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TO MY WIFE
PREFACE

A NEW commentary upon one of the books of the Old Testament seems to call for a few words in justification of its appearance, and for an indication of the special features which it aims at offering. The Book of Judges is not a book which has suffered from neglect on the part of scholars in the past: indeed, the last thirty years have witnessed the accession of much valuable work devoted to its elucidation. The Commentary by Professor Moore (1895)—to cite but a single example—is, by general consent, one of the most thorough and scholarly volumes even of so eminent a series as the International Critical Commentary. Biblical science, however, does not stand still. We are—or should be—daily widening the basis of our research. Fresh knowledge of the languages, literature, and antiquities of the peoples who were kindred to Israel, by race or by environment, is constantly being brought within reach; and the Old Testament scholar who would keep abreast of the possibilities of Biblical interpretation must spread his nets wide if he is to gather in the available material for his studies.

For myself, I can say with truth that such first-hand acquaintance with the Babylonian and Assyrian language and literature as I have been able to acquire during the past fourteen years or so, has revolutionized my outlook upon Old Testament studies. The possibilities for fresh investigation offered within this sphere, together with an instinctive preference for study of the Biblical sources themselves, prior to consultation of that which has been written about them by other scholars, have, I hope, imparted some measure of originality to my work; though
originality, as an end in itself, was not what I was striving after. I have, so far as I was able, made myself acquainted with the work of my predecessors in the same field; and I trust that I have regularly discharged the duty incumbent upon every scholar by making due acknowledgment to them whenever I have cited their opinion. An apparent exception to this rule may be found in the introductory discussions on the composition and sources of the various narratives contained in the book; but here I have always worked out my own conclusions and argued them in detail, and anything like a regular citation of my agreement with, or divergence from, other scholars must have led to undue prolixity, and would only have tended to confuse the reader.

I trust that the somewhat lengthy § 6 of my Introduction, on 'External information bearing on the period of Judges,' may not be deemed superfluous to the purpose of the commentary. The Book of Judges occupies a position on the borderland between history and legend. In order to place our feet on firm ground, and gain as much as may be for veritable history, it is most important to examine the external sources, so far as they are accessible, which bear upon the condition of Canaan and its inhabitants at and before the period covered by the book. It is important also—in view of the frequent reference made in the commentary to Babylonian influence and analogy—to understand how it was that such influence had permeated Canaan to so large an extent at this early period. Throughout my work I have had in view, not merely the elucidation of the text of Judges, but as thorough an investigation as I could make of the early period of Israel's residence in Canaan for which Judges forms our principal text-book. My volume, therefore, may perhaps be described as a collection of material for this early history rather than as a commentary pure and simple; and if this view is taken of it I shall be content.

Since the basis of correct exegesis of the Old Testa-
ment consists in a sound philological knowledge of Hebrew, and such knowledge is mainly advanced through comparative study of the cognate Semitic languages, considerable attention is devoted in the notes to questions of comparative philology. In discussions which fall under this head I have adopted the plan of transliterating both the Hebrew words and those from cognate languages which are brought into comparison with them, in order that the Hebrew student who is unacquainted with the cognate languages may be able, to some extent at least, to appreciate the argument. A table explaining the method of transliteration is given on pp. xxxi f., and an index of the transliterated forms will be found at the end of the volume. The use of Hebrew and other Semitic types has been minimized as far as possible, in the hope that the commentary may prove useful, not merely to Hebrew scholars, but to the larger class of Biblical students who are ignorant of the language. Whenever a quotation is made in the original it is accompanied by a translation.

Among the notes on the text there will be found some which are of very considerable length, e.g. those on the Ashera (p. 195), the Ephod (p. 236), the representation of Samson as a Nazirite (p. 342), the line of the Midianites' flight, and the site of Abel-meJiolah (p. 219), as well as some of the other geographical notes, and many of the textual notes upon the Song of Deborah. Notes such as these have been expanded without compunction, because I believed that I had new light to throw upon very difficult problems; and readers who are really desirous of getting to the bottom of such problems will not, I think, quarrel with me upon this score.

It is possible that one of the Additional Notes—that on the use of writing in the time of the Judges, and the antiquity of the Alphabetic Script (p. 253)—may be thought to hang upon rather a slight peg in the reference to writing in ch. 814, so far as the necessities of the com-
mentary are concerned; but the many-sided interest of the subject and the manner in which it has entered into recent discussions (some of them not untinged with controversial bias) seemed to call for an explicit statement of the facts, and of such deductions from them as appear to be justified. The notes on ‘Yahweh or Yahu originally an Amorite Deity’ (p. 243), and ‘Early identification of Yahweh with the Moon-god’ (p. 249), form integral parts of my theory as to the Ashera; and I am unaware of any source of information which brings together the facts which I was desirous of marshalling.

Among those to whom I owe thanks for assistance rendered in the preparation of this commentary, there are two whose help has been of a very special character. Dr. Driver read through the whole of my new translation of the text of Judges (which I completed before beginning to write the notes upon it), and made many suggestions which materially improved it. He also saw, in one form or another, all or most of what I have written on chs. I-8; and since he was without stint accessible to all who desired to consult him, I was accustomed constantly to discuss points of difficulty with him, and many of my conclusions and theories embodied in the commentary have, needless to say, much profited through his advice and revision. Dr. C. J. Ball has undertaken the heavy task of reading the whole of my proof-sheets and discussing them personally with me. All that my book owes to him it is impossible for me adequately to estimate; a small part of it may be seen in the number of fresh suggestions which he has allowed me to include in my notes.*

When all has been said, however, my debt to these two scholars for actual co-operation in the work put into my book is but a tithe of what I and the book owe to them in a wider sense. Enjoying as I did the close friendship of Dr. Driver from the year that I came up

to Oxford as an undergraduate until the year of his death, I cannot but feel that most of what I have learned in method and thoroughness of scholarship is due to his teaching and example. Under Dr. Ball I began as a schoolboy to study the elements of Hebrew; under him some twenty years later I began to grapple with Assyriology, and the marvellous gifts which he possesses as a teacher caused the early stages of a study which might otherwise have seemed tedious and repellent to appear in the light of an easy and fascinating pastime.

I have also to express my grateful thanks to Professor L. W. King for much advice upon matters connected with Babylonian studies. He has read, in particular, § 6 of my Introduction and all my Additional Notes which deal with the influence of Babylonian civilization upon Canaan; and my confidence in the lines which I have taken in dealing with this side of my subject has been greatly strengthened by his approval and support. Professor R. W. Rogers of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, whose regular visits for research in the Bodleian Library have made him as much a son of Oxford as of the United States, was in residence here during the greater part of the years 1913-14. During our long friendship we have grown accustomed to discuss the Biblical questions in which our common interests lie; and I owe much to his judicial mind and expert knowledge of Assyriology.

With my wife I have talked over many of the points, both small and great, which have arisen in the course of my researches; and the book owes not a little to her quick apprehension, sound common sense, and unerring feeling for style and lucidity.

Finally, I must thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce the seal-cylinder impressions figured in Plate III., and the two reliefs from the Report on excavations at Carchemish, edited by Dr. D. G. Hogarth, which appear in Plate V.;
M. Leroux, the publisher of Delaporte's *Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux ... de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, for a similar permission in the case of the seal-cylinder impressions given in Plate II.; the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund for kindly allowing me to make the sketch-map of the district round Gibe'ah (opposite p. 465) upon the basis of their large survey-map; and the British Academy for permission to make use of the map of Western Asia which has been prepared for my Schweich Lectures.

C. F. B.

Oxford,

*Easter 1918.*
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p. 17. Ch. 1\n. Against the identification of Şepath with Sebaita (Esbeita), cf. Lawrence in *PEF. Annual*, iii. (1914-15), p. 91, who points out that the site Esbeita cannot have existed before the Christian era.

p. 29. *Footnote*. The disappearance of the *k* in בֵּיתְו 'Akzib = ez-Zib is highly remarkable. Kamppfmeyer (*ZDPV*. xv. p. 31) suggests that, as a first stage, *k* may have been weakened into ُ (as in Mikkam = modern Muḥmās) and then into ُ, the first syllable being eventually treated as though it were the Ar. Article (cf. ed-Dāmiyyeh for 'Adam, er-Restān for Arethusa, etc.).

p. 62. *Note* on 'the Hittites . . . mount Lebanon.' Meyer, *IN*. pp. 332 ff., defends the אֵשֶׁת text in Judg. 3:3, Josh. 11:3, which places the Hivvites in the Lebanon district, and proposes to substitute 'טְה 'Horites,' on the authority of ג in Gen. 34:4; Josh. 9:1, passages which, as they stand in א, place the Hivvites in central Canaan (Shechem and Gibe'on). The introduction of the 'Horites into these latter passages is opposed by Kit., *GVI*. i. p. 37, n1, upon good grounds.

p. 69. *Footnote on רֵאָשׁ. The common biliteral element DAR, TAR, etc., underlying a series of triliteral roots has been noted and further illustrated by Ball, *Semitic and Sumerian* (*Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pp. 41 f.).

p. 88. Ch. 4\l. The root-meaning of Heb. nâhal is stated by BDB. to be unknown. It seems obvious that the root לְהַנ must be allied to לְנ in the sense 'to pierce,' and that nâhal therefore properly denotes a *cutting or boring*: cf. especially Job 28:4, if nâhal is there rightly understood as meaning a mine-shaft. Other instances of allied יָד and י doubled verbs (i.e. of the same bilateral differently triliteralized) are לְנָה 'to drip,' and New Heb. מַצַּה 'drop'; יָלֵל 'to weave' and יָלֵל 'to intertwine'; יָלֵל 'to break in pieces'; יָלֵל and יָלֵל 'to break' יָלֵל and יָלֵל 'to break in pieces;' יָלֵל and יָלֵל 'to break in pieces;' יָלֵל and יָלֵל 'to break in pieces;' יָלֵל and יָלֵל 'to breathe'; יָלֵל 'to break in pieces;' יָלֵל 'to be dispersed' (by breaking); יָלֵל 'to be dispersed' (by breaking); יָלֵל and יָלֵל 'to shine, blossom'; יָלֵל and יָלֵל 'to bore, dig.'
p. 95. Add to the list of authorities, P. Haupt, *Die Schlacht von Taanach*, pp. 193-225 of *Studien zur semit. Philol. u. Religionsgesch. Julius Wellhausen... gewidmet*, 1914. (He treats the text of Judg. 5 with the greatest freedom, subjecting it to a drastic rearrangement.)


p. 158. The extreme variation in the number of unstressed syllables which may accompany a stressed syllable in Hebrew poetry, according to our theory, is well illustrated by the passage from *Piers Ploughman* quoted by Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 130:

> 'On Good Friday I fynde | a felon was y-saved,
That had lyved al his life | with lesynges and with thefte;
And for he bekned to the cros, | and to Christ shrof him,
He was sonner y-saved | than seint Johan the Baptist;
And or Adam or Ysaye | or any of the prophetes,
That hadde y-leyen with Lucifer | many lone yeres,
A robbere was y-raunsoned | rather than thei alle,
Withouten any penaunce of purgatorie | to perpetuall blisse.'

Here we find not merely "... ('and for he bekned,' 'that hadde y-leyen'), but even "... ('withouten any penaunce'). The resemblance is rather striking between the line

> 'Withouten any penaunce of purgatorie | to perpetuall blisse'

and v.9b of the Song of Deborah,

> Ḥammitthnaddabhim bā ṣām | barrakhū Yahwāh.

p. 210. Ch. 7.6 Ch. 7.5.6. Mez, *ZATW*. xxii. (1901), pp. 198-200, notes the fact that Ar. *kārā’a*, which is formally identical with Heb. *kārā* ‘bend down’ (used in our passage in the description of one form of drinking), has the meaning ‘drink with the muzzle in the water;’ i.e. by sucking the water in, as is done by ruminants, and animals such as the horse and ass, in contrast to Ar. *walağa* ‘lap with the tongue’ (equivalent in meaning to Heb. *lāḥak*), the method of drinking practised by the dog, as well as by the wolf and other beasts of prey. His conclusion is that ‘those that bent down (ושרע) upon their knees to drink water’ put their mouths into the water like cattle; whereas the lappers (בְּרַכְחֵי) were those who flung the water into their mouths with their hands—this being (in his opinion) the nearest approach to lapping, the actual practice of which is impossible for a human being. These latter, he thinks, were chosen on account of this dog-like or wolf-like characteristic as betokening their fitness for the enterprise; and he seeks to fortify this inference by quotation of two Ar. proverbs which compare a razzia with the licking of a wolf, *i.e.* in respect of its lightning-rapidity, as appears from another
ADDENDA

proverb, 'more swiftly than a dog licks its nose.' Mez's arguments are reproduced, with additional remarks, by McPherson, JAOS. xxii. (1901), pp. 70-75; and the two articles are cited as authoritative in Gesenius-Buhl, Handwörterbuch s.v. בָּרֹא, BDB., s.v. בָּרֹא, compares the Ar. verb, and offers (with a query) the suggestion that it may bear a derivative sense, the ground-meaning being 'kneel to drink.'

Objection may be made to the identification of Heb. קָרָא in our passage with Ar. קָרָא on several grounds.

1. The phrase אַשְּרָה יַרְדָּא לְבֹרֵךְ Lýֶשׁוֹתא 'who bendeth down upon his knees to drink' is very different from the Ar. usage of קָרָא, in which the verb is always followed by the prep. בְּ נֵי 'in'—'drink with the muzzle in the water, or, in a vessel' (cf. the Dictionaries of Freytag, Lane, Kazimirs). McPherson, who perceives this difficulty, thinks that אַשְּרָה יַרְדָּא Lýֶשׁוֹתא may be a later scribal expansion, קָרָא Lýֶשׁוֹתא meaning 'who drinks putting his mouth to the water.' Such an English rendering would seem to require, an original אַשְּרָה Lýֶשׁוֹתא, the Heb. sentence as given by McPherson meaning rather 'who puts his mouth in the water as regards drinking.' But, if קָרָא really has the meaning of the Ar. verb Lýֶשׁוֹתא is obviously redundant; whereas, on the other hand, the omission of בְּ נֵי, which is demanded on the analogy of the Ar. אַשְּרָה Lýֶשׁוֹתא, appears to be fatal to the theory. It cannot be doubted that the expression אַשְּרָה Lýֶשׁוֹתא is original, and has the meaning which it possesses elsewhere (1 Kgs. 8:34, 2 Kgs. 11:12, Ezr. 9:4).

2. The philological analogue of Heb. קָרָא appears to be the Ar. רָקָד (as rightly recognized by Ges., Thes., Ges.-Buhl, though not by BDB.), with transposition of radicals (cf., probably, the converse transposition in Ar. קָרָא, which is surely to be compared with Heb. רָקָד, and not with קָרָא as in BDB.). If, however, קָרָא bears a derived sense 'kneel to drink,' we are faced by the phenomenon that the root with more primitive meaning has undergone transposition, whereas the presumably later derived form has not. Again, if the point of connexion between Heb. קָרָא and Ar. קָרָא is that the latter properly means 'kneel to drink' (BDB.), such a posture is true of the camel only, but not of the ox, sheep, goat, horse, ass, or of the wild ruminants. We must suppose, therefore, that קָרָא got its specialized sense through observation of the camel only; but of this there seems to be no trace in Ar. Such a sense as 'bow the head or neck' (true for the other animals mentioned) would be expressed by another verb.

3. Mez's theory, in postulating that Heb. קָרָא denotes the putting the mouth into the water, is obliged to assume that the lappers, in contrast, put their hands to their mouths (retaining, therefore,
But no amount of special pleading can make it appear that the scooping of water into the mouth with the hand has any resemblance to lapping ‘as the dog lappeth.’

If these arguments are sound, the resemblance between Heb. kārā and Ar. kārā is probably merely fortuitous; and the comparison with kārā should be expunged from Heb. Lexicons, or at any rate marked as highly precarious.

p. 214. Note on ch. 7. In explaining Heb. šibhrō, ‘its elucidation,’ by comparison of Bab. šabrū, šabratu, it is of course not intended to affirm that šibher is actually the formal equivalent of šabrā, i.e. a Shaph‘el from a so-called triliteral form (נהב), since such a form would naturally exhibit a ה nominal termination. What is affirmed is that there are in Heb. originally-biliteral forms which have been triliteralized by prefixed ו in the sense ‘make,’ which is the preformative employed in this sense in the Shaph‘el. This has already been pointed out by Ball in his article Semitic and Sumerian in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, pp. 54 f. 71 ‘to make the action of seeing’ is precisely on the analogy of יבככ such ש in the sense ‘to bend, bow down’ (cf. also יבככ, יבככ, יבככ; יבככ ‘to weigh,’ properly ‘to make light’ (cf. יבככ), i.e. ‘to heave, lift.’ We may add the ordinary Heb. יבככ (not included in Ball’s list) ‘to make the action of breaking’ (cf. Ar. bara ‘to fashion by cutting;’ Heb. יבככ, Bab. יבככ ‘to break or shatter’).

The distinction between יבככ, properly ‘make + see’ or ‘make + bright’ (cf. יבככ ‘to make bright,’ Bab. יבככ ‘to be bright’; יבככ ‘to make bright,’ or, internally, ‘to show brightness’), and the ordinary Heb. יבככ, properly ‘make + break,’ is the same as exists between Bab. יבככ ‘to be bright or brighten,’ Pi‘el יבככ, Heb. יבככ properly ‘to make bright, purge,’ so ‘to atone’ (cf. the evidence adduced by the present writer in ET. xxii. pp. 325 ff.), and Bab. יבככ ‘to cut.’ The identity in form combined with diversity in meaning is explained by the fact that there is a Sumerian BAR, PAR with the idea of ‘brightness’ (standing in syllabaries for יבככ ‘to see,’ יבככ ‘to shine,’ יבככ ‘to be bright,’ יבככ ‘light,’ etc.), and another Sumerian BAR, PAR which is distinct (at least as known to us) in meaning, and carries the idea of ‘breaking, splitting,’ etc. (standing in syllabaries as the equivalent of יבככ ‘to break,’ יבככ ‘to cut,’ יבככ ‘to divide,’ יבככ ‘to cogitate—animam dividere,’ יבככ ‘to decide,’ etc.).

