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THE ROYAL COURT OF ADIABENE.

AT two points the Indian Ocean, called by the ancients (we know not why) the Erythræan Sea, has through narrow gates forced for itself an opening into the southern continent of Asia. Arabia has thereby become a peninsula, girded on the east by the Persian Gulf, and on the west by the Arabian Gulf. If we sail up the Persian Gulf, between the Arabian and the Persian coasts, and journey by land farther northward to the Schatt-el-Arab, the combined Euphrates and Tigris, before we reach Basra, famous in the stories of the "Thousand and One Nights," we come upon a locality known as Moammerah. It lies just at the point where the Karûn (Eulæus of the ancients) empties itself into the Schatt. This locality was called in the first half of the first Christian century, to which we transport ourselves back, Charax, more exactly Charax of Spasinos (Pasinos).¹ It was the capital of a small kingdom.

We are here in Southern Babylonia, in the Sumêr or Shinar, the former domain of that Merodach-baladan who sought to gain an ally in the person of Hezekiah, king of Judah. If we were from this point to trace the course of the Euphrates farther northward, we should pass by Ur, the birthplace of Abraham, and the ancient necropolis Warka, and reach Hilla, situated upon the ruins of the ancient Babylon; but we strike to the east, pass upon the banks of the Tigris the old caliphs' residence, Bagdad, and farther on quit the North Babylonian for Assyrian soil. There, in the mid course of the Tigris, once lay Assur, the earliest capital of the Assyrian Empire,² and

¹ De Goeje identified with this Charax the Omayyad coining place, es-Sâmiye, in the district of Wasit, in Irâk, but wrongly, after the judgment of Noeldeke, Blau, and Stickele.

² The Vâwût i. 119, 16 ss., says: "In the neighbourhood of es-Selâmiye (a small place eastward of Mosul; there is between both about one farsang) is an

Kelach and Nineveh, from the time of Asurnasirpalus the alternating seats of the Assyrian princes. Below Kelach the great Zab here joins the Tigris, and below Assur the little Zab (lat. $35^{\circ} 15'$), both coming from the east, from the Zagros range which separates Assyria and Media, Irák and Êran. Here in the vicinity of Mosul, on the left bank of the Tigris, below the network of the rivers entering the Tigris from the east, was the maternal soil of the Assyrian kingdom. Here shone resplendent the colossal palatial and temple edifices of the Assyrian kings; hither the Asiatic princes crowded from far and near, among these at one time Ahaz of Judah, in order to cast themselves at the feet of the king of kings (*šar šarrâni*). But at the time of the first Christian century, to which we transport ourselves back, this ancient Assyrian glory had long sunk down into that earth from which its remains are being disinterred only in the present day. "Thou turnest mortals to dust," says Ps. xc., the Mosespsalm, of God, "and sayest, Return, ye children of men." The new generation of that day had hardly so much as a suspicion that the soil under their feet concealed the ruins of a mighty empire, of the greatest significance in the history of the world and of civilization. The land was still indeed sometimes called Assyria, or with the Aramaic change of *sh* into *t*, Atyria (Aturia); but from the time of the Diadochoi, of whom Seleucus Nicator had made Babylon and the surrounding lands tributary to himself, it was called Adiabene. The name is geographically as significant as Mesopotamia; for as Mesopotamia denotes the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates, so also Adiabene, originally Diabân or Dibân, signifies the land

entirely waste town, named **اقور** (*Akûr*); it seems as if the whole land had got its name from this town—God knows it." Elsewhere (iii. 113, 22 he names that ruinous town **اقور**, not **اقور**; but these two forms have really existed.

of the two Zab, because they combined Zab or Dab with the Semitic name for the wolf (ذئب), according to which the great Zab was called in Greek Lykos (the Wolf), and the little Zab Kapros (the Boar).¹

At the time to which we carry ourselves back, the dominion of the Greeks had long been succeeded by the dominion of the Parthians (about B.C. 250), that kingdom of the Arsacidæ which maintained itself, in endless conflicts with the Romans, during almost five centuries. Adiabene, leaning upon the great Parthian kingdom, formed a small kingdom of its own. The position was a difficult one; but its rulers were enabled by prudence and vigour to surmount the danger of being absorbed by the Parthians or abolished by the Romans. The religion there prevailing was at any rate the Eranian; the centre of this cultus was the adoration of fire, which was looked upon as a heavenly being, sent down by Ahuramazda into the world of earth; the twenty-five men whom Ezekiel (chap. viii. 16 *seq.*) is led to see in the Temple at Jerusalem, praying to the sun and holding in their hands the sacred branch, the Bareçman or Barsom (in Hebrew הַזֹּמֶרֶה),² are apostate Jews who have addicted themselves to this Eranian fire-worship. But Buddhism likewise had penetrated as far as Eran in the time of the Seleucidæ, which is evident from the fact that Antiochos Theos gave permission, about the year B.C. 260, to the Indian king Açoka to erect veterinary hospitals throughout these western provinces.³ Nor were Jews wanting here either. The exiles of the kingdom of Israel must, it is true, be left out of consideration; the captivity has buried them without leaving a trace behind. But the exiles of Judah, who kept their

¹ See Mordtmann in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. xxxiii., p. 123.

