JERUSALEM FROM REHOBOAM TO HEZEKIAH.

Circa 940–700.

THE period of the City's history, which we now enter, is bounded by two abrupt and dominant events, which across the quarter of a millennium that separates them confront each other with opposite effects upon her fortunes: the Disruption of the Kingdom about 940, and the Deliverance of the City from the Assyrians in 701. The Disruption stripped Jerusalem of her brief distinction as the capital of All-Israel. Her Deliverance from the Assyrians, following upon the destruction of her northern rival, restored her rank as the single capital, commanding a smaller but compact and secluded territory, and above all endowed with the greater fame of having proved to be the one inviolable shrine of the true God. Between these two distant and opposite crises a long ebb and a gradual flow of the city's fortunes are discernible. For at first Jerusalem suffere additional spoiling and disgrace; but under the later monarchs of the period she recovered some of her former strength. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the time of her sufferings was full only of loss. Throughout it Jerusalem still possessed the ancient sanctuary of her God, with a comparatively pure worship, and she remained loyal to the dynasty of David, the guardian of its bright and pregnant traditions. Thus both her misfortunes and her recoveries during this period made for the glory of her future: the former by the memories and hopes in which they disciplined her people, the latter by preparing the material basis on which her unique holiness was to be vindicated by the hand of God.

1. REHOBOAM, *circa* 933–917.

The Biblical history of the Disruption of the Kingdom

consists of two narratives. According to one, which is generally assigned to a writer of Northern Israel, Rehoboam, upon the death of his father, went to Shechem, where all Israel gathered to make him king.[1] Did this narrative stand alone, it would be evidence that in spite of David's choice and Solomon's embellishment of Jerusalem the city was not yet regarded as the focus of the national life, but that the latter still found its more natural centre at Shechem.[2] Such an impression, however, is dispelled by another account preserved in the LXX.[3] According to this Rehoboam had begun to reign in Jerusalem before Jeroboam returned from Egypt on hearing of Solomon's death, and went to Shechem only after Jeroboam's appearance there at the head of the revolt.[4] Whether the negotiations between Rehoboam and the northern Israelites took place before or after the arrival of the former at Shechem is uncertain. The result was that Rehoboam, discarding the advice of his father's counsellors and following that of his younger contemporaries, refused to lighten

[1] 1 Kings xii. 1 ff. The addition, that at this time Jeroboam also came to Shechem, which the Hebrew text contains, is not original, as we see both from its omission by the LXX. and from the statement in verse 20, that Jeroboam was sent for and came to Shechem only after the revolt had begun. This narrative has been assigned to a northern writer, both because the blame of the Disruption is imputed by it to Rehoboam (hardly a sufficient reason, considering that Judaean historians did not hesitate otherwise to condemn the early kings of Judah) and because a Judaean writer would not have allowed that the succession to the throne was decided upon Solomon's death by the popular election implied in this account (nor is this conclusive, for a Judaean scribe would be glad to record the popular choice of a son of Solomon).

[2] See *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 119 ff., 332.

[3] Swete's ed. 1 Kings xii. 24 a-z. This account is generally assigned to a Judaean writer, as it opens with the usual formula for the beginning of a reign of a king of Judah, assumes Rehoboam's succession as a matter of course, and imputes the blame of the Disruption to Jeroboam. On the whole question of the relation of the two accounts and their comparative value see Skinner's Appendix, note ii., to *Kings* in the *Century Bible.*

[4] *V.* 24 n. (Swete). The arguments against the trustworthiness of this account by Kuenen and Kittel are not conclusive. It appears the more natural.

the burdens laid on the people by Solomon. He answered the suppliants with an insult, and wantonly aggravated this by sending them Adoniram, *who was over the levy*. They killed Adoniram, and Rehoboam saved himself only by flight to Jerusalem. The Disruption was complete.