* For the connexion between seeing and brightness, cf. Heb. יבככ ‘to be bright’ = Bab. יבככ ‘to see’ (a relation in form like that between Heb. יבככ Bab. יבככ, both ‘to shine’). When a man sees clearly again after faintness, his eyes are said to become bright: cf. 1 Sam. 14:37-39, Ps. 13:3 (יבככ).
ADDENDA

p. 221. Discussion of 1 Kgs. 4 12. The writer, having independently suggested that the words 'which is in proximity to Šarēthan' have been accidentally transposed and should properly refer to 'Abelmeholah,' now notices that the same conjecture has been put forward with a query by Prof. Moore in JBL. xiii. (1894), p. 79, n 3.

pp. 253 ff. Since the printing of Addit. note on 'The use of writing, etc.' there has appeared a valuable article by J. H. Breasted entitled The Physical Processes of Writing in the Early Orient and their Relation to the Origin of the Alphabet, in AJSL. xxxii. (July 1916), pp. 230-249. Breasted deals, on pp. 241 ff., with Assyrian Reliefs depicting scribes writing cuneiform on a clay tablet (cf. our Addit. note, p. 255), and he regards the second scribe, who is occasionally present, using pen, ink, and scroll, as an Aramaean (cf. our Addit. note, p. 256, footnote; Description of the Plates, p. 495).

p. 255. Footnote*. The form of the stylus used for writing cuneiform, and the method of using it, have been discussed by P. Zehnpfund, Ueber babylonisch-assyrische Tafelschreibung, in Actes du 8e Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania (1893), pp. 265-272; J. de Morgan, Note sur Procédés techniques en Usage chez les Scribes babyloniens in Recueil de Travaux, xxvii. (1905), pp. 240 f.; A. T. Clay, Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur (1906), pp. 17-20; L. Messerschmidt, Zur Technik des Tontafelschreibens in OLZ. (1906), cols. 185-196, 304-312, 372-380. The fact that the wedges were made by impression merely, without drawing, which is emphasized by the present writer, is confirmed by Clay: 'To produce long horizontal wedges for the purpose of filling out lines, as was frequently done, it is not necessary to draw the stylus over the soft clay. By simply lowering the handle it is possible to make a wedge as long as the stylus.' (p. 20).

p. 332. Addendum to Additional Note on the Women's Festival of Judg. 11 40. The conclusion that the myth of Demeter and Kore is to be connected, in its origin, with the myth of Istar and Tammuz may be substantiated by the following facts:—

(1) The brilliant discovery of Ball (PSBA. xvi., 1894, pp. 195 ff.) that the Sumerian name of Tammuz, DUMU.ZI* (Bab. Du'azu, Dāzu‡) is identical with the Turkish đomūs 'pig,' and that there is thus an 'original identity of the god with the wild boar that slays him in the developed legend,' is confirmed, quite independently and along

* Usually explained to mean 'Son of life,' or as an abbreviation of DUMU.ZI.ABZU, 'True son of the deep water.' It is possible that one or the other of these meanings may have been read into the name after its original signification had been forgotten.

totally different lines, by Robertson Smith's scarcely less brilliant conjecture that the pig was originally regarded as the theriomorphic representative of the deity. 'My own belief,' says this latter writer, 'is that the piacular sacrifice of swine at Cyprus on April 2 represents the death of the god himself, not an act of vengeance for his death. . . . Adonis, in short, is the Swine-god, and in this, as in many other cases, the sacred victim has been changed by false interpretation into the enemy of the god' (Religion of the Semites, 1 p. 392, n 1; id. 2 p. 411, n 4). Among the Greeks 'the pig is the victim specially consecrated to the powers of the lower world' (Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, iii. p. 32). The ceremonial of the Thesmophoria, celebrated by women in the cult of Demeter and Persephone, is especially noteworthy in this connexion. Lucian's scholiast states that 'At the Thesmophoria it is the fashion to throw living pigs into the underground sanctuaries . . . and certain women called άνυλύρριαι descend and bring up the decaying remnants and place them on the altars: and people believe that the man who takes (part of them) and mixes them up with his grain for sowing will have an abundant harvest. And they say that there are serpents down below about the vaults, which eat the greater part of the food thrown down' (quoted from Farnell, op. cit. p. 89; cf. also Miss Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, 2 ch. iv.). Here it is questioned whether the swine were regarded merely as gifts to the earth-goddess, or as incarnations of the divinities themselves. The former view is taken by Frazer (Spirits of the Corn, ii. pp. 16 ff.); while Farnell regards the evidence as insufficient to establish it, and supposes that 'as these goddesses may be supposed to have partaken of the swine's flesh that was thrown down to them, the remnant would be regarded as charged with part of their divinity, and would be valuable objects to show (? strew) over the fields. But no Greek legend or ritual reveals any sense of the identity between Demeter and the pig' (op. cit. pp. 90 f.).

We may remark, however, that, at any rate from the Semitic side, the method of sacrifice—the throwing down of the living animal—is wholly in favour of the theriomorphic conception. The slaying of the victim by a method which avoided bloodshed, or which might be interpreted as an act of self-immolation, suggests that it was a totem-animal too sacred to be slaughtered by any individual worshipper (cf. Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, 2 pp. 418 ff.).* The term μεγαρον, or μύηαρον, which is used to describe the underground caves (τὰ μεγαρὰ) into which the pigs were thrown, and also the adytum of the temple at Delphi where the oracular responses were

* The reference in Isa. 65:4, 66:17 to the eating of swine's flesh by the renegade Palestinian Jews or Samaritans, probably in early post-exilic times, reprobrates the practice not simply because the animal was regarded as unclean upon arbitrary or sanitary grounds, but as a definite act of idolatry; and there can be little doubt that the allusion is to the ceremonial partaking of the flesh of the totem-animal in Tammuz-ritual. Cf. Cheyne, Prophecies of Isaiah, ad loc.
received, seems to be distinct from the Homeric term μνημοσύνη, which
denotes a large chamber, hall, or palace, and has been supposed with
considerable probability to be the Phoen. and Heb. אָמֶרֶדֶא, Ar.
mugāra, 'cave,' with γ for rough Й in transliteration, as in Ματτηκ, etc.*; and, if this is so, the Semitic connexions of the rites of which
we are speaking receive further substantiation.

(2) One of the titles most frequently applied to Tammuz in
Sumerian dirges is AMA.UŠUMGAL.ANNA. This means lit.
'Mother, great serpent, heaven,' i.e. 'the divine Mother who is the
great serpent.'† Tammuz is also occasionally equated with the
goddess KA.DI. Now KA.DI (as has been noted by Jensen, KB.
vi. 1, p. 565) is stated in iv.² R. 30, No. 2, Obv. 18 and Rev. 6 to be a
deity of the Underworld; according to v. R. 31, 30 she is identical
with the divine Serpent (šitu širu); from a text published by Scheil
(Textes Élam.-Sémit., 1ère série, p. 91, 1. 23) we gather that the Serpent
is the 'child' (šitu širu), or, it may be, the 'messenger' (širuš) of KA.DI;
while, according to v. R. 46, 29, the constellation of the Serpent repre-
sents the goddess Ereškigal, the counterpart of the Greek Persephone
as mistress of the Underworld. For the Greeks also, however, the
serpent is the incarnation of the earth-goddess Ge, the prototype of
Demeter (cf. Farnell, op. cit. pp. 9 f.); and, as is clear from the
passage relating to the Thesmophoria which we have already quoted,
'this animal that was once the incarnation of the earth-spirit remains
the familiar representative of the chthonian goddesses of the Olympian
period' (Farnell, op. cit. p. 91). Further comment is needless.

p. 340. Note on 8or'ah. The city Ša-ar-ša, mentioned in the T.A.
Letters, together with A-ia-lu-na, i.e. Aijalon (Kn. 273), can hardly be
other than the Biblical Šor'ah. It may be questioned, in view of the
concurrence of the vocalization of Ša-ar-ša with the modern Šar'ah,
whether the Biblical form ought not likewise to be vocalized not
шшш but шшш Šar'ah. Cf. Ge šapaa.

p. 351. Note on ch. 14. To the parallels adduced for the method
employed by Samson in rending the lion, add the duplicated figure
rendering a lion on the seal-cylinder impression figured in Revue
d’Assyriologie, xxx. (1916), Plate 1, fig. 6.

p. 359. Since the footnote dealing with the בּוּוֹיוֹשָו-מַיִלָה-esh was
written, there has appeared an article on the subject by A. E. Shipley

p. 408. J. Halévy, RÉJ. xxii. (1890), pp. 207-217, treats the narrative

Grecque, p. 617.
of Judg. 17, 18 as a single document, and regards it as probably the work of a Judaean patriot and convinced partisan of the Temple at Jerusalem, who aimed at defaming the rival Israelite sanctuaries of Bethel (Micah's temple) and Dan by imputing to them a discreditable origin—both of them owed their origin to a theft; whereas the site of the Temple at Jerusalem was honestly purchased by David at a high price (2 Sam. 24:27). Halévy's arguments are ingenious but not convincing.

J. A. Bewer (The Composition of Judges, Chaps. 17, 18, in AJSL. xxix. (1913-14), pp. 261-283) attacks the critical theories of compilation or of interpolation in this narrative, maintaining that 'the story is a unity throughout with very few redactional touches (17:6, 18:1a,b, and possibly 18:28a,b). His arguments do not lead the present editor to modify his conclusions, as expressed in pp. 442 ff., in any respect.

The credit must, however, be given to Bewer of recognizing the Levite's name in בֶּשֶׁת חָוָה of 17:7, which he emends בֶּשֶׁת חָוָּא 'and he was a son of Gershom'—thus anticipating the suggestion made independently by the present writer in his note ad loc. Bewer also favours the emendation יִנְּנָי for יִנְּנָ, which has been adopted in 18:30.

p. 430. Footnote on Nephtoah=Liftá. Another instance of the change of n to l in a modern Ar. name as compared with its ancient equivalent is seen in Shunem=Sōlem. On the loss of the final h after a long vowel cf. Kampffmeyer, ZDPV. xv. p. 26, who cites the similar disappearance of the y in הַשִּׁם (Josh. 13:30) by the side of the normal הַשִּׁם.

p. 442. Chs. 19:1-21 The composition of Judges, Chap. 19, in AJSL. xxx. (1914-15), pp. 81-93; The Composition of Judges 20, 21, id. pp. 149-165. The narrative is regarded as 'derived from one old, in the main reliable, source, which was worked over by a late theocratic editor. It is not improbable that a still later annotator, imbued with the same spirit as the editor, inserted a few characteristic interpolations.'

p. 462. Ch. 19 note on 'the day hath waned, etc.' The connexion of Heb. הָנָּר with Bab. rabu or rapá 'to sink' (of the sun setting) has been affirmed (since the printing of our note) by Haupt in AJSL. xxxiii. (Oct. 1916), p. 48. Haupt also connects raph̄im with rapá as meaning 'those who have "sunk" into their unseen abode' (as is done by the present writer in note on 'Teraphim,' p. 421, after the suggestion of Ball), though he denies connexion between raph̄im and Teraphim. Since Haupt makes no reference to Ball's remarks in Proc. Brit. Acad. vii. p. 16 (a paper read before the British Academy on June 3, 1915, and published shortly afterwards), we must assume that the two scholars have independently reached similar conclusions.
ADDENDA

p. 486. Ch. 20.\(^45\) Note on 'the crag of Rimmon.' The ordinary identification with Rammon, three and a half miles east of Bethel, is opposed by W. F. Birch (PEF. Qy. St., 1879, pp. 127-129), who makes a strong point of the use of 'sela' 'crag' or 'cliff' as denoting 'a rock more or less perpendicular' (cf. 2 Chr. 25:12, Jer. 51:26, Ps. 141:6). He states that there is no such cliff at Rammon, which Stanley (Sinai and Palestine, p. 214) describes as 'a white chalky height,' and Rob. (BR,\(^3\) i. p. 440) as 'a conical chalky hill'; and maintains that this want is a fatal defect in the identification of this site with 'the crag of Rimmon.' All that is left, therefore, in favour of the identification is the identity of name: but modern place-names indicating the presence of a pomegranate tree (Rummâneh) or group of such trees (Rumman), happen to be extremely common in Palestine (the present writer has counted eighteen such in SWP, Great Map); thus by itself identity of name argues nothing.

The claims of Rammon to be the site mentioned in our narrative were investigated by Finn (Byeways in Palestine, 1868, pp. 205 ff.), who visited the spot in order to inquire for a cavern which might be capable of containing six hundred men for four months. He saw four (not large) caverns, and was told of two others; and his conclusion was that 'all the refugees might sleep in these places if there was no village at the time, which seems probable.' On Finn's return from Rammon, the guide told him of a vast cavern in the Wady Suwênît capable of holding many hundred men, near which there is a watercourse half-way down the precipice (cf. p. 208). This cave, which is known as Muğâret Ġel-â'y, has been carefully investigated and described by H. B. Rawnsley (PEF. Qy. St., 1879, pp. 118-126). It occupies a precipitous position on the south-west side of the Wady Suwênît, and is near a spring which affords an adequate supply of water. There is a current tradition in Geba that the cave will hold six hundred men, and the main entrance-cave is said to afford shelter for sixteen flocks of one hundred sheep each. Rawnsley thought that six hundred men might hide there in case of emergency; while three hundred could find ample lodging.

This is the site which Birch (in the article above mentioned) advocates as the real 'crag of Rimmon.' If he is correct, we have an explanation of the question raised by ch. 20.\(^43\), why the pursuit of the Benjaminites ceased when they had reached a point to the east of Geba', viz. the fact that at this point they would disappear over the side of the Wady Suwênît, and reach their refuge. It certainly seems improbable that, when the fugitives could reach such a stronghold as this at a comparatively short distance (four or five miles) from Gibe'ah, and were at any rate in its immediate neighbourhood when they came 'east of Geba,' they should have travelled double the distance in order to reach Rammon, which can in no way be compared as a defensive position.

ERRATA.

p. xx1, l. 26. For 'Ğel-â'y' read 'el-Ğâ'y.'
PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

1. TEXTS AND VERSIONS

The Hebrew consonantal text, as represented by all MSS. and printed editions.

The same as supplied with vowels and accents by the Massoretes. Ordinarily, $\textit{He}$ represents the Massoretic text, unless the reading in question depends upon vowels or accents, when $\textit{Ma}$ is employed.

Variation in reading between $\textit{He}$ and $\textit{Ma}$ is represented in the usual way, viz. by

$Kt.$  $\textit{K'thbb}$, the 'written,' i.e. consonantal text.

$K'\text{r}e.$  The 'read' text, i.e. the emendation of the Massoretes.

$G$  The Greek (Septuagint) version (ed. Swete, 1887).

Different MSS. are represented by $G^\text{A}$ (Alexandrinus, edd. Brooke and M'Lean, 1897); $G^\text{B}$ (Vaticanus), etc. $G^k$ = the recension of Lucian as edited by Lagarde (cf. p. cxxvi.).

$\textit{A}$  The Greek version of Aquila;

$\textit{S}$  Symmachus;

$\textit{O}$  Theodotion;

cited from Field, \textit{Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt} (1875).

$L$  The Old Latin (pre-Hieronymian) version, fragments of which have been collected and edited by Sabatier (\textit{Bibliorum ... Latinae Versiones}, vol. i. 1751), and Vercellone (\textit{Variae Lectiones Vulg. Lat. Bibl.}, vol. ii. 1864). $L^1$ = Codex Lugdunensis (ed. Ul. Robert, 1881-1900), as cited by Kit. \textit{BH}.


$S^p$  The Syriac (Peshît'tâ) version.

2. Sources.

D . . . The Deuteronomist.
D² . . . A later hand influenced by the former.
E . . . The Elohistic narrative in the Hexateuch, Judg., and 1 Sam.
E² . . . Later work by a member (or members) of the Elohistic school.
J . . . The Jehovahistic (or Yahwistic) narrative in the Hexateuch, Judg. and 1 Sam.
JE . . . The combined narrative of J and E—a symbol used when it is not possible, or not necessary, to distinguish the sources.
Rø . . . The Deuteronomic redactors of Kgs. and of JE in Josh.
R²E . . . Redactor of the school of E², the principal editor of Judg. (cf. pp. xli ff.).
RJE . . . Redactor of J and E in the Hexateuch, Judg., and 1 Sam.
R² . . . Redactors of the Priestly school (influenced by the Hexateuchal document P) of Judg. and Kgs.
X . . . An unknown source in Judg. 20, 21 (cf. p. 457 ff.).

3. Authorities.

[See also the literature cited at the head of the various sections of the Commentary. The works there mentioned are cited, within the section to which they refer, by the authors' names only.]

AJSL.—The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (vols. i.-xi., entitled Hebraica, 1884-95).
AJTh.—American Journal of Theology (1897 ff.).
Bach.—J. Bachmann, Das Buch der Richter (1868).
Vol. i. on chs. 1-5 is all that ever appeared.
Baethgen, Beiträge.—F. Baethgen, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte (1888).

Bochart, Hierozoicon.—S. Bochartus, Hierozoicon; sive Bipertitum Opus de Animalibus Sacrae Scripturae, cum notis E. F. C. Rosenmüller (1793-6).


Br.—R. E. Brünnow, A Classified List of all Simple and Compound Cuneiform Ideograms (1887-9).


—— Hist. Eg.—A History of Egypt (1906).


—— RS.—Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau (1890).

Buhl, Geogr.—F. Buhl, Geographie des Alten Palästina (1896).

Burch.—M. Burchardt, Die Altkanaänitischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen in Aegyptischen (1909-10).

Camb. Bib.—The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.

CH.—J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version... with Introduction, Notes, etc. (1900).

CH. J, CH. E, etc., refer to the lists of Words and Phrases characteristic of J, E, etc., as contained in vol. i. pp. 185 ff. In such references the number following is the number in the list.

CIS.—Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (1881 ff.).

Le Clerc—J. Clericus, Veteris Testamenti Libri Historici (1708).

Cooke—G. A. Cooke, The Book of Judges (1913): Cambridge Bible. Often cited as Cooke, Comm. in the notes on chs. 4 and 5, when supplementary to, or divergent from, the monograph noticed on p. 78.


Cor.—C. Cornill, Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, trans. by G. H. Box (1907).


CT.—Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum (1896 ff.).

Davidson, Syntax.—A. B. Davidson, Hebrew Syntax (1894).

DB.—A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. by J. Hastings (1898-1902).
Delitzsch, Paradies.—FRIED. DELITZSCH, Wo lag das Paradies? Eine Biblisch-Assyriologische Studie (1881).

— Prolegomena.—Prolegomena eines Neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterbuchs zum AT. (1886).

— HWB.—Assyrisches Handwörterbuch (1896).

Doorn.—A. VAN DOORNINCK, Bijdrage tot de Tekstkritiek van Richteren, i.-xvi. (1879).

Dozy—R. DOZY, Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes (1881).


— Schweich Lectures.—Modern Research as illustrating the Bible (Schweich Lectures, 1908).


Ehr.—A. B. EHRLICH, Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel (vol. 3, 1910).

ET.—Expository Times (1889 ff.).


Field, Hex.—F. FIELD, Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt (1875).


G.—K.—Gesenius Hebrew Grammar as edited and enlarged by the late E. KAUTZSCH, 2nd English ed. revised in accordance with the 28th German ed. (1909) by A. E. Cowley (1910).


Gress.—H. GRESSMANN, Die Anfänge Israels (1912-14), Part I 2 of Die Schriften des Alten Testaments, edited by various scholars.


Hölzinger—H. HOLZINGER, Richter 2.16.31 untersucht, as quoted from the manuscript by Budde in his Commentary.

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Hommel, Grundriss.—Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients (1904).

Houb.—C. F. Houbigantius, Notae Criticae in Universos Veteris Testamenti Libros (1777).

HP.—R. Holmes and J. Parsons, Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum Variis Lectionibus (1798-1827).

ICC.—The International Critical Commentary.

JAOS.—Journal of the American Oriental Society (1851 ff.).


— RBBA.—Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria (1911).

JBL.—Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis (1890 ff.).

Jensen, Kosmologie.—P. Jensen, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier (1900).


— Ant.—Antiquitates Judaicae.

— B.J.—De Bello Judaico.

— C.Ap.—Contra Apionem.

JQR.—Jewish Quarterly Review (1888 ff.).

JTS.—Journal of Theological Studies (1900 ff.).

KAT;—H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament (1903).

Published as the 3rd ed. of E. Schrader's work which bears the same title (see under COT.), though really an entirely new work in plan and contents.


Kent.—C. F. Kent, Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History (1904).

Kimchi.—Rabbi David Kimchi (A.D. 1160-1235), Commentary on Judges as printed in Buxtorf's Rabbinic Bible.

King, Hammurabi.—L. W. King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi (1898-1900).

— Chron.—Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings (1907)

— Sum. and Akk.—A History of Sumer and Akkad (1910).

— Bab.—A History of Babylon (1915).
PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED


— BH.—Biblia Hebraica (Liber Judicum, 1905).


Kue., Ond.—A. KUENEN, Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek naar het Onistaan en de Versameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds (2nd ed., 1885-89); German Trans. (1890-92).

La.—M. J. LAGRANGE, Le Livre des Juges (1903).

— ÉRS.—Études sur les Religions Sémitiques (2nd ed. 1905).

Lane—E. W. LANE, An Arabic-English Lexicon (1863-93).

Levi ben-Gershon—Rabbi LEVI the son of Gershon (A.D. 1288-1344), Commentary on Judges as printed in Buxtorf's Rabbinic Bible.


