evening.¹⁰

At feasts to which guests had especially been invited it was customary to send servants to fetch them.¹¹

Before a meal began hands were washed by having water poured over them,¹² and the guests at a feast, at all

¹ Zech. iv. 14 is an exception. The two 'sons of oil' or, with a more intelligible translation of the idiomatic Hebrew phrase, 'the two oil-abounding ones', are the two olive-trees mentioned above (*ver.* 11), which provide a continual supply of oil to the reservoir of the lampstands.

² Deut. viii. 8; 2 Kings xviii. 32; Exod. xxvii. 20, xxx. 24; Lev. xxiv. 2.

³ Isa. xxv. 6; Ps. cix. 24; cf. Isa. v. i, xxviii. 1, 4. See W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., p. 383.

⁴ Num. xviii. 12. ⁵ Isa. xxv. 6, xxx. 23.

⁶ Gen. xliii. 16, 25; Ruth ii. 14.

⁷ Gen. xix. 3; Judges xix. 14 ff.; Ruth iii. 17.

⁸ Gen. xviii. 5; Exod. ii. 18 ff.

⁹ 1 Sam. ix. 26.

¹⁰ Isa. v. 11.

¹¹ Prov. ix. 3.

¹² 2 Kings iii. 11.

events those who had come from a journey, had their feet washed.¹ The use of unguents, at least among those who could afford them, was common² and these would naturally be provided for guests. In pre-exilic times, when every great feast was a sacrifice held in the vicinity of an altar, it seems naturally essential that all the guests should be consecrated.³ At such a feast grace was said before meat.⁴ The portion of each guest was separately served,⁵ and the amount of food sent to each was in proportion to the honour it was desired to pay him.⁶

In the Greek period the wealthy delighted in that which was rare. It is not impossible that the 'snow in the time of harvest',⁷ mentioned as something rare and acceptable, was fetched from the top of Hermon and took the place of ices with us. At any rate many centuries later snow, in summer time, was a special feature in the sumptuous banquet when the physician Boctyeshua entertained the Chalif Mutawakkil.⁸

Feasts, which were often held in the open air,⁹ were frequently enlivened with music,¹⁰ but it is not clear whether this was during the actual progress of the meal.

In the later period good manners at meals are insisted upon.¹¹ In earlier times it would seem that women took their meals apart from the men. Sarah does not eat with Abraham and his guests¹² and it is implied that Elkanah takes his meal apart from Peninnah and her children and from Hannah.¹³ Esther can scarcely be quoted as an ex-

¹ Gen. xviii. 4, xix. 2, xxiv. 32, xliii. 24.

² Amos vi. 6; Mic. vi. 15; 2 Sam. xii. 20; Deut. xxviii. 40; Ps. xxiii. 5; Dan. x. 3.

³ 1 Sam. xvi. 3, 6; Isa. xiii. 3.

⁴ 1 Sam. ix. 13.

⁵ Gen. xliii. 34.

⁶ Gen. xliii. 34; cf. 1 Sam. i. 4 f. (LXX); 1 Sam. ix. 24.

⁷ Prov. xxv. 13.

⁸ See Barhebraeus, *Chronicum Syriacum*, Paris ed., pp. 157 f.

⁹ Gen. xviii. 8; Zech. iii. 10.

¹⁰ Isa. v. 12; Amos vi. 5.

¹¹ Prov. xxiii. 1 f.; cf. xix. 24.

¹² Gen. xviii. 8, 9; Dan. v. 10.

¹³ 1 Sam. i. 4, 5.

ample of Hebrew usage. Such conventions would not be observed by the poorer classes, and we find Ruth eating with the reapers.¹

CLOTHING

In clothing, as might be expected, there is evidence of as much diversity between poor and rich as in our own country in the Middle Ages between the peasant and the prince. The story of Adam and Eve's girdles of fig-leaves² is due perhaps to the knowledge that somewhat similar girdles were worn by various tribes in Africa, as at the present day.³

The simplest clothing appears to have been the girdle (Heb. *ḥ^agôrā*), which, strictly speaking, was something tied round the waist and seems to have developed in different ways, till the word covered not only the simple loin-covering,⁴ but also the elaborate broad sash worn by wealthy ladies. Isaiah⁵ contrasts the *ḥ^agôrā* of such with the rope or leash with which the ladies captured by the enemy will be tied together and carried into slavery.

Some sort of *ḥ^agôrā* was also worn by warriors.⁶ It was, apparently, more than a mere belt and rather of the nature of an apron hung from the waist and reaching to the thigh. It is nowhere stated that the sword was directly attached to it. If made of leather, it would afford some protection to the lower part of the body.⁷

On the other hand, the *ēzôr*, which in form is identical with the Arabic *izār*, unlike the latter appears to have been a fairly tight belt or sash,⁸ worn round the waist to gather in the coat or mantle. Elijah's *ēzôr* is of skin or leather, but he is described as a 'hairy man' (Heb. *ba'al sē'ār*),⁹

¹ Ruth ii. 14. ² Gen. iii. 7.

³ See Meek, *Northern Nigeria*, vol. i, pp. 41 f.

⁴ Gen. iii. 7. ⁵ Isa. iii. 24.

⁶ 1 Kings ii. 5; 2 Kings iii. 21; cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 11, and 1 Kings xx. 11.

⁷ Cf. Meek, *Northern Nigeria*, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Jer. xiii. 11.

⁹ 2 Kings i. 8.

that is, wearing a garment of woven hair,¹ and not like Esau growing his own hair.² It is not suggested that the hair is on the leather *ēzôr*. Certainly the hairy mantle worn by the later prophets³ was of woven hair, and similarly the camel's hair worn by John the Baptist was distinct from his leather belt. This is, at least, the natural inference from the fact that the word *addêreth* appears in general to be a woven fabric.⁴ Jeremiah's *ēzôr* was of linen.⁵

The ordinary outer garment, which was perhaps sometimes worn merely over a loin-cloth, was the *simlā* or *salmā*. It was worn both by men⁶ and by women,⁷ and appears to have been practically unshaped, the word in the plural being used for clothing generally.⁸ The *simlā* was open down the front, the one flap being pulled over the other and secured by the strap or sash. The part between the folds above the strap served as a pocket.⁹ Under the *simlā* or next the skin a tunic (*k'thōneth* or *kuttōneth*)¹⁰ was worn. A person wearing such a tunic was fully dressed. As worn by the gentry it was a long-sleeved garment reaching to the ankles.¹¹ For active exercise the tunic would be pulled up above the knees and tucked into the belt. Shebna, the chief official in Hezekiah's palace, wore a tunic with a girdle or sash round the waist.¹² The tunic was of woven fabric, but the narrator of the story of Adam and Eve, who states that the tunics were of skin or leather,¹³ perhaps inferred this from a knowledge of some primitive African tribes.

¹ Cf. Zech. xiii. 4.

² Gen. xxvii. 11, 23.

³ Zech. xiii. 4.

⁴ Joshua vii. 21, 24; Jonah iii. 6.

⁵ Jer. xiii. 1. On the extremely probable supposition that Jeremiah went not to the Euphrates but to Wady Fara, and with the object of doing some manual labour, we may suppose that he took off the *ēzôr* in order to remove the coat which it fastened.

⁶ Exod. xxii. 25 (E.V. *ver.* 26); Isa. iii. 6 f.; 2 Sam. xii. 20.

⁷ Deut. xxi. 13.

⁸ Deut. viii. 4; Cant. iv. 11.

⁹ Exod. iv. 6; Prov. vi. 27.

¹⁰ Gen. iii. 21.

¹¹ Gen. xxxvii. 3; 2 Sam. xiii. 18 f.

¹² Isa. xxii. 21.

¹³ Gen. iii. 21.

The tunic was not worn in bed,¹ but it was the custom entirely to undress, wrapping oneself up in the outer covering (*simlā*), which served as bedclothes.²

The upper classes, and the priests when not engaged in sacrificial ritual, wore as an outer garment a long robe (*m'el*).³ It appears to have been slipped over the head,⁴ i.e. not open down the front. It had wide skirts which would fall into folds, and in a royal robe might be extremely voluminous. Isaiah pictures Jehovah enthroned as King, the skirts of His robe covering the Temple floor.⁵

Woven fabrics were composed of wool⁶ and of flax.⁷ Varieties of linen seem to have been used, since in addition to the ordinary word for flax⁸ we find *badh*⁹ and *shēsh*¹⁰ used to denote some sort of linen. What the material called *mēshi*¹¹ was is quite uncertain.

Dyeing was practised; we read of scarlet (*shānī*,¹² also *tōlā*¹³), purple,¹⁴ and violet;¹⁵ but these seem to have been used for costly fabrics. It is probable that there were many recipes for dyeing homely stuffs.

Spinning was done at home,¹⁶ and also weaving.¹⁷

The stringent and curious law which prescribes twisted thread tassels on the corners or flaps of the outer garment¹⁸ is difficult to explain. It is not impossible that they were *originally* amulets or charms to which a new significance was given. It is scarcely possible to interpret this law otherwise than literally, although the superficially similar

¹ Cant. v. 3. ² Exod. xxii. 26; Deut. xxii. 17, xxiv. 13.

³ 1 Sam. xv. 27, xviii. 4, xxiv. 5, 11; Job i. 20.

⁴ Exod. xxxix. 23. ⁵ Isa. vi. 1.

⁶ Prov. xxvii. 26, xxxi. 13. ⁷ Prov. xxxi. 13, 24.

⁸ Judges xv. 14; Jer. xiii. 1; Exod. ix. 31; Isa. xlii. 3.

⁹ 1 Sam. ii. 18, xxii. 18; Ezek. ix. 2, 3, 11.

¹⁰ Gen. xli. 42; Ezek. xvi. 10, 13; Prov. xxxi. 22.

¹¹ Ezek. xvi. 13.

¹² Joshua ii. 18; 2 Sam. i. 24; Isa. i. 18; Jer. iv. 30.

¹³ Isa. i. 18. ¹⁴ Num. iv. 13; Judges viii. 26; Jer. x. 9.

¹⁵ Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 7. ¹⁶ Prov. xxxi. 19.

¹⁷ Judges xvi. 13. ¹⁸ Num. xv. 38, 39; Deut. xxii. 12.

injunction to bind certain commandments on the hand and to write them upon the door-posts and on the gates¹ may be metaphorical, meaning that Jehovah's teaching written on the heart is to take the place of amulets bound on the arm and of magic formulae inscribed on door-posts and gates.²

On the feet were worn sandals, or perhaps shoes which covered merely the front part of the foot.³ These were fastened by a thong.⁴ They were usually of simple construction, a 'pair of shoes' being a proverbial expression for something of little value.⁵

Considerable attention seems to have been given to hairdressing. Some sort of elaborate *coiffure* seems to be referred to in Isaiah's threat to the Jerusalem ladies of the fate in store for them.⁶ The point is that that which they regard as an adornment will be shorn off when they are sold as slaves. There was a fashion (condemned as foreign and heathenish)⁷ to clip the hair short on the temples and, in the case of men, the corner of the beard also. If we may take Absalom as an example of what was usual, men had their hair cut from time to time.⁸ It is, however, impossible to accept as accurate the weight of his yearly growth of hair! Two hundred shekels must be equivalent to nearly three pounds and three quarters—enough to stuff a very large sofa-pillow. In the days of the monarchy and even later the head was shaved in mourning.⁹ Shaving the hair on the forehead is forbidden in the Deuteronomic law,¹⁰ but it cannot safely be argued that this law refers

¹ Deut. vi. 8, 9.

² Compare the similar metaphor in Ps. cxli. 2.

³ Deut. xxv. 10; Joshua ix. 5.

⁴ Gen. xiv. 23; Isa. v. 27.

⁵ Amos ii. 6, viii. 6; cf. 1 Sam. xii. 3 (LXX).

⁶ Isa. iii. 24. For the reading *poth'hên* of the Massoretic text we should probably read *ph'ath'hên*, which we may perhaps translate 'their shingled hair'.

⁷ Lev. xix. 27; Jer. ix. 25 (E.V. *ver.* 26).

⁸ 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

⁹ Mic. i. 16; Isa. xv. 2, xxii. 12; Job i. 20; Ezek. vii. 18; Jer. xvi.

6, xli. 5, xlvi. 37.

¹⁰ Deut. xiv. 1.

to a very limited shaving of the head, for it is associated with a prohibition of laceration of the flesh in mourning, and this latter injunction was certainly not enforced before the exile.¹ It would seem that in general men left their heads uncovered, except in mourning.² This may be inferred not only from actual references to the covering of the head in mourning, but from other indications also. How could a hoary head be generally regarded as a crown of glory,³ if it were always covered? Moreover the anointing of the head⁴ with oil implies that the head to which the unction is applied is bare. Men of rank, however, laymen as well as priests, appear to have worn some sort of turban or headband,⁵ which was also worn by women.⁶

A large number of articles pertaining to ladies' dress and adornment are enumerated in Isa. iii. In regard to many of these, however, we have no guide to the meaning except etymology, and etymology in such a connexion may well prove an *ignis fatuus*. It would be interesting to see the conclusions at which an expert etymologist would arrive, if with nothing to guide him but etymology he attempted to interpret a catalogue of an Oxford Street or Regent Street drapery firm! Mention may be made of the common practice among women of blackening the edges of the eyelids to increase the apparent brilliancy of the eyes.⁷ Jezebel has frequently been blamed unjustly for what in her days, for a woman in her position, was *de rigueur*. In fairness to her memory let it be said that nothing so became her in life as the dignified and courageous way in which she left it.

Although in Old Testament times women in general were freer and held a higher position than under Islam, as

¹ Jer. xvi. 6, xli. 5, xlvi. 37.

² 2 Sam. xv. 30; Jer. xiv. 3, 4; Esther vi. 12.

³ Prov. xvi. 31; cf. xx. 29.

⁴ Ps. xxiii. 5.

⁵ Ezek. xxiii. 15, xxiv. 17, xliv. 18; Isa. lxii. 3; cf. xxviii. 5.