The effect upon Jerusalem is clear. The City remained loyal to the dynasty to which she owed her rank, and retained her supremacy over Judah;[1] but she was cut off from the resources, both religious and commercial, which she had enjoyed under Solomon. She still held the ancient sanctuary of Jahweh; but Jeroboam, whom a prophet of Jahweh had acclaimed as king of Northern Israel, established His worship in two sanctuaries at either end of the kingdom, a striking contrast to the centralizing policy of Solomon. The Temple[2] was cut off from the vast majority of Israelites, for the trans-Jordanic tribes joined the Northern Kingdom. The loss to Jerusalem was not only religious. The sanctuaries of the time were its principal markets as well,[3] and the trade which a monarch so vigilant for the commercial interests of his realm must have included among his designs in building the Temple would be largely diverted from its courts. At Bethel, which, besides possessing more ancient religious associations than Jerusalem, stood near the junction of two trade routes, Jeroboam instituted at harvest-time a great festival which would also be a great fair.[4] It was only twelve miles distant from Jerusalem, and in times of peace would attract,

[1] 1 Kings xii. 20: *the tribe of Judah only.* This is confirmed by the list of cities fortified by Jeroboam; they are all in Judah (2 Chron. xi. 5 ff.). Thus the words *and the tribe of Benjamin* in 1 Kings xii. 21 must be a later addition.

[2] It is uncertain how much adhesion the Temple had secured among North Israelites in Solomon's time.

[3] See "Trade and Commerce" by the present writer in the *Encycl. Bibl.*

[4] 1 Kings xii. 32.

by this double temptation, numbers of traders from Judah.[1] Jerusalem, too, had lost the sumptuousness of her court.[2] The morale of the City under these losses may be judged from the spirit of the counsellors whom Rehoboam had chosen, as well as from the abandonment of the campaign against the Northern Kingdom which they proposed. Prophecy had too emphatically blessed the latter for any immediate hope of a victory against it. The impression of this fact upon the people of Judah may even have led to the formation of a party favourable to the North, unless the sympathies of those likely to join were alienated by the establishment of the images in Dan and Bethel. In any case it was a shaken and dispirited people in Judah who now faced the inevitable war with the larger and richer tribes that had broken away from them.

The state of war lasted sixty years.[3] Soon after it began Judah suffered in addition from an Egyptian invasion. This was the first of many warnings to Israel of the necessity of her union, for Egypt, though in possession of the Philistine coast, had not dared to attack the united kingdom under David and Solomon. But *in the fifth year of Rehoboam*, according to the Biblical narrative, *Shishak* (or *Shoshak*), *king of Egypt*, that is Shoshenk I., of the twenty-second dynasty, *came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of Jahweh, and the treasures of the king's house, and all the golden shields which Solomon had made*, and which the king's guards used when escorting him to the Temple.[4] It is not said that Jerusalem was

[1] Cf. the appearance of Amos at Bethel; he may have gained his experience of life in North Israel and of the ritual at Bethel by his journeys as a wool-seller. Cf. *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. pp. 79 ff.; and Driver, *Joel and Amos* in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, p. 105.

[2] EXPOSITOR, 1905, p. 94 f.

[3] 1 Kings xiv. 30, xv. 6, 16, xxii. 44.

[4] 1 Kings xiv. 25 ff. For Shishak LXX. b reads Σουσακειμ, and says that the shields were those which David took from the Arameans: 2 Sam. viii. 7. The consonants of the Hebrew text of verse 25 read Shoshak.

actually taken by Shoshenḳ, nor is this necessarily implied by the Chronicler's account, which adds that Shoshenḳ *took the fenced cities of Judah.*[1] Shoshenḳ's own list of the cities affected by his campaign covers Israel as well as Judah, but his enumeration may include cities which sent him tribute besides those which he took by force of arms.[2] Among them the name of Jerusalem has not been deciphered. Rehoboam replaced the golden shields by shields of bronze; and, further, is said by the Chronicler to have fortified a number of cities in Judah.[3] These were Bethelehem, Eṭam (Arṭās, just south of Bethlehem), Teḳoa and Beth-ṣīr (Burj-ṣūr), all between Jerusalem and Hebron; Hebron itself; Zīph (Tell Zīf, S.E. of Hebron), Mareshah, Adoraim (Dora) and Lakīsh, all guarding the approaches to Hebron from the south; Sokoh, 'Adullam, Gath and 'Azekah, all on or near the border between the Shephelah and the hill-country of Judah,[4] Ṣor'a and Ayyalōn commanding two passes to Jerusalem from the coast.[5] This list, in contrast with that of the cities fortified by Solomon,[6] exhibits how shrunken was the territory of which Jerusalem was now the capital. On the east her

[1] 2 Chron. xii. 4.