MDOG.—Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (1898 ff.).

Meyer, IN.—E. MEYER, Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämmen (1906).


Müller, AE.—W. MAX MÜLLER, Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern (1893).


MVAG.—Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft (1896 ff.).


NHTS.—See under Driver.


OLZ.—Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung (1878 ff.).


O.S.—Onomastica Sacra, ed. P. de Lagarde (1887). This contains the ‘Name-lists’ of Eusebius and Jerome.


PEF.—Palestine Exploration Fund (founded 1865).

—— Qy. St.—Quarterly Statement (1869 ff.).


PSBA.—Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (1898 ff.).


Rashi—Rabbi SHELOMO YISHAHI (A.D. 1040-1105), Commentary on Judges as printed in Buxtorf’s Rabbinic Bible.

R.B.—Revue Biblique (1892 ff.).

RÉJ.—Revue des Études Juives (1880 ff.).

Reuss—E. REUSS, La Bible: Traduction Nouvelle avec Introductions et Commentaires (1874).

Riehm, HWB.3—E. K. RIEHM, Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums (2nd ed. 1893-4).


Rogers, CP.—R. W. ROGERS, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament (1912).


de Rossi—J. B. DE ROSSI, Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti. 4 vols. (1784-8).

RSm.—W. ROBERTSON SMITH, as cited by Black, q.v.

Sayce, HCM.—A. H. SAYCE, The ‘Higher Criticism’ and the Verdict of the Monuments (1894).

—— Archaeology.—The Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions (1907).

SBOT.—The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, edited by various scholars, under the editorial direction of P. Haupt.
PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED


Stade, GVI.2—B. Stade, Geschichte des Volkes Israel (2nd ed., 1888-9).

Stu.—G. L. Studer, Das Buch der Richter grammatisch und historisch erklärt (2nd ed., 1842).

SWP.—Survey of Western Palestine.

— Great Map.—Map of Western Palestine in 26 Sheets, from Survey conducted for the Palestine Exploration Fund by Lieutenants C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, R.E., during the Years 1872-77. Scale One Inch to a Mile (1897).

— Name Lists.—Arabic and English Name Lists to above (1881).

— Mem.—Memoirs to above in 3 vols. (1881-3).

T.A. Letters.—The letters in cuneiform discovered at Tell el-Amarna.

TB.—Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testaments, ed. H. Gressmann in collaboration with A. Ungnad and H. Ranke (1909).


Vincent, Canaan.—H. Vincent, Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente (1907).


— TBS.—Der Text der Bücher Samuelis (1871).

— Prolegomena.—Prolegomena to the History of Israel (trans. by J. S. Black and A. Menzies, 1885).


Winckler, GI.—H. Winckler, Geschichte Israels (1895-1900).


When cited for the T.A. Letters the reference is to KB. vol. v.

Z.A.—Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte Gebiete (1886 ff.).

ZATW.—Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (1881 ff.).

ZDMG.—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (1846 ff.).

ZDPV.—Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (1878 ff.).
4. Other Abbreviations and Signs.

Ar., . . . Arabic.
Aram., . . . Aramaic.
Assyr., . . . Assyrian.
Bab., . . . Babylonian.
Eg., . . . Egyptian.
Heb., . . . Hebrew.
New Heb., . New Hebrew, the language of the Mishna, etc.
Syr., . . . Syriac.
a/, . . . et aliter or et alii.
‘% . . . ‘and the rest’; used when a Heb. quotation is incomplete.
Sign of abbreviation in Heb. words.

The sign † after a series of Biblical references means that all occurrences in the O.T. of the word or phrase in question have been cited.

Biblical references are given in accordance with the numeration of chapter and verse in the English versions. When this varies in the Hebrew, the variation is usually noted: thus, Hos. 14:2, 3.

The first and second halves of a verse are specified as, e.g., v.1a, v.1b, the guide to such division being the Heb. accent Athnâh, which halves the verse. When it is necessary to refer to quarter-verses, these are specified as, e.g., v.1a1, v.1b2, v.1b3, v.1b4, the dividing factor being usually the accent Žâkêph, which commonly halves the Athnâh- and Sillûk-clauses.

In the translation of the Hebrew text the following signs are employed as indications of correction:

Emendations are placed between †. 1
Additions are placed between < >.
Excisions are indicated by [ ].

Italics are used in the ordinary way to mark emphasis; and not, as in A.V., R.V., as an indication that the words so marked are not represented in the original.

A small superlinear figure attached to the title of a work (e.g. Driver, Tenses) denotes the edition to which reference is made.
**TRANSLITERATION OF SEMITIC WORDS**

**CONSONANTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Hebrew and Aramaic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
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<td>٢</td>
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**Babylonian.**

- Non-gutturals as in Hebrew
- غ (gh)
- د (dh)
- ه (hh)
- ل (lh)
- م (mh)
- ن (nh)
- س (sh)
- ف (ph)
- ر (rh)
- ز (zh)

xxxi
VOWELS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Half-vowels</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>d, ad, e, i, o</td>
<td>a, e, i, o, u</td>
<td>ad, e, i</td>
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<tr>
<td>W. Aramaic</td>
<td>a, e, i, o, u</td>
<td>a, e, i, o, u</td>
<td>ad, e, i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syriac</td>
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<td>a, e</td>
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<tr>
<td>Babylonian</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In Hebrew place- and personal names the familiar forms of A.V. and R.V. are usually retained; except that Y is always represented by s and not z, certain letters are marked by diacritic points (thus ב = b, ג = g, ד = d, פ = p), and Y is regularly marked by ́, except where it already stands as g (i.e. ג = ́ג). The divine name נב is regularly represented by Yahweh.
INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Title, Scope, and Place in the Canon.

The title of the Book is in בּוֹשֵׁהַים, Sopherim, whence comes our English title 'Judges.' The principal versions render ג קפיטאי; Liber Judicium, Hebræice Sopherim; ג לְיַעֲקֹב תּחתְנָא ‘The book of the Judges of the children of Israel, which is called in Hebrew Sopherim.’

The title Sopherim is doubtless derived from ch. 2:16 ff., which is due to the main editor (R 22; cf. § 4), who employs the term 'Judges,' not in the sense in which we are accustomed to use it in English of officials who decide legal cases and act as arbitrators between man and man, but with the meaning 'Vindicatres,' or 'Deliverers' from the power of foreign oppressors.* There exist, however, passages in the Book, not due to this editor, in which the term is used in the more general sense of 'Arbitrators' or 'Magistrates' (cf. further, on this distinction in usage, p. 1, footnote). In this latter sense, the Carthaginian title suxes (suffes), plur. suxetes (i.e. שועסועים, שועסועות), as cited by Livy and other Latin writers, has been aptly compared. On the occurrence of the term in Phoenician inscriptions, cf. Cooke, NSI. pp. 115 f.‡

The Book of Judges deals with the period during which the tribes of Israel were still struggling to maintain their footing in Canaan, before they had attained such an amount of cohesion among themselves as entitled them to rank as a nation rather than as a collection of separate units, and enabled them to establish their independence against the foreign races by whom they were surrounded. During this period we repeatedly find one or more of the tribes falling under the foreign yoke for a time, until the rising of some of sufficient personality to revive and unite the

* In some passages Heb. מָשִׁיך 'Saviour' is used by the editor as an alternative title (cf. ch. 3:13); and we also find the verb hōṣēa 'to save' similarly used as a synonym of 'to judge.'

‡ Jensen (ZA. iv., 1889, pp. 278 ff.) quotes evidence in proof that in Assyr. 𒈨𒈬 was used to denote the commander of a host. Cf. KAT. 3 pp. 647, 650,
scattered energy of the clans, and thus to enable them to shake themselves free. Such leaders (the שופטים, 'Judges'), after the success of their efforts, seem generally to have continued to hold a position of authority which, though doubtless merely local and uninvested with the prerogatives of the kingship of later times, yet represents a stage of development preparatory to the monarchy; just as their partial success in uniting the tribes to take common action against the foe is a stage towards the later unity which made possible the ideal of a nation organically combined under the rule of one king.

Of the three divisions of the Hebrew Canon—the Law, the Prophets, and the קסותבים, 'Writings' (Hagiographa)—the Book of Judges finds its place among the Prophets. This second division is sub-divided into two parts, each of which is reckoned as containing four books—'the Former Prophets,' consisting of Joshua', Judges, Samuel, and Kings; and 'the Latter Prophets,' comprising Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve.'

The justification of this inclusion of Judges among the Prophets is found, as in the case of the other books assigned to 'the Former Prophets,' in the fact that the mere compilation of an historical record was not the purpose with which the book was put into shape, but rather the inculcation of the religious truths which were to be deduced from Israel's past history. It is abundantly evident that the ancient narratives (for the most part) which form the basis of the history, and also—and especially—the editorial framework into which these older narratives have been fitted, are the work of the Prophetical schools or guilds of Israel which, in pre-exilic times, were the chief literary conservators of the records of national history. The lines along which the religious bearing of Israel's past history is worked out in Judges are indicated in the sections which follow.

§ 2. Structure.

The Book of Judges opens with a section extending from ch. 1 to 25, which describes the settlement of the tribes of Israel in the promised land, and pictures this settlement as very gradual and partial, and as effected, in the main, through the independent efforts of individual tribes. The facts which are thus narrated are stated in v. 1 to have taken place 'after the death of Joshua'; but it is clear that the standpoint of v. 1 is not the standpoint of the main part of the narrative, which pictures the tribes as starting their movements from 'the City of Palms,' i.e. Jericho (v. 16), or from Gilgal in the near neighbourhood (21); i.e. from the position in which they were stationed after their first crossing of the Jordan, and which formed their headquarters during their invasion of the hill-country, as narrated in Josh. 418 P, 96, 106.7.9.15 JE, 1043,
It is obvious, moreover, that the narrative of ch. 1 cannot be correlated with the narrative of the conquest of Canaan under Joshua, as this now stands in the Book of Josh.; since this latter pictures the conquest as the work of the tribes of Israel as a whole, and as much more complete and far-reaching than is pictured in Judg. 1. Clearly, therefore, Judg. 1.1 to 2.5 cannot originally have stood as the proper sequel of the closing chapter of Josh., which pictures the death of Joshua as taking place subsequently to the dispersion and settlement of the tribes throughout the land of Canaan; but is out of place in its present connexion, and really offers another account of the original settlement in the land, in many respects different from that which is found in Josh. as that Book now stands.

Looking, however, at the next section of the Book, which runs from ch. 2.6 to 3.6, we seem at once to discern the true sequel to Josh. 24; this section opening, in vv. 6-9, with an actual repetition of the words of Josh. 24.28-31, with one slight variation in order. That these vv. 6-9 are not a later insertion from Josh., but stand in proper connexion with the narrative which immediately follows them in Judg. 2, requires no proof. While v. 6 reiterates the mention of Joshua's dismissal of the people to their homes after his final exhortation to them at Shechem, as narrated in Josh. 24.1 ff., v. 7 states that they remained faithful to his injunctions during his lifetime, and the lives of the elders who survived him, and vv. 8-9 give a summary account of his death and burial. The narrative is immediately taken up by v. 10, which states that, after the death of the surviving elders mentioned in v. 7, there arose a new generation that did not know Yahweh nor the work which He had done for Israel, and thus were guilty of defection from His service, as related in vv. 11 ff.

In these latter verses the narrator propounds his philosophy of Israel's history in general terms. We are told that defection from Yahweh and the worship of the deities of Canaan (the Ba'als and Ashtarts) led to divine punishment which took the form of deliverance into the hand of foreign oppressors; punishment was followed by repentance and appeal to Yahweh for deliverance; Yahweh thereupon raised up a 'Judge,' i.e. a saviour or vindicator (cf. §1), who effected deliverance by the help of Yahweh; but, when the Judge died, defection from Yahweh again ensued, and the same cycle of punishment, repentance, and deliverance was re-enacted.

If we examine the narratives which follow after this introductory section, forming the main body of the Book, we find that this 'pragmatic' scheme of history (as it has been styled),* which has been stated in general terms in the introduction 2.11 ff., is applied.

* The term 'pragmatic' is used as defined in The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English: 'treating facts of history with reference to their practical lessons.'
to particular cases as they occur, the striking phraseology of the general introduction being, for the most part, repeated practically verbatim in the introductions to particular narratives (cf., pp. 54 ff. of the notes). Of such a character are the introductions to the narratives of Othniel, 3 7 ff., Ehud, 3 12 ff., Deborah and Barak, 4 1 ff., Gide’on, 6 1 ff., Jephthah, 10 6 ff. (perhaps originally intended as an introduction to the judgeship of Samuel; cf. note ad loc.), and Samson, 13 1. Corresponding to these introductions to the narratives, we find that more or less stereotyped formulae are employed at their close, referring to the subjugation of the foreign oppressor, and the length of the period during which ‘the land had rest’: so, after the victories of Othniel, 3 11 , Ehud, 3 30 , Deborah and Barak, 4 23 , 5 31b , Gide’on, 8 28 . Elsewhere, as a variation, the length is given of the period during which the Judge ‘judged Israel’: so of Jephthah, 12 7a , Samson, 15 20 , repeated in 16 21b , the so-called ‘minor’ Judges, 10 2a, 3 , 12 8-11-14 ; cf., in 1 Sam., ‘Eli 4 18 , Samuel 7 15 .

It will readily be noticed that the religious pragmatism of the main introduction and the special headings is not characteristic of the histories as a whole. In these the religious motive, in so far as it is put forward, is of a much more ingenuous and primitive character. Yahweh commissions men to act as deliverers, and His Spirit incites them to deeds of valour; but, if we except certain special sections, such as 6 7-10 and 10 6-16 (this latter a much expanded form of the ordinary introduction to a narrative), we find that the conceptions of sin, punishment, and repentance, so far from being prominently brought forward, are altogether ignored and unmentioned. In the history of Samson, in particular, the conception of the hero as a divinely appointed deliverer of his people seems little suited to the narrative; since his actions, so far as his personal volition is concerned, are wholly dictated by his own wayward inclinations, and he does not in any way effect deliverance or even respite from the foreign yoke.

We observe also that, whereas the stereotyped introduction to the various narratives speaks as though the apostasy of Israel from time to time, and their ensuing punishment, were national and general, the actual illustrations adduced in the narratives themselves are, at any rate in most cases, merely local, some particular tribe or group of tribes falling temporarily under the dominion of a foreign oppressor, but Israel as a whole (i.e. the entity of twelve tribes, which is clearly intended by ‘the children of Israel’ of the introductory formula) being unaffected.

It is obvious, therefore, that the main narratives of the Judges and their exploits cannot emanate from the author who was responsible for the framework in which they are set, which enforces the lesson already sketched in a preliminary way in chs. 2 6-3 6 , containing (as we have noticed above) the original introduction to the Book. Clearly, the main narratives represent older material, which
has been utilized by a later editor for the working out of the
religious philosophy which he reads into Israel's past history.

The work of the editor who was responsible for the pragmatic
introduction, 2:6-3:6, and the framework of the narratives follow-
ing, extends no further than the history of Samson, the last of the
Judges. The final narratives of the Book, viz. the story of Micah
and the Danites, chs. 17, 18, and the story of the outrage at Gib'eah
with its consequences, chs. 19-21, though in the main of the same
literary character as the other old narratives, do not serve to
illustrate this editor's scheme as laid down in his general intro-
duction, and altogether lack traces of his hand as seen in the
stereotyped introductions and conclusions to the stories of the
Judges. We must conclude, therefore, that these two stories,
though derived ultimately from the same history-book (or books)
as the other old narratives, were not embraced within the main
editor's Book of Judges. There is reason for supposing that this
editor also omitted, as alien to his purpose, the story of Abimelech,
ch. 9 (substituting in its place the brief summary which is found
in chs. 8:33-38; cf. p. 266), and such exploits of Samson as are now
related in ch. 16 (cf. p. 338). These stories must have been
re-inserted into Judg. at a later period—very possibly by the
editor who added the later Introduction to the Book which we now
find in chs. 1:1-25. This later editor appears also to have been
responsible for the brief notices of the 'minor' Judges contained
in 10:1-5, 12:8-15 (the reasons for supposing that the 'minor' Judges
did not belong to the main editor's scheme are given on pp. 289 f.).
The notice of Shamgar, ch. 3:31, seems to have been inserted at a
still later period (cf. p. 76).

§ 3. The Old Narratives.

From examination of the old narratives which form the basis of
the history of Judg. the fact at once emerges that the main
editor is dependent, not upon a single source, but upon two main
sources, sections from which have been pieced together without any
thoroughgoing attempt to harmonize existing inconsistencies in
detail; much as different documents have been combined into a
single history in the Pentateuch and Josh., and in 1 Sam. The
proof of this fact has been sufficiently established in the special Introdu-
tions to the various sections of the Book which follow in the
Notes. The most noteworthy illustration is the history of Gide'on,
chs. 6:1-8:29; but a similar combination of two different narratives
may also be traced in the stories of Ehud, ch. 3:7-30, Abimelech, ch.
9, Jephthah, chs. 10:17-12:7, and (in the Appendix to Judges) in the
narratives of chs. 17, 18, and 19:21.*

* The prose-history of Deborah and Barak, ch. 4, likewise exhibits combination
with elements derived from another narrative, relating probably to different events.
It is not unlikely, however, that this combination was effected when the story was
still in the oral stage: cf. pp. 81 ff.
INTRODUCTION

It is generally recognized that the main characteristics of the old narratives thus combined in Judges are similar to those of the old 'Prophetic' narrative which runs through the Pentateuch and Josh. (the Hexateuch); and which is formed, likewise, by combination of two main documents, one of which must be supposed to have emanated from the Kingdom of Judah, and probably took shape as a written document cir. B.C. 850 (the reign of King Jehoshaphat); while the other is doubtless the work of the prophetic schools of the Northern Kingdom, and should probably be dated, in the main, somewhat later, i.e. cir. B.C. 750 (the reign of King Jeroboam II. and the period of the writing prophets, 'Amos and Hosea'). The former of these two narratives, owing to its predilection for the divine name Jehovah or Yahweh, is commonly known as the Jehovistic or Yahwistic narrative, and cited under the symbol J; while the latter, which exhibits a preference for the divine title Elohim ('God'), is termed the Elohistic narrative, and is cited as E.*

Since J and E carry the history of Israel from the earliest times down to the death of Joshua*, and were certainly not put into writing until some centuries after the latter event, there is no a priori reason why they should be supposed each to have terminated with the narrative of Joshua's death; but, on the contrary, when we find in Judg. and 1 Sam. a similar combination of two old narratives possessing much the same characteristics as J and E, the question is at once raised whether these narratives should not be regarded as the proper continuation of J and E in Josh.; J and E thus representing, in their original forms, continuous prophetic histories of the nation of Israel down to the foundation of the monarchy, if not further.† Observing, moreover, that the closing verses of Josh., ch. 24 28-31 E, are repeated practically verbatim in Judg. 2 6-9, the point at which the main editor opens his history, and that these verses point both backwards and forwards—Israel served Yahweh in accordance with the injunctions of Joshua's speech, which is detailed at length in Josh. 24 1 ff. E, during the lifetimes of Joshua* and the elders who survived him; but the setting of a period to this service immediately raises the question

* For the evidence upon which these approximate dates are assigned to J and E, cf. CH. i. pp. 107 f., 117 ff.
† The purpose of the present argument being merely to suggest that the old narratives of Judg. are essentially of a piece with J and E in the Hexateuch, we are not here concerned to inquire whether these same two narratives continue later than 1 Sam. 12, which forms the close of the history of the circumstances which led to the institution of the monarchy in Israel. 1 Sam. 1-12 stands in essential connexion with the history of Judg., and examination of the old narrative of Judg. cannot be carried out apart from some consideration of these earlier chapters of 1 Sam. With regard to 1 Sam. 13 ff. it will be sufficient here to remark that a similar combination of two narratives runs on to the end of the book; whereas 2 Sam., on the contrary, consists, in the main, of a single very early source narrating the court-history of David.
what happened after the elders were dead, which forms the subject of the book of Judg. as a whole (cf. the direct transition from Judg. 27:9 to v.10, on which see p. 52)—we may fairly claim that the fact that the document E of the Hexateuch continues beyond the end of Josh., and provides material for the history of Judg., seems to be placed beyond the range of controversy.