² See Spiegel's *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, vol. iii. (1878), p. 571.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 717.

nationality in virtue of their religion, had returned but in small part to their fatherland, and a lively intercourse was maintained between the Jews of Palestine and their countrymen in Babylonia, in Mesène (מִשֵׁן), with its capital Apamea, and likewise in Hadjab (חַדְיָב), *i.e.* Adiabene.¹

At the time of the emperor Caligula, a king named Monobaz reigned over Adiabene.² He had as his consort his sister Helena; marriages between brothers and sisters were not incestuous according to the view of the Eranians; they were even a favourite form of marriage in the royal family of the Achæmenidæ, since the relation of brother and sister was regarded as indicating the highest possible degree of equality of birth. Helena had already borne to her consort a son, Monobaz, and he had sons also of other women, and Helena was once more near her delivery, when King Monobaz thought he heard a voice in sleep which pointed to the son whom Helena should bear as destined for high things. In reality she brought forth a son; the king called him Izates, and lavished upon him as much love as though he had had only him, and no sons besides. Here however it is already seen that in this royal house of Adiabene there prevailed a delicate and generous mode of thought and action, such as was unexampled elsewhere in Oriental courts. Monobaz was not blind to the fact that the other sons rightly felt themselves

¹ Comp. Graetz, *Mesene und seine jüdische Bevölkerung*, 1879.

² Nowhere is the name of the capital of Adiabene expressly mentioned. From *Moses Chorenensis*, ii. 35, it seems to have been Edessa. The kings of Adiabene however did not reside in Edessa, but only a collateral line, which entered with the dynasty of the Abgars, the sovereigns of Osroëne (see Alfred v. Gutschmid, in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1864, page 171 *seq.*). Professor Nöldeke writes me as follows: "There is nothing handed down by tradition about the residence of the kings of Adiabene; but in all likelihood they resided at Arbela, the only renowned city, not only in *Hadyab* itself, the land between the two Zab, but in Assyria generally, that is, the whole empire of those kings who named themselves 'of Adiabene,' because Adiabene was their original domain."

aggrieved by this his preference for Izates, and that the envy and hatred which this favour called forth proceeded from the laudable desire of being loved in equal measure by their father. He sent away Izates therefore to Charax Spasinu, and commended him there to the protection of King Abennerigos (*Ἀβεννήριγος*). The latter proved quite worthy of the confidence of his friend, received the young man affectionately, and gave him his daughter Symacho (*Συμαχώ*) in marriage. Now, when Monobaz felt that he had not much longer to live, he caused his darling to come to him, yet did not long retain him at the court. He bestowed upon him Carrhæ, that Harrân (*Ἡρῶν*) whence Abraham entered upon his journey to Canaan, and among whose most valuable products is numbered that *amomum* (*ἄμωμον*) widely prized and especially a favourite at Rome. Here in Carrhæ Izates remained until the death of his father.

Upon the demise of the father, it was again shown that in this royal house another spirit prevailed than was found elsewhere in the East, where the heir apparent was wont to secure the throne to himself by the slaughter of the other hereditary princes. The nobles of the kingdom declared themselves ready to accomplish this massacre in the interest of Izates; but Helena refused her consent, and only made the concession that the brothers should be kept in ward till Izates came. So great confidence, however, had she in her elder son, Monobaz, that she named him vicar-regent of the kingdom, and committed to him the royal insignia. And when Izates came, Monobaz surrendered to his brother diadem and signet-ring and sampsêra (*σαμψηρά*), *i.e.* the sceptre with the sun-emblem, and retired into private life.

And this Izates had meanwhile become a proselyte to Judaism. A Jewish merchant, Ananias, had found opportunity in Charax of entering into religious conversation with

the ladies at the court, and he had succeeded in winning over Izates also to belief in the One God and in His revealed law; and at the same time he gained the affection of Izates to so great an extent that the latter, when he returned from Charax to Adiabene, could not bring himself to part with him, but took him with him. And what a receptive soil the religion of revelation found in this royal court is evident from the fact that, when Izates was hastening thither from Carrhæ to become his father's successor, Helena had in the interval become a proselyte of Judaism. The conduct of these two was henceforth regulated not only by their conscience but also by the word of God in Law and Prophets. Brothers and kinsmen were released from the prison, and sent, some to Rome, where from the year 41 the emperor Claudius was reigning, and some to the Parthian king Artabanus. His brother Monobaz, however, Izates retained beside him.