[2] See W. Max Müller, *Encycl. Bibl.*, artt. "Egypt," § 63 (with a reproduction of part of Shoshenḳ's list), and "Shishak," according to which the enumeration of the northern cities "merely means that the northern kingdom was tributary; it is only the second half of the list which contains details pointing to the actual conquest, and these seem to belong to Judah." This seems a more natural explanation than that given by C. Niebuhr and Winckler (*Gesch. Israel's*, i., 160, n. 1) that the northern cities in the list were conquered by Shoshenḳ for Rehoboam. Had the Miṣraim to which Jeroboam fled been the Arabian Muṣri, as Cheyne argues (cf. the art. "Shishak"; cf. Winckler, *Gesch.* ii. 273), it is difficult to see why Shoshenḳ should have interfered so partially with the two kingdoms.

[3] 2 Chron. xi. 5 ff.

[4] *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 205 ff.

[5] The position of Hebron on the list—last, both in the Hebrew and in the LXX.—is curious.

[6] Expositor, 1905, p. 96.

connexion with Jericho was severed; and Jericho, if we may judge from the care which so many invaders of Judaea took to possess it before advancing on Jerusalem, was always a convenient source of supplies for the latter. No cities to the north of Jerusalem are mentioned on the list. In Rehoboam's time that border must have been drawn immediately above Jerusalem. Her own walls confronted it without any intervening fortress.

After a reign of seventeen years, Rehoboam was succeeded by Abijah, his son by Maacah, the daughter of Absalom. Abijah reigned three years.[1] The Deuteronomic editor passes on this king an adverse judgment, which is explained by the first acts of his successor. War continued between him and Jeroboam. The Chronicler gives a detailed account (which, to say the least, is much coloured by the circumstances of a later age)[2] of a battle between Abijah and Jeroboam at Ṣemaraim, near Bethel, in consequence of which Abijah was able to push his frontier north to Bethel, Jeshana, probably the present 'Ain Sīnīyeh,[3] and Ephron or Ephraim, the present eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh. Abijah was not able to keep these cities, for under his successor the frontier had fallen as far south as Ramah.

2. Asa: *circa* 913–873.

Abijah was succeeded by his son[4] Asa, who is said to have reigned forty years, the round number in the Old Testament for a generation. The first record of his reign,

[1] 1 Kings xv. 1–8. The Hebrew text spells the name Abijam; but Abijah is confirmed by the LXX., 'Αβιου, and by 2 Chron. xiii. 1. On Maakah see the commentaries.

[2] 2 Chron. xiii. 2 ff.

[3] cf. Josephus, xiv. *Antt.* xv. 12.

[4] As Asa's mother is given the same name as Abijah's, *Maakah the daughter of Absalom* (1 Kings xv. 2, 10) some would read *brother* for *son* in verse 8. Alternatively Maakah, the mother of Abijah, continued to enjoy the rank of Queen-mother in the beginning of Asa's reign. Or there is a confusion of the two names.

which is given, is one of religious reform.[1] He removed the idols which *his fathers had made*, along with an image erected by the Queen-mother, Maakah. He did not remove the high places, or local sanctuaries of Jahweh, but he gathered into the Temple the *holy things which he and his father* had dedicated. The text calls the image erected by Maakah *a horrible* or *grisly*[2] *thing, for* or *belonging to an Asherah*; but *grisly thing* may be a substitute for a word which either moral or religious delicacy forbade the later scribes to write. Asa cut it down and burned it at the Ḳidron. This record is from the Deuteronomic editor, but as the reforms described in it fall short of the Deuteronomic standard, it must be founded on an earlier source, and we have no reason to doubt the details. They illustrate the congenital and obdurate heathenism with which Ezekiel charges Jerusalem. The original Jebusite population remained among their Hebrew conquerors; and their ritual, as of gods of ancient association with the place, must have been a constant temptation to the latter. That it was these gods whose idols Asa removed is confirmed by the survival to a later age of the foreign cults established by Solomon in connexion with his trade and treaties with the Phoenicians and other nations. The most interesting detail, however, is Asa's gathering of *holy things* to the Temple. They must have been brought from other sanctuaries. Was this done for their greater security? Or may we see in the fact the first step towards that gradual centralization of the worship which the Deuteronomic legislation consummated? In this connexion, we ought to notice that the Chronicler states that Asa attracted to the purer worship of the Temple a number of the Northern Israelites.[3] This is very probable.

[1] 1 Kings xv. 9–15.
[2] LXX. σύνοδος; Jerome, a phallic object.
[3] 2 Chron. xv. 9 ff.