A similar conclusion must be drawn with regard to the companion-document J. The fact is generally admitted that the old document which forms the basis of the later introduction to Judg., chs. 1-25, is derived from J (cf. pp. 1 ff., 47 ff.), and that the concluding portion of this old account of the settlement of the tribes of Israel in Canaan has been utilized by the main editor in his own introduction, ch. 2:23a, 3:24a,6 (cf. pp. 52, 55). These concluding verses, however, tell us that, as the result of the survival of some of the races of Canaan, 'the children of Israel dwell in the midst of the Canaanites; and they took their daughters to themselves for wives, and their own daughters they gave to their sons; and they served their gods'; and this seems to indicate that some account of Israel's defection from Yahweh, and the consequences thereby entailed, must have followed in J. Since, therefore, the main editor knew and employed the J document thus far, the inference is that he also made use of its material for his subsequent history.

The fact that the main editor thus appears to have utilized both J and E in his introduction to Judg. does not, however, amount to a demonstration that the old narratives which follow must necessarily be derived from the same documents. Such a conclusion can only be based upon detailed examination of each separate story, and this has been attempted in the Introductions prefixed to each section of the book in the Notes. It may be freely acknowledged that the evidence which can be adduced in proof of it is not of equal cogency throughout. Close connexion with J is undeniable in 6:11-24 (p. 177), 13:22-25 (pp. 336 ff.), the main narrative in 19 (pp. 443 ff.), and parts of 20 (pp. 455 ff.); and the same is true of E in the main thread of 2:6-3:6 (pp. 52 ff.), 6:7-10 (p. 177), 8:22-23,27a,b (pp. 183 f.), 10:6-16 in the main (p. 294), 11:12-26 (pp. 303, 310-317). In other parts of the composite narrative the criteria are frequently very slight; while occasionally they are practically non-existent, and the only ground which we have for assigning a narrative to J is the fact that the parallel narrative seems to emanate from E, or vice-versa. This, however, is a state of affairs which we find also in the Hexateuch, where it frequently happens that, while the fact is clear that we are dealing with a narrative composed of elements derived from the two Prophetic sources, yet criteria for accurate distinction of these sources are hardly to be discovered.*

* This is especially the case with the JE narrative contained in Josh. 1-12. Cf. CH. ii. pp. 305 ff.; Driver, *LOT.* pp. 104 ff. (who with characteristic caution does not attempt to separate the two sources).
INTRODUCTION

It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the fact that when we refer to J and E we must think, in each case, rather of a school of historians than of a single historian. Clearly, neither J nor E in the Hexateuch is homogeneous throughout; both of them must have made use of pre-existing material, written as well as oral, the product of very various ages, and embodying divergent and sometimes conflicting traditions.*

Illustrations from Judg. of the use of earlier material in J are seen in the Samson-stories, chs. 14-16, which have been edited and fitted with a strongly characteristic introduction, ch. 13 (pp. 337 ff.), and in one of the narratives in chs. 19-21, which appears to be constructed throughout upon a basis of earlier J narratives (p. 456). Similarly, the Song of Deborah, ch. 5, is obviously much older than the accompanying prose-narrative, ch. 4, though both appear to belong to E (p. 83); and the inference that the former was excerpted from an ancient written source (probably a collection of poems such as ‘the Book of the Wars of Yahweh’ mentioned in Num. 21 14), is confirmed by the fact that the prefixed statement as to the occasion on which the song was composed, seems to have been excerpted with it from the old source (cf. note on v.2). Again, the E2 element which is so clearly marked both in Judg. and in 1 Sam. 1-12 (originally a part of the history of the Judges; cf. p. 294), can never have formed an independent document, but presupposes the earlier history of E, to which it forms a religious expansion and interpretation. This incorporation of earlier material and the existence of more than one hand in J and E are sufficient to explain the unequal distribution of characteristic phraseology, and also the occurrence in certain sections of striking words and phrases which are not found elsewhere in the histories.†

While, however, J and E undoubtedly embody the work of two schools of prophetic historians, it is natural to suppose that the work of these schools has survived through being gathered together into two continuous prophetic histories; and that it was these two

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* Cf. CH. i. pp. 108 ff., 119 ff. Skinner (Genesis (ICC.), pp. 181 f.) points out that J seems to embody a tradition which knew nothing of the Flood, and also (cf. pp. 418, 450, 570) one which ignored the sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus. The discussion in Addit. note, pp. 44 ff. leads us to the conclusion that J has embodied an ancient Calibbite tradition narrating the conquest of the Negeb by a northward movement from Kadesh-Barnes', and that this has been modified in J as we know it by later influences. Such examples of composite authorship might be multiplied.

† Such are not frequent; but we may notice that the Divine title ‘Yahweh Š-bhā’oth,’ which occurs in 1 Sam. 13-21, 11, 14, 7, 17 45, as also in 2 Sam., is not found at all in the Hexateuch and Judg.; and ‘Belial,’ which occurs in Judg. 19 22, 20 13; 1 Sam. 1 16, 2 12, 16 27, 25 17, 30 22, is only found in the Hexateuch in Deut. 13 14, 15 4. The instances from Judg. of words not found in JE in the Hexateuch which are cited by Kität, Studien und Kritiken, 1892, pp. 57, 61; König in DB. ii. pp. 811b-812b, would not be significant enough to tell against our theory even if that theory involved the supposition that J and E were respectively the composition of a single hand throughout.
documents, and not two collections of disconnected narratives, which were wrought into one by the redactor R². There is thus a sense in which it is perfectly legitimate to speak of 'the J writer' and 'the E writer,' i.e. the actual individuals who were responsible for the composition of the continuous history-books; and since, as we have seen, evidence points to an original uninterrupted sequence between the Hexateuch narratives of J and E, and the narratives of J and E in Judg., we may without excessive boldness maintain that, when we use the symbols J and E in Judg., they have for us no less definite meaning than they possess for us as titles of documents in the Hexateuch.*

§ 4. The Editors.

The portions of Judg. which we assign to the main editor, who, as we have seen (§ 2), is responsible for the pragmatic setting of the book, are as follows:—

Introduction: ch. 2 6b (in part), 11a, 14a, 16, 17.

Framework: chs. 3 7-11, 3 12-15a (working up extracts from the old narrative), 3 20, 4 1-4 (working up old extracts), 4 22-24, 5 31b, 6 4-6 (working up old extracts), 8 25-33, 25, 10 6±, 11 33b, 131, 15 20.

Modern critical scholars unanimously regard this editor as a member of the Deuteronomic School, i.e. as influenced by the standpoint and phraseology of Deuteronomy: thus the signature which is generally adopted for him is R² (Deuteronomic Redactor). The present writer has, however, convinced himself that this view is not correct. Deuteronomy was (in his opinion) unknown to our

* That we have in Judg. the continuation of the documents contained in the Hexateuch was maintained by J. J. Stähelin, *Speziale Einleitung in die kanon. Bücher des A.T.* (1862), pp. 66 ff., and by E. Schrader in de Wette's *Einleitung in die Bibel, A. u. N. T.* (1869), pp. 337 ff. The subject was first systematically worked out for different parts of Judg. by Ed. Meyer, Stade, and Böhme in articles in *ZATW.* (cf. references in the present Commentary, pp. 1, 176, 293, 335). The merit of attempting to distinguish J and E throughout the book belongs, however, to Budde in his *Richter und Samuel* (1890); and Budde's view has been accepted in the main by Cornill, Moore, Nowack, and Lagrange. Kue. (Ond. § 19 13) speaks with some scepticism of the theory, and it is opposed by Kittel in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1892, pp. 44 ff.; *H.H.* ii. pp. 14 ff.; *GV*², ii. pp. 15 ff., and by König, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, pp. 252 ff.; *D.B.* ii. pp. 811b-812b. The arguments advanced by these two latter scholars, however, would for the most part only be valid if J and E were to be regarded as each the work of a single individual—a view which is maintained by no one. Cf. e.g. Kittel's argument that the history of Abimelech cannot be from E, because in it Shechem is a Canaanite city, whereas in Josh. 24 E² it is Israelite; or, again, that in view of Gen. 22 E, the story of Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter can hardly belong to the same source.

‡ It is impossible in 10 6± to be sure how much is due to the main editor and how much to his source, E²: cf. p. 294. Most scholars assign a larger portion of the section to the editor.
The influence which really moulded his thought and diction was the influence of the later Ephraimitic school of prophetic teachers, whose work is generally marked as $E_2$. Thus the signature which is adopted in the present commentary to mark the work of the main editor is $R_2$ (Redactor of the late Ephraimitic School). The grounds upon which this view is based have now to be stated.

The passages in Judg., 1 Sam. 1-12, which are characteristically the work of $E_2$ are as follows:—Judg. 2 (in part), 7-10, 13-20, 21, 6 7-10, 8 22, 23, 27a, 10 6-16 (in the main), 1 Sam. 7 1-14, 8 1-22, 10 17-27a, 12 1-25. * These passages are united together by a common phraseology and theological outlook, the characteristics of which, so far as they distinguish the passages in Judg., are noticed on pp. 55, 177, 183 f., 294; cf. further Bu., £S. pp. 180 ff., Driver, LOT, p. 177. Their connexion with Joshua’s last address, as related in Josh. 24 (generally assigned, except for a few minor details, to the later stratum of $E$, i.e. $E_2$) is very close; and more especially is this the case with 1 Sam. 12, which relates Samuel’s last address before his retirement from the office of judge after the election of Saul as king. The following comparison illustrates the closeness of connexion between the two chapters:—

Josh. 24 1 And they took their stand before Yahweh.
1 Sam. 12 7 And now take your stand, that I may plead with you before God.

Josh. 5 And I sent Moses and Aaron.
Sam. 8 And Yahweh sent Moses and Aaron. (Cf. 11 And Yahweh sent Jerubba‘al, etc.).

Josh. 6 And I brought forth your fathers out of Egypt.
Sam. 8 And they brought forth your fathers out of Egypt.

Josh. 7 And they cried unto Yahweh.
Sam. 10 And they cried unto Yahweh.

Josh. 8 And they fought with you. 9a And he fought with Israel.
Sam. 2b And they fought with them.

 Josh. 10b And I delivered you from his hand.
Sam. 11b And he delivered you from the hand of your enemies.

Josh. 14 And now fear Yahweh, and serve him in integrity and in truth.
Sam. 24a Only serve Yahweh, and serve him in truth with all your heart. 14. If ye will fear Yahweh and will serve him.

Josh. 16 Far be it from us to forsake Yahweh.
Sam. 28 Far be it from us to sin against Yahweh.

* Omitting, in Judg., 6 25-27, 32, 7 2-7, passages which, though assigned to $E_2$ upon adequate grounds, have not the same special characteristics as the passages above cited.
Josh. 17  
For Yahweh our God, he it is that brought up us and our fathers from the land of Egypt, from the house of bondmen.

Sam. 6  
Yahweh. that brought up your fathers from the land of Egypt.

Josh. 17  
And who did these great signs before our eyes.

Sam. 16  
Behold the great thing which Yahweh is about to do before your eyes.

Josh. 22  
And Joshua said unto the people, Ye are witnesses against yourselves. And they said, We are witnesses.

Sam. 5  
And he said unto them, Yahweh is a witness against you, and his anointed is a witness. And they said, He is a witness.

This correspondence between the phraseology of the two addresses—which is so close as to make it obvious that they must both have assumed their present form at the hands of the same author, or else that 1 Sam. 12 must have been modelled upon Josh. 24—is of the first importance in proof that 1 Sam. 12, and the sections in Judg. and 1 Sam. which are similar to it, are rightly to be regarded as pre-Deuteronomic.* The fact is familiar that JE in Josh. has been edited by a redactor of the Deuteronomic School (R₀), and the portions of Josh. which are the work of this redactor bear unmistakably the impress of the thought and phraseology of D. Now though there already existed in his source the farewell-address of Joshua which belongs to E² (ch. 24), R₀ was so little satisfied with this as an adequate expression of the Deuteronomic ideal that he inserted side by side with it (ch. 23) another address of his own composition in which he enforces that ideal in language which repeats and echoes the language of D almost sentence by sentence. It is worth while to give a full summary of the D phrases in this address in order to exhibit what is properly to be understood as the influence of D upon the members of its 'school':—

Josh. 23 3, 4. 'Ye have seen all that Yahweh your God did.' Cf. Deut. 29 2 (יֵשָׁר), 3 21, 4 9; 'That which Yahweh thy God did,' Deut. 7 18, 24 9, cf. 11 4 5.

v. 5, 'For Yahweh your God, He it is that fighteth for you.' So v. 10, Deut. 3 22 †.

v. 6, 'As Yahweh your God spake unto you.' So v. 10. Cf. Deut. 1 21, 2 1, 6 8, 9 3, 10 9, 9 11, 15 23, 12 20, 15 6, 18 2, 26 18, 19, 27 3, 29 18 (יֵשָׁר), 31 3; Josh. 13 14, 33, 14 12, 22 4, all R₀; Judg. 2 16 D², 1 Kgs. 5 12 (יֵשָׁר), 8 20; 2 Kgs. 24 13, all R₀ †.

* That the presentation of Samuel as we have it in this narrative in 1 Sam. was familiar to Jeremiah and his hearers is clear from Jer. 15 1, where Samuel is coupled with Moses as a typical intercessor on behalf of Israel; for he only appears in this light in 1 Sam. 7 5, 12 18, 23, and not in the older narrative with which this is combined. Cf. Cornill as cited by Bu., RS, p. 178; Driver, LOT, p. 178.

† In several of these passages R.V. renders 'promised' for 'spake'; but the verb is in every case the same in the Hebrew.
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v.6. 'All that is written in the Book of the Law of Moses' (a direct reference to the Deuteronomic Code). Cf. Josh. 1 7, 8 31 34 R; 1 Kgs. 2 3; 2 Kgs. 14 6 R.

v.6. 'So as not to turn aside therefrom to the right hand or to the left.' Cf. Deut. 17 20; also 5 32 (וֹדֵע), 17 11, 28 14; Josh. 1 7 R; 2 Kgs. 22 2 R.

v.8. 'Cleave to' (אָבֵד, of adherence to the worship of Yahweh). Cf. Deut. 4 4, 10 20; 11 22; 13 4 (וֹדֵע), 30 20; Josh. 22 5 R; 2 Kgs. 18 6 R. Of adherence to idolatry, or to the representatives of it, v.12; 1 Kgs. 11 2; 2 Kgs. 3 6 R.

v.9. 'And Yahweh hath dispossessed from before you nations great and mighty.' Of. Deut. 4 38, 9 1, 37 23.

v.11. 'And ye shall take great heed to yourselves.' Of. Deut. 4 4, 11 22, 19 9, 30 6, 10 20; Josh. 22 5 R.

v.13. 'Until ye perish.' Cf. Deut. 28 20 22.

v.13. 'Which Yahweh your God hath given you.' Cf. vv.15 16; Josh. 18 6 R; with 'about to give you' (or 'thee,' 'us,' 'them'), constantly in Deut.

v.14. 'With all your heart and with all your soul.' Cf. Deut. 11 13, 13 3 (וֹדֵע); Josh. 22 5 R; 'with all thy heart, etc.' Deut. 4 29, 6 5, 10 12, 26 16, 30 5, 10 20; 'with all his heart, etc.' 2 Kgs. 23 25 R; 'with all their heart, etc.' 1 Kgs. 2 4, 8 48 (= 2 Chr. 6 48) R; 2 Chr. 15 12; with all the heart, etc., 2 Kgs. 23 3 (= 2 Chr. 34 31) R.

v.14. 'There hath not fallen one word out of all the good words, etc.' Of. Josh. 21 45 (= 43) R; 1 Kgs. 8 56 R.

v.15. 'Until He destroy you.' Cf. Deut. 28 48; 'to destroy you' (Yahweh as subj.), Deut. 9 6, 10, 25, 28 63.

v.16. 'Shall go and serve other gods, and worship them.' So 1 Kgs. 9 6 (= 2 Chr. 7 19) R; cf. Deut. 11 16, 17 3: 'serve other gods,' Josh. 24 10 16 E; Judg. 10 13 E; 1 Sam. 8 5, 26 19; Deut. 4 29, 13 4 (וֹדֵע), 28 36, 64; Jer. 16 13, 44 3: 'other gods,' with 'serve,' closely following with suffix of reference, Deut. 8 10; 13 2 (וֹדֵע), 28 14, 30 17, 31 20; Judg. 2 19 D; 1 Kgs. 9 9 (= 2 Chr. 7 22) R; 2 Kgs. 17 35 R; Jer. 11 10, 13 10, 16 11, 22 9, 25 6, 35 15: 'other gods,' without 'serve,' Ex. 20 3; 3 13 E; 2 Kgs. 5 17 (Ephraimitic); Hos. 3 1; Judg. 2 17 R; Deut. 5 7, 6 1, 11 28, 18 20, 31 18; Judg. 2 12 D; 1 Kgs. 11 4, 10, 14 9; 2 Kgs. 17 37, 38, 22 17 (= 2 Chr. 34 28) all R.

v.10. 'And the anger of Yahweh be kindled against you.' Cf. Deut. 7 14, 17.

v.16. 'And ye perish quickly from off the good land which He hath given you.' Cf. Deut. 11 17. 'The good land,' Deut. 1 8, 3 25, 4 25 25, 6 1, 8 10, 9 6.

