

The Phrase רכבים צמדים in 2 Kings ix. 25.

PROF. PAUL HAUPT, PH.D.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

IN the critical notes on the Hebrew text of Isa. 21⁹, in the Polychrome Bible, I pointed out that the Hebrew term צמד פרשים did not mean 'horsemen in double rank' but 'a team of horses harnessed together, a pair of horses driven together'; Assy. *çindu*, fem. *çimittu*, or *naçmadu* always referred to chariots, never to horsemen. Cheyne remarked (*op. cit.*, p. 123, ll. 7 ff.) that most interpreters had preferred the view rejected by me on Assyriological grounds because the scene described by the seer appeared to require it; the interpreters referred to quoted on their side 2 Kings 9²⁵: **אני ואתה את רכבים צמדים אחרי אחאב אביו**. Cheyne added that he did not know whether there were any Assyrian contexts parallel to the contexts in 2 Kings 9²⁵ and Isa. 21⁹. There are no cuneiform parallels to 2 Kings 9²⁵, but the meaning of that passage seems to me clear.

While the young King Ahaziah of Judah visited his wounded uncle, King Joram of Israel, at Jezreel, Jehu, the commander of the Israelitish army, revolted. The two kings went forth in their chariots to meet him. An arrow from Jehu's bow pierced Joram's heart, and when Jehu beheld the fallen son of Ahab, he recalled the words uttered against Joram's father, Ahab, by the prophet Elijah on that ill-omened spot, the land of Naboth of Jezreel: In the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall the dogs lick thine own blood (1 Kings 21¹⁹).

In his article on Jehu in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Principal Whitehouse remarks, Jehu and Bidkar rode in a chariot along with others in pairs, adding that there was something exceptional in this: usually three rode in a Hebrew chariot, as we find among the Hittites. This statement is repeated in Whitehouse's article on "Chariots" in Cheyne-Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*. As רכבים צמדים, however, refers only to Jehu and Bidkar, it cannot mean 'riding in pairs.' This would require the singular, צמד. It is true

that the Targum reads as though the text had the singular (כד (הוּינא רכיבין וּונא חד). Gesenius-Buhl¹³ *s.v.* צמד proposes to join the final ם of צמדים to the following אחרי, thus reading רכבים ממל ודכיר אנה אנה צמד מאחרי אחאב. The Peshita renders אנה אנה אנה 'because I remember, I and thou were riding and driving behind his father Ahab.' Everything becomes clear if we read צמדים instead of the Masoretic צמדים. The preceding רכבים is merely a prefixed gloss, explaining the meaning of צמדים, while the *nota accusativi* before רכבים is simply a partial dittography of the preceding pronoun ואתה. On the other hand, we must insert, with the Ancient Versions, a second אני before ואתה אני, pointing לך instead of the Masoretic אני (cf. Gesenius-Buhl¹³, p. 217^a, and contrast *ibid.*, p. 83^a, below). Consequently we must read: אביו ויהודה נשא עליו את המשא הזה כי וְכָר אֲנִי אֲנִי וְאֶתָּה צִמְדִים אַחֲרַי אַחֲאָב, *i.e.*, for I remember, I and thou were *teaming* behind his father Ahab when Yahweh uttered this oracle against him.

Now, what is the meaning of this denominative participle *teaming*? It means, not 'we rode together behind Ahab's chariot in pairs,' but 'we rode together with Ahab in his chariot as his team,' *i.e.*, I as his driver (רָכְבוּ, 1 Kings 22³⁴) and thou as his shield-bearer (נשא עליו, 1 S. 31⁴, Assyr. *kizû*¹). Josephus says, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, IX. 6⁴, that Jehu and Bidkar were in Ahab's chariot when Elijah uttered this oracle (cf. the Addenda and Corrigenda prefixed to the second edition of Thenius' commentary on Kings, *ad* p. 390, l. 9). We see on the Egyptian monuments that the Asiatic chariots carried a driver (*ἡνίοχος*) and a shield-bearer (*ὑπερασπιστής*) besides the warrior (*παρὰβάτης*), while on the Egyptian monuments we notice but two men, *viz.* archer and driver, but no shield-bearer.² This third man on the Asiatic chariots is termed, in Hebrew, שלישי. If we read in Exod. 14⁷ that Pharaoh took six hundred select chariots and all the other chariots of Egypt, וּשְׁלֹשִׁים עַל כָּלֹ, the glossator, who added this clause, may have thought that the Egyptian chariots were exceptionally well manned for the pursuit of the Israelites, not with two only (*ἡνίοχος* and *παρὰβάτης*), as was customary in Egypt, but with three, including shield-bearers as in Asia. The Syro-

¹ Cf. Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 133; *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 324.

² See the Notes on the English translation of Joshua, in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1899), p. 91, l. 23; cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Archaeol.* p. 357; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.*, vol. i. p. 367.