⁶ Isa. iii. 20, 23.

⁷ 2 Kings ix. 30; Jer. iv. 30.

is instanced by such characters as Deborah, Huldah, the wealthy Shunammite lady who showed hospitality to Elisha, and others, they were nevertheless subject to a considerable amount of social disability. It would seem that except young girls at work women habitually were veiled in public.¹ Ruth keeps her veil on when she returns home after spending the night at the threshing-floor, and her mother-in-law Naomi has to ask who she is.² A woman was not introduced to her husband's guests. Abraham does not introduce Sarah, though both in her case and that of Rebekah³ an introduction by the husband might have saved the wife from insult and mortification. Similarly Esau, when his cowardly brother sends his wives and children on before him, neither asks to be introduced to his sisters-in-law nor shows that interest in his nephews and nieces which might have been expected from a new-found uncle.⁴ Nevertheless many women were people to be reckoned with. Michal, Saul's daughter, had quite as much spirit as any of Jane Austen's heroines. The *châtelaine* of a mansion, so charmingly described in the Book of Proverbs,⁵ would have stood no nonsense, nor would any one have attempted it with her. Moreover, though we have a full appreciation of the blessings of married love,⁶ we have also descriptions which show that the Hebrews knew, *horresco referens*, what it was to be henpecked. Bishop Proudie, could he have compared experiences with several patriarchal characters, would doubtless have found a common bond of sympathy, and the sage who compared living with a contentious woman to the misery of experiencing a continual dropping of water from a leaky roof⁷ seems to write from experience.

The 'strange woman', i.e. the foreign woman against whom the Book of Proverbs contains such earnest warn-

¹ Gen. xxiv. 65, xxxviii. 14; Isa. xlvi. 2; Cant. v. 7.

² Ruth iii. 15, 16.

³ Gen. xx, xxvi.

⁴ Gen. xxxiii.

⁵ Prov. xxxi. 10.

⁶ Prov. xviii. 22; Ezek. xxiv. 16.

⁷ Prov. xix. 13, xxvii. 15; cf. xxi. 9.

ings, was the Greek *ἑταίρα*.¹ Apparently, prostitutes could be distinguished by their dress.²

The first lady in the land, and one possessing no small amount of influence, was the Queen Mother, who took precedence of the Queen Consort.³ This is also indicated by the historian's care to give the names of the mothers of kings.⁴

Apropos of festive occasions, which would of course be celebrated with a great amount of eating and drinking,⁵ we read of both music and dancing;⁶ but in connexion with both it is difficult to say what was merely the expression of *joie de vivre*, and what had a quasi-religious significance and was due to superstition. We read of professional musicians both in the early⁷ and late periods;⁸ but music was not confined to professionals.⁹ The music mentioned in connexion with social festivities may perhaps be regarded as due to *joie de vivre*,¹⁰ but the music mentioned on the occasion of David's attempt to bring the Ark from the house of Abinadab,¹¹ being 'before the Lord', clearly had a religious significance, while the music of the ecstatic prophets obviously was used to stimulate the prophetic ecstasy.¹²

So with dancing: on some occasions¹³ the dancing, in which men and women danced separately, was apparently the expression of *joie de vivre*, though even in this case the dancing may well have *originated* in some religious or superstitious ideas. David's dance 'before the Lord'¹⁴ was

¹ Prov. ii. 16 ff., v. 3 ff., vii. 5 ff.

² Gen. xxxviii. 16; Prov. vii. 10. ³ 1 Kings ii. 19; cf. Ps. xlv. 9.

⁴ 1 Kings xi. 26, xiv. 21, 31, xv. 2, 10, xxii. 42, &c.

⁵ 1 Chron. xvi. 2 f.; Neh. viii. 10-12. ⁶ Judges xi. 34, xxi. 19-21.

⁷ Gen. iv. 21; 2 Sam. xix. 35. ⁸ Eccles. ii. 8.

⁹ 1 Sam. xvi. 18, xviii. 6 f.

¹⁰ Gen. xxxi. 27; Isa. v. 12; Job xxi. 12; Lam. v. 14.

¹¹ 2 Sam. vi. 5; Isa. xxx. 29; Ps. cl. 4.

¹² 1 Sam. x. 5; 2 Kings iii. 15.

¹³ Judges xi. 34; Jer. xxxi. 4; Job xxi. 11; Lam. v. 15.

¹⁴ 2 Sam. vi. 14.

obviously apotropaic and was intended to avert an occurrence of the catastrophe when Uzzah died. The dances of girls in the vineyard,¹ like the vintage songs,² as well as the dancing after a sacrificial feast,³ probably had their origin in nature-worship superstition.

MOURNING

In the strongest contrast to occasions of rejoicing were those of mourning. The most common cause of ceremonial mourning was, naturally, death; but great catastrophes produced in many respects like manifestations of grief. Upon the receipt of bad news or in the presence of sudden calamity, it was customary to rend the clothes⁴ and to sprinkle earth or ashes upon the head.⁵ Hair cloth ('sack-cloth') was adopted as clothing.⁶ This, which resembled the outer covering of the professional prophets,⁷ was worn next to the skin,⁸ but sometimes apparently over other clothing⁹ or at least externally.

Previous to the introduction of the Deuteronomic law,¹⁰ which forbids the shaving of the front part of the head, the head was shaved—apparently entirely¹¹—and the beard clipped.¹² We read also of the covering of the head¹³ in mourning, and also of the lips.¹⁴ Among those who habitually wore some covering to the head it was a sign of mourning to let the hair go loose,¹⁵ which normally

¹ Judges xxi. 19 ff.

² Isa. lxxv. 8; cf. Jer. xxv. 30.

³ Exod. xxxii. 19.

⁴ Gen. xxxvii. 34; Joshua vii. 6; 1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 2, xiii. 31, &c.

⁵ Joshua vii. 6; 1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 2.

⁶ Gen. xxxvii. 34; 1 Kings xx. 31; Isa. xxii. 12; Jer. iv. 8, &c.

⁷ 2 Kings i. 8; Zech. xiii. 4.

⁸ 1 Kings xxi. 27; 2 Kings vi. 30; Job xvi. 15.

⁹ 2 Kings xix. 1; cf. Isa. xx. 2 f.

¹⁰ Deut. xiv. 1.

¹¹ Mic. i. 16; Isa. xv. 2; Jer. xlviii. 37; Ezek. vii. 18.

¹² Ezek. vii. 18; Jer. xli. 5; contrast Lev. xix. 28.

¹³ 2 Sam. xv. 30; cf. xix. 4; Jer. xiv. 3.

¹⁴ Mic. iii. 7; Ezek. xxiv. 17, 22; cf. Lev. xiii. 45.

¹⁵ Lev. x. 6, xxi. 10; Ezek. xxiv. 17.

(like the hair of an orthodox Greek priest) would be coiled up.

Another sign of mourning, likewise forbidden by the Deuteronomic law, was the laceration of parts of the body.¹ It seems also to have been a sign of mourning to go bare-foot.² Mourners being regarded as under Divine displeasure, were subject to various taboos, their food being regarded as unclean.³

DEATH

Dead bodies, even of heroes,⁴ were regarded as unclean.⁵ To be unburied,⁶ or buried without due form and ceremony,⁷ was regarded as a painful indignity. For the dead, clothes should be rent⁸ and audible lamentation made.⁹ Professional wailers, usually women (*m^ekôn^enôth*),¹⁰ were employed to sing the lament or wake-song (*kîna*), but others also joined in.¹¹ Besides the Book of Lamentations (over Jerusalem) we have David's *kînôth* over Saul and Jonathan¹² and over Abner¹³: there is also a mock lament in the form of a *kîna* over the King of Babylon.¹⁴ At burials there were also burnings of spices.¹⁵

¹ Jer. xvi. 6, xli. 5.

² 2 Sam. xv. 30; Ezek. xxiv. 17.

³ Hos. ix. 4.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxxi. 12, 13.

⁵ Num. xix. 11, 13 ff.

⁶ Gen. iv. 10.

⁷ Jer. xxii. 18, 19.

⁸ 2 Sam. iii. 31; 2 Chron. xxxv. 24.

⁹ 2 Sam. iii. 33 f.; 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

¹⁰ Jer. ix. 16 (E.V. *ver.* 17).

¹¹ Amos v. 16.

¹² 2 Sam. i. 17-27.

¹³ 2 Sam. iii. 33 f.

¹⁴ Isa. xiv. 4-21.

¹⁵ 2 Chron. xvi. 14; cf. Jer. xxxiv. 5; Amos vi. 10.

LECTURE III

MANLY OCCUPATIONS : WARRIORS

THE Hebrew Scriptures afford several indications that, for a considerable period after the final settlement in Palestine of the Hebrew invaders, the most honourable career was, as we should expect, that of the expert warrior, and consequently those who had won their possessions by the sword became the aristocracy of the land. This is indeed evident from the fact that the words *gibbôr*¹ and *hayil*,² which in their original significance suggest martial prowess, sometimes seem merely to denote high rank, even when there is no hint of a military career. Thus Gideon, who up to the time of the Theophany vouchsafed to him seems to have led an agriculturalist, or perhaps agricultural and pastoral, life, is addressed by the angel as *gibbôr hayil*; whereas the base-born Jephthah is evidently so called³ because he is already recognized as a doughty warrior. Saul's father⁴ is similarly described, though there is no hint of his having distinguished himself in war. The same term is applied to Jeroboam⁵ also, although we find him employed in a civil occupation. So likewise it is clear from several passages⁶ that the *gibbôr* is not necessarily identical with the man of war. The word seems to have come to mean one who belongs to the knightly class, or in other words a gentleman. It is no argument that in later, more plutocratic days the expression could be used of the wealthy,⁷ for our own English history affords, alas, too

¹ Commonly rendered in the English version 'mighty man', and followed by *hayil* which is then rendered 'valour'.

² This word, which seems originally to mean 'force', when used to qualify *ish* 'man', or *ben* 'son', loses all sense of military force.

³ Judges xi. 1.

⁴ 1 Sam. ix. 1.

⁵ 1 Kings xi. 28.

⁶ e.g. 1 Sam. xiv. 52, xvi. 18; Ezek. xxxix. 20.

⁷ e.g. 2 Kings xv. 20.

many examples of purchased aristocracy. By reason of his social pre-eminence Boaz is styled *gibbôr hayil*,¹ though of his fighting proclivities we find no hint. Similarly the word *hayil*, which originally denoted warlike efficiency,² acquires the meaning of that which entitles to respect, and those to whom the term is applied are *gentlemen* and *ladies*. Thus Boaz declares that Ruth—about whom there is nothing virago-like—is a woman of *hayil*,³ i.e. a *lady*, and therefore above suspicion. The ideal matron whose praise is sung in Prov. xxxi, is a *lady*, the head of a large household, the organization of which she keeps in her own hands and in the work of which she takes a prominent part. In ver. 10 we can keep the rhythm of the English version by substituting ‘Who can find a Lady Bountiful?’ for the pessimistic (and inaccurate) query ‘Who can find a virtuous woman?’

But to return to the warriors. Of actual training for war we have no precise description, though there are a few hints of some such training. Thus there are indications of archery practice at targets.⁴ The selection of a mere youth to slay notable prisoners of war⁵ is evidently to accustom him to the use of the sword. Moreover Goliath is described as a warrior from his youth,⁶ and Abram’s 318 home-born slaves are ‘trained’,⁷ i.e. for warfare.

In war-time, however, the whole male population might be called up, the military unit being the contingent furnished by a particular town.⁸ The Deuteronomic law⁹ lays down regulations for mitigating the hardships of conscription, hardships which to some extent explain, if they do not extenuate, the savage brutalities and the looting which were allowed after the capture of a besieged city.¹⁰

¹ Ruth ii. 1.

² e.g. Judges xviii. 2, xx. 44, 46.

³ Ruth iii. 11.

⁴ 1 Sam. xx. 20; Job xvi. 12 f.; Lam. iii. 12.

⁵ Judges viii. 20.

⁶ 1 Sam. xvii. 33.

⁷ Gen. xiv. 14; cf. Prov. xxii. 6 (*Heb.*).

⁸ Amos v. 3.

⁹ Deut. xx. 5 ff.

¹⁰ Deut. xx. 13 ff.

The offensive equipment of a warrior, ordinarily consisted of a sword (*hérebh*),¹ a javelin (*hanth*)² for hurling at the foe, and a spear or pike (*rómah*)³ used like a modern bayonet at close quarters. That the *rómah* was much shorter than a modern lance is implied by the fact that ecstatic dervishes used it to lacerate their own bodies.⁴ The sword might be of full length, or short and two-edged.⁵ In either case it was kept in a sheath⁶ attached to a belt worn round the waist and carried on the left thigh.⁷ In addition to these was a bow (*késheth*),⁸ and a quiver (*ashpa*)⁹ containing arrows (*hiššim*),¹⁰ which were sharpened¹¹ and rubbed smooth,¹² and (at least sometimes) were poisoned.¹³ The bow, when not in use, was of course left unstrung, and while being held for stringing was kept in place by the foot: hence 'to tread the bow'¹⁴ means to string it. Slingers are mentioned as taking part in warfare,¹⁵ and the use of the sling was brought to as high efficiency as the use of the boomerang among Australian aborigines,¹⁶ but the art was doubtless developed normally in hunting rather than in war.

Defensive equipment consisted of a helmet (*kōbha'*)¹⁷ and a breastplate (*shiryón* or *siryón*)¹⁸; the latter was sometimes

¹ Judges xx. 2, &c.

² 1 Sam. xvii. 45, 47, xviii. 10 f., xix. 9 f., xx. 33.

³ Judges v. 8; Num. xxv. 7; cf. Jer. xlvi. 4.

⁴ 1 Kings xviii. 28.

⁵ Judges iii. 16; Prov. v. 4; Ps. cxlix. 6.

⁶ Judges viii. 20, ix. 54, &c.