The close and constant echo of the phraseology of D as seen in this address—which is equally characteristic of other portions of

* Heb. כֶּבֶד, translated 'hath dispossessed,' is rendered by R.V., sometimes 'possess,' sometimes 'drive out.' Cf. note on 1 19.
Josh. belonging to this redactor, and also of the handiwork of the Deuteronomic redactor of Kgs.*—sufficiently illustrates what is properly to be taken as the work of 'the Deuteronomic School.' It is evident at a glance that it is to the pre-Deuteronomic address Josh. 24 E₂, and not to Josh. 23 R⁵, that the address in 1 Sam. 12 and the kindred sections in Judg. and 1 Sam. exhibit a close affinity; and that therefore we have not erred in marking them as E₂, and in regarding them as dating from a period prior to the promulgation of Deuteronomy. It is true that the religious ideas of E₂ and D are in many points closely kindred, and that there are a certain number of phrases which are common to them (such e.g. as 'Yahweh your God,' 'other gods,' 'forget Yahweh,' etc.); but the explanation of this surely is that the thought and phraseology of E₂ have exercised a well-marked influence upon D. Had the opposite been the case—i.e. had our so-called E₂ been modelled under the influence of D, it would be difficult to explain why only a limited number of characteristic D phrases were employed, whereas the most striking ones (as seen in R⁵ in Josh. and Kgs.) are wholly absent. As a matter of fact, a large number of the ideas and phrases which characterize E₂ are already to be found in Hosea†; and it is doubtless to the influence of Hosea's and his school that we owe the presenta-

* Cf. the long list of phrases characteristic of R⁵ in Kgs. which is given by the present writer in his article 'Kings I. and II.' in DB. ii. pp. 859 ff.
† The following is a rough list of phrases and thoughts contained in Hosea which have influenced E₂, as well as somewhat later thought (D and Jeremiah):—
  - Defection from Yahweh characterized as whoredom, 1. 1, 2. 5-6 (םֶלֶש), 4. 12, 15, 18, 5. 4, 6, 10, 9. 1.
  - 'The Ba'als,' 2. 13, 17 (םֶלֶש), 11. 2; ‘the Ba'alic,' 13. 1.
  - Go after,' of adherence to false worship, 2. 4, 12 (םֶלֶש); of following Yahweh, 11. 10.
  - Verb 'love' (לְנֹ֫בָנ) applied to Yahweh's feeling for Israel, 3. 1, 9. 18, 11. 1, 14. 1 (םֶלֶש); cf. subs. 'love,' 11. 4.
  - 'Yahweh, their God,' 3. 5, 7. 10; 'Yahweh, thy God,' 12. 9 (םֶלֶש), 13. 4, 14. 1 (םֶלֶש).
  - 'Forget,' of defection from Yahweh, 2. 12 (םֶלֶש), 'Me she forgot'), 4. 6 ('Thou hast forgotten the לֶשָּד of thy God'), 8. 14 ('Israel forgat his maker'), 13. 6 ('they have forgotten Me').
  - 'Practices' (םֶלֶש) with evil connotation, 4. 9, 5. 4, 7. 4, 9. 15, 12. 5 (םֶלֶש); cf. Judg. 2. 19 E₂; Deut. 28. 20; eighteen occurrences in Jer.
  - 'They have forsaken to observe Yahweh,' 4. 10.
  - 'Return unto Yahweh,' of repentance, 6. 1, 7. 10, 14. 12 (םֶלֶש); 'unto God,' 5. 4.
  - 'I desire mercy (לֶש), and not sacrifice; And the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings,' 6. 4; cf. 1 Sam. 15. 22 E₂.
  - Verb 'cry,' of supposition to Yahweh, 7. 14, 8. 4.
  - 'Transgress covenant,' 6. 7, 8. 1.
  - 'Provoke' (שֶאָנָה, obj. 'Yahweh' understood) 12. 14; characteristic of D.
  - Reference to the deliverance from Egypt, 2. 12 (םֶלֶש), 11. 1, 12. 9 (םֶלֶש), 18. 4.
  - Depreciatory reference to the paraphernalia of cultus, 3. 4, 10. 12.
  - Depreciatory reference to the existing form of kingship as opposed to the Theocratic ideal, 8. 10 (as emended; cf. p. 184), 10. 3, 13. 10, 11 (cf. Judg. 3. 22 E₂; 1 Sam. 8. 6, 7, 10. 19, 12. 17, 19 E₂).
  - Antipathy to bull-worship of Northern Kingdom, 8. 6, 10. 5, 13. 5 (cf. R⁵ in Kgs.).
tion of Israel’s early history as it appears in E, and (it may well be) ultimately the Deuteronomic revival itself.*

Now, even a cursory examination of the phraseology of the main editor of Judg. makes it clear that this is modelled upon the E sections which we have been discussing. The address of 1 Sam. 12 especially, which properly rounds off the history of the Judges with the final address of Samuel, the last of their number, after the election of the first king, seems to have been used by our editor as the type to which he sought to conform his pragmatic setting of Judg. Examination of his phraseology in detail yields the following results:—

1. ‘Did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh,’ Judg. 2:11, 3:4, 10:6, 13:1, all RE. Elsewhere, Num. 32:13 JE?; 1 Sam. 15:19 E; 2 Sam. 12:9; Deut. 4:25, 9:18, 17:2, 31:29; twenty-two occurrences in RE’s framework to Kgs., and parallel passages in 2 Chr.; Jer. 32:50, 52:2; Isa. 65:12, 66:4; Ps. 51:4 (JE).

2. ‘And they forsook Yahweh, and served the Ba’als and the Ashtarts,’ Judg. 2:13 E (worked in by RE). Cf. 1 Sam. 12:10 E, ’We have sinned, because we have forsaken Yahweh, and have served the Ba’als and the Ashtarts;’ so very similarly (exc. om. ‘and the Ashtarts’), Judg. 10:10 E; with inverted order, ‘and they served the Ba’als and the Ashtarts ... and forsook Yahweh,’

* The present writer is of the opinion that the origin of Deuteronomy is to be sought in the prophetic school, not of the Southern, but of the Northern Kingdom, and that we have a gradually developing stream of thought represented by E, Hosea, E, and finally D. If this view is correct, the composition of D must have taken place some time subsequently to the fall of Samaria and the end of the Northern Kingdom. Sargon only claims to have carried captive 27,290 of the inhabitants of Samaria, and definitely states that he allowed the remainder to retain their possessions (? tawasatu, of doubtful meaning), set his officers as prefects over them, and laid upon them the tribute of the former kings (cf. Winckler, Sargon, p. 101; Rogers, CP. p. 331). Doubtless (as was the case with Nebuchadnezzar’s first deportation from Jerusalem; 2 Kgs. 24:16) those whom he removed were the politically influential and the skilled artisans; and he would have no reason for interfering with the members of the prophetic order, who belonged to the poorer classes, and would hardly have been clustered in and about the capital city. During the period after B.C. 722, Samaria remained the centre of an Assyrian province, with a population to some extent leavened by foreign settlers (cf. Winckler, Sargon, pp. 5, 21; Rogers, CP. p. 326). The mainly late narrative of 2 Kgs. 17:24-21, which reads almost as though the foreign element were in sole possession and the religion of Yahweh had died out, is without doubt coloured by bitter antipathy to the Samaritans of later times. But, in fact, a not inconsiderable body of Israelites had survived the conquest; amongst whom the prophets of the north may be supposed to have continued their literary labours quietly and unobtrusively, setting their hopes upon a future when the whole of Israel (both of the north and of the south) should be united in faithful worship of Yahweh at one common centre. The grounds upon which this theory is based have not yet been published by the writer, but he hopes to produce them in the near future in a work entitled The Prophetic School of Northern Israel and the Mosaic Tradition.
Judg. 10:6 E²; 'served the Ba'als and the 'Ashtarts' coupled with 'forgat Yahweh' (cf. No. 3), Judg. 3:7 R².

(a) 'Forsook Yahweh' occurs elsewhere in Judg. 2:10 D² (based on E² v.13), Josh. 24:16 E²; Isa. 1:4; 1 Kgs. 9:9; 2 Kgs. 21:22, both R²; Jer. 2:17-19; 2 Chr. 7:22, 21:10, 24:20-24, 28:6; cf. 'forsakers of Yahweh,' Isa. 1:28, 65:11; 'forsook Him' (Yahweh as obj.), 2 Chr. 13:10, 24:25; 'shall forsook Him,' 1 Chr. 28:9; 2 Chr. 15:2; 'His forsakers,' Ezr. 8:22; 'Thy forsakers,' Jer. 17:13 (both referring to Yahweh); 'ye (they) have forsaken Me' (Yahweh as speaker), Judg. 10:13 E²; 1 Kgs. 11:33; 2 Kgs. 21:2, both R²; Jer. 1:10, 5:19, 16:11; 2 Chr. 12:6, 34:25; 'ye (they) have forsaken Me' (source 3). Similar phrases are 'forsook to observe Yahweh,' Hos. 4:10; 'forsook the covenant of Yahweh,' Deut. 29:25 (source 3); Jer. 22:9; 'forsook the commandments of Yahweh,' 1 Kgs. 18:18 RD; 'forsook my Lord,' Jer. 9:13 (source 3).

(b) 'The Ba'als and the 'Ashtarts,' 1 Sam. 7:4 E² (obj. of 'put away').

'And the 'Ashtarts,' coupled with 'put away the foreign gods from your midst,' 1 Sam. 7:8 E².

'The Ba'als' alone, Judg. 8:32 R² (obj. of 'went a whoring after'), Hos. 2:13-17 (source 13), 11:2 (obj. of 'sacrificed to'), 1 Kgs. 18:18; Jer. 2:23, 9:14, 13:13 (in each case obj. of 'went after'); 2 Chr. 17:3, 24:7, 28:2, 33:3, 34:4.

3. 'And they forgat Yahweh their God,' Judg. 3:7 R², based on 1 Sam. 12:9 E².

'Forget Yahweh' occurs elsewhere, Deut. 6:12, 8:11.14.19; Jer. 3:21; Isa. 51:13; 'forgat (or forgattest) Me' (Yahweh as speaker), Hos. 2:13 (source 13), 13:6; Jer. 2:32, 13:25, 18:15; Ezek. 22:12, 23:25; 'forgotten Thee' (Yahweh as obj.), Ps. 44:11 (source 13).

4. 'And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel,' Judg. 2:14, 3:8, 10:7 R², based on 2:20 E². Elsewhere, Num. 25:8 E or J; 32:18 JE ?; 2 Kgs. 13:3 R².

'The anger of Yahweh was kindled' occurs again in Num. 11:10 J ?, 12:9 E, 32:10 JE ?; Deut. 29:27 (source 3); Josh. 7:1 R²; 2 Sam. 6:7 =1 Chr. 13:10; 2 Chr. 25:15; Ps. 106:40; cf. 'and Yahweh heard, and His anger was kindled,' Num. 11:1 E; 'and the anger of God was kindled,' Num. 22:22 J revised; 'and the anger of Yahweh (or my anger) shall be kindled,' Deut. 7:4, 11:17, 31:17; Josh. 23:16 R².

5. 'And He gave them into the hand of spoilers, and they spoiled them,' Judg. 2:14 R².* Cf. 2 Kgs. 17:20 R², 'and He gave them into the hand of spoilers.' 'Give into the hand' (of delivering up enemies; Yahweh as subj.) is found again in R², Judg. 6:1 (of Midian), 13:1 (of Philistines), and is frequent elsewhere both in pre- and post-Deut. literature.

* It is doubtful whether this phrase belongs to R². It may be later: cf. p. 55.
6. 'He sold them into the hand of,' Judg. 2:14, 3:8, 4:2, based on Judg. 10:7 E², 1 Sam. 12:9 E²; cf. Judg. 4:9 E. 'Sold them' (sc. 'to their enemies'; subj. 'their Rock,' = 'Yahweh'), Deut. 32:30.

7. 'Their enemies round about,' Judg. 2:14, 3:42 based on Judg. 10:2, 1 Sam. 12:9 E²; cf. Judg. 4:9 E. 'Sold them' (sc. 'to their enemies'; subj. 'their Rock,' = 'Yahweh'), Deut. 32:30.

8. 'And the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh,' Judg. (2:16) *, 3:5, 8:33 E², based on Judg. 10:10 E²; 'and your fathers cried unto Yahweh,' 1 Sam. 12:8 E²; 'and they cried unto Yahweh,' 1 Sam. 12:10 E²; Josh. 24:7 E, Ex. 14:10 E (source of preceding). Elsewhere, with Israel as subj., Ps. 107:6, 13, 19, 23; cf. 2 Ohr. 13:14.

9. 'Yahweh raised up judges,' Judg. 2:16 E², 2:18 D² (based on v. 16); 'Yahweh raised up a saviour,' Judg. 3:9 E². No close parallel. דנָּּנָּ is used, with Yahweh as subj., of raising up men to fill particular positions in Deut. 18:15,18 (a prophet), Josh. 5:7 E² (the sons of those who died in the wilderness), § 1 Sam. 2:35 (a faithful priest), 2 Sam. 7:1 = 1 Chr. 17:11 (thy seed as king), 1 Kgs. 11:14-23 (an adversary), 1 Kgs. 14:14 (a king), Am. 2:11 (prophets and Nazirites), Jer. 6:17 (watchmen), 23 (shepherds), 23:5 (a righteous sprout), 29:15 (prophets), 30:9 (a king), Ezek. 34:23 (a shepherd), Zech. 11:16 (id.).

10. 'Went a whoring after' (of intercourse with deities other than Yahweh), Judg. 2:17, 8:35 E², 8:37 Ex. 13:15,16 J, Deut. 31:16 (source?), Lev. 17:7, 20:5bis (both H), Ezek. 6:9, 20:1, 1 Chr. 5:20,4.

11. 'They turned aside quickly from the way,' Judg. 2:17 E². Cf. Ex. 32:5 E², source of Deut. 9:11,16,1.

12 (a) 'Was (were) subdued,' Judg. 3:30 (Moab), 8:28 (Midian), 11:38 (the children of 'Ammon), all R E², based on 1 Sam. 7:13 E² 'and the Philistines were subdued.' The verb (שָׁעַל) Niph'al is used elsewhere in a passive sense in 1 Chr. 20:4, 2 Chr. 13:18, Ps. 106:42. In other occurrences the sense is reflexive ('humble oneself').

(b) 'God subdued' (נָּעַל Hiph'il) Judg. 4:23 R E² (Jabin, king of Canaan). Cf. Deut. 9:8, 1 Chr. 17:10, 2 Chr. 28:19, Ps. 81:14 (¶10) ; with David as subj., 2 Sam. 8:1 = 1 Chr. 18:1.


As the result of these statistics, it appears that phrases Nos. 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 12 appear definitely to be modelled upon 1 Sam. 12 or other sections of E², or at least to be drawn from a similar source

* Restored here upon the analogy of parallel passages.
‡ With the variant spelling יָּשָׁנִים for יָּשָׁנִים 'that arose,' in place of יָּשָׁנִים.
§ Here, however, the context seems to demand יָּשָׁנִים 'that arose,' in place of יָּשָׁנִים.
¶ Cf. the characteristics of Hosea' given in Footnote ¶, p. xlv.
of inspiration; and Nos. 4, 7, 9, 11, 13, while too general to form the basis of any inference, at the same time fully fit in with the theory of E₂ influence. There remain Nos. 1 and 5, which, taken by themselves, may seem to support the theory of D influence. We observe, however, that No. 1, while frequent in Deut. and R in Kgs., is by no means the creation of the D school, as the occurrences in 1 Sam. and 2 Sam. show; while No. 5, which is doubtfully assigned to R², is paralleled merely by the single occurrence from R in Kgs., and no weight can be laid upon the connexion. Evidence thus surely indicates that the main editor of Judg. did his work under the influence of E₂ prior to the promulgation of D; such connexion with D as he exhibits being due to the fact that he contributes to the stream of prophetic thought which resulted ultimately in the latter work. Some traces of the work of a genuine Deutoronomic hand are to be found in the introductory section to Judg. (cf. 2 12·14; 13·18·19; 3 1a·3, marked as D²); but these are clearly distinct from, and later than, the work of R² (cf. p. 55).

It is clear that R², though the principal editor of Judg. as we know the book, was not the first editor who brought together the old narratives of J and E and combined them into a continuous whole. The story of Abimelech, ch. 9 1-27, which was known to R² and omitted by him from his work as alien to his purpose, was already a composite narrative, containing elements from the two ancient sources (cf. pp. 267 f.); and the same is true at any rate of the story of Micah and the Danites, chs. 17-18, which undoubtedly belonged to the original history of the period of the Judges, though it was not utilized by R². We must conclude, therefore, that there existed a composite history of the Judges prior to the work of R²; and since we have found reason to believe that the double strand of ancient narrative in Judg. is of a piece with JE in the Hexateuch (cf. § 3), it is natural to assume that J and E in Judg. were first brought together as part of a continuous history of the origins of Israel by the redactor of the same sources in the Hexateuch, R. The handiwork of this redactor is also to be traced in the combination of the two strands in 1 Sam. 1-12, which doubtless originally formed the concluding part of the history of the period of the Judges.

Traces of R, as we find them in Judg., are for the most part harmonistic merely, * and he does not seem to have been dominated by any definite pragmatic purpose akin to that of R². Whether he set the narratives of individual Judges in a stereotyped framework is doubtful. It may be noticed, however, that the closing formula in the narratives of Jephthah (12 7a) and Samson (16 31b), 'And he judged Israel x years,' occurs in the same form at the close of the judgeship of Eli, 1 Sam. 4 36b (cf. also of Samuel, 1 Sam. 7 15), and is therefore presumably prior to R² (whose regular concluding formula is 'and the land had rest x years'); while, on the other

* Cf. references in Index to R² under 'Redactors of Judges.'
hand, the fact that the statement generalizes the scope of the Judges' influence (over Israel, and not merely over one or more tribes) is an indication that it is later than the old narratives themselves, and therefore in all probability redactional.*

The date of the redaction of Judg. can only be approximately determined. E2, which exhibits strongly the influence of Hosea, must be subsequent to that prophet, who flourished cir. B.C. 750-735, but not necessarily very long subsequent. It is reasonable to suppose that RJE may have done his work of combining J and E (including E2) cir. B.C. 700 or a little later. R^2 may then be placed cir. B.C. 650. The book took its final form at the hands of the editor (or school of editors) imbued with the priestly conceptions of post-exilic times, for whose work we use the symbol R*. The extent of R*'s work has been sufficiently indicated in the final paragraph of § 2. Cf. also references in the Index under 'Redactors of Judges.'

§ 5. Chronology.

In attempting to estimate the length of the period covered by the Book of Judg., we turn naturally to examine the chronological data supplied by the editors, which may seem at first sight to afford us an exact basis for our calculations. Unfortunately, however, this is not the case.

In 1 Kgs. 6:1 we find a statement from the hand of the priestly reviser of the book † that the period from the Exodus until the building of the Temple in the fourth year of Solomon was 480 years. Addition of the data which we possess for this period gives the following result:—

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* A difference is to be discerned in the use of šophā́h 'to judge,' šophā́h 'judge' by R^2 and RJE. For R^2 a 'judge' is so termed as a vindicator or deliverer (cf. ch. 2:16, 17, 18, 3:10); but in the passages above noticed which we assign to RJE 'to judge' means simply to exercise the judicial functions of a magistrate or ruler. This latter usage is also found in the mention of the periods covered by the minor Judges (ch. 10:23, 12:9, 11:14), where R^2 seems to have copied the formula of RJE, since it is scarcely possible that the brief notices of these Judges, which belongs to the post-exilic school of thought, should have existed in RJE's Book of Judges (cf. pp. 289 f.). We assign to R^2 the notice of ch. 15:20, which states that Samson 'judged Israel . . . twenty years'; but this simply means that R^2, when he deliberately rejected the Samson-stories which now stand in ch. 16, concluded his narrative with R^2's formula which we find in ch. 16:310.

† Evidence is conclusive that the verse in question belongs to the latest additions to Kings. Cf. NHTK, pp. 58f.
Here we have a total of 534 years, exclusive of three periods of unstated length, representing the domination of Joshua's, Samuel, and Saul.

As regards the first of these indefinite periods—we find that, at the beginning of the wilderness-wanderings, Joshua first appears in the old narrative of E, Ex. 17 8 ff., as the leader of Israel in the battle with the Amalekites at Rephidim, and subsequently, in the same E narrative, as Moses' attendant (cf. Ex. 24 13, 32 17, 33 11), being described in 33 11 by the Hebrew term na‘ar which can hardly denote more than a youth approaching man's estate. If we are justified in combining these two representations—a warrior, and yet a very young man—we may picture him as about 20 years old at the time of the Exodus; and adding to this the 40 years of the wanderings, we get an approximate 60 years; which, subtracted from his age at his death, 110 years (Josh. 24 23 = Judg. 28 E), gives 50 years as the period of his leadership in the conquest of Canaan. According to ch. 2 7,10, however, a further period of indefinite length has to be assumed between the death of Joshua and the oppression of Cushan-rishathaim; since we are here informed that Israel remained faithful all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, and apostasy only began after the death of the latter.

The length of Samuel's judgeship must have been considerable. According to 1 Sam. 7 15, 'he judged Israel all the days of his life'; and it was not until he was an old man that he appointed his sons in his place, and their mismanagement of affairs led to the demand for a king (1 Sam. 8 1 ff., probably E2). We have no data, however,
for forming an approximate estimate of the duration of this judgeship; and, similarly, we are unable to arrive at the length of Saul's reign by any reference, direct or indirect, in the O.T. Such a note of time was desiderated by the scribe who added the gloss which stands in 1 Sam. 13:1, framed upon the analogy of the recurring formula in Kgs.:—'Saul was \( x \) years old when he began to reign, and he reigned \( y \) years over Israel.'*

If we add 50 years for Joshua's judgeship to the 534 years, the result is 584 years, without reckoning the two (or, if we take account of ch. 2:7-10, three) periods of undetermined length, which, upon the lowest computation, can scarcely have amounted together to much less than 50 or 60 years.† This is far too long to have formed the basis for the calculation of 480 years for the period given in 1 Kgs. 6:1. Yet it is probable that the author of this late addition to Kgs. had precisely the same data as we now possess.