Hexaplar³ renders ותליתא דקמין על כלהין, adding in the margin תליתא משמה להלן דקמין על מרכבתא תלתא ניר קמין על למרכבתא, 'Ternaries' is the name of those who stood on the chariots; three were standing on one chariot, two fighters and one driving the chariot. A similar explanation is given in a marginal note to the Syro-Hexaplar Version of 2 Kings 7², where the Septuagintal term *τριστάτης* is explained as one of the three who stood on the war-chariots, two of them fighting and one driving.³ The Septuagintal term *τριστάτης* is generally supposed to be identical with *τρισοστάτης*, 'third in order, third in rank.' In Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon* it is explained to denote one who stands next to the king and queen, *i.e.*, the vizier or first minister; but *τριστάτης* (or *τρισοστός* 1 Kings 9²², in the Lucianic recension)⁴ means *στὰς ἐφ' ἄρματος αὐτὸς τρίτος σὺν δυσὶν ἄλλοις, δύο ἄλλους ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, viz. ἡνίοχον καὶ παραβάτην*. The warriors stood on the chariots; they did not sit down; the translation of the Vulgate in 2 Kings 9²², *Memini enim, quando ego et tu sedentes in curru sequeremur Ahab patrem ejus*, is therefore inaccurate.

This meaning, third man on the chariot, *i.e.*, shield-bearer or armor-bearer (*ὑπερασπιστής, ὄπλοφόρος, armiger*), is appropriate in all the passages of the Old Testament. We need not suppose that שלי had the meaning 'knight,' like *armiger*, or officer, or adjutant, or choice soldiers, or life-guards. The drivers and shield-bearers of the royal chariot were no menials, but distinguished warriors just as the Homeric ἡνίοχοι. The passage 1 Kings 9²² states expressly that the שלי were no bondservants. In spite of the objections raised by Dillmann⁵ and Gesenius-Buhl שלי means throughout the 'third man,' *i.e.*, the shield-bearer on a chariot; it never means 'one third'; the two passages Isa. 40¹² and Ps. 80⁶, where שלי is supposed to mean 'one third' (of an ephah) are corrupt.⁶ In 1 S. 18⁶, on the other hand, שלי denotes a *triangular* musical instrument, *i.e.*, a small portable triangular harp.⁷

³ See Lagarde's *Bibliotheca Syriaca* (Gottingæ, 1892), p. 65; cf. *ibid.*, p. 230. Contrast Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, p. 398, sub תליתא סימא.

⁴ Cf. Lagarde's *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonice Pars Prior Græce* (Gottingæ, 1883), p. 342.

⁵ See the third edition of his commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, edited by Rysel (Leipzig, 1887), p. 161; cf. also Baentsch *ad Exod.* 14¹.

⁶ See my paper "The Hebrew term שלי" in vol. iv. of the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* edited by Delitzsch and Haupt (Leipzig, 1902).

⁷ See the illustrated Appendix on the Music of the Ancient Hebrews in the English translation of the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1898), p. 233, l. 28.

The term רצים, which is mentioned in several passages in conjunction with שלישי, means simply 'footmen, footsoldiers.' In 2 Kings 10²⁵ the LXX renders הרצים והשלישים by πεζοὶ καὶ ἰππεῖς, and ἰππεῖς includes ἡνίοχοι καὶ παραβάται καὶ ὑπερασπισταί. Heb. רצים 'runners' corresponds to the Assyrian term *zûq-sepâ* 'infantry,' lit. 'rush of feet.' We often find in the cuneiform historical texts *narkabtu u zûqu*, i.e., chariots and infantry, or *narkabtu, bitxallu u zûqu*, charioteers, horsemen, and footsoldiers. Delitzsch gave the correct explanation of *zûq-sepâ* in his *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, p. 235^b, but in the glossary appended to the fourth edition of his *Assyrische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 165^b he translates *zûq-sepi* by *Sturmlauf* (assault, rush); cf. Delitzsch's notes on Senn. 3¹⁶ on p. xvi of the third edition of the *Assyr. Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1885) and my remarks on this passage in our *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i, p. 177, s.v. *ntpišu*.

The name of Jehu's shield-bearer Bidkar, who served in the same capacity on Ahab's chariot while Jehu was Ahab's driver, appears in the Peshita as בר דקר. This shows that ברדקר is merely a contraction of בן דקר⁸ which appears as the name of one of Solomon's governors in 1 Kings 4⁹. Jehu must have been famous as a driver; we still call a coachman, especially a reckless one, Jehu. In 2 Kings 9³⁰ the watchman on the tower in Jezreel reports, The driving is like the driving of Jehu ben-Nimshi; he drives recklessly.

In v.¹⁸ we read that the horseman, whom Joram had sent out to meet Jehu, asked him in the name of the king, הַשְּׁלוֹם, i.e., Is all well? or, Is there aught amiss? whereupon Jehu answered מַה־לְּךָ וְלַשְּׁלוֹם. This must not be translated, What hast thou to do with peace? It means, How can you ask such a stupid question, whether all is well, or whether there is aught amiss? Hold your tongue and join my followers! In Arabic you would say *Mâ laka wa-lihâddâ 's-su'âl fi hâddâ 'l-hâli*, lit., 'What to thee and to this question in this condition?'

I should therefore translate 2 Kings 9³⁰: When Joram fell down in his chariot, mortally wounded by the arrow from Jehu's bow, Jehu said to his shield-bearer Bidkar, Take him away and cast him on the land of Naboth of Jezreel, for I remember how Yahweh uttered this oracle against his father Ahab, while I and thou stood together behind him on his chariot (I as driver and thou as shield-bearer): Just as I have seen the blood of Naboth and of his sons I will requite thee on this spot, said Yahweh.

⁸ Cf. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names* (London, 1896), p. 69.