⁷ Judges iii. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 39. Note that Ehud, being left-handed, carried his sword on his *right* side, thus disarming suspicion.

⁸ Gen. xlvi. 22; 1 Sam. xviii. 4, &c.

⁹ Isa. xxii. 6, xlix. 2; Ps. cxxvii. 5. Whether there was any difference between the warrior's quiver and that of the hunter (*téli*, Gen. xxvii. 3) is uncertain.

¹⁰ 2 Kings xix. 32, &c.

¹¹ Isa. v. 28.

¹² Isa. xlix. 2.

¹³ Job vi. 4.

¹⁴ Isa. v. 28; Lam. iii. 12.

¹⁵ 2 Kings iii. 25; Judges xx. 16.

¹⁶ Judges xx. 16.

¹⁷ 1 Sam. xvii. 5; (see also *ver.* 38); Isa. lix. 17.

¹⁸ 1 Sam. xvii. 5; 1 Kings xxii. 34.

formed of overlapping plates (*kaskassîm*)¹ attached to the breastplate with rivets (*masmerîm*),² the point of junction of the plates with the frames of the breastplate being called *débhek* (pl. *d'bhakîm*).³ Another interpretation, however, is that the overlapping plates were attached to the lower edge of the breastplate and formed a protection for the lower part of the body. The former interpretation best suits the description of Goliath's breastplate, and there is no evidence that the plates hung down below it. According to the former explanation of the breastplate the arrow that killed Ahab penetrated between the overlapping plates and the frame to which they were attached.⁴

It is not quite clear what is to be understood by the warrior's girdle (*ḥagôra*),⁵ which perhaps formed some protection for the lower part of the body. It is to be noted, however, that the corresponding verb⁶ is used for putting on various sorts of equipment, and the word *ḥagôra* may therefore, when used of a warrior, have a somewhat wider meaning. Isaiah mentions a belt, *ēzôr*,⁷ to which the sword was probably attached. The legs were sometimes protected with greaves (*mişḥa*),⁸ which in the case of Goliath were of bronze.

¹ 1 Sam. xvii. 5.

² Isa. xli. 7. This word is usually rendered 'nails', a rendering which receives some support from Jer. x. 4. 'Rivets' would, however, suit that passage equally well, and also 1 Chron. xxii. 3, 2 Chron. iii. 9, Eccles. xii. 11. Unfortunately it is not quite clear whether the sarcasm in Isa. xli. 7 is directed towards the making of idol images to help in the crisis, or towards the manufacture of armour. The former interpretation has been inferred from Jer. x. 4 (cf. Isa. xli. 12 ff.). It is, however, to be noted that the word *ḥārāsh*, rendered 'carpenter' in Isa. xli. 7, may equally well mean 'smith', and that *šōrēph*, rendered 'goldsmith', though commonly used of one who refines precious metals, is equally applicable to one who smelts any sort of ore. The mention of the anvil in Isa. xli. 7 does not seem applicable to the beating of gold plates.

³ Isa. xli. 7.

⁴ 1 Kings xxii. 34.

⁵ 2 Kings iii. 21.

⁶ Deut. i. 41; 1 Sam. xxv. 13; Judges iii. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 39; 1 Kings xx. 11.

⁷ Isa. v. 27.

⁸ 1 Sam. xvii. 6.

Shoes, when worn, appear to have been of the ordinary kind.¹

In addition to the armour which he wore the warrior carried a shield (*māghēn*),² which was greased to make the surface more slippery. Besides the *māghēn* there was a very large shield (*šinna*) covering the whole body.³ This seems to have been part of the equipment of the ordinary soldier, and when not needed in actual conflict it was carried before the warrior to whom it belonged by a person called a gear-carrier (*Scottice* 'caddie').⁴ It was pointed out by Robertson Smith that the right translation of 1 Sam. xvii. 41 is 'the man (*sc.* Goliath) was carrying the great shield in front of him'—consequently no part of him was exposed except his face, so that it required an expert marksman to hit a vulnerable spot.

The Hebrews being highlanders rather than dwellers in the plains, did not originally possess cavalry, and fought best on foot.⁵ Their later emulation of their neighbours in this respect called forth many an indignant protest from the prophets, who saw with alarm the growth of a jingo spirit.⁶

Horses were not bred in Palestine, where the ass was the ordinary beast of burden, but were imported from Egypt.⁷ Cavalry, however, seem to have been employed by the Hebrew kings in early times.⁸

That division of the army which may be regarded as cavalry seems to have consisted of two classes, those who fought from chariots and those who rode on horseback.

¹ 1 Kings ii. 5; Isa. v. 27. The shoes mentioned in Isa. ix. 4 (E.V. *ver.* 5) are those worn by foreign soldiery.

² Judges v. 8; 2 Sam. i. 21; Isa. xxi. 5.

³ 1 Kings x. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 41.

⁴ Judges ix. 54; 1 Sam. xiv. 1, &c.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 37.

⁵ 1 Kings xx. 23.

⁶ Amos iv. 10; Hos. i. 7, xiv. 4 (E.V. *ver.* 3); Isa. ii. 7; Mic. v. 9 (E.V. *ver.* 10); Deut. xvii. 16.

⁷ Deut. xi. 4, xvii. 16; Isa. xxxi. 1, 3; 1 Kings x. 28.

⁸ 2 Sam. xv. 1; 1 Kings v. 6, 8 (E.V. iv. 26, 28), xviii. 5.

Ahab rides in a chariot driven by a charioteer (*rakkābh*),¹ but if we may trust the pointing of the Hebrew the same word elsewhere is used of a rider on horseback.²

Besides the *rakkābh* of a chariot we hear of a warrior called *shālīsh*. This word apparently means 'a third man', and it may originally have denoted the third man in a chariot. The connexion in which we find the word, however, scarcely favours such an etymology, and it has evidently come to be the title of an officer.³ The *shālīshīm* of Pharaoh⁴ belonged apparently to the cavalry, since there is no mention of infantry,⁵ but not, it would seem, to the rank and file. Cavalry (in our sense of the term) evidently existed,⁶ and the numerous references to infantry⁷ make it clear that, at all events when the narratives took shape, cavalry formed an important part of an army.

Of military organization we have a few hints. The King was, of course, the war-lord. But under him there was a chief of the army (*sar haṣṣābhā*)⁸ together with a number of subordinate officers, having under them respectively a thousand,⁹ a hundred,¹⁰ fifty men,¹¹ &c.

We read also of cavalry officers.¹²

The favourite tactics in attacking seem to have been to divide the attacking force into three, and to make the attack at three points simultaneously.¹³ The siege opera-

¹ 1 Kings xxii. 34.

² 2 Kings ix. 17, 19. The verb, however, connected with the noun *rakkābh* is also used of the rider of the ass behind which apparently the Shunammite lady rode pillion (2 Kings iv. 24). It is to be noted that there is a word *pārāsh*, meaning 'horse', which the Massorettes always understood in the sense of 'horsemen'. In Jer. xlvi. 4, Isa. xxviii. 28, for example, horses, not horsemen, are indicated.

³ See 2 Kings vii. 2, 17, 19, ix. 25.

⁴ Exod. xv. 4. ⁵ See Exod. xiv. 23.

⁶ Isa. xxx. 16, xxxvi. 8; Jer. xlvi. 4.

⁷ Exod. xii. 37; Num. xi. 21; Judges xx. 2; 1 Sam. iv. 10, xv. 4; 2 Sam. x. 6; 1 Kings xx. 29; 2 Kings xiii. 7; Jer. xii. 5.

⁸ 1 Sam. xvii. 55; 1 Kings i. 19. ⁹ Exod. xviii. 21, 25.

¹⁰ 1 Sam. xxii. 7. ¹¹ 2 Kings i. 9. ¹² 1 Kings xxii. 32.

¹³ Judges vii. 16; 1 Sam. xi. 11, xiii. 17; cf. Gen. xiv. 15.

tions of which we read are for the most part directed against Israel by foreigners, and therefore need not be discussed here. Of the sieges carried out by Israelites¹ we have no precise information.

OWNERS OF FLOCKS AND HERDS

Among those elements of the population of Palestine who could trace their lineage back to the people whom Moses had led out of Egypt, the most common source of livelihood and, socially, the next in importance to the life of a warrior, was the possession of sheep and goats and cattle. Camels were a source of wealth to those who continued to lead a nomadic life, and the possession of them would be almost a necessity to those who lived on the edge of the desert, but otherwise it is unlikely that they were in general use. Shepherding is regarded in that document of the Pentateuch known as J as one of the earliest occupations, as is instanced by Abel,² Jabel,³ Abraham,⁴ Isaac,⁵ Laban,⁶ Jacob and his sons;⁷ and, in later times, Jesse,⁸ Nabal,⁹ &c., are large sheep-owners. Although the owner might, like Abraham, employ slaves to oversee his flocks and herds, there was nothing derogatory to his rank in tending the animals himself with the help of his family. In fact, the possession and care of flocks and herds seems to have been regarded as altogether superior to agriculture as a livelihood.¹⁰ This must not be understood as meaning that those who led the life of Bedouin never cultivated land,¹¹ but merely that such agriculture as they undertook was not their main source of wealth.

¹ E.g. Judges ix. 51 ff. ; 2 Sam. xi. 1 ff. ; 2 Kings iii. 25 ff. ; cf. Isa. xxii. 9-11.

² Gen. iv. 2.

³ Gen. iv. 20.

⁴ Gen. xiii. 2.

⁵ Gen. xxvi. 14.

⁶ Gen. xxx. 31 ff.

⁷ Gen. xxx. 43, xlv. 10, xlvi. 32.

⁸ 1 Sam. xvi. 11.

⁹ 1 Sam. xxv. 2.

¹⁰ See, for example, 2 Kings xxv. 12. We may be pretty certain that flocks and herds had been seized by the Chaldeans.

¹¹ Gen. xxxvii. 7.

Young boys and girls were employed to overlook flocks in their pasture-ground and to lead them to the watering place.¹ In the wilderness pasture-grounds folds² were constructed, into which the sheep could be gathered for counting³ or other purposes, and we read also of towers⁴ as a protection for the shepherds.

There was, however, much to be done in a shepherd's life beyond taking care that his sheep should not stray and bringing them to the watering: as a matter of fact a shepherd's life was a hard and strenuous one. He had to guard not only his sheep, but also himself from raiders who sought to take possession of his flocks.⁵ For this purpose, in addition to the staff (*matte*)⁶ which served as an alpenstock, he carried a club (*shébet*)⁷ as a means of defence against both man and beast. Sheep dogs are not mentioned till the Greek period,⁸ nor indeed in pre-exilic times is there any hint of domestic dogs. We have in later literature mention of watch dogs,⁹ which were evidently sheep dogs. Shepherding involved watching in the cold of the night and in the heat of the day.¹⁰ The shepherd was held responsible for keeping the flock intact,¹¹ so that he would attack in defence of the sheep not only the lion,¹² but also the still more dreaded bear.¹³ He has to take care that the flocks were not overdriven,¹⁴ and frequently to carry the lambs.¹⁵

The occasion of merry-making in the pastoral life, which

¹ Gen. xxiv. 13-20, xxix. 6 ff.; Exod. ii. 16; 1 Sam. xvi. 11.

² Zeph. ii. 6. ³ Jer. xxxiii. 12, 13.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxvi. 10. ⁵ Cf. Job i. 17. ⁶ Gen. xxxviii. 18.

⁷ This when used as part of the insignia of royalty is commonly rendered *sceptre*. A better translation, however, would be *mace*, e.g. Ps. xlv. 6.

⁸ Job xxx. 1; cf. Tobit v. 16, xi. 4.

⁹ Isa. lvi. 10, 11. ¹⁰ Gen. xxxi. 40.

¹¹ Exod. xxii. 13; cf. Gen. xxxi. 38.

¹² Amos iii. 12; 1 Sam. xvii. 34.

¹³ Amos v. 19, which gives the Hebrew equivalent for 'out of the frying-pan into the fire'.

¹⁴ Gen. xxxiii. 13.

¹⁵ Isa. xl. 11.

corresponds to the harvest or vintage in that of the husbandman, was shearing-time.¹ Incidentally it may be noticed that the value of sheep lay in their wool² rather than in their flesh, though the latter was not despised. Wool was in great request for clothing.³ The warm garments made of the yarn spun by the great lady of the house and her maidens were evidently woollen; ⁴ and the express prohibition of wool in the garments of the priests ⁵ is a clear indication that it was normally worn by others.

HUNTING

To a certain extent, and in certain districts, hunting was a necessity, not merely for the sake of obtaining food, but also in order to keep down the number of beasts of prey. The hot valley through which the Jordan flows with its thickets afforded cover to lions⁶ and other wild beasts. It would seem that noxious beasts, such as lions, were either caught in pits⁷ or ensnared in nets.⁸ Incredible as it may appear to those acquainted with the African lion, lions and the still more dreaded bear were sometimes attacked and killed with a club.⁹ Occasionally, but by no means always,¹⁰ a lion might be scared away with shouts. A bear robbed of her whelps is an example of the fiercest of living creatures.¹¹ Leopards appear to have been as much, if not more, feared than lions,¹² and wolves were evidently a continually recurring scourge.¹³ There is no certain evidence that hyenas existed in Palestine in Old Testament times, though the Septuagint translators found a reference to them in Jer. xii. 9. That they did once exist there, however,

¹ 1 Sam. xxv. 4, 8.

² 2 Kings iii. 4.

³ Job xxxi. 20; Prov. xxvii. 26.

⁴ Prov. xxxi. 21.

⁵ Ezek. xliv. 17.

⁶ Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44.

⁷ 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; Ezek. xix. 4; cf. Jer. xviii. 20; Ps. xxxv. 7, &c.

⁸ Ezek. xix. 8; cf. xii. 13.

⁹ 1 Sam. xvii. 34 f.

¹⁰ Isa. xxxi. 4.

¹¹ 2 Sam. xvii. 8; Hos. xiii. 8; Prov. xvii. 12.