Thus Nöldeke (Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T., 1869, pp. 173 ff.) supposes that the calculator followed the oriental practice of ignoring periods of oppression and usurpation, and so cut out of his reckoning the periods during which Israel is said to have served Cushan-rish'athaim, 'Eglon, Jabin, Midian, 'Ammon, the Philistines, and the reign of Abimelech—in all a total of 114 years.§ Subtracting this from the 534, and allowing 40 years (evenly or unevenly divided) for Joshua and Saul, and 20 for Samuel, Nöldeke reaches the total of 480 years.

Moore (Comm. xli. f.) agrees with Nöldeke in his omissions; but differs in thinking that, for the Judaean author of the chronology, the rule of Saul, like that of Abimelech, was regarded as illegitimate and so not reckoned; and that for 'Eli's judgeship we should follow \( \Theta \) rather than \( \Lambda \), and read 20 years and not 40 years. Then, upon the supposition that Joshua's life fell into three periods

* The formula as it stands in \( \Theta \) is simply a skeleton, both of the requisite numbers being omitted, as in the rendering given above. The word \( \text{ירשנ} \) is probably corrupt ditography of the following \( \text{דנש} \) 'years'; and we are scarcely justified in rendering '\( x \) and two years,' since this would require \( \text{ירשנ} \) \( \text{דנש} \).

† The history of 'Eli's family during the periods of Samuel and Saul requires a considerable lapse of time. The death of 'Eli synchronizes with the death of his son Phinehas in the battle of Aphek (1 Sam. 4). Since Phinehas was still an able-bodied man, his son Ahijah must have been a young man at most at this date. Yet according to 1 Sam. 14:5, it is Ahijah's son Ahijah (apparently = Ahimelech of ch. 22:11) who is priest in the early or middle part of Saul's reign; and at the slaughter of the priests of Nob, Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech and grandson of Ahijah, escapes to David carrying the Ephod with him, and is old enough to exercise the priestly office on David's behalf by manipulation of the sacred lot.

§ Wellh. (Prolegomena, p. 230) has noted the striking fact that, after making the necessary assumption that the 40 years of Philistine domination coincide with the judgeship of 'Eli, and include that of Samson, the total of the remaining foreign dominations, viz., 71 years, nearly coincides with the total assigned to the minor Judges, viz., 70 years; and he infers that the latter were intended to take the place of the former in the scheme of reckoning.
of 30+40+40 years, he assigns 40 years for the conquest of Canaan under Joshua; and gives 40 years for Samuel’s judgeship on the ground of the importance of his work, and the fact that he is represented as an old man when he died, and is said to have ‘judged Israel all the days of his life.’ This produces the required total of 480 years.

These and similar calculations can only, however, possess a relative importance; since it is evident that the author of the statement in 1 Kgs. 6:1 must have been employing an artificial method of reckoning. We know that the Exodus probably took place under Mineptah, the successor of Ramesses II. (cf. p. civ); and, on the other hand, we are able, by aid of Assyrian chronology, to determine approximately the date of Solomon’s accession.* These data force upon us the conclusion that the period which we are considering cannot really have occupied much more than 250 years; or possibly, if the Exodus took place not under Mineptah, but subsequently to his death, an even shorter space of time.

Evidence also leads us to conclude that the instances of the oppression of the Israelites by various foreign races, and of deliverance and respite effected by the Judges, were in most, if not in all, cases, local rather than general. Thus, supposing that the terms of years mentioned are based upon accurate information, it is highly probable that they not infrequently coincide with or overlap one another. Thus, e.g., the south Palestinian tribes may have been suffering from the oppression of the Philistines while the east Jordan tribes were exposed to the encroachments of the ‘Ammonites. The period

* Mineptah’s reign is dated by Petrie n.c. 1234-1214, and by Breasted n.c. 1225-1215. Solomon’s accession must be placed cir. B.C. 970. This latter date is obtained by back-reckoning from the earliest O.T. date fixed by Assyrian chronology, viz. B.C. 854, the date of Ahab’s presence at the battle of Karkar in alliance with Bir-Idri of Damascus, the Biblical Ben-Hadad II. Ahab is most likely to have been allied with Ben-Hadad at the end of his reign, when, as we are informed by 1 Kgs. 22:1, after the treaty concluded between the two kings as related in 1 Kgs. 20:33, ‘there continued three years without war between Aram and Israel.’ It may be plausibly assumed that this period of three years was really less. 1 Kgs. 22:2 states that ‘in the third year’ Ahab determined to recover by force of arms from Ben-Hadad the city of Ramah of Gilead which he had failed to cede in accordance with his compact. It is not unlikely that the first of the three years as reckoned was really the remnant of the year which elapsed after the treaty of 20:33; so that there remains only one full year for the working of the alliance in the form of a combined resistance to Assyria. Now Ahab reigned 22 years according to the Biblical reckoning; therefore 854 must have been his 21st year, 853 according to the predating method (i.e. the reckoning of the still unexpired portion of the year in which a king came to the throne as his first reigning year) being his 22nd year and also the 1st year of Ahaziah. Back-reckoning from B.C. 854 according to the chronology of 1 Kgs., with reduction of the length of each reign by one year to allow for predating (which comparison of the synchronisms of the reigns of the two kingdoms proves to have been the historian’s method of reckoning) gives B.C. 931 for the accession of Jerobo’am and Rehobo’am, and B.C. 970 for the accession of Solomon whose reign is given as lasting 40 years.
of the Philistine oppression extended not merely over the judgeship of Samson, but also over that of Eli; and, at any rate partially, into the periods of Samuel and Saul. Possibly Samson and Eli may have been contemporaries. This is a consideration which by itself suggests to us the futility of any attempt to construct a chronology of the period upon the evidence which we possess.

But are the data given in the Biblical sources to be relied upon as defining with accuracy the various periods to which they are referred? The fact can scarcely escape notice that the number 40 or its multiple occurs with singular frequency. Thus, 40 years represents the length of the wilderness-wanderings, of the peace enjoyed after the victories of Othniel, Deborah, and Gideon, of the Philistine oppression, of Eli's judgeship, and of the reigns of David and Solomon. Ehud's judgeship occupies twice 40 years, and that of Samson half 40. This fact suggests to us that 40 years may be employed as a round number, representing approximately the length of a generation. Bearing this in mind, we notice that the 480 years of 1 Kgs. 6 is also a multiple of 40, viz. 40 x 12, i.e. twelve generations. That twelve generations were supposed, as a matter of fact, to cover the period in question appears from the genealogy of Aaron and his successors in 1 Chr. 6:3-10 (20:5-26), where twelve names are given between Eleazar the son of Aaron and Azariah, who is specified as 'he that executed the priest's office in the House that Solomon built in Jerusalem.' These twelve generations might naturally be reckoned as follows: (1) Moses, (2) Joshua, (3) Othniel, (4) Ehud, (5) Barak, (6) Gideon, (7) Jephthah, (8) Samson, (9) Eli, (10) Samuel, (11) Saul, (12) David, these being the twelve national leaders who were specifically divinely-appointed; and that this scheme—or something like it—was in the mind of the chronologist is suggested by the facts that six of these generations (viz. 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 12) are actually reckoned as 40 years, and a seventh, viz. Joshua, may also have been so reckoned if we suppose that his 110 years fell into periods of 30+40+40 years. Such a scheme, however, if it was ever fully worked out, may have been subsequently vitiated by various influences, e.g. the desire to exclude Saul as illegitimate, and the raising of the number of Judges within the Book of Judges to twelve by the addition of the minor Judges in an attempt to find representatives for each of the twelve tribes of Israel.

This discussion may suffice to illustrate the hopelessness of any attempt to construct a chronology of our period from the Biblical sources available. We can only, as we have already noticed, conjecture that the total length of the period from the Exodus to the fourth year of Solomon was approximately 250 years; but for the formation of a chronological scheme within this period, or even for a conjectural estimate of the length of that portion of it which is covered by the Book of Judges, we are absolutely without data.
§ 6: External information bearing on the period of Judges.

Our knowledge of the history of Canaan at this period, as derived from extra-Biblical sources, is for the most part such as can be drawn by inference from evidence which properly concerns an earlier period.

We possess no certain evidence as to the earliest settlement of Semitic peoples in Canaan. The earliest Semites of whom we have authentic knowledge in Babylonia were settled in Akkad in the north. The recently published dynastic lists from Nippur prove the existence of an early tradition relating to a succession of dynasties in Babylonia from post-diluvial times, which had their seats at Kiš, Erech, Ur, Awan, and other cities.* There is obviously a large element of myth in the tradition; † but, if we may judge from the royal names that are preserved, it would seem that the earliest rulers of Kiš, Erech, and Ur were non-Semitic. Unfortunately, the lists are too fragmentary to admit of any estimate of the date at which Semites made their appearance in Babylonia. We first find them enjoying full political power in the north, under the famous Semitic dynasty of Akkad, which was founded by Šarru-kin or Sargon I.,§ around whose name a number of traditions clustered in later times. It is related that "he subdued the country of the West (sun-setting) in its full extent," i.e. the Mediterranean sea-board including Canaan; and this tradition has now been proved to have an authentic basis.¶ Other famous rulers of the


† In addition to the occurrence of the names of gods and demigods among the early rulers, the chronological calculations of the early scribes of Nisin, who compiled the lists in the twenty-second century B.C., present a striking resemblance to the chronological system of Berossus with its mythical and semi-mythical dynasties: cf. King, *Bab.* p. 114, n. 1; pp. 116 f., n. 8.

§ The name Sargon is the Biblical form (used in Isa. 20:1 of the Assyrian king of the 8th century B.C.) of the Babylonian name Šarru-ukin or Šarru-kin. A not quite complete list of the early Semitic rulers of Akkad (and of other Babylonian dynasties) was published by Scheil, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1911 (Oct.), pp. 606 ff., and *Revue d'Assyr.*, ix. p. 69. This document proves the correctness of the Neo-Babylonian tradition that Šarru-kin, or Sargon, was the founder of the Dynasty of Akkad. It used to be assumed that he and two other early Semitic rulers were kings of Kiš, on the strength of the title šar Kiš which they bear in their inscriptions; but it is now clear that this should always be read šar kiššati, 'king of the world,' a title to which they laid claim in virtue of their power as kings of the dynasty of Akkad (cf. King, *Britannica Year-Book*, 1913, pp. 256 ff.). The powerful king Šar-Gani-šarri (or Šar-Gali-šarri), with whom Sargon I. used to be identified, was not the founder, but a later ruler, of the Dynasty of Akkad.


†† Cf. the highly important series of inscriptions of kings of Agade (Akkad) recently published by Poebel (op. cit. ch. vi.). In one of these Sargon, in ascribing his conquests to the god Enlil, says, 'and he gave him the upper land, Mari, Yarmut, and
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same dynasty were Naram-Sin,* and Šar-Ganišarri, who was probably his grandson. We have contemporary evidence of the activity of the latter in Amurru or the West-land.†

While Akkad in the north of Babylonia was thus dominated by Semites, Sumer in the south was still occupied by the people who are known to us, from their habitat, as Sumerians; a non-Semitic race possessing an advanced civilization, to which the Semites who succeeded them owed an incalculable debt. The date at which the Semites gained the ascendancy in Akkad is a matter of uncertainty. It may have been at some time in the fourth millennium B.C.; and was at any rate not later than the earlier decades of the third millennium.§

The early common home of the Semites, prior to their dispersion throughout western Asia, was probably central Arabia;‖ and the fact that the first Semites who are known to us as occupying Babylonia are found to be settled in the north and not in the south, lends colour to the theory that they may represent a wave of Semitic immigration into Babylonia which first entered the country not from the south but from the north-west.¶ If this was so, these Semites, after quitting their early home, may have first traversed Canaan and northern Syria, leaving in all probability settlements

Ibla, as far as the cedar-forest and the silver mountains. Unto Šarru-kin, the king, Enlil did not give an adversary ‘(pp. 177 ff.). Here ‘the upper land’ is the Westland, so-called, apparently, as reached by going up the Euphrates. Poebel adduces reasons for taking ‘the cedar-forest’ to be the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and ‘the silver mountains’ the Taurus (cf. pp. 222 ff.).

* According to the Neo-Babylonian tradition, Naram-Sin was the son of Sargon. This is possible; but it may be noted that two other members of the house probably occupied the throne between Sargon and Naram-Sin; and if so, eighty or ninety years separated Naram-Sin’s accession from that of his father.

† A tablet of accounts from Tello is dated ‘in the year in which Šar-Ganišarri conquered Amurru in Basar.’ Cf. King, Sum. and Akk. p. 225.

§ The date which was formerly accepted by scholars is that which is given by Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (B.C. 550), who states that, when digging in the foundations of the temple of the sun-god at Sippar, he discovered the foundation-memorial which had been laid by Naram-Sin 3200 years previously (for the inscription, cf. KB. iii. 2, pp. 102 ff.). This would place Naram-Sin’s date B.C. 8710.

Modern investigation, however, has tended to discredit Nabonidus’ statement; and though the reduction of a thousand years or more which at one time was suggested is doubtless too drastic (cf. the discussion in Rogers, HBA. i. pp. 494 ff.), it is quite possible that Nabonidus’ calculation is a good deal too high (resulting, it may be, in part from the reckoning of early contemporaneous dynasties as though they were consecutive). Indeed, the evidence of the recently-discovered dynastic lists has been interpreted by King as supporting the view which would place Sargon’s accession not so very much before the end of the fourth millennium B.C. But, in the present very partial state of excavation in Babylonia, it is possible that we may still be totally uninformed with regard to a period of considerable length in these early times.

‖ For a summary of the views which have been put forward on this subject, and the authorities who support them, cf. Barton, Semitic Origins, pp. 1 ff.; Rogers, HBA. i. pp. 452 ff.

in these districts in their wake; or they may have come up from Arabia along the western bank of the Euphrates, where in later times we find settlements of Aramaeans, and may have left the further west, including Canaan, wholly untouched.*

Be this as it may, we cannot point to a period, within the range of our historical knowledge, when Canaan was unoccupied by a Semitic population. Excavation of ancient sites in Palestine has revealed the fact that the earliest inhabitants were neolithic cave-dwellers who burned their dead, and who were therefore probably non-Semitic; ‡ but how long this race continued to occupy the country cannot be estimated with any approach to certainty.§

We stand on surer ground in speaking of a later wave of Semitic migration northwards and westwards from Arabia, which founded

* Evidence is lacking in justification of any definite theory as to the approximate date of the earliest migrations of the Semites northward and westward. The use of the Semitic Babylonian language in the inscriptions of the early rulers of Akkad implies the lapse of a period of indefinite length (probably many centuries) since the first departure of their ancestors from Arabia, to allow for the development of this language. We may contrast, in this respect, the later immigration into Babylonia of the 'Amorites' who founded the First Dynasty of Babylon (cf. pp. lviii ff.); the West Semitic language spoken by these immigrants (as evidenced by their proper names), with its Arabian affinities, implying a much less remote separation from the parent-stock. An interesting point in connexion with the earliest settlement of Semites in Babylonia, is the fact that the closely shaven Sumerians always represent their deities as bearded, and therefore, apparently, as Semites (cf. figures in King, Sum. and Akk. pp. 47 ff.; Hall, NE. plate xiv. p. 204). The significance of this fact is as yet unelucidated; but the theory (put forward by Ed. Meyer, Semiten und Sumerier; Abhandl. d. k. p. Akad., 1906) is somewhat plausible that these Sumerian deities may have been Semitic in origin, and that there may therefore have been a Semitic population in Babylonia even prior to the coming of the Sumerians. This theory is criticized by King, Sum. and Akk. pp. 47 ff.; and favoured by Jastrow, Heb. and Bab. Traditions, pp. 3 f. A further fact which admits of no doubt is the ultimate linguistic connexion between Sumerian and many of the primitive biliterals which can be proved to underlie Semitic triliteral roots (cf. Ball, Semitic and Sumerian in Hilprecht Anniversary Volume; Shumer and Sumer in Proceedings of the British Academy, 1915). This must carry back the connexion between Sumerians and Semites to a hoary antiquity; but the study of the subject is not at present sufficiently advanced to admit of any theory in explanation.

‡ Cf. Vincent, Canaan, pp. 78 ff., 208 ff.

§ The primitive inhabitants of the hill-country of Se'ir, to the south of Canaan, who were dispossessed by the children of Esau, are called Hôrîm in Deut. 2:12.22 (cf. Gen. 14:6, 26:20-30); and the view has frequently been advocated that this name is connected with Heb. hêr 'hole,' and denotes 'Trogloidytes' or 'cave-dwellers'; but this is highly precarious. More probably Hôrîm is to be connected with the name Haru, which was a designation applied by the Egyptians to a portion of southern Palestine. Cf. Müller, A.E. pp. 137, 148 ff., 240; Jensen, Z.A. x. pp. 332 f., 346 f.; Hommel, AHT. p. 264, n 2; Paton, Syria and Palestine, p. 37; Meyer, IN. pp. 330 f. GA. 1. 2, p. 600; Kit., GVI. 2 i. p. 36; Lehmann-Haupt, Israel, p. 37, al. Connexion of Hôrîm and Haru with Harâi=Aryans, proposed by Winckler, MDOG. xxxv. pp. 49 ff., and adopted by Gemoll, Grundsteine zur Geschichte Israels, p. 17, is very improbable. Cf. Meyer, GA. 2. 1. 2, p. 601; Kit., GVI. 2 i. pp. 37 f. The Horite genealogies in Gen. 36:20-30 consist of Semitic names.
a dynasty at Babylon, and was also responsible for peopling the region to the west of the Euphrates, including the Mediterranean sea-board, with a race who were doubtless the ancestors of the Amorites of Biblical times.*

The First Babylonian Dynasty, which probably lasted from cir. B.C. 2225 to 1926,† consisted of eleven kings. The fourth and fifth of these kings bear good Semitic Babylonian names, Apil-Sin ('son of Sin,' the moon-god) and Sin-muballit ('Sin gives life'); but the remaining names are foreign, and present close analogies to Arabic and Hebrew. Thus three of them, Hammurabi or Ammurabi, Ammiditana, and Ammizaduga, contain the element Ammu or Ammi which is familiar to us from its occurrence in Arabic and Hebrew. Cases of its occurrence in Hebrew proper names are 'Ammi'el, 'Ammihud, 'Ammizabad, 'AmmiNab, 'Ammishaddai, and perhaps 'Amram. The meaning of this 'amm in Arabic is 'paternal uncle'; in Hebrew perhaps more generally 'kinsman' (on the father's side), since the term is used in the plural in the expression 'and he was gathered to his kinsmen,' Gen. 25 8, al.§

If proof were needed that these Ammi-names were foreign to the Babylonians, it would be found in the fact that a list exists in which a Babylonian scribe has explained the names Hammurabi and Ammizaduga by what seemed to him to be their Babylonian equivalents; the former by Kimli rapaššum, 'a widely-extended kindred,'

* We say 'Amorites' because they are thus described ('men of the land of Amurru') by the Babylonians (cf. p. lx); but the use of this term does not imply the holding of any theory as to a racial distinction between 'Amorites' and 'Canaanites' (such e.g. as that the Canaanites were in origin the earliest Semitic settlers in Syria-Palestine, prior to the coming of the Amorites). Since the name Amurru applied to Syria-Palestine is certainly older than the flowing into this region of the Semitic wave of which we are speaking (cf. Böhl, KH. p. 33), the name 'Amorite' would be equally suitable to the (assumed) earlier Semitic population inhabiting it. We are wholly in the dark as to the original racial distinction (if such existed) between Canaanite and Amorite; and speculations on the subject are of the nature of guess-work pure and simple. On the geographical and literary distinctions in the usage of the two terms, cf. p. 3 (O.T.), p. 41 (extra-Biblical).