The political events of Asa's reign are mainly taken from the early annals both of Judah and Israel.[1] In Northern Israel Jeroboam was succeeded for two years by his son Nadab, who while laying siege to Gibbethon,[2] a Philistine town, was slain by Baasha, of the house of Issachar, and Baasha carried on the war both against Judah and the Philistines.[3] Against the latter he fortified Ramah of Benjamin, five miles north of Jerusalem, *that he might not suffer any to go out or come in to Asa king of Judah.*[4] To relieve the pressure, Asa stripped the Temple and his own house of their silver and gold, and sent this to Ben-hadad of Damascus to bribe him to break his league with Israel. Ben-hadad invaded the northern provinces of Israel; and when Baasha in consequence suspended the fortification of Ramah, Asa carried off the material and fortified therewith Geba of Benjamin: either Geba' on the natural frontier formed by the valley of Michmash,[5] or Gibeah, three miles from Jerusalem[6]; and Mizpah, either the present Neby Samwīl[7] or Scopus on the north road. Jerusalem had now these screens between her and the frontier of Israel, yet Asa did not dare to carry his arms across the latter, not even during the civil war which followed the overthrow of Baasha's dynasty.[8] According to the Chronicler, Asa won a decisive victory over Zerah the Kushite, near Mareshah, and pursuing him to Gerar took much spoil.[9] These invaders, who are usually understood to have been the Ethiopian Kushites,

[1] Judah, 1 Kings xv. 16–22; Israel, id. 27–29a; xvi. 9–11, 15b–18, 21–24 (except 23ab). The other verses are from the Deuteronomic editor.

[2] A frontier town of Dan, Josh. xix. 44, xxi. 23.

[3] According to 1 Kings xvi. 15, Gibbethon was still besieged by Israel when Omri rose to take the crown.

[4] xv. 16 f.

[5] The present Geba' on the Wady Suweinit.

[6] Tell el-Ful.

[7] In whose neighbourhood we find a fortification, Bethome (Beitunî?), in the days of Alexander Jannaeus.

[8] xvi. 9–22.

[9] 2 Chron. xiv. 8–14. The Hebrew text says that the battle took place in the glen of Ṣephathah, i.e. צְפָתָה, for which the LXX. read צְפֹנָה, *κατὰ βορρᾶν*, to the North of.

were more probably from Arabia, where there were tribes of the name. The booty taken from them points to their being Arabs. If this was so, then we see the first of many Arab failures to invade Judah from the south. Fortified towns which yielded to more civilized armies proved a sufficient screen to Jerusalem against the Nomads; and, near as she lay to the Desert, no Arab invasion reached her walls [1] till the time of the Hasmoneans, when the Nabateans, aided by a force of Jews, besieged the Holy City.

Asa lived through the reign of Omri and saw the genius of the latter create from its foundations the city which was to prove in history as in prophecy the one counterpart and rival of Jerusalem. It is remarkable how from the beginning Shechem disappeared out of the politics of Northern Israel. The geographical centre of the whole land, on the main trade route across the Western Range, and endowed with abundant fertility, Shechem appears to have lost her supremacy through the military weakness of her site.[2] When Jeroboam formed his kingdom, he removed his residence from Shechem to Tirzah, commanding one of the eastern avenues to his land; and Tirzah was retained as their capital by the following dynasty. But Omri, partly because of his alliance with Phœnicia, crossed to the western face of Mount Ephraim, and selected a new site on an isolated hill at the head of the chief pass to the coast. He called this, according to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, Shōmerōn, which would be taken to mean the same as the German Wartburg; but the Greek and Aramaic forms preserve what is probably an older vocalization, Shamrain, from which the form Samaria is derived.[3]

[1] Unless we take as historical, and as referring not to the Philistines, but to the Arabs alone, 2 Chron. xvi. 16.

[2] *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 346 ff.

[3] LXX. b of 1 Kings xvi. 24, Σεμερων, Σαημερων; Aramaic, Ezra iv. 10, 17, Shamrain; cf. the Samarina of the Assyrian inscriptions.

The new capital rapidly gathered the kingdom under her lead—*the head of Ephraim is Samaria* [1]—and gave her name to the whole of it. To the earlier prophets of Judah Samaria was already the double of their own Jerusalem, both in character and in the consequent doom which their God sent upon His people. That later prophecy should remember her as Jerusalem's elder sister [2] is explained by her position. Young and upstart as she was, from the greater fertility and openness of her surroundings Samaria derived a precocity of growth which lifted her above Jerusalem in wealth and energy.