¹² Hos. xiii. 7; Jer. v. 6; Hab. i. 8.

¹³ Jer. v. 8; Hab. i. 6; Zeph. iii. 3.

is evident from place-names.¹ Other wild creatures, such as jackals (*tannim*),² whose dismal howling suggested the wailing of mourners,³ foxes,⁴ and pariah dogs,⁵ were plentiful, but were not regarded as a menace to the living,⁶ and would not normally be hunted unless they were a nuisance in the vineyards.⁷ In the hunting of game (including antelopes and various kinds of deer and wild goats),⁸ bows and arrows⁹ were used, the latter being apparently sometimes poisoned.¹⁰ Snaring by means of various contrivances of nets¹¹ was extensively employed, especially for birds,¹² and traps were also used which sprang up with the weight of the bird and caught it.¹³

There are various references to fishers, fishing, and fish-hooks,¹⁴ and it may be assumed that fishing was always an important industry in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee. In the greater part of the country, however, there were no streams in which fish could live. It is significant that fish is not mentioned in Solomon's bill of fare.¹⁵ In post-exilic times there was apparently a fish-market at Jerusalem, the trade being in the hands of Syrians.¹⁶ The dugong was harpooned¹⁷ for the sake of its skin,¹⁸ but this does not appear to have been an Israelite industry.

¹ E.g. 'Zeboim', 1 Sam. xiii. 18; Neh. xi. 34.

² Jer. ix. 11 (*Heb.* 10); Isa. xxxiv. 13; Ps. xlv. 19.

³ Mic. i. 8; Isa. xiii. 22.

⁴ Ezek. xiii. 4; Neh. iv. 3 (*Heb.* iii. 35). It is possible that the same word was also applied to jackals.

⁵ 1 Kings xiv. 11; 2 Kings ix. 10, 36; Jer. xv. 3.

⁶ The references to dogs in the Psalms (xxii. 16, 20, lxxviii. 23) imply that the dogs only attack the dead or dying.

⁷ Cant. ii. 15.

⁸ See Deut. xiv. 4 ff. ⁹ Gen. xxvii. 3.

¹⁰ Job vi. 4.

¹¹ Isa. li. 20; cf. Mic. vii. 2; Ps. cxli. 10.

¹² Prov. i. 17.

¹³ Amos iii. 5.

¹⁴ Jer. xvi. 16; Ezek. xlvii. 9 f.; Eccles. ix. 12; Amos iv. 2; Ezek. xxix. 4; cf. Lev. xi. 9 ff.

¹⁵ 1 Kings iv. 22 f.

¹⁶ Neh. iii. 3, xii. 39; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. The 'Fish Gate' was certainly pre-exilic; see Zeph. i. 10 and the true text of 2 Kings xxiii. 8.

¹⁷ Job xli. 7.

¹⁸ Ezek. xvi. 10; Exod. xxv. 5, xxxvi. 19.

AGRICULTURE

Apart from the large towns, though even these had their fields, the cultivators of which lived within the walls, the greater part of the population was engaged in agriculture. It is noteworthy that those who cultivated the land, the 'ploughman' and the 'vine-dresser', seem to have been regarded as socially somewhat inferior.¹ This general truth, however, must not be exaggerated or unduly insisted upon, since, for example, Boaz, and Kish, the father of Saul, are evidently regarded as belonging to the gentry. Nevertheless, in the late post-exilic ideal of peace after victory,² husbandmen together with shepherds held a subordinate position in society. This might mean that the Israelites will no longer be obliged to maintain themselves by hard work: nevertheless Ben Sira seems to consider husbandmen of least account among those who live by manual labour.³ In any case it is likely that in the days of the Hebrew monarchy the small cultivators were to a large extent descended from the Canaanite population, and were accordingly regarded by the conquering Hebrews much as the Norman settlers regarded the pre-Conquest inhabitants of England. The Book of Hosea, with its vehement denunciations of the superstitions surviving among the agricultural community,⁴ is sufficient evidence of this Canaanite element in the population; and we know how frequently both in Britain and on the Continent primitive paganism has survived with, or even without, a veneer of Christianity.

It is, however, an indication of the great importance of agriculture in primitive times that the year ended after the ingathering of the summer fruits, and that seed-time and harvest, summer—used also to denote the fruit which ripens in summer—and winter, are the most ancient divisions of the year,⁵ and that the three obligatory feasts

¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 14, xxv. 12. ² Isa. lxi. 5. ³ Ecclus. xxxviii. 25 ff.

⁴ See especially Hos. ii.

⁵ Gen. viii. 22.

of the oldest legislation¹ are the feast of unleavened bread at the beginning of barley harvest, the feast of weeks about the conclusion of wheat harvest, and *sukκόth*, i.e. 'arbours', the feast of the ingathering of summer fruits, including the vintage.

The beasts of burden used in agriculture were the ox and the ass. The latter was of little use for really heavy work, and therefore was not to be yoked with the stronger ox,² though it is mentioned as used in tillage.³ Hybrids are forbidden by the law,⁴ and it is therefore probable that the word *péredh*, fem. *pirda*, commonly rendered 'mules', originally denoted asses specially broken in for riding. The only horses mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures were cavalry horses,⁵ and these were not bred in Palestine.

The yoke (*'ól*) used in ploughing or drawing loads was presumably like that which is still in use in Palestine, viz. a wooden beam slightly shaped where it rested on the neck, with two pairs of short thick wooden rods mortised into the beam and projecting downwards from it at right angles to it, each pair serving as a collar. Above the beam, half-way between the above-mentioned pairs of rods, was a short, stout projection to which the plough was fastened. The wooden rods would be apt to press on the back of the oxen's jaws, and Hosea draws a picture of a humane husbandman, who takes thought for his beasts and lifts the yoke away from their jaws to enable them to eat.⁶ The yoke was fastened beneath the neck with bands

¹ Exod. xxiii. 14-16, xxxiv. 18, 22.

² Deut. xxii. 10; Prov. xiv. 4.

³ Isa. xxx. 24. The word *'ayārtm*, which the English versions here render 'young asses' rather means 'fine ass stallions'.

⁴ Lev. xix. 19.

⁵ The exact point of Amos vi. 12 is not quite clear, but it is probably merely an example of the impossible. In any case the horses mentioned are not thought of as used in agriculture, for *running* in such a case would be out of the question.

⁶ Hos. xi. 4.

(*môsērôth*),¹ and in dragging loads ropes (*'abhôthâm* or *habhâlîm*) were used as traces.²

The yoke for animals (*'ôl*) must not be confused with the *môt* or *môta*, also translated 'yoke', which was some sort of pole borne on the shoulders of two men.³ The word is also used of a similar contrivance intended to be borne by one man, presumably so arranged on a man's shoulder that a load could be fastened to the projecting ends in front and behind.⁴

Of agricultural implements the one of primary importance was, of course, the plough. This was perhaps known as a *maḥarêsha*,⁵ but the text of the passage in which the word occurs is too corrupt to speak with certainty. A ploughshare, of metal (𐤍𐤍, *êth*),⁶ is mentioned; in lieu of a whip a goad (*dorbân*)⁷ was used to drive the oxen. After ploughing some sort of harrow was used for breaking clods and levelling the surface.⁸

Of the process of sowing, which was of course broadcast,⁹ we have no precise information, except that the inferior seed-crop was sown at the border of the plot of ground,¹⁰ so that the wheat and the barley when in ear might escape being plucked by passers-by.¹¹

¹ Jer. xxx. 8.

² Hos. xi. 4. There can be little doubt that the vocalic punctuation here should be amended. Jehovah is not compared to an ox which draws a wagon—a comparison scarcely compatible with reverence—but, as the subsequent context shows, to a husbandman who takes kindly care of his beasts. We should therefore read 'I (*sc.* Jehovah) made them (*sc.* Israel) draw', &c. For the figure, cf. Hos. x. 11; Isa. v. 18.

³ Num. iv. 10, 12, xiii. 23.

⁴ Jer. xxviii. 10, 13; Isa. lviii. 6.

⁵ 1 Sam. xiii. 20 f.

⁶ Joel iii. 10 (*Heb.* iv. 10); Isa. ii. 4.

⁷ 1 Sam. xiii. 21.

⁸ Hos. x. 11; Isa. xxviii. 24; Job xxxix. 10.

⁹ Isa. xxviii. 25. There is no reference here to planting the seed in any sort of shallow furrow. The word rendered in the E.V. 'in rows' is merely an incorrect form of the word for barley, and similarly the word rendered 'in the appointed place' is a mistaken form of that rendered 'spelt'.

¹⁰ Isa. xxviii. 25.

¹¹ Deut. xxiii. 25.

Corn was reaped with a sickle (*maggāl*¹ or *hermēsh*²), after which it was bound into bundles.³ These bundles or sheaves and, possibly, unbound corn were collected into some sort of heap (*gādīsh*)⁴ in the field, like shocks in an English cornfield. The lifting up from the ground of such a heap or shock is compared to the burial of a man in a good old age,⁵ where the point of comparison seems to be the bringing of it to its final resting-place, the barn or store.

After the corn was bound, gleaners were allowed to collect all that was left on the ground and to take standing corn in corners which could not easily be cut with a sickle.⁶ We may perhaps infer from the story of Ruth⁷ that all harvesters were not as kindly as Boaz.

Carts were in use, though in much of the land the nature of the ground would make their use almost impossible. They would usually be drawn by a pair of oxen,⁸ and were not only used for carrying sheaves⁹ and the like, but also, like threshing-sledges, to beat out the grain.¹⁰ When used for carrying persons¹¹ or valuables they were sometimes covered.¹²

Threshing, when not done on a small scale with a flail or rod,¹³ was effected by means of a threshing-sledge (*mōragh*, pl. *mōriggīm*),¹⁴ sometimes called merely 'sharp' (*hārūš*),¹⁵ from the fact that sharp stones or iron teeth were fastened to its under surface. This was drawn by oxen¹⁶ over the corn strewn on the threshing-floor, which was a circular enclosure bounded by big stones, the ground so enclosed being beaten hard. The effect of the sharp stones or iron

¹ Jer. i. 16; Joel iii. 13 (*Heb.* iv. 13).

² Deut. xvi. 9, xxiii. 25.

³ Gen. xxxvii. 7; Ps. cxxvi. 6, cxxix. 7.

⁴ Exod. xxii. 6 (*Heb.* 5); Judges xv. 5.

⁵ Job v. 26.

⁶ Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22; cf. Deut. xxiv. 19.

⁷ Ruth ii. 2.

⁸ Num. vii. 3.

⁹ Amos ii. 13.

¹⁰ Isa. xxviii. 27, 28.

¹¹ Gen. xlv. 19.

¹² Num. vii. 3.

¹³ Judges vi. 11; Ruth ii. 17.

¹⁴ 2 Sam. xxiv. 22; Isa. xli. 15.

¹⁵ Isa. xxviii. 27, pl. *hārūšōth*, Amos i. 3.

¹⁶ Deut. xxv. 4.

teeth was not only to loosen the grain from the chaff, but also to chop up the straw. This chopped straw (*tébben*) served as provender.¹ The threshing-floors were in exposed situations, and winnowing was effected by throwing into the air with large shovels (which seem to have been of somewhat varied forms²) the mixed grain and chaff, so that the chaff and fragments of straw were blown away.³ The heavier threshing-sledges or carts were not used for the softer grains.⁴

The mention of mixed provender,⁵ which might be seasoned or leavened (*hāmīš*),⁶ suggests that grape-skins, &c., used in the making of wine were sometimes mixed with the provender, somewhat as brewers' 'grains' are nowadays given to cows. Some sort of hay is mentioned,⁷ and it is implied in the food taken into the Ark for the animals.⁸ Fodder, excluding *tébben*, is called *mispó*.⁹

Of the breaking up of the ground for cultivation otherwise than with the plough there is no definite mention. The plough would, however, have been impossible in gardens, and some sort of digging-stick (*yāthēdh*) is mentioned among other implements (*azēnīm*).¹⁰

In connexion with vine-culture we have mention of *mazmērōth*, generally translated 'pruning-hooks'.¹¹ The use, however, of a word from the same root denoting apparently snuffers for trimming the wicks of lamps may

¹ Gen. xxiv. 25, 32; Judges xix. 19; Isa. xi. 7.

² Isa. xxx. 24.

³ Hos. xiii. 3; Jer. xiii. 24.

⁴ Isa. xxviii. 27.

⁵ Isa. xxx. 24; Job vi. 5.

⁶ Isa. xxx. 24.

⁷ Prov. xxvii. 25.

⁸ Gen. vi. 21.

⁹ Gen. xxiv. 25, 32, xlii. 27, xliii. 24.

¹⁰ Deut. xxiii. 13 (*Heb.* 14). The word *yāthēdh* seems to have been used to denote a variety of utensils. It is not only used of a tent-peg, but of other articles which, like a tent-peg, projected at the top on one or both sides. Thus, as Robertson Smith pointed out, in Judges v. 26 it seems to mean a *hammer*, and in Judges xvi. 14 the *shuttle* (*hā-ʿeregh* is a gloss, and should be deleted), with which Delilah tapped to summon the Philistines.

¹¹ Joel iii. 10 (*Heb.* iv. 10); Isa. ii. 4.

perhaps indicate that the *mazmērôth* were not bill-hooks, but rather shears for pruning. It may be noted that the word *zāmēr*,¹ often rendered 'the singing of birds', more probably means 'the pruning', *sc.* of the vines.

The peasant cultivators of the land in Palestine were for the most part poor, and doubtless many possessed but one ox or cow.² The Deuteronomic code—in strong contrast to what may too often be seen in the East at the present time—is remarkable in inculcating a kindly care for animals,³ forbidding the muzzling of the ox when treading out the corn⁴ or the yoking together of animals of such unequal strength as the ox and the ass.⁵ From the mention of a muzzle⁶ it may be inferred that there was a use of the muzzle which was regarded as legitimate, probably to keep it from eating standing corn in the field of another.⁷

For riding-animals some sort of bit (*méthegh*)⁸ was in use.