† This reckoning results from King's discovery that the so-called 'Second' Babylonian Dynasty (of 'the Country of the Sea,' i.e. Lower Babylon), which lasted three hundred and sixty-eight years, was partly contemporary with the First Dynasty and partly with the Third (Kaššite) Dynasty: cf. Chron. i. pp. 93-113. Previously, the three dynasties had been assumed to have been successive, and the beginning of the First Dynasty was placed cir. B.C. 2440. In view of this new evidence, King assumed, as the most probable conclusion, that the Third Dynasty immediately succeeded the First (cf. op. cit. pp. 136 f.; followed by Meyer, GA. 2 i. ii. pp. 341 ff.; Hall, NE. pp. 28, 192 ff.), and so dated the First Dynasty B.C. 2060 to 1761. Now, however, in the light of further evidence, he concludes (as already conjectured by Ungnad, ZDMG. lxi. pp. 714 ff., and Thureau-Dangin, ZA. xxi. pp. 176 ff.) that the Second Dynasty, though partly contemporary with the First and the Third, yet dominated Babylonia for a period of about one hundred and sixty years. Cf. the full chronological discussion in Bab. ch. iii.

and the latter by *Kimtum kettum* ‘a just kindred.* More probably the names really contain a predicative statement:—*Hammurabi*, ‘the (divine) kinsman is great,’ *Ammizzaduga*, ‘the (divine) kinsman is just.’ Both names, so far as the form is concerned, might have occurred in Hebrew, the former as ‘Ammirab or ‘Amrab, the latter as ‘Ammisadok. †

Space forbids our examining in detail the remaining names of this dynasty; but we may notice in passing that *Abi-eshu’* (the name of the eighth king) is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew *Abishua*, and that in the seventh name *Samsu-iluna*, ‘Samsu is our god,’ we have the Arabic form of the suffix of the 1st plural in *iluna*, the Babylonian form being *iluni*. The second name *Sumula-ilu*, is only satisfactorily to be explained from Arabic, the *la*, as in Arabic, giving emphasis to the predicative statement—*‘The Name (κατ’ ξοχη) indeed is god.’*

In addition to the evidence afforded by these king-names, we have abundant evidence in the proper names contained in the documents belonging to this dynastic period, which proves the influx into Babylonia of a very large foreign element.§ Many of these display the same characteristics as we have found in the king-names—a close resemblance to Hebrew, and more particularly to Arabic; especially to the forms of southern Arabic which are known to us from inscriptions (Minaean and Sabaean).

The question which we now have to ask is, Who were these foreign immigrants, and from what region did they enter Babylonia? There exists a tablet belonging to the reign of *Zabum* (the third king of the dynasty) which deals with a dispute between two contending parties about a certain piece of property. In this document the names are of the characteristically foreign type of which we have been speaking, and they are described as ‘men as well as women, children of Amurru’ (*isti zikarim adi sinirtschaft mur A-murrum*). ‡ The Babylonian name *Amurru* (=Sumerian MAR.TU, ‘West-land’) was applied by the Babylonians to the whole region west of the Euphrates including Syria and Palestine, and bounded on the west by the Mediterranean (cf. *Addit. note*, p. 41). We infer, therefore, that the First Babylonian Dynasty was founded by foreign conquerors from Amurru, the country to the west of the Euphrates, who entered Babylonia probably from the north-west, just as the earlier wave of Semitic immigration appears to have

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*Cf. v. R. 44, col. 1, ll. 21, 22.*

† * firma* is known as a South Arabian name: cf. Ranke, *Early Bab. Personal Names*, p. 27. According to Weber, the name * firma* occurs in a South Arabian inscription: cf. *OLZ.* x. (1907), 146 ff.; *MVAG.*, 1907, 2, pp. 95 ff.


done. The presence of two Babylonian names among the foreign names of the other kings is no doubt due to the fact that the immigrant settlers gradually tended to assimilate their language and civilization to the superior civilization into the midst of which they entered.

The language spoken by these immigrants, which we have seen to be illustrated by their proper names, has been variously described

* It is worth while here to call attention to the later prevalence and persistency of the Semitic Babylonian language as proof of the deep-seated influence of the first Semitic settlement; just as we have already (p. lvii, footnote *) called attention to the development of this language as we first know it (in the inscriptions of the early rulers of Akkad), as proof of the long-prior antiquity of the separation of this branch of Semites from the parent-stock. Neither of these facts, it may be thought, has received sufficient attention; and they are most strikingly overlooked by Myres in The Dawn of History—a little book which, for all its imaginative power and grace of style, is somewhat superficial and unreliable when dealing with facts as they concern Sumerians and Semites (chaps. 4 and 5). It is not possible to discover with certainty the period of emigration from Arabia (p. 106) of the first Semitic wave which entered Babylonia; such records as we possess of the dynasty of Akkad do not suggest a recent occupation of the country, nor does it appear that Sargon of Akkad was leader of a horde of 'Mesopotamian nomads' (p. 111). The remarks (p. 106) as to the modifications which produced the different Semitic languages are somewhat obscure, but they certainly seem to suggest that these modifications took place in the course of ages at the fountainhead, i.e. ex hypothesi in central Arabia (it is difficult to attach any other meaning to the statements that 'the intervals between the successive Semitic migrations from Arabia have been sufficient to ensure that the characteristics of "Semitic" speech, which is common to all emigrants from Arabia, should have had time to alter slightly,' and that 'these successive groups of dialects retained their peculiarities—and if anything added to them—after their separation from the parent language'), while each offshoot from the parent-stock as it were registered and retained the particular stage of linguistic development which had been reached at the date of its breaking off, with such later modifications as are implied by the parenthesis, 'and, if anything, added to them.' If this statement were at all true to fact, then Arabic (whether we call it the latest offshoot or the residuary representative of the parent-language) ought to exhibit the most advanced condition of phonetic decay—whereas it is a commonplace that the reverse is true, and that in many respects this language exhibits the most primitive formations. Clearly the truth is that the parent-stock, owing to its comparative immunity from outside influences ensured by the monotony of the desert, remained in a relatively unmodified condition through incalculable ages; whereas the offshoots, so soon as through migration they became subject to such influences, underwent a more or less rapid modification. This is the reason why (as already noted, p. lvii, footnote *) we must conclude that the Semitic Babylonian of the dynasty of Akkad, which is substantially the Semitic Babylonian of later times, indicates that the users of the language, when we first meet with them, had long been separated from the parent-stock; whereas the language of the Western Semites who founded the First Dynasty of Babylon (as evidenced by their proper names; cf. pp. lviii f.), which exhibits striking resemblances to South Arabian, as known to us some 1500 years and more later, indicates that this branch of Semites, when they come into the light of history, must have left the common home comparatively recently. The influence of environment upon a Semitic language is most strikingly illustrated by Aramaic, which from the accident of its position has experienced the most rapid development (or decay), and has been most receptive of external influences. Lastly, Myres' statement that
as South Arabian, Canaanite, Amorite, or West Semitic. Of these titles, the two latter are no doubt the most suitable.*

It cannot be doubted that this Amorite or West Semitic tongue was the ancestor of the Hebrew language of later times, which, as is well known, was not the speech of the Israelites only, nor shared by them only with other 'Hebrew' races, which are represented in Genesis as closely related to them—e.g. the Moabites, whom we know from Mesha's inscription (cir. B.C. 850), to have spoken a language which only differed dialectically from the Hebrew of the Old Testament; but, as is apparent from the 'Canaanite glosses' of the Tell el-Amarna Letters to which we shall shortly refer, and from the Phoenician inscriptions of much later times, was but one form of the common language of at least the southern portion of the Mediterranean sea-board.† This is a fact which seems to be recognized in Isa. 19 18, where the Hebrew language is designated as 'the language (lit. "lip") of Canaan.'

There is evidence which suggests—if it does not certainly prove—that from the time of Hammurabi onwards the First Babylonian Dynasty ruled not only over Babylonia, but also over Amurru.§ The whole of Sin-muballit's reign and a great part of that of Hammurabi were occupied with a long struggle with the Elamites for the possession of southern Babylonia.|| Kudur-Mabuk, king of western Elam (Emutbal), having conquered the city of Larsa, installed his sons, Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin, successively as its rulers; and the power of Elam was gradually extended over the neighbouring city-states until it embraced eventually the whole of southern and central Babylonia. It was not until Hammurabi's thirtieth year that he was able to effect a turn in the tide; but his success was then so decisive that he not only captured Larsa but even invaded the land of Emutbal and defeated the Elamites upon their own ground. Now we know that the Elamite Kudur-Mabuk styled himself ADDA of Amurru, ¶ just as he styled himself ADDA of Emutbal. Precisely how much the claim to this title implied we are unable to affirm; but, however much or little of an historical element we may find in the much-debated ch. 14 of Gen., it can

* 'Amorite' (or more correctly 'Amurrite': cf. p. 168) is a proper designation of the language of Amurru, as also of its people.

† That Aramaic, which, as known to us from the close of the ninth century B.C. and onwards, was the speech of the Semitic races inhabiting the more northerly portion of the Mediterranean sea-board (north and north-east of the Lebanons) was also at an earlier period merely a dialectical form of the language of Amurru, is suggested in the discussion of Addit. Note, pp. 173 ff.

§ Cf., on this question, Winckler, A.F. i. pp. 143-152.

|| Cf. the detailed account given by King, Bab. pp. 150 ff.

¶ Cf. i. R. 2, No. 3; CT. xxi. 33; Rogers, CP. pp. 247 f.
INTRODUCTION

hardly be denied that it affords ground for the assumption that Amurru, even as far south as south-eastern Canaan, was at one time under the suzerainty of Elam and subject to a yearly tribute. After Hammurabi's successes and the consolidation of his power, we find him claiming a like suzerainty over Amurru. The Diarberk-stele, which bears a portrait of him, describes him as 'King of Amurru' without any further title. Ammiditana, a subsequent king of the same dynasty, is likewise termed 'King of the land of Amurru.' Hammurabi was not merely a conqueror, but in the best sense an organizer and ruler; and it is probable that any region over which he claimed the title of 'king' was not a mere sphere for occasional razzias aimed at the collection of booty and tribute, but would experience, at least to some extent, the benefits of his good government and civilizing influence.

* The name of Chedorlaomer (Kudur-Lagamar), who is represented as leader of the confederation, is genuinely Elamite in formation, though the bearer of it is otherwise unknown (on the supposed discovery of the name, cf. King, Hammurabi, i. pp. liv ff.). The name of the goddess Lagamal occurs fairly frequently in proper names on contract-tablets of the First Dynasty period (so several times on tablets in the library of St. John's College, Oxford; cf. also Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe, No. 249; Beitrdige zur Assyry. vi. 5, p. 96). 'Amraphel, King of Shin'ar' is generally accepted as Hammurabi. 'Arioch, King of Ellasar' may be Warad-Sin of Larsa, since Warad-Sin might be represented in Sumerian form by E.R.A.G.U (cf., however, King, Hammurabi, i. pp. xlf.). 'Tid'al, king of peoples' (Heb. goyim), may have been a Hittite chieftain. His name has been plausibly connected with Dudbalia, a name which is borne in later times by one of the last rulers of the Hittite empire (cf. Sayce's note in Garstang, Hittites, p. 324, n*). The term goyim may represent the Bab. umman Manda, i.e. semi-barbarian hordes from the north. On the historical probability of such an alliance as is pictured, cf. King, Bab. p. 159; Rogers, HBA. ii. pp. 83 ff.; Skinner, Genesis (ICC), pp. 257 ff. The Larsa Dynastic list recently published by Clay (Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection, 1915, pp. 30 ff.), seems to prove that Warad-Sin was considerably anterior to Hammurabi.

† Cf. Winckler, A.F. i. pp. 144-146; King, Hammurabi, pp. 195 ff., 207 ff.; Jeremias, OTLAE. i. p. 322; Bohl, KH. p. 35.

§ Against the view of Hogarth, The Ancient East, pp. 24 ff.

- The list of cities mentioned in the prologue to Hammurabi's Code enables us to form an estimate of the extent of his empire during the latter years of his reign. It includes the principal religious centres not only of Akkad and of Sumer as far south as Eridu, but stretches northward to Assur and Nineveh and westward to Aleppo— if, as is generally supposed, this city is to be understood by Hallabin (KI). Both Aleppo and also, probably, 'the settlements on the Euphrates,' which he claims to have subdued, would be reckoned as part of Amurru. The fact that no more southerly cities of Amurru are enumerated is, it must be confessed, a point which may be advanced against the view which is advocated above. May we, however, explain the omission by the fact that in Amurru, which, as contrasted with Sumer and Akkad, was a comparatively new and uncivilized country, there existed no ancient and celebrated centres of culture, the deities of which Hammurabi was concerned to propitiate? At any rate he specially distinguishes the west Semitic deity Dagan as 'his creator' (banišu).

A striking example of the influence of the Semitic Babylonian language upon the language of Canaan (Hebrew), which it is difficult to assign to any other period than
We have, then (it may be assumed), in the First Dynasty of Babylon a dynasty of 'Amorite' origin, bearing sway both over Babylonia and (from the time of Hammurabi) over Amurru to the west as far as the Mediterranean sea-board. This dynasty, as facts abundantly prove, must have fallen rapidly under the influence of Babylonian civilization. It will be sufficient, in this regard, to allude to the legal Code of Hammurabi, in which the far-reaching and highly-detailed character of the legislation proves (as indeed we know from extraneous evidence) that the great king was not the initiator of the whole system, but embodied earlier elements, many, if not most, of which were doubtless due to Sumerian civilization.* These facts help us to understand two phenomena that of the First Babylonian Dynasty, is seen in the uses of the Bab. Permansive (in form identical with the Heb. Perfect) and Praeterite (in form identical with the Heb. Imperfect), as compared respectively with the uses of the Heb. Perfect and Imperfect with waw consecutive. The Bab. Permansive, like the Heb. Perfect, essentially regards an action as existing apart from any idea of time-relations; whereas the Bab. Praeterite, like the Heb. Imperfect with waw consecutive, comes into use as soon as an action can be brought into a time-relation, i.e. can be regarded as springing out of a defined point in time. A good illustration of the two usages in Bab. may be seen in the opening lines of the Creation-epic, where Permansives describe the condition of things prior to creation (la naba, la zaku, la kigara, la se, la supa, etc.), but Praeterites are employed so soon as the actions of creation begin to take their start out of conditions as defined by the Permansives (so išpušma, idbanušma, etc.). Since the mode of thought thus defined in language is peculiar to Babylonian and to Hebrew (with which we may group the inscriptions of Mesha' and of Zakir: cf. p. 174), and is otherwise unknown in Semitic, it is reasonable to explain the connexion as due to the influence of the older civilization upon the younger at a specially formative period in the history of the latter.

* Cf. e.g. what is known as to the reforms of Urukagina, Sumerian patesi of Lagaš, cir. B.C. 2800: King, *Sum. and Akk.* pp. 178 ff. The fragment of a Sumerian code of laws (published by Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Bab. Coll.,* 1915, pp. 18 ff.) also contains instructive evidence upon this point. The fragment preserves nine laws. Two of these, which fix compensation for injury resulting in miscarriage, are condensed in Hammurabi's Code; the latter also adds other laws on the subject to suit the peculiar conditions of Babylonian society under the First Dynasty. Another law, dealing with compensation for the loss of a hired boat, is amplified to form four laws in the Code. Two of the newly-recovered Sumerian laws, relating to the loss of a hired ox, are practically reproduced in the Code; while others on unfilial conduct, elopement, and seduction find Semitic Babylonian parallels in certain features, but no precise equivalents. One law, which provides for the payment of his portion to a son who renounces his sonship, and which enacts his subsequent legal separation from his parents, is not paralleled in the Code, but, as Clay points out, is strikingly illustrated by the parable of the prodigal son in Luke 15. The Sumerian Code bears the title 'the law of Nisaba and Hāni.' Nisaba was patroness of writing, and Hāni in later periods is described as 'lord of the seal' and 'god of the scribes': they may well have been patrons of law under the Sumerians. It is noteworthy that Nisaba is here mentioned before her consort, a fact which suggests that he was a deity of less consideration. The divine name Hāni occurs in proper names of the Dynasty of Ur and the First Dynasty of Babylon; and we know of a West Semitic kingdom of Ḥana (later Hāni) on the middle Euphrates not far from the mouth of the Hābūr (cf. King, *Bab.* pp. 129 ff.). If the Sumerian god
which, in later times, are very striking: (i) the influence of Babylonian civilization upon Canaan, and, eventually, upon Israel, both in regard to legislation and also to legends and early traditions;* and (ii) the use of the Babylonian language and the cuneiform script in Syria and Canaan as a medium of communication in the fourteenth century B.C. (as witnessed by the T.A. Letters), and probably also in later times.†

The empire of Hammurabi was maintained, on the whole, unimpaired under his son and successor Samsu-iluna. This king, however, experienced considerable trouble in the south, both from the Elamites and also from the people of the Sea-country on the borders of the Persian Gulf, where a ruler named Iluma-ilu appears as the founder of an independent dynasty. After Samsu-iluna the power of the First Dynasty gradually declined. Its fall was hastened, if not actually brought about, by a raid of the Hittites,§ an Anatolian people from beyond the Taurus, who now for the first time appear upon the arena of western Asia.|| The reins of government in Babylon seem then to have been seized by the dynasty of the Sea-country to which we have already alluded (reckoned as the Second Babylonian Dynasty in the Kings’ list; cf. Footnote ‡, p. lviii). This dynasty may be inferred to have been, in the main, Sumerian, perhaps with a certain Semitic admixture.¶

After a lapse of some 160 years the Sea-country rulers were

Hani was ultimately of West Semitic origin—a possibility which these facts seem to suggest, we have recovered a very noteworthy result of Sumerian contact with the west prior to the age of Hammurabi. It should be added that, though the Sumerian Code is undated, both script and contents suggest a rather earlier date than that of the First Dynasty.

* It does not of course follow that the ‘Amorites’ were in all respects debtors to the earlier Babylonian civilization, and contributed nothing of their own. Certain elements, both in their civilization and in their traditions, may be, so far as we know, distinctively Amorite in origin. If it were possible to analyse the sources of the traditions which are unmistakeably common in origin to the Babylonians on the one hand and to the Canaanites and Hebrews on the other, we should, in all probability, distinguish three successive sources from which, in turn, material has been drawn:—(i) Sumerian, (ii) Semitic Babylonian, (iii) Amorite. Clay, in his book Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites (1909), seeks to prove that Amurru was the cultural centre of the Northern Semites, and that ‘the influence of Babylonian culture upon the peoples of Canaan was almost nil’ (p. 91); but this is a paradox.

† Cf. Hommel, AHT. pp. 45 f.

‡ A chronicle published by King states that ‘against Samsu-ditana the men of the land of Hatti <marched>, against the land of Akkad.’ King connects this statement with the fact that in later years the Kaššite king Agum-Kakrime brought back the images of the god Marduk and his consort Šarpanitum from the Hittite state of Hani in northern Syria, and installed them again in the temple of Esagila at Babylon. Cf. Chron. i. pp. 148 f.; ii. p. 22.

|| For possibly older references to the Hittites (time of Hammurabi) cf. Footnote * on Gen. 14, p. lxii, and Garstang, Hittites, p. 329.