It was now only a question with Izates whether he should submit to circumcision or not. Helena was opposed to it, because it would awaken the ill-will of his subjects. Ananias too, who shared the concern of the queen-mother, dissuaded him therefrom, saying that even without circumcision he could be a sincere worshipper of the true God. But a Jew Eleazar, who had come from Galilee, so successfully urged circumcision upon the young king as a matter of conscience, that he underwent it. And in the sequel it was found that he had not thereby alienated the hearts of his people from himself. He continued to be esteemed and beloved; for he was by his piety, the purity of his morals, his magnanimity, and the firmness of his character, a bright example, whose light was seen from afar. Nor could Monobaz, his brother, withstand the contagious influence of this example. He too embraced the Jewish religion; and the whole court of Adiabene renounced heathenism and professed their faith in the God of Israel.

The magnates were highly incensed. They stirred up the Arabian prince Abia (*Αβίας*) to war against Izates; but the plan miscarried. Abia was beaten, and took his own life to escape being made the prisoner of Izates. They now made the same attempt with the king of the Parthians, Vologeses I. Izates had formerly assisted the father of this Vologeses, Artabanus III., to recover his throne; Artabanus had in gratitude bestowed upon him Nisibis and the surrounding district, and conferred upon him the prerogative, in other cases peculiar to the kings of Parthia, of wearing an upright tiara and sleeping in a golden bed. Vologeses demanded of Izates that he should renounce this distinction. He could not however comply with such a disgraceful request, but took up arms; yet it did not come to a battle, for Vologeses was compelled to withdraw the army he had led against Izates, in order to resist an invasion of the Scythians into Parthia. This happened in the year 58 of the Christian era, thus in the time of the emperor Nero. Izates died shortly afterwards, though not until he had appointed as his successor his brother Monobaz, the faithful guardian of his throne.

In the year 44 Izates had granted to his mother her request to be permitted to travel to Jerusalem. At the time of her coming thither there was prevailing in Palestine that famine under the emperor Claudius which, as we learn from Acts xi. 28, was predicted by the prophet Agabus, and for the assuaging of which Paul and Barnabas brought the collection of the Christians of Antioch to the brethren in Judæa. Is it possible that Helena heard anything there in Jerusalem of Jesus the crucified, and the Church of those who believed in Him as the Messiah? We may well doubt it, for the august lady was so closely encircled by the notabilities of the priesthood, of the sanhedrin, and of the academies, that no intelligence, or at least no authentic intelligence, concerning Christ and Christianity could find access to her. But she too did her part to relieve the dis-

tress. She despatched some of her train to Alexandria, there to buy up great quantities of corn, and some to Cyprus, thence to obtain ample stores of dried figs. And when her son Izates heard of the famine, he too sent large sums to the representatives of Jerusalem for distribution among those in want.

As for other Asiatic princes Rome, the mistress of the world, exerted the strongest power of attraction, so for the royal family of Adiabene Jerusalem, as the city of the earth under the special favour of the One true God, exerted a like power of attraction. Helena possessed there her own palace in the midst of the Acra, as the northern part of the lower terrace of the Upper City, lying to the west of Zion, was then called. Here she received the sad news of the death of her son. She hastened back to Adiabene, but did not long survive him. Monobaz assuredly fulfilled a last wish of the two departed ones, in bringing their bones to Jerusalem, and there, so Josephus says, depositing them in the pyramids (*ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσιον*) which his mother had erected, three in number, at a distance of three stadia from the city. Probably this is the spacious sepulchre in the rock, now in ruins, but still bearing traces of its original splendour, which lies outside of the Damascus Gate, on the road to Nablûs. It is now a French private possession. In one of the chambers, which De Saulcy opened in 1863, was found a sarcophagus in a complete state of preservation, containing a female skeleton. Upon the lid it bore an inscription in Aramaic and one in Hebrew, both consisting of eight letters. It has been placed in the Louvre at Paris, where it is now to be found. The entrance to the sepulchral cave was originally adorned with three pyramids, which Jerome saw yet standing in his day.¹

My authority hitherto has been Josephus, in the twentieth

¹ See Lunez' *Annual (Jahrbuch)*, art. "Jerusalem," vol. i., p. 93. Vienna, 1872.