There are some slight indications that some attempts to manure the arable lands were made in both pre-exilic and post-exilic times;⁹ and a dung-heap is mentioned.¹⁰ Every seventh year the land was allowed to lie fallow.¹¹

After the ploughing, which took place in autumn and, except in the case of the lazy, was mostly finished before

¹ Cant. ii. 12.

² Cf. Isa. vii. 21.

³ Cf. also Hos. xi. 4.

⁴ Deut. xxv. 4.

⁵ Deut. xxii. 10. Since this prohibition is immediately followed by a law forbidding the weaving together of wool and linen, it may perhaps be imagined that it is due not so much to humanitarian considerations as to some ancient and perhaps forgotten taboo. The conjunction of the two laws, however, may be reasonably explained by their general similarity, and the latter is enjoined for a reason totally distinct from the former. We know from Ezek. xliv. 17 that woollen garments were forbidden to the priests while ministering in the inner court, and a similar prohibition may have been in force for the laity when taking part in holy rites. It would therefore be essential that there should be no risk of mistake.

⁶ Ps. xxxix. 1 (2).

⁷ Exod. xxii. 5.

⁸ Prov. xxvi. 3; Isa. xxxvii. 29.

⁹ 2 Kings ix. 37; Jer. viii. 2, ix. 22, xvi. 4, xxv. 33.

¹⁰ Isa. xxv. 10.

¹¹ Exod. xxiii. 10 ff.

the beginning of winter,¹ the sowing naturally followed. It would seem from the corrected text of Hag. ii. 19, which if we may accept the date given in vv. 10, 18, was uttered on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month—i.e. apparently, mid-December—the seed was then not yet sown, and agricultural operations were at a standstill. The ordinary sowing-time therefore would appear to have been not earlier than mid-December.

The seeds sown were wheat, which was naturally most prized,² barley,³ lentils,⁴ millet,⁵ spelt,⁵ and beans.⁵ The bread which Ezekiel baked, by way of illustrating what might be expected in a siege, was made of mixed meal and was evidently not unlike the composition which was called by courtesy bread during the late War. Agriculture was considered a somewhat hard life;⁶ in fact, work in general was regarded as a necessary evil.⁷

Barley harvest began as a rule before the end of April,⁸ and wheat harvest was usually finished about seven weeks later.⁹ The corn was reaped with a sickle, and afterwards bound into sheaves.¹⁰ As in England before the invention of reaping-machines, much corn was left on the ground, which was eagerly sought by gleaners.¹¹ The harvesters were also expected to leave on the stalk corn growing in corners not easily cut with the sickle.¹¹

Of domestic animals other than those used for ploughing or for drawing loads the ordinary peasant possessed but few. Indeed even his cows were, when possible, used for ploughing.¹² The milch cows which drew the cart containing the Ark,¹³ being sacred, were offered as a whole burnt-offering, but the oxen with which Elisha had ploughed provided a meal,¹⁴ which, at that date, was of course at a sanctuary.

¹ Prov. xx. 4.² Exod. xxix. 2.³ Isa. xxviii. 25.⁴ Gen. xxv. 34; ² Sam. xvii. 28.⁵ Ezek. iv. 9.⁶ Gen. iii. 17 f.⁷ Prov. xvi. 26; Eccles. vi. 7.⁸ Exod. xxiii. 15.⁹ Deut. xvi. 9.¹⁰ Gen. xxxvii. 7.¹¹ Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22.¹² Hos. x. 11.¹³ 1 Sam. vi. 14.¹⁴ 1 Kings xix. 21.

The animal called in the English versions a 'fatted calf' ('*éghel marbēk*'),¹ being specially fattened and not used for work, was a delicacy. In general, beef when it was eaten must have been pretty tough. Two or three sheep or goats were kept by the small holder.² It is unlikely that unclean animals, such as pigs, were kept to any extent before the Greek period, when there were not only many Greek settlers, but also a considerable number of lax, if not actually apostate, Jews.³ The comparison of the beauty of a fair woman without discretion to a gold ring in a swine's snout⁴ suggests that, as at the present time, pigs were ringed to prevent them from routing.

Of domesticated birds we read of the dove and the pigeon: the words so translated (*tōr* and *yōna*) being, apparently, used somewhat less specifically than the English renderings would imply. It may certainly be inferred from a late passage⁵ that dove-cots were in use. According to Jeremiah,⁶ however, the *tōr* (i.e. turtle-dove) is a migratory bird, and this seems inconsistent with its domestication. On the other hand, doves and pigeons are prescribed as the victims in certain sacrifices,⁷ and such a prescription can scarcely apply to wild birds. Perhaps the explanation is that the same words were applied both to domesticated and to wild doves and pigeons.

Those doves or pigeons which constituted the 'sin-offering' as distinct from the 'burnt-offering' were, of course, holy, and could therefore only be eaten by priests in a holy place. It has been suggested that the reason why,

¹ The '*éghel marbēk* was not a calf (i.e. its flesh was beef rather than veal) but a *fully developed beast*, which not having been worked was fat and tender. The word rendered 'gambol' (Mal. iv. 2) means rather 'to tread heavily'. The point of Hab. i. 8 is not that the horses (read *p'rāshāw* for *pārāshāw*) rear, but that those who are prostrate before them are crushed. Similarly, the cow that trod on the corn (Jer. l. 11) trod heavily and not like a mere calf.

² Isa. vii. 21.

³ Cf. 1 Macc. i. 13 ff.

⁴ Prov. xi. 22.

⁵ Isa. lx. 8.

⁶ Jer. viii. 7; cf. Cant. ii. 12.

⁷ Lev. i. 14, v. 7, xii. 8, xiv. 22; cf. Gen. xv. 9.

in the case of birds as victims, *two* were required, whereas in the case of mammals *one* sufficed, was because birds were deficient in those portions (kidney-fat, &c.) which were normally burnt on the altar, and that this deficiency was compensated by the burning of one bird as a 'burnt-offering'. This will also account for the fact that they could not be used for the ordinary 'peace-offerings'. Moreover in connexion with sacrifice they were prescribed for the poor, who could not afford as much as a lamb. The evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that before the adoption of the Deuteronomic law, that allowed the non-ritual slaughter of creatures which previously could only be slain at a sanctuary, doves and pigeons were only kept to supply sacrificial victims. In later times there was no objection to their consumption as ordinary food.

Of other domesticated birds there is no hint, with the possible exception of the fatted *barbûrîm* (A.V. 'fowl') mentioned in Solomon's bill of fare.¹ It is, however, very uncertain what the *barbûrîm* were.

LAND DIVISION

At this point it is desirable to treat of the division and ownership of the cultivated land.

There are three terms applicable to the ownership of land, *yerushshā*, *aḥuzzā*, and *naḥalā*. The first of these words need not necessarily apply to land, and merely denotes property, the existing owners of which have acquired it either by what we should call inheritance, or by dispossessing its former owners—by fair means or by foul. The word *aḥuzzā* is nearly equivalent to 'freehold', though not necessarily the freehold of an *individual* owner. The third term *naḥalā* has no exact equivalent in modern English, and requires more careful consideration. The verb *nāḥal* (from the same root as *naḥalā*) in its various conjugations is in frequent use: in the causation conjugation it has the

¹ 1 Kings iv. 23 (*Heb.* v. 3).

sense of apportioning land,¹ and both in the primary and intensive reflexive conjugations it means to receive land as apportioned.² The familiar renderings 'inherit', 'cause to inherit', are entirely misleading. Even in the law respecting a man's apportionment of his land among his sons³ it is contemplated that such apportionment will take place in the father's lifetime, and there is nothing to prove that the reference is to inheritance after his death. The apportionment of the land of Canaan after the Hebrew conquest is said to have been made by casting lots;⁴ and centuries after the conquest the same method of apportioning land is seen to be still in use.⁵ It will be remembered that the result of lots cast with due formalities was regarded as a divine decision.⁶

Land so apportioned was known as *naḥalā*, and each of the parts into which it was divided was known as a 'portion' (*ḥēlek*).⁷ Both the verb *nāḥal* and the noun *naḥalā* are frequently used metaphorically of Jehovah and Israel, Israel being represented as Jehovah's *naḥalā*, that is as the portion of land which He, so to speak, specially cares for and cultivates. The *locus classicus* of this metaphor is Deut. xxxii. 8, 9. According to the reading of the Hebrew text, followed in the English versions, the meaning is that when the Most High allotted to the various nations their territory He so divided the earth as to give to Israel sufficient land. According to the reading of the Septuagint, however, which harmonizes much better with ver. 9, the passage should be translated as follows: 'When the Most High allotted the Nations'—the nations being

¹ Deut. i. 38, xix. 3, xxxi. 7; Joshua i. 6.

² Exod. xxiii. 30, xxxii. 13; Num. xviii. 20; Deut. xix. 14.

³ Deut. xxi. 16.

⁴ Num. xxvi. 55, 56, xxxiii. 54, xxxiv. 13; Joshua xviii. 6, &c.

⁵ Mic. ii. 5. ⁶ Joshua xviii. 6; Prov. xvi. 33.

⁷ It is noteworthy that the word *ḥēlek*, which originally means merely a portion or share of anything (e.g. of booty of war, Gen. xiv. 24), may be used of land without further qualification (e.g. Hos. v. 7; Mic. ii. 4).

compared to land which is to be allotted to various cultivators—‘when He separated mankind, He set the boundaries of peoples according to the number of the gods.’¹ For His people is Jehovah’s portion (*hēlek*), Jacob is the measure (*lit.* ‘line’) of His *naḥalā*: that is to say, Jehovah has allotted to each god a nation as a *naḥalā*, but He has reserved Israel to be His own *naḥalā*.

If Deuteronomy may be dated in the sixth century B.C., or even if it be as early as the eighth century B.C., it is sufficiently far removed in time from the allotment of land after the Hebrew conquest of Canaan to make it extremely improbable that it was this which suggested the poet’s metaphor. We may therefore conclude—which is indeed pretty clearly indicated—that the apportionment of land was a familiar process long after the first allotment of the conquered territory. A metaphorical expression may indeed be used proverbially after the usage which originally suggested it has become obsolete; it will,

¹ Literally, ‘sons of Elôhîm’. The word ‘sons’ is frequently used to denote members of a class, e.g. ‘sons of the prophets’, ‘sons of the door-keepers’ (Ezra ii. 42). The sons of the *elôhîm* (Job i. 6, ii. 1) are obviously not regarded as sons of Jehovah, but as *members of the class of supernatural beings*, subordinated to Jehovah, whom He is represented as taking into His confidence (Gen. i. 26; 1 Kings xxii. 19). In such a connexion the rendering ‘gods’ is the best. It is, however, a wholly gratuitous and unwarrantable assumption that the poet quoted above intended his words to be taken *au pied de la lettre*. When Gustave Doré painted ‘The Triumph of the Cross’, and depicted Jupiter with his thunderbolts falling from heaven, it would be doing the French painter a gross injustice to argue from his picture that he believed in the objective reality of Jupiter. The author of Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, is poetically stating the undoubted fact that Jehovah was not worshipped by nations other than Israel or regarded by them as caring for their welfare. Such nations, if they had used the Hebrew metaphor, would have represented themselves each as the *naḥalā* of some pagan god. The poet of Deuteronomy evidently felt it hard to understand why Jehovah has not always asserted His right over all nations, as the poet of Ps. lxxxii (cf. ver. 8) believes that He will ultimately do. Compare Acts xiv. 16, xvii. 30.

however, scarcely survive indefinitely. Accordingly, when we find metaphors derived from the allotment of land used at a very late period, we may fairly conclude that at such a period the usage on which the metaphor was founded had not very long passed away. Thus the poet of Ps. xvi, whose language, by the way, shows Aramaic influence, says (ver. 5), 'Thou holdest my lot'—that is, Thou insurest that the lot which represents my claim comes out of the garment into which the various lots are cast, in such order that I get a good share of ground¹—and he goes on to say 'The cords' (viz. those used in measuring, cf. Mic. ii. 5) 'have fallen for me in pleasant places; yea, I am pleased with my *naḥalā*'. The frequent references to the apportionment of land by lot in a document as late as the Priestly code certainly makes it probable that such allotment was the regular usage, at least as late as the end of the Jewish monarchy. In this connexion the law against removing a neighbour's landmark² is most significant.

The facts mentioned above make it extremely probable that there once existed in ancient Palestine a system of land-tenure similar to that which once prevailed in regions as widely separated as India and Britain.³

It is true that the evidence for this is inferential rather than direct, and I am informed by my friend Mr. H. M. J. Loewe, Reader in Rabbinic in the University of Cambridge, that there is no trace of this system in the Talmud. This, however, is no proof that it had not existed at an earlier period. Nor is it any argument against the existence of such a system that it is uneconomic. Primitive man's customs are not dictated by economic considerations, and in ages when all custom was closely connected with religious tradition it would be long before utilitarian considerations could sweep away age-old customs. It may be well to

¹ Cf. Prov. xvi. 33, also Isa. xxxiv. 17.

² Deut. xxvii. 17. In Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10, the land has perhaps become freehold.

³ See G. L. Gomme, *The Village Community*, *passim*.

remember that even within sight of Cambridge the inconvenient system of open fields continued till swept away by the Enclosure Acts of the beginning of the nineteenth century, and these Acts were not passed without a considerable amount of opposition. It is easy to understand why an uneconomic system should ultimately be given up, but we must not expect to find that ancient customs, whether at home or in Palestine, will conform to the ideas of the modern economist.