Grey, shrunken and withdrawn, Jerusalem must sometimes have envied the brilliance of her younger sister. Yet envy cannot have been the only nor the prevailing temper of her people in this period. Jerusalem held the Ark, was constant to her one dynasty, and lay aloof from the probability of invasion. Samaria did not contain the principal sanctuary of her kingdom,[3] was the creature of a usurping dynasty that at any time might pass away like its brief predecessors, and besides had to endure, on her open and forward position, one siege after another from powerful invaders. On these facts wise minds in Jerusalem knew that their City could wait, and nursed for her the promises of David. They were inspired by the possession of poetry, popular and national, which not only, as in the "Oracles of Balaam," sang the glories of an Israel undivided; but signalized, as in the "Blessing of Jacob," the political pre-eminence of Judah.[4] It is certain that Judaean

[1] Isaiah vii. 9.

[2] Ezekiel xxiii. 4.

[3] Which was in Bethel, Deut. xxxiii. 12. See below.

[4] It is hard to believe that the longer oracles of Balaam were later than the days of Saul and David. "The Blessing of Jacob," Gen. xlix. 1–27, is assigned by Driver (*Genesis*, p. 380) to "the age of the Judges or a little later," by Duhm (*Encycl. Bibl.* col. 3797) to the early reign of David, and by Kautzsch (*Abriss d. Gesch. d. A. T. Schrifttums*, p. 142) to at least as early as Solomon's reign, though he admits the possibility of a later date.

writers of the period were busy with new works. Among these we may place the strong and spirited narratives of the reigns of David and Solomon (obviously based on earlier documents), which emphasize Jerusalem as the centre of the national life that they celebrate. Many also assign to this period the Judaean constituent of the Pentateuch, the Jahwist Document, and it breathes a much more confident spirit, a firmer sense of possessing the future, than the parallel northern narrative of the Elohist. There is not, however, either in the poetry or in the histories just cited, any expression or even foreboding of that unique sacredness which future events and legislation were to confer upon Jerusalem. Whether or not the Book of the Covenant [1] was known and obeyed in Judah at this time, the practice which it sanctions of worshipping Jahweh at many altars was recognized as freely there as in Northern Israel, His high places were not yet removed. But though none of the literature of Judaea articulately predicts the Single Sanctuary, it reveals the moral and political elements which were already quietly working towards the ultimate centralization of the worship of Jahweh.

By the Northern Kingdom, Jerusalem at this time seems to have been wholly disregarded. To begin with, that Kingdom called itself Israel, flying high its title to be regarded as the actual people of Jahweh. Permeated by a strong, self-reliant temper, its annals and narratives do not even mention Jerusalem. The drought of Elijah's time must have afflicted Judah as well as Israel and Phœnicia, yet in his splendid story the name of Judah occurs but once, and then casually as defining the position of Beer-

See also G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 313 f. Wellhausen and others, because of verse 23, date the blessing after the Aramean invasions. The collections of poems known as "The Book of Jasher" and "The Book of the Wars of Jahweh," used by the Jahwist, were also in existence.

[1] Exod. xx. 22–xxiii. 19.

sheba.[1] When Elijah himself seeks Jahweh, it is not the Temple which is the goal of his pilgrimage, but Horeb. This is not to be explained by the probability that Judah was already the vassal of Israel, and that the fugitive prophet sought a shrine of his God beyond the influence of Ahab. The truth is that for the prophecy of the Northern Kingdom, Jerusalem at this time had no religious significance. If the Blessing of the Tribes (in Deuteronomy xxxiii.), as its contents and spirit seem to prove, is an Ephraimitic work from the beginning of the double kingdom, its eulogy of Benjamin, as containing the dwelling of Jahweh, must refer to Bethel, for, as we have seen, the documents of the period do not include the tribe of Benjamin in the Southern Kingdom.[2]

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[1] 1 Kings xix. 3.

[2] On the date of Deut. xxxiii. see the commentaries. Driver and others incline to the reign of Jeroboam I.; Moore (*Encycl. Bibl.* col. 1090); and others to that of Jeroboam II. The northern origin of the poem is universally admitted, and indeed is very obvious.

(*To be continued.*)