book of his *Antiquities*. In his work on the Jewish War mention is frequently made of the Monument of Helena, her palace within the Acra, and the court (*αὐλή*) of Monobaz, as topographical points of direction; and we are told in the same work¹ that sons, brothers, and kinsmen of king Izates fought in the ranks of the defenders of Jerusalem against the Romans, and were by Cæsar led away in bonds to Rome as hostages. In the Talmud and Midrash, Helena and her children have already become an object of legend, and much is related concerning the painful scrupulosity of herself and her family; *e.g.* that she kept the vow of a Nazarite seven years in her own land, and then, after she had come into the Holy Land, an additional seven years, because the observance in a foreign country was looked upon as insufficient; and that her house reckoned, in addition to the seven liquids which upon the contact of an unclean person take up and convey the defilement, likewise snow.² We leave the historic warrant for this self-righteous glorification to others; but it may be a faithful reminiscence when we are told that Monobaz provided golden handles for the vessels used on the Day of Atonement, and that Helena not only caused the section concerning the woman suspected of adultery (Num. v. 11 *sqq.*), which is to be read on the occasion of the Divine ordeal, to be engraved on a golden tablet (*טבלא של זהב*), but also placed a golden lamp (*כברשל של זהב*) above the entrance of the temple,³ most likely that which represented a golden vine with gigantic clusters, of which Josephus makes mention, in connection with the description of the Temple in the *Jewish War*, v. 5, § 4, as a splendid piece.

In both Talmuds⁴ it is reported that the relatives of

¹ Joseph., *B. J.* ii. 19, § 2; vi. 6, § 4.

² *Nazir*, 19 b; *Nidda*, 17 a.

³ *Joma*, 37 a.

⁴ In *Baba bathra*, 11 a of the Babylonian Talmud, and *Pea* i. 1 (*i.e.* Mishra i., Halacha 1) of the Palestinian.

Monobaz protested against his so reckless squandering of the wealth of himself and his fathers, in times of famine. "Thy fathers," they said, have "amassed treasures and augmented those inherited from their fathers; thou squanderest it all." Then he answered, "My fathers have gathered for beneath, and I have gathered for above; my fathers have gathered that over which the hand of man hath power, I that over which no hand of man hath power; my fathers have gathered that which bears no fruit, I that which bears fruit; my fathers have gathered treasures of mammon, I treasures of souls; my fathers have gathered for others, I for myself; my fathers have gathered for this world, I for the world to come."

The post-exilian Judaism has no proselytes to point to who more eminently redound to its praise than these three, Helena, Izates, and Monobaz, in whom was fulfilled by way of example the promise to Jerusalem (Isa. xlix. 23): "Kings shall be thy foster-fathers, and their princesses thy nursing-mothers." Yet it is a sight which possesses no sympathetic attraction for us, when we see those who were originally heathen converted into strict observers of the Jewish ritual law. Then, however, it is true, that fiery judgment had not as yet passed over the temple of the Old Covenant, by which the self-condemnation was completed, which the religion of the Law had pronounced upon itself by the judicial murder accomplished on the Christ of God. Nearly three centuries later came another Helena, the mother of the emperor Constantine, to the Holy Land, who also, like the mother of Izates and Monobaz, visited the holy places there and became a benefactress to the poor. Legend has, equally in a monkish spirit, shed a halo about this Helena, as it did in a Pharisaic spirit about the other. Nevertheless, after deduction of the unhistoric, the two women remain a venerable parallel pair. The one is irradiated by the evening glow of the religion of the Law, and

the other by the morning sunshine of that faith which conquers the world by the love which is the fulfilling of the Law—both winsome types of self-sacrificing love in conformity with the word of God (Gal. vi. 10): “Let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith.”

FRANZ DELITZSCH.

CRUCIFIED AND RISEN WITH CHRIST.

IN this paper I shall discuss the meaning of a group of phrases familiar to St. Paul, and including the words *crucified, dead, buried, made alive, risen, and sitting in heavenly places, with Christ*. The frequency of these phrases in several Epistles, and the use made in argument of the ideas they convey, reveal the deep hold of these ideas on the mind of the great Apostle. Yet of these phrases and ideas we find in the New Testament outside his Epistles only at most the faintest trace. We may therefore confidently hope that our research will materially help us to understand St. Paul's own personal conception of the way of salvation and of the believer's relation to Christ.

We will first bring together in one view the phrases referred to, and then endeavour to understand them singly and to grasp singly and collectively the conceptions they were designed to convey.

Of these phrases we find no trace in St. Paul's earliest Epistles, those to the Thessalonians. Nor do we find them in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. But in 2 Cor. v. 15 we read, *having judged this, that One died on behalf of all, therefore all died*. This implies that believers, although still living on earth, are yet in some sense already *dead*,