If, then, we may assume that the village communities of ancient Palestine formerly held land in common like the former village communities of Western Europe, we may be pretty sure that such land (*naḥalā*) was *periodically*¹ divided into set portions and allotted to those freemen of the village who possessed the right to cultivate it and enjoy its fruits; and the guess may be hazarded that the re-allotment took effect after the septennial year of fallow. It is remarkable that after the Chaldeans had raised the siege of Jerusalem² Jeremiah was leaving the city in order to receive his portion³ (*sc.* in the allotment of the land in the township of Anathoth), when he was arrested on the charge of deserting to the Chaldeans. That this was the septennial year of fallow appears certain from another statement. It was an ancient custom that Hebrew slaves should be released in the seventh year,⁴ and we may take it as practically certain that the septennial year of fallow normally coincided with the year of liberty or release; inasmuch as in a year when no ploughing or sowing could be done the release of slaves would cause the least

¹ See in particular Gomme, *The Village Community*, pp. 144, 145.

² Jer. xxxvii. 5, 11 f.; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* x. 7 (§ 3).

³ Jer. xxxvii. 12. It is noteworthy that the verb here used is the same as that which is used in connexion with *naḥalā* in Prov. xvii. 2, where it is said that a slave—who of course has no claim to a share in the *naḥalā*—if he be prudent, will be ruler over a good-for-nothing son, and will actually have a portion of *naḥalā* (*sc.* by earning his freedom) among the kinsmen who have this right by birth.

⁴ Exod. xxi. 2; Deut. xv. 12.

inconvenience. Zedekiah had tried to set aside this ancient custom,¹ but being panic-stricken at the presence of the Chaldean army outside Jerusalem he entered into a solemn covenant to comply with it. When, however, the danger was temporarily over,² those who under pressure had released their slaves reclaimed them. From the first appearance of the Chaldean army in Palestine to the temporary raising of the siege of Jerusalem was apparently less than a year: hence the refusal to release the slaves, the freeing of them under pressure, the raising of the siege of Jerusalem, and the re-allotment of the land of Anathoth, may all have occurred within a twelvemonth.

Was it only arable land that was *naḥalā*, or were the grazing grounds of the village community allotted in a similar way? There are traces of the former allotment of pasturage even in the British Isles: such a trace may be found in the Lake District, where the unenclosed fell lands, though now freehold, are apportioned to the various farms by a system of 'stints', i.e. each farm is 'stinted' to a particular number of sheep which may graze on the fell.³ In the exilic and post-exilic literature we read of various open lands surrounding the various townships and apparently belonging to them.⁴

Did *naḥalā* ever include vineyards? One's first impulse is to answer in the negative. Such a vineyard as that which is described in Isaiah's parable is evidently freehold; for no one would go to the expense of building a surrounding wall, and a tower, and constructing a wine-press in a vineyard of which he had the use for only six years.⁵ Moreover the prediction in Isa. vii. 23 f. clearly refers to fenced-in vineyards, since they are pictured as places in which

¹ Jer. xxxiv. 8. Note that the dating of Ezek. xx and xxi (cf. xx. 1) is in harmony with Jer. lii. 29. There is a difference of one year in the dating followed in 2 Kings xxv. 8.

² Jer. xxxvii. 5, 11, as above.

³ See for example, Gomme, *The Village Community*, pp. 205, 206.

⁴ Cf. Ezek. xlv. 2; 1 Chron. v. 16.

⁵ Isa. v. 1 f.

in the cessation of agriculture wild animals, such as leopards, can find cover, but which will not be trodden down by oxen and sheep.

The ¹ mention of vineyards raises another question, to which it is unfortunately impossible from the evidence to give a quite certain answer. In the pre-exilic account of Judah (Gen. xlix. 8-12), Judah is clearly regarded as possessing such a multitude of vines, though of course the language is poetical hyperbole, that people do not hesitate to tie to the vines their riding-animals, and the people of Judah can habitually drink wine enough to make their eyes bloodshot.²

It is impossible to apply such a description to modern Judaea, and there can be little doubt that the fertility of Judaea in the days of the Hebrew monarchy was very much greater than is possible on the present hill-slopes with their scanty soil. It is difficult, therefore, to resist the conjecture that the hill-slopes were formerly *terraced*, the soil being thus prevented from being washed away in heavy rain. The vineyard of Isa. v has a rock-hewn wine-press, which suggests that in parts of it the rock was pretty near the surface. If then all the soil were shallow, Judaea, with only such a rainfall as the land now possesses, could scarcely produce the best grapes without artificial irrigation.³ So far as I am aware there is no direct reference in the Bible to terracing, but traces remain of the existence of terraces in districts so widely removed as Great Britain and Ireland, China, and India, and the probability that it goes back in this country beyond the Celtic period,⁴ makes it at least not improbable that it had been long known among the Mediterranean agricultural peoples generally.

It is noteworthy that Palestinian vineyards were not apparently scattered all over the country, but belonged to certain localities. Balaam in eastern Palestine rides

¹ From this point onwards the MS. is unrevised. Only the piece concerned with the administration of law and justice was actually given in the lectures (F. C. B.).

² Cf. Prov. xxiii. 29, 30.

³ See Deut. xi. 10, 11.

⁴ Gomme, *The Village Community*, p. 95.

between walled vineyards,¹ and Samson in the foot-hills of Judah meets a lion at the vineyards of Timnah,² and there are vineyards in the district of Shiloh.³ It may be inferred from Amos iv. 9 that there were vineyards in the district of which Bethel was the chief sanctuary.

Of the operations of viticulture we have some indications. The initial preparation of a vineyard is described in Isa. v, and there was more than one variety of vine, the most highly prized being that which produced grapes of a reddish colour.⁴

Just as the arable land lay fallow every seventh year, so the vines at the same time were left unpruned, and such fruit as they produced was left for the poor.⁵

The charm of the vineyard in springtime is indicated in Cant. ii. 13, vii. 12, and the value of a vineyard may be gathered from Isa. vii. 23; Cant. viii. 11, 12.

When the grapes were ready for the vintage there came the most joyous and—invariably it would seem—the most pagan festival of the year. Those who took part in the vintage constructed temporary arbours (*sukkōth*) in the vineyards.⁶ These arbours were continued for the feast of the summer ingathering, when all the work was over. This Feast of Arbours is stated⁷ to be a memorial of the fact that the Children of Israel dwelt in arbours when they were brought out of the land of Egypt. This, however, is clearly an afterthought, for whence would the boughs for the arbours be procured in the desert?

The vintage, including both the gathering and the treading of the grapes, was a time of rejoicing and merry-making. The cutting of the first grapes was apparently accompanied with what was doubtless in origin a ritual act.⁸ Similarly the shout of those who trod the grapes may have been

¹ Num. xxii. 24.

² Judges xiv. 5.

³ Judges xxi. 19.

⁴ Gen. xlix. 11; Isa. v. 2 (cf. also xvi. 8); Jer. ii. 21.

⁵ Exod. xxiii. 10 f.; the later legislation of Lev. xxv. 5 is more stringent.

⁶ Isa. i. 8; cf. Job xxvii. 18.

⁷ Lev. xxiii. 43.

⁸ See Isa. lxx. 8.

originally something more than an encouragement not to relax activity; ¹ it was followed by a religious feast at the sanctuary. ² In like manner in the dances of the girls at Shiloh ³ the original meaning of the dances was probably forgotten, just as the little girls who in my early days danced round a garland on May Day were in intention innocent of perpetuating a pagan rite. There is, however, a strong probability that both the Shiloh maidens and the Thanet little girls were alike celebrating something that did not originate in mere *joie de vivre*.

After vineyards we naturally consider plantations of olives. Olives were an important crop, for the olive oil was the only source of artificial light, as well as being used for anointing the body and perhaps in cooking. The olives were beaten off the trees as we beat walnuts, and when this was done any that remained could be gleaned by the poor. ⁴ The olive oil was trodden out. ⁵

Next in importance to the olive plantation was the fruit garden. ⁶ The word 'garden' may have included olive plantations, but in general it seems to have meant plantations of other fruit-trees, or of vegetables. ⁷ It was for a kitchen garden that Ahab desired to get hold of Naboth's vineyard. ⁸ The gardens of the wealthy appear to have been frequently irrigated artificially. ⁹ It is evident that the gardens of the rich were mere pleasantries and possessed buildings in which feasts could be held. ¹⁰ It would seem that in pleasure-gardens aromatic plants were chiefly grown for their scent wafted by the wind (Cant. iv. 16).

¹ See Jer. xxv. 30.

² Judges ix. 27.

³ Judges xxi. 21.

⁴ Deut. xxiv. 20.

⁵ Mic. vi. 15.

⁶ Jer. xxix. 5, 28.

⁷ For the fruits and vegetables grown in gardens, see above on *Food*, pp. 40-2.

⁸ 1 Kings xxi. 2; cf. 2 Kings ix. 25, also 2 Kings xxi. 18; Isa. i. 8; Cant. vi. 11.

⁹ Num. xxiv. 6; Deut. xi. 10; Isa. i. 30, lviii. 11, lxi. 11; Jer. xxxi. 12; Cant. iv. 12, 15; Eccles. ii. 5 f., &c.

¹⁰ See 2 Kings ix. 27; Cant. v. 1 ff.

Cant. v. 2 mentions the gathering of lilies : it is, however, somewhat doubtful, judging from ver. 3, whether the lilies are in the garden.¹

Scarecrows were put up in gardens.²

WORKERS IN WOOD

Hewing wood for fuel and drawing water is unskilled labour ; and the non-Israelite Gibeonite slaves who performed this necessary service³ for the Temple at Jerusalem were evidently held in inferior estimation as compared with the rest of the Temple *personnel*. In general each household in which there were not slaves would provide its own fuel,⁴ and fetch or draw its own water. The reference to the skill of the Sidonians in timber work⁵ indicates that in consequence of their large forests on the Lebanon they were able to supply timber to countries producing none, and were therefore able to deal easily with larger trees than the Hebrews commonly had to cut.

A skilled worker in wood—a carver and more than a mere carpenter—is mentioned in Isa. xl. 20.

From various sources we learn something of the tools used in working wood. The first of these is naturally the axe (*ḳardōm*,⁶ *ma'ªšādh*,⁷ *garzen*⁸) : whether the implements denoted by these different names differed one from another, or not, it is impossible to say. They were all used in felling trees. Saws were in use,⁹ and also some sort of chisel.¹⁰ We read of nails or rivets,¹¹ and of a hammer

¹ See also Cant. ii. 16.

² Jer. x. 5 (*tómer miḳsha*) ; cf. Baruch vi. 70. ³ Joshua ix. 21.

⁴ See Jer. vii. 18.

⁵ 1 Kings v. 6 (*Heb.* ver. 20).

⁶ Judges ix. 48 ; Jer. xlvi. 22.

⁷ Jer. x. 3 ; and, though the text is unsound, in Isa. xliv. 12 *ma'ªšādh* is probably to be retained. All the different sorts of work involved in the fashioning of an axe are there described.

⁸ Deut. xix. 5, xx. 19.

⁹ Isa. x. 15.

¹⁰ *Maḳšū'a*, Isa. xliv. 13.

¹¹ Jer. x. 4.

for fastening them,¹ of a compass or divider,² and of what appears to be a sharp engraving tool³ for marking out the design. The gold plates with which wooden figures, furniture, and even the timber linings of walls were sometimes adorned belong to the art of the goldsmith.

The carpenter also made use of a cord, apparently to rule a straight line.⁴ The plumb-lines mentioned⁵ were probably masons' rather than carpenters' tools.

WORKERS IN METAL

For the relative values of metals see Num. xxxi. 22; Ezek. xxii. 20; Isa. lx. 17; 1 Chron. xxii. 14.

Iron. Iron ore is mentioned as plentiful in Palestine,⁶ and the iron-smelting furnace, rather than that for other metals, is figuratively used of great oppression.⁷ The fuel used by smelters generally appears to have been charcoal (*pehām*),⁸ and the bellows are mentioned several times.⁹ For the relative value of iron compared with other metals, see Jer. vi. 28; Isa. lx. 17. Iron was apparently not in general use in the early days of the Hebrew conquest, and owing to its comparative novelty its use was forbidden in the construction of stone altars.¹⁰ It was not unnaturally often used in metaphor to denote what was a symbol of strength,¹¹ of what is unbreakable,¹² of what cannot be

¹ Isa. xliv. 12. The handling of the word commonly rendered *nails* will to a great extent depend upon the view taken of Isa. xli. 5-7. Are the peoples in their panic manufacturing gods, or weapons? The presence of the word *šōrēph*, which is not used of smelting iron, as also the general resemblance between this passage and Jer. x. 4, favours the former suggestion. On the other hand the mention of hammer and anvil and the soldering or riveting favours the other.

² Isa. xliv. 13.

³ *šredh*, Isa. xliv. 13.

⁴ Lam. ii. 8.

⁵ 2 Kings xxi. 13; Isa. xxxiv. 11; Amos vii. 7 f.

⁶ Deut. viii. 9; Job xxviii. 2.

⁷ Deut. iv. 20; 1 Kings viii. 51; Jer. xi. 4; cf. Ezek. xxii. 20.

⁸ Isa. xliv. 12.

⁹ Jer. vi. 29; Isa. liv. 16; cf. Ezek. xxii. 21.

¹⁰ Exod. xx. 25, &c.

¹¹ Jer. i. 18.

¹² Ps. cvii. 16; Isa. xlv. 2; Deut. xxviii. 48; Jer. xxviii. 14.

pierced by arrows,¹ of what is hard or unyielding,² of earth which through drought cannot be ploughed.³

Of manufactured iron, in addition to the carpenters' utensils already mentioned, we read of the blacksmith's sledge-hammer (*paṭṭiṣh*),⁴ of an anvil,⁵ of knives, and of a sharpening steel,⁶ of a pan or griddle for cooking,⁷ of the bars of the city gates,⁸ of fetters,⁹ and of iron instead of stones under the threshing-sledge.¹⁰ For the plates of war-chariots, an early foreshadowing of the modern armoured car, see Joshua xvii. 16, 18; Judges iv. 3. For armour, see Job xx. 24; Isa. xli. 7.

Copper. Copper, which to the Hebrew evidently included bronze, was obtained from mines in or close to the borders of the Holy Land itself.¹¹ The two mountains of copper or bronze in Zech. vi. 1, are probably to be understood allegorically and not of actual mountains: they are, as it were, the indestructible gate-posts on each side of the road to Jehovah's palace.

Before iron came into common use bronze, needless to say, was the hardest metal known. Hence, like iron, it was a natural metaphor for the strong or indestructible.¹² Iron and copper were apparently forged by the same smith.¹³ Bronze was used for armour.¹⁴ Many of the vessels used in the Temple, and presumably elsewhere, were made of it.¹⁵ Hebrew coppersmiths in the early days of the monarchy were apparently not capable of making very large casts in bronze. The two great pillars for the Temple, which without their capitals were some twenty-seven feet high and nearly six feet in diameter, taking the place of

¹ Ezek. iv. 3.

² Isa. xlvi. 4.

³ Deut. xxviii. 23.

⁴ Isa. xli. 7; Jer. xxiii. 29.

⁵ Isa. xli. 7.

⁶ Prov. xxvii. 17; cf. Eccles. x. 10.

⁷ Ezek. iv. 3.

⁸ Ps. cvii. 16; Isa. xlv. 2.

⁹ Ps. cxlix. 8; contrast *sadd*, 'a heavy block', Job xiii. 27, xxxiii. 11.

¹⁰ Amos i. 3, and perhaps 2 Sam. xii. 31.

¹¹ Deut. viii. 9; Job xxviii. 2.

¹² Ps. cvii. 16; Isa. xlv. 2; Job vi. 12.

¹³ Gen. iv. 22; Isa. xli. 7.

¹⁴ 1 Sam. xvii. 5, 6; 1 Kings xiv. 27.

¹⁵ 2 Kings xxv. 14.

the more primitive stone *maṣṣēbōth*, were cast in Palestine by Tyrian workmen.¹

Copper, as well as iron, lead, and tin, was used as an alloy.²

Lead was also in use, as noted above. It is mentioned as heavy.³ From Job xix. 24 we may infer that, as at the present time, it was used to fill up letters engraved in stone. A metal used as an alloy (*b'dhil*) may be *Tin*. It is mentioned in Num. xxxi. 22 ; Isa. i. 25 ; Ezek. xxii. 18, and is rendered in the Peshitta by *ankhā*, which in the Hebrew form *anākh* occurs in Amos vii. 7 f.⁴ Like lead and iron it was imported into Palestine by Sidonian merchants.⁵

GOLDSMITHS AND SILVERSMITHS

Gold ore, or roughly smelted gold, is referred to in Proverbs and Job,⁶ and references to the refining of it are

¹ 1 Kings vii. 15, 46.

² Ezek. xxii. 18 ff. ; Jer. vi. 28, 29. The massoretic text of the latter passage is unfortunately somewhat corrupt, but since it is in poetry we have both parallelism and the *ktina*-rhythm as aids in its restoration. The first word of the line beginning Jer. vi. 28 is missing : perhaps it was הַנִּיחַ. Obviously סרי (omitted by LXX) is an incorrect anticipation of the following סוררים. The false concord חם עופרת is a sign of corruption, and the parallel לא נחקו ורעים suggests that חם is a blunder for תעמד. Hence the two verses should read

הַלְכֵי רְבִיל	[הַנִּיחַ] בָּלֶם סוֹרְרִים
מִשְׁחִיתִים הִמָּה :	נֶחֱשֶׁת וּבְרָזֶל בָּלֶם
תַּעֲמַד עוֹפֶרֶת	נֶחֱרַר מִפִּיחַ מֵאֵשׁ
וְרַעִים לֹא נִחְקוּ :	לִשְׂוֹא צָרָה צָרוֹף

[Behold,] they are all revolvers	going with slander,
All of them brass and iron,	they do the damage ;
The bellows blows up the fire,	the lead still remains,
In vain do they go on refining,	but the bad are not outed.

³ Exod. xv. 10 ; cf. Zech. v. 7.

⁴ In Zech. iv. 10 הברזל is corrupt (derived from the following ביד) : contrast Zech. v. 8.

⁵ Ezek. xxvii. 12.

⁶ Prov. xvii. 3, xxvii. 21 ; Job xxviii. 1, 6.

frequent.¹ Gold is said to come from Havilah² and from Ophir,³ but the situation of these districts is much disputed. There is no mention of gold being found in Palestine, and it seems almost certain that it was all imported. There is no clear indication of what the Palestinians gave in exchange for it. Solomon, apparently, though he could pay for Hiram's work by the agricultural produce of Palestine,⁴ found himself quite unable to pay Hiram's bill, which included the cost of much gold work, and was compelled to cede to Hiram a portion of his kingdom.⁵

It may perhaps be inferred from Job xxviii. 1 that the poet was acquainted with mining for silver. Silver beaten out into thin plates is mentioned in Jer. x. 9 as coming from Tarshish. Silver, uncoined, was the ordinary medium of exchange; hence the price had to be weighed out to the vendor. It was used for articles of choice manufacture, but we do not hear, as we should expect, that articles of common personal adornment were constructed of it. This may have been because of its use in exchange. Jewels appear to have been mainly of gold.

The craft of the goldsmith was an ancient one in Palestine.⁶ In the time of Nehemiah they seem to have formed a guild,⁷ and not improbably, like the bakers, they carried on their business in some particular street.

MECHANICS

Of an inferior status evidently, but supplying a universal need, were the potters (*yôsrîm*). The potter's clay was first worked with the feet to make it equally plastic,⁸ and then for circular vessels was worked on a revolving disk fixed to an upright piece of wood which turned on a pivot :

¹ Jer. vi. 29; Zech. xiii. 9; Isa. i. 25; Ps. lxvi. 10.

² Gen. ii. 11.

³ 1 Kings ix. 28, x. 11, xxii. 48.

⁴ 1 Kings v. 9, 11 (*Heb.* 23, 25); cf. Gen. xlix. 20.

⁵ 1 Kings ix. 11 ff.

⁶ Judges xvii. 4; Jer. x. 4; cf. also Isa. xl. 19, xli. 7, xlvi. 6.

⁷ Neh. iii. 32.

⁸ Isa. xxix. 16, xli. 25; Jer. xviii. 4, 6.

below this disk was another somewhat smaller, which the potter turned with his feet.¹ Earthen vessels were cheap,² and from their brittle nature broken earthenware was used as a figure of irreparable damage. We have no account in the canonical Scriptures of the firing of earthenware, but some sort of glazing with silver dross is mentioned,³ and in the Apocrypha both the glazing and the furnace.⁴

The mention of the 'Earthenware Gate' (Jer. xix. 2) implies a locality given up to the pottery industry, and the potters apparently formed guilds or communities.

Naturally the articles made of earthenware were of many different forms and designs for different uses. Various sorts of bottle are mentioned,⁵ also jars of various shapes for holding water, &c.,⁶ cups,⁷ besides various sorts of bowls and boiling utensils, which may have been of earthenware. Earthenware jars were also used for preserving documents.⁸

BARBERS

The shaving of the head in mourning, which as savouring of heathenism is forbidden by the Deuteronomic law,⁹ was in pre-exilic times general;¹⁰ hence a barber must have been needed whenever there was a death. They are, however, only mentioned incidentally to describe a particular sort of razor.¹¹ It is indeed just possible that the laceration in mourning, equally forbidden by the Deuteronomic law,¹² was performed by barbers.

¹ Jer. xviii. 3; cf. Eccus. xxxviii. 29 f.

² Lam. iv. 2.

³ Prov. xxvi. 23.

⁴ Eccus. xxxviii. 30.

⁵ Isa. xxx. 14; Jer. xix. 1.

⁶ *Kad*, Gen. xxiv. 14; Judges vii. 16; 1 Kings xviii. 33 (*Heb.* 34); Eccus. xii. 6; *sappdhat*, 1 Kings xix. 6; both together, 1 Kings xvii. 12 ff.

⁷ 2 Sam. xii. 3. The poor man's cup could scarcely be of more costly material.

⁸ Jer. xxxii. 14.

⁹ Deut. xiv. 1; cf. Lev. xxi. 5.

¹⁰ Jer. xvi. 6; Mic. i. 16; Amos viii. 10; Isa. xv. 2.

¹¹ Ezek. v. 1.

¹² Deut. xiv. 1; cf. Lev. xxi. 5.

FULLERS

Another common trade was that of the fuller,¹ who perhaps not only washed clothes but bleached fabrics. Clothes were washed, by a method still practised in the British Isles, by treading upon them. Ordinary washing appears to have been done at home.² The soap used was made of carbonate of soda (*néther*),³ presumably mixed with oil or melted-down fat. In addition, lye was used, i.e. ashes of vegetable substance, just as was the case in rural districts of England almost within living memory. Soap-balls are mentioned in the story of Susanna.⁴ Personal washing done in courts or gardens appears to have been restricted.⁵

PERFUMERS

Of luxury trades may be mentioned that of the perfumer. The preparation of perfume was carried out both by men, whom in the days of Nehemiah we find forming a guild,⁶ and by women.⁷ The scents used appear to have been derived from spices or sweet gums,⁸ which were for the most part imported from South Arabia.⁹ They were mixed with oil for unction, but whether the art of extracting the scent of blossom was known is uncertain.

PHYSICIANS AND APOTHECARIES

We hear of physicians or apothecaries in Jer. viii. 22 and in 2 Chron. xvi. 12. Those mentioned in Gen. 1. 2 are Egyptians rather than Hebrews. We read also of poultices¹⁰ and of bandages.¹¹ There was salve,¹² also the resinous gum (*šrî*), which came from Gilead¹³ and had long been a famous product of Palestine.¹⁴

¹ 2 Kings xviii. 17; Isa. vii. 3.

² Exod. xix. 10, 14; Lev. xiii. 58; 2 Sam. xix. 24.

³ Jer. ii. 22.

⁴ Susanna 17.

⁵ See the tales of Bathsheba (2 Sam. xi. 2) and of Susanna.

⁶ Neh. iii. 8.

⁷ 1 Sam. viii. 13.

⁸ Ps. xlv. 8; Cant. iv. 14-16, v. 5.

⁹ 1 Kings x. 10.

¹⁰ Isa. xxxviii. 21.

¹¹ Isa. i. 6; Jer. xxx. 12, 13.

¹² Isa. i. 6.

¹³ Jer. viii. 22, xlvi. 11, li. 8.

¹⁴ Gen. xxxvii. 25, xliii. 11.

Other vegetable drugs may perhaps be implied by the 'tree' of Exod. xv. 25. There is also wormwood,¹ and gall-water,² the latter implying some decoction of bitter herbs. 'Acid' and 'bitter' seem not to be distinguished. Some sort of bitter drink, parallel with wormwood, seems to be implied in Lam. iii. 15.³

Even in the Greek period the popular estimate of the healing art is summed up by Ben Sira :

'He that sinneth before his Maker—let him fall into the hands of the physician.'⁴

JEWELLERS AND WORKERS IN PRECIOUS STONES

What in later times was worn merely for adornment⁵ was in many cases originally connected with religion.⁶ From a number of references it is clear that the jeweller's art had been brought to a high pitch of perfection. There were lapidaries who could cut and engrave precious stones,⁷ which might be set as signet-rings.⁸ In addition to precious stones, some of which cannot be identified with certainty, they used also corals⁹ and glass.¹⁰ Ivory was in use, but we do not hear of it as jewellery. Among the trinkets made were crowns and tiaras,¹¹ necklaces,¹² perhaps chains of beads,¹³ and armlets perhaps worn above the elbow.¹⁴

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND LAW¹⁵

If we may estimate the importance of any factor of national custom from the frequency of references to it in metaphor there can be no doubt that the administration

¹ Deut. xxix. 18; Prov. v. 4.

² Jer. viii. 14, ix. 15, xxxiii. 15.

³ See also Deut. xxxii. 32.

⁴ Ecclus. xxxviii. 15.

⁵ Isa. lxi. 10.

⁶ Hos. ii. 13.

⁷ Jer. xvii. 1; cf. Ezek. xxviii. 13; Ps. xlv. 13.

⁸ Exod. xxviii. 11, 21, 26, xxxix. 6, 16, 30; cf. Hag. ii. 23.

⁹ Prov. iii. 15, &c.; Job xxviii. 18; Lam. iv. 7.

¹⁰ Job xxviii. 17.

¹¹ 2 Sam. i. 10; Zech. vi. 11; Ps. xxi.

¹² Gen. xli. 42.

¹³ Cant. i. 10.

¹⁴ 2 Sam. i. 10; cf. Num. xxxi. 50.

¹⁵ *Here the revised MS. begins again.* (F. C. B.)

of justice was a matter of absorbing interest to the ancient Hebrew population of Palestine. Lest the Hebrews be, however, unduly blamed for being addicted to litigation it must be remembered that they lived in an age when there was no idea of the prevention of crime or of any system of police, but each man had as far as possible to protect his life, his property, and his right, and in the event of any injury done to him he could only obtain redress by bringing his case to be legally decided. Accordingly a duly organized system of government and the administration of justice was held to be a matter of paramount importance. It is extremely significant that the historical retrospect with which the Book of Deuteronomy begins starts at the organization of government by Moses,¹ in the appointment of duly constituted officials and judges; and in contrast to such organized government we have the well-known description of the anarchy which sometimes prevailed in the days of the 'Judges', anarchy which was to some extent repeated when the Hebrew monarchy came to an end. 'In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes.'²

It is not my object to trace the gradual unification of the tribes under one king. Even before the election of Saul, in a state of things which reminds us of the Saxon Heptarchy, there was some rough administration of justice. Samuel indeed is represented as virtually ruler of the district represented by Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh,³ and as going on circuit like a modern judge. Indeed, if we may trust 1 Sam. viii. 1-3, his rule might have become hereditary, had it not been that his sons whom he made judges were of unsatisfactory character.

Samuel's rebuke of the people for asking to have a king is clearly the work of one who perhaps belonged to the age of Nehemiah, and who desired that the government should be in the name of the priestly class. It is, however,

¹ Deut. i. 9-17.

² Judges xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25.

³ 1 Sam. vii. 16.

noteworthy that he represents the demand for a king as made by the 'elders of Israel'. What constituted a man an 'elder' is not quite clear. The Seventy Elders on whom the spirit came,¹ and Eldad and Modad who remained in the camp, are elders before what may be regarded as their solemn commission, and it is clear from Num. xi. 16 that they are considered as already possessing some secular authority. The whole number seventy-two implies an ideal of six such officials for each tribe. The Deuteronomic law² orders the appointment in all cities of judges and officers,³ and it would seem that the 'elders' were those recognized as possessing the tradition of the customary law and that they acted as assessors to the judges.

What was the exact function of the *kāšîn*, as distinct from the *shôphêṭ*, is not clear. In Judges xi. 6, 11, and Isa. iii. 6, 7, he appears to be what we should call a dictator in a time of national distress. But in Isa. i. 10, xxii. 3; Mic. iii. 1, 9, the *kāšîn* seems to have some recognized authority, unless indeed the word is here used of those who have arrogated to themselves power.

The king, after the institution of the monarchy, was the head of justice and of the judicial system. Even when he was the vassal of a foreign potentate he was in his own kingdom absolute. The sketch of a king in 1 Sam. viii. 11-17 seems to be founded on fact. Saul has certain Gibeonites put to death apparently without any judicial sentence, and he threatens death to any one who has broken his rash taboo on food. David arbitrarily puts to death seven of Saul's descendants to satisfy a blood feud. Solomon, on the flimsiest of pretexts has his half-brother Adonijah, the rightful heir to the throne, put to death, and Joab with even less justification.

In Northern Israel, however, a somewhat more democratic spirit seems to have prevailed. It is significant that Naboth, who is accused of blasphemy (which will bring

¹ Num. xi. 16, 24. ² Deut. xvi. 18. ³ *Shôphêṭîm* and *shôṭêrim*.

down divine wrath), has the pretence of a trial, which is held before the elders and nobles of Jezreel.¹ Nevertheless Ahab imprisons Micaiah merely on the ground that he does not prophesy good concerning him, but evil.

But for our present inquiry the most important administration of justice was the summary jurisdiction administered in what corresponded to a *forum*, viz. the open space just inside the city gate.

The sight of the administration of justice, whether in criminal or in civil cases, was so familiar to the people and, if they resembled the modern Bedouin, was so much enjoyed by them, that metaphors drawn from the law-court—or what did duty as such—have profoundly affected Hebrew diction. Unfortunately these metaphors, which the Hebrew, as he used them, knew to be such, have been taken literally, and incalculable harm has accordingly been done to the cause of religion.

In the first Lecture it was stated that in Hebraic metaphor attention is almost always directed not to the process but to the effect. This is true in connexion with all those words and expressions for that for which a man might be brought to trial. The words which are commonly rendered ‘iniquity’, ‘sin’, ‘trespass’, ‘transgression’ (*rebellion* would be a better translation for this last), are used to express the status of one found guilty of any misdemeanour, one against whom the verdict has been given, and they may be used metaphorically to describe the status of one against whom the divine verdict is supposed to have been given as manifested in trouble which has come upon him. In other words, the words are used for the status of one who is unsuccessful. In accordance with the same use of metaphor the words which we render ‘righteousness’, &c., are used to denote the status of one who has secured a favourable verdict, one who has won his case. An illustration of this is found in the statement concerning Cyrus, that ‘righteousness’, i.e. the winning of his case, meets him

¹ 1 Kings xxi. 8-14.

wherever he goes,¹ or (as we might say in modern English) whatever he does he turns up trumps. Thus it can be said that a man receives 'righteousness', or has 'righteousness' imputed to him. A consideration of the forensic metaphor in words translated 'righteousness' and 'sin' will explain how Job can vehemently deny that he has sinned, and yet intreat that his 'sin' may be taken away.

In like manner the poet of Ps. li, like Job, is unconscious of sin in our sense of the word. He knows that he has not wronged his fellow man in any way which would bring down upon him the divine judgement indicated by his calamities. He concludes therefore that it must be some inadvertent sin against God that he has committed, and like Job in the Prologue—but not in the Poem itself—he deems it impious to charge God with waywardness. Rather than that he declares that his father and mother before his birth were under divine sentence of punishment indicated by their suffering, which has also come upon him. There is no idea whatever in the Psalm of 'original sin'.

Another illustration of the influence of legal procedure on popular diction is the word commonly rendered 'judgement', which means primarily the act of judging and then, since sentence, if the court was a just one, was given in accordance with the law—frequently traditional custom—'judgement' comes to mean justice or custom.

In the older period legal procedure probably simply followed tradition, but in the Deuteronomic period certain rules are laid down.² The mere agreement of two witnesses or their disagreement on some unimportant detail to our sense of legal justice may seem insufficient either to confirm or disprove their evidence. For example, the slight disagreement in the trial of Susanna, when one of the two witnesses, who in other respects agreed, stated that he had seen Susanna under a mastic tree,³ while the other stated he had seen her under a holm tree,⁴ would scarcely

¹ See Isa. xli. 2, xlii. 6.

² Deut. xvii. 6, 7, xix. 15, 16.

³ Susanna 54 (ὑπὸ σχίνου).

⁴ Susanna 58 (ὑπὸ πρίνου).

be held by a modern jury altogether to invalidate their evidence! What, however, would greatly deter perjury in the trial of a person found guilty would be the rule that they first must take part in executing the death sentence. A false witness would thereby incur blood-guiltiness.

In connexion with the sentences inflicted, especially the *lex talionis*, it must be remembered that in primitive thought the tribe or family is the unit rather than the individual. Thus a physical injury done to a tribesman is a weakening of the tribe, and the wrong is redeemed by a similar weakening of the tribe a member of which did the wrong. Deuteronomy shows a sense of individual justice¹ foreign to the older thought (which is seen, for example, in David's concession to the Gibeonites²), and it is further remarkable for the humanitarian limitation of the stripes inflicted.³

The prosecutor or claimant was called the 'witness',⁴ and the defendant 'responded'.

There are traces of more primitive methods of settling disputes or deciding criminal cases, but we cannot say how late they were in force. There can, however, be little doubt that Trial by Ordeal was once not uncommon. Thus close to the miraculous and therefore sacred spring (Exod. xvii. 6, 7) was a place called Massah and also Meribah. It has been suggested by Robertson Smith that the word Massah means a place of ordeal, and he conjectured that the ordeal involved the use of 'holy water' (cf. Num. v. 17). An ordeal with holy water does indeed survive in the law, but since Meribah (which means a place of litigation) was in the same region, the Biblical Kadesh Barnea being located at the modern 'Ain Kādīs, the ordeal may have been of more than one kind.⁵

¹ Deut. xxiv. 16.

² 2 Sam. xxi. 2 ff.

³ Deut. xxv. 3.

⁴ e.g. Deut. xix. 16.

⁵ Here Professor Kennett's MS. ends. In giving the Lecture he went on with what he had so ingeniously led his audience to, both in subject-matter and geographical situation, viz. the Ordeal by Fire among present-day Bedouin in

In this very region an Ordeal by Fire still survives. Mr. Austin Kennett says :

‘The most interesting hereditary expert in Sinai is the individual who carries out the Trial by Ordeal. There is in Sinai only one man—a quaint little old Arab called Sheikh Hamdan of the Ayayda tribe—who inherited the post from his father, and who carries out his Ordeal all over Sinai. There is a similar expert among the Amran tribe east of Akaba, and another near Medina in the Arabian Peninsula.’

Mr. Austin Kennett then goes on to say that he was an actual witness to a Trial by Ordeal by special invitation from Sheikh Hamdan. The spoon referred to,¹ rather like a flattened-out soup-ladle, is such as is used by the Sinai Arabs for roasting coffee-beans.

‘The trial by ordeal² is employed to settle disputes in the absence of evidence, usually only the more serious charges being disposed of in this way. Just as the Sinai Arabs are loath to employ the oath in their disputes, unless it has been found impossible to come to a decision by any other means, so do they reserve the “Bisha” (as they call the trial by ordeal) for the more important cases only, being anxious that the solemnity of the ordeal shall not be lost by frequent appeal in trivial cases. The procedure is as follows :

‘When a suspect is accused of murder, theft, or any other serious charge, after heated affirmation of the truth of the charge on the part of the accuser and equally violent denials and repudiation on behalf of the accused, it may be mutually agreed that the case shall be taken to the Bisha for decision. The accuser and accused must first agree upon a neutral third party, whose duty it is to watch fair play between the two. . . . The three then go to the sheikh of the Bisha, either in his own house or at some pre-arranged place in the desert, the whole proceedings

the Sinaitic Peninsula, as actually witnessed by his son, Austin Kennett, when Administrative Officer for the Egyptian Government in Sinai. I give the description from the late Mr. Austin Kennett’s book Bedouin Justice (pp. 107 ff.), by the kind permission of the Cambridge University Press.

¹ The actual spoon was brought to the Lecture and exhibited by Professor Kennett. It had been presented to his son by the Sheikh.

² pp. 109 ff.

being open to anybody to watch, and there being no secrecy or staging of any kind. . . .

‘In the particular instance in which the writer was an eyewitness, one Arab from Southern Palestine had accused another Arab from Khan Yunis of murdering his son. The boy had been found dead in the desert, and the body had been examined by the Government doctor, who had found no signs of violence whatsoever. . . . The accused protested his innocence and challenged the other to support his charge by evidence.

‘In spite of the entire absence of evidence, the father persisted in his accusation, and threatened that reprisals would be taken. The accused—apparently unwillingly—eventually consented to undergo the trial by ordeal, and the other agreed that if the Bisha decided in favour of the accused he would drop his claim. Arrangements were duly made, the sheikh of the Bisha came from his house in Central Sinai up to El Arish to meet the litigants half-way, and paid an official call on the writer, whom he invited to be present at any time or place convenient. The meeting was fixed for late afternoon, in the shade of a tree near the Government offices. A charcoal fire was burning, and a group of fifteen or twenty onlookers squatted in a semi-circle round the fire, in company with the accuser and the accused, their mutual assessor, and the two chosen by the sheikh himself. In the centre of the group, two or three paces in front of the rest of the assembly, sat the sheikh, stoking up his charcoal fire, on which the “spoon” was laid, with the sticks of charcoal built up round it. Some of the men were smoking cigarettes, others puffed contentedly at their enormous pipes, and the shadows from the big tree over the yellow sand completed the peaceful scene. It was difficult to believe that in a few moments one of those present would be tried for his life, his fate hanging on the ugly iron spoon in the charcoal fire.

‘The buzz of conversation suddenly stopped, as one of those present made a last effort to reconcile the litigants, and appealed to the accuser to accept some form of compromise. His effort was unsuccessful, the accused himself, a swarthy Arab with finely chiselled features and a short black beard, declaring that he would not shirk the ordeal at this stage of the proceedings. He seemed quite unconcerned, took out a cigarette and lit it from a burning stick at the edge of the fire.

‘After a few minutes the sheikh of the Bisha intimated that the spoon was hot enough, and directed the accused to come and kneel just behind his left shoulder.

“In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate”, crooned the sheikh, as he quietly said a prayer, in which all present reverently joined. A small pot of water was then passed to the accused, who rinsed his mouth and spat noisily, after which the three assessors carefully examined his mouth, lips, and tongue. Taking the handle of the spoon in his right hand, the sheikh withdrew the spoon from the fire, flicked the ashes off its up-turned bottom with his other hand, and presented it glowing red to the accused at his left elbow.

‘For one brief moment the accused paled, his dusky skin showing ash-grey; and then, pulling himself together and tightly grasping his sword with both hands, he put out his tongue and licked the hot spoon. As his tongue returned to his mouth, the black mark of the ashes was clearly seen. “Again” called the crowd; and this time rather frightened and unwilling he forced himself to comply. A third time he leant forward—this time recklessly—and licked the spoon, while the onlookers strained forward eagerly to watch the ordeal.

‘The sheikh passed the pot of water to the accused, who had by now released his nervous grasp on his sword; and after again rinsing out his mouth, the accused returned the water to the sheikh, and squatted on the ground. The sheikh poured some water into the spoon, and the noisy boiling and the steam, together with the complete disappearance of the water, satisfied any doubts as to its temperature. Three times the sheikh poured water into the belly of the spoon—twice it boiled away immediately, and once it remained. Then he poured more water into the cup-like depression at the base of the handle, and again the water boiled away. When the spoon had been completely cooled, the sheikh called together his two witnesses and the assessor nominated by both litigants, and the four then ordered the accused to put out his tongue. With supreme self-confidence he obeyed, and clearly visible to all was his tongue looking perfectly healthy and natural. “Clean,” declared the sheikh; “Clean,” echoed the witnesses, and a group of onlookers (including the writer) went up to examine his tongue and mouth more closely. On closer inspection the faintest possible trace of a black ashy smudge was just visible in the centre of his tongue, which was otherwise perfectly healthy and normal every way.’

[I do not remember that Professor Kennett made any further peroration or summing up of his three Lectures. The dramatic narrative of Mr. Austin Kennett (now, alas,

dead in Nigeria) and the presence of the actual spoon had indeed on all who were present the effect intended by the Lecturer, which was to make Meribah ('place of litigation') and Massah ('place of trial'), together with the ritual drinking of the Water of Jealousy described in Num. v, more real and vivid, something strange but true and in touch with human life.]

GENERAL INDEX

Note.

In this index are included all the Hebrew words, precisely transliterated, which occur in the text of the Lectures. The English alphabetical order is followed, but a half-vowel or a *Sh'wā* (indicated in transliteration by a small letter, raised above the line), occurring in the first syllable of a Hebrew word, is ignored for purposes of indexing. Thus, *H'gōrā* follows *Hermēsh*, not *Habhālīm*, and *S'ōr* follows *Sōphēr*, not Seeds. The value of diacritic points and rough and smooth breathings is, also, not indicated in the index.

'n.' refers to the notes at the foot of the pages.

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