¶ The names of the first three kings and of the last king are Semitic, while the remaining seven are Sumerian.
driven out of Babylon by Kassite invaders from the east who founded a new dynasty (the Third Dynasty) which lasted for the long period of 576 years, and is to be dated cir. B.C. 1760-1185. The latter part of this period is therefore coincident with part of the period covered by the Book of Judg.; and it is possible that in Judg. 3:7-11 we may have the echo of a Kassite raid upon the west in which the name of the raiding chieftain has been perverted by late Jewish ingenuity (cf. p. 64). The fact seems to be established that the Kassites were, in origin, Indo-Germanic; but they speedily adapted themselves to the Semitic Babylonian civilization, though their king-names remain, with few exceptions, Kassite throughout the dynastic period. The Kassite success in conquering Babylon was probably due in large measure to their possession of horses and chariots; and the foundation of their dynasty marks the introduction of the horse into Babylonia, and thence very speedily into Syria and Egypt.†

The domination of Egypt by the Hyksos, and their subsequent expulsion, have an important bearing upon the history of Canaan at the period of Babylonian history with which we have been dealing. That the Hyksos were Asiatic Semites may be regarded as certain; but that they were uncivilized nomads pouring into Egypt directly from Arabia is unlikely. If Manetho's explanation of the name Hyksos as 'shepherd-king' (from Hyk = 'king' and sos = 'shepherd')§ be approximately correct, it was probably applied by the Egyptians to the invaders in contempt and derision. The fact that, according to Manetho, the first Hyksos king, Salitis, rebuilt and fortified the city of Avaris in the Delta (probably the modern Tell el-Yahudiyyeh in the Wady Tumilat ¶) because he

* Cf. Hall, N.E. p. 201.
† Bab. ššk 'horse,' is regularly written ideographically ANŠU.KURRA; and the accepted conclusion is that this Sumerian equivalent means 'ass of the mountain,' and preserves record of the fact that the horse was introduced into Babylonia from the high-lying steppes of central Asia, across the eastern mountains. Though it is, of course, an elementary fact that ANŠU means 'ass,' and that KURRA may mean 'mountain,' the analogy of parallel cases in which ANŠU is prefixed as a determinative before the names of other beasts of burden (the mule and camel) serves to cast doubt upon this explanation, and to suggest that ANŠU.KURRA is properly to be understood as 'ass-like animal (i.e. beast of burden) called KURRA.' KURRA is then, in all probability, a foreign name for the horse, introduced into Babylonia together with the animal which bore it. It is tempting to associate the name with Persian ghour, Hindi ghor-khur, Baluchi ghor or ghoran, Kirghiz koulan—names which are applied to the onager. The transference of a name from one animal to another of kindred (or even of diverse) species is not without analogy.

¶ On this interpretation sos is probably the Egyptian šasu, a term applied to the Asiatic Bedawin. Breasted (Hist. Egy. p. 217) objects to this explanation, and suggests that the real meaning of Hyksos is 'ruler of countries'—a title which Ḥyan, one of the Hyksos kings, often gives himself on his monuments. Cf. Griffith in Proc. Brit. Acad., xix. (1897), pp. 296 f.; W. M. Müller in M. F. G., 1898, 3, pp. 4 ff.

¶ Cf. Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, pp. 9 f.
feared the incursion of 'the Assyrians' (a term loosely used to denote the dominant power in Babylonia at the time) seems to be an indication that the Hyksos had connexions beyond the borders of Egypt in a north-easterly direction, i.e. throughout Canaan and northern Syria; and inasmuch as we find them, after the reduction of Avaris by Ahmosi I., next making a stand in Sharuruhen (i.e. no doubt the city of that name mentioned in Josh. 19:6 as assigned to Simeon in southern Judah) where they are besieged for three years, and finally defeated by Ahmosi in northern Syria,‡ we have good ground for concluding that they were, in origin, the more or less civilized people of Amurru, and that their line of retreat lay, as was natural, into the land occupied by their kindred.§ This conclusion is strengthened by the fact (accepted by Egyptologists) that it was they who introduced horses and chariots into Egypt, and that Ahmosi succeeded in expelling them by turning this powerful engine of warfare against them. As we have already noticed, it was the Kassites who introduced the horse into western Asia, and the peoples of Amurru must speedily have obtained it through their Mesopotamian connexion. The name of the most important Hyksos king known to us, Hyen, is certainly Semitic,∥ and among the scarab-names of kings or autonomous chieftains collected by Petrie ‡ there occurs Y pk-hr or Y qb-hr which may represent a Semitic Ja'cob-el—a name which raises speculation on account of its Israelite connexions. Another name, 'nl-hr, seems to represent 'Anath-el.**

The length of the period covered by the Hyksos invasion and domination of Egypt is most uncertain. Petrie ‡‡ accepts and defends Manetho's statement that five hundred and eleven years elapsed from their first invasion to their ultimate expulsion; but

‡ Cf. the autobiographies of the two Egyptian officers named Ahmosi, who took part in this war: Breasted, A.R. ii. §§ 1 ff.
§ The cause originally conducing to the invasion of Egypt by the Western Semites can only be conjectured. Hall may be correct in supposing that the almost contemporary incursion of the Kassites from Iran and the Hittites from Asia Minor into Mesopotamia and northern Syria must have caused at first a considerable displacement of the Semitic population, which was pressed south-westwards into southern Syria and Palestine,' with the result that it 'burst the ancient barrier of Egypt': NE. p. 212. Cf. also Luckenbill, AJTh. xviii. (1914), p. 32.
∥ The name is borne by an Aramaean king of Yadî in northern Syria in the ninth century B.C., and is written Ḫa-ia-nî in the annals of Shalmaneser III. (cf. KB. i. p. 170), and N.bit in the inscription of Kalum, the succeeding king of Yadî (on which cf. p. 174).
** Cf. Spiegelberg in O.L.Z. vii. (1904), 131; Hall, NK. p. 217. There seems to be no justification for Spiegelberg's proposal to interpret the Hyksos name Smî'n as Simeon (loc. cit.; Aegypt. Randglossen zum A.T. p. 12), since the equivalent Ḫ = Y appears to be unproven (on the equivalents of Eg. Ḫ, cf. Burch. §§ 113 f.).
Ed. Meyer and his followers* allow conjecturally no more than a hundred years. Hall‡ seems to have good sense on his side in arguing for a figure between these two extremes—perhaps about two hundred years. The accession of Aḥmosi I., who expelled them from Egypt, is dated cir. B.C. 1580.§

Invasion of Palestine and Syria, thus begun by Aḥmosi I., was carried further by subsequent kings of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty. It is a moot point whether AmenḥOTop I. (cir. B.C. 1559), the successor of Aḥmosi, undertook a Syrian campaign; but his successor, Thutmosi I. (cir. B.C. 1539), advanced victoriously through Syria as far as Naharin, i.e. the district between the Orontes and the Euphrates (cf. note on ‘Aram-naharaim,’ ch. 3?), and set up a boundary-tablet on the bank of the Euphrates to mark the northern limit of his kingdom.¶ Such incursions of Egyptian kings into Syria, though productive of booty, failed to bring the Western Semites permanently under the Egyptian yoke or to ensure payment of a regular tribute.

It was Thutmosi III. (cir. B.C. 1501), the most famous king Egypt ever had, who, after a long period of inaction enforced upon him by the powerful Queen Ḥatšepsut, with whom he was associated as ruler, began on her death a series of seventeen campaigns in Syria (cir. B.C. 1479-1459), resulting in its thorough conquest and consolidation as a part of the Egyptian Empire.¶¶ In the first of these he met a confederation of north Palestinian kinglets, under the leadership of the Prince of Kadesh—possibly an immigrant Hittite from the north; a combination which reminds us of the league of the kings of northern Canaan under Sisera, as recorded in Judg. A battle at Megiddo, graphically described, resulted in his complete success, and Megiddo was invested and soon fell into his hands. The list (on the walls of the Temple of Amon, at Karnak) of ‘the people of Upper Retenu [southern Syria, including Palestine] whom his majesty shut up in wretched Megiddo’ contains a hundred and nineteen names, and is of great geographical interest.** Among the names occur Yʾ-ḥ-b-ʾā-ṛq and Yʾ-š-pʾ-ā-ṛq (Nos. 102

* Cf. Meyer, GA.* i. ii. p. 293; Breasted, Hist. Eg. p. 221.

† Cf. Hall, NE. pp. 23 ff., 216 f., 218.

§ The accession-dates given for Egyptian kings are those of Breasted, whose chronological table at the end of his History of the Ancient Egyptians, 1908 (an abbreviation of the History of Egypt, 1906) may usefully be consulted. The only deviation is in the dates given for AmenḥOTop I. and Thutmosi I., where a complicated question of succession arises, involving the reign of Thutmosi II. (who for our purpose is a nonentity) in relation to that of Thutmosi III. Cf. Hall, NE. pp. 286 ff., whose conclusions are assumed, and whose dates, as given in the Table, p. 228, have been adopted.


¶¶ Ibid. ii. §§ 391 ff.

** Cf. Muller, AE. pp. 157 ff.; Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III., MVAG., 1907, 1. Petrie, Hist. Eg. ii. pp. 320 ff., attempts to find a systematic arrangement in the list, and offers identifications, many of which must be deemed highly precarious.
and 78), which have been read respectively as Ja'cob-el and Joseph-el.* The remainder of this campaign was occupied with the reduction of three cities on the southern slopes of the Lebanon.

The second, third, and fourth campaigns seem to have been fully spent in consolidating the conquests of the first. During the course of the second campaign it is interesting to note that Thutmosi received a present (which he describes as 'tribute') from the far-off kingdom of Assyria, which at this period was beginning to rise into prominence. Northern Syria, however, with Kadesh on the Orontes as a centre of disaffection, still remained untouched; but the fifth campaign made substantial progress towards this objective through the reduction of the coast-cities of Phoenicia. The sixth campaign is highly important as marking the first transport of the Egyptian army by sea to Syria. The establishment of a base in the Phoenician harbours meant that thenceforward Thutmosi could get within striking distance of northern Syria after a few days' sail; and the hold of Egypt upon the coast-land of western Asia was thus materially strengthened. In the sixth campaign Kadesh was captured after a long siege. The account of this campaign is interesting as preserving record of Thutmosi's policy for securing the future allegiance of Syria. The sons of the conquered chieftains were carried back to Egypt to be educated, in order that, imbued, as it was hoped, with Egyptian ideals and sympathies, they might in time succeed their fathers as faithful vassals of their suzerain.

After a seventh campaign directed against Arvad and Simyra, Thutmosi reached, in his eighth campaign, the climax of his successes. Advancing into Naharin, he met and defeated 'that foe of wretched Naharin,' i.e., probably, the king of Mitanni; captured Carchemish, and crossing the Euphrates, set up his boundary-tablet upon its eastern bank beside that of Thutmosi I. ‘Heta the Great,' i.e. the Hittites of Cappadocia, now sent him presents; and it is even possible that he may have received them from Babylon.§ Thutmosi's remaining campaigns in Syria were occupied in quelling revolts and generally consolidating the broad territory which he had won.

Egypt's Asiatic Empire was maintained unimpaired under the

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* The latter equivalence is very doubtful, since the sibilants do not correspond. Nos. 35 and 18, which have been read Š-m'-n and understood as Sime'on, appear to lack the ' (ỹ). W. M. Müller (Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III.) transcribes both as Sa-ma-na. Cf. his remarks on p. 15.

† Cf. Breasted, AR. §§ 476, 479; Hall, NE. p. 241. W. M. Müller regards the view that the king of Mitanni was overlord of the whole of Naharin as questionable: cf. AE. p. 251.

§ It is a disputed question whether we should find allusion to 'tribute of the chief of Shin'ar,' or whether the reference is to Singara, i.e. the modern Gebel Singar, north-west of Nineveh. Cf. Breasted, AR. ii. § 484 (footnote); Hall, NE. p. 242.
next two Pharaohs, Amenhotep II. (cir. B.C. 1448) and Thutmose IV. (cir. B.C. 1420), though both these monarchs had to quell rebellions which broke out in northern Syria and Naharin at or shortly after their accessions.* The authority of Egypt was, however, effectively maintained by official representatives and garrisons in the larger towns; and the system of allowing the Syrian cities a large measure of autonomy under their petty chieftains proved, on the whole, to be justified. The marriage of Thutmose IV. with the daughter of Artatama, king of Mitanni in northern Mesopotamia, ‡ was a judicious measure which gained for Egypt an ally upon the north-eastern limit of her Asiatic kingdom; and it was probably owing to this that Amenhotep III., the son of Thutmose by his Mitannian queen, succeeded to the empire without having to meet any insurrection on the part of the turbulent elements in Naharin.

For the reigns of Amenhotep III. (cir. B.C. 1411) and his successor Amenhotep IV. (cir. B.C. 1375), we possess the evidence of the correspondence discovered at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt in 1887,§ which is of unique importance for the history of Syria and of the surrounding countries of western Asia in their relation with Egypt. At this period (as the T.A. Letters first proved to us ||) the language of diplomacy and commerce in western Asia was Babylonian, and correspondence was carried on in the cuneiform script, written upon clay tablets. Many of these letters are addressed to the king of Egypt by the independent rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms of western Asia—Babylonia or Karduniaš (to give the kingdom its Kaššite name), Assyria, Mitanni, etc.—who were naturally concerned to preserve good diplomatic relations with Egypt. These,

‡ Cf. T.A. Letters, Knudtzon, No. 29, II. 16 ff.
§ The most recent edition of the T.A. Letters is that of J. A. Knudtzon, _Die el-Amarna Tafeln_ (1908-15), which takes the place of H. Winckler's edition (_KB._ v, 1896) as the standard edition for scholars. The cuneiform text of the Berlin collection of tablets has been published by Abel and Winckler, _Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna_ (1889), and that of the British Museum collection of tablets by Bezold in Budge and Bezold, _Tel el-Amarna Tablets in the Brit. Mus._ (1892). All the original tablets were exhaustively collated by Knudtzon for his transliteration and translation of the texts. Böhl, _Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe_ (1909) is important for philology.
|| Since the discovery of the T.A. Letters a few cuneiform tablets have been found at various Palestinian sites which have undergone excavation (cf., for the more important ones, Rogers, _CP._ pp. 278 ff.). The most important evidence for the widespread use of cuneiform Babylonian is found in the great store of tablets discovered by Winckler in his excavation of the site of the ancient Hittite capital (Ḫattī) at Bogaz Keui east of the river Halys in Asia Minor. The first instalment of these documents has been published very recently (H. H. Figulla and E. F. Weidner, _Keilschrifttexte aus Boghasköi_, parts 1 and 2, Oct. 1916); but prior to this we possessed only Winckler's account of them in _MDOC._ xxxv. (Dec. 1907), containing extracts from some few which appeared to the discoverer to be among the more important. A fairly full abstract of this account has been translated into English in the _Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution_, 1908 (some misprints in proper names).
though of first importance for the history of the times, do not here concern us, except incidentally. It is interesting, however, to notice the way in which such constant correspondence could be conveyed backwards and forwards through Syria, together with the valuable presents with which the letters were often accompanied, apparently without great risk of miscarriage.* There exists a passport-letter, addressed by an unnamed king—very possibly the king of Mitanni†—‘to the kings of Canaan, the servants of my brother’ (i.e. the king of Egypt), exhorting them to see that his messenger, Akiya, receives no hindrance, but is safely and speedily forwarded on his way to the Egyptian court (cf. Kn. 30).

It is the correspondence of the subject-kinglets which brings most vividly before us the condition of Syria at the time, and the causes which were leading to the gradual weakening of Egypt’s hold upon her Asiatic possessions. In the reign of Amenhotep III. the Egyptian empire was at its zenith, and the luxury and magnificence of the kingdom had never been surpassed. This, however, was due to the continuous efforts of the Pharaoh’s warlike ancestors: he seems himself to have been content to enjoy the fruits of past achievement, and not to have been greatly concerned with the maintenance of the tradition of empire-building. Thus already in his reign we discern the beginning of movements which were destined ultimately to bring about the decline of Egypt’s suzerainty over Syria.

It was under Amenhotep IV., however, that the crisis became acute. This king is remarkable as the introducer into Egypt of a new form of religion, a kind of philosophic monotheism which centred in the worship of the solar disc (called in Egyptian Aton). Repudiating his own name, he adopted the name Aḥnaton (‘Spirit of Aton’); and having removed his capital from Thebes, where the power and influence of the old religion were naturally at their strongest, he founded a new capital, some three hundred miles lower down the Nile and about one hundred and sixty miles above the Delta, to which he gave the name Aḥetaton (‘Horizon of Aton’). This is the modern Tell el-Amarna. Wholly absorbed in his religious speculations and in domestic life, the king cared little about the fate of his Asiatic provinces; and letters from the native princes and governors of Syria speak again and again of the growing spirit of disaffection towards Egypt, or beg for assistance in the face of open revolt.

* There are, as might be expected, some complaints of molestation and robbery. Thus we find that the caravan of Šalmu, the messenger of Burnaburias, king of Kardunias, was twice plundered on the way to Egypt in Egyptian territory (Syria-Palestine), and compensation is demanded of the Egyptian king (Kn. 7). On a later occasion (during the unsettled period of the north Syrian revolt) the merchants of Burnaburias were robbed and murdered (Kn. 8). Ašur-uballit, king of Assyria, says that Egyptian messengers have been waylaid by the Sutti, a nomad people (Kn. 16). Some of the Syrian chieftains express their willingness to provide provisions and safe escort for caravans (cf. Kn. 226, 265).

† Cf. Weber’s discussion in Knudtzon, pp. 1072 ff.
The trouble arose principally from the encroachments of the Hittites upon northern Syria. As we have already remarked, in alluding to an incursion of this people into Babylonia some five hundred years earlier (cf. p. lxiv), the Hittites were an Anatolian race whose principal centre lay west of the Taurus, in the region which is known to us later on as Cappadocia. Our knowledge of them has been placed on a new footing in recent times (1907) through the excavations of Winckler at an ancient site near the modern village of Boghaz Keui, which proved to have borne the name of Hatti, and to have been the capital of the Hittite kingdom.* We are still, however, at a loss as to the racial origin of the Hittites. Their physiognomy, as depicted on their own and on Egyptian monuments—a prominent nose, high cheek-bones, and a retreating forehead and chin—are closely reproduced at the present day among the Armenians. They were certainly non-Semitic; and it does not seem probable (as has been variously suggested) that they were of Iranian or Mongolian origin. The inscriptions upon rock and stone, which are assumed (with practical certainty) to be Hittite work, are written in a peculiar pictographic script, and are still undeciphered. Attempts at decipherment have been made by several scholars upon different lines; † but they have not met with general acceptance or yielded results which are capable of utilization. The Hittite language, as written in cuneiform on tablets found at Boghaz Keui, and in the Arzawa letters which were found among the T.A. correspondence, cannot be connected with any known language.§ Fortunately, a large number of the documents from Boghaz Keui are written in Babylonian; and it is these which have so largely extended our knowledge.||

* Cf. MDOD. xxxv. pp. 12 ff.
† Cf. especially the articles by Sayce in PSBA. xxv.-xxvii. (1903-5).
§ Knudtzon has argued from the Arzawa letters that the language is Indo-Germanic (Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe, die ältesten Urkunden in indogermanischer Sprache, mit Bemerkungen von S. Bugge und A. Torp, 1902); but the theory has failed to gain acceptance (cf. e.g. the criticism of Bloomfield in American Journal of Philology, xxv. pp. 12 ff.), and, according to Weber (Kn. p. 1074), the author of it himself had some misgivings with regard to it. F. Hrozný (MDOD. lvi., December 1915, pp. 17-50) maintains the same conclusions upon the evidence of the Hittite documents from Boghaz Keui, which he is engaged in transcribing; but until some part at least of the rich material from Boghaz Keui has become the common property of scholars, it is impossible to pass judgment upon the theory. Hrozný has been criticized by Bork, OLZ., Okt. 1816, 289 ff., and by Cowley in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in December 1916, which is as yet unpublished; cf. brief abstract in JRAS. for January 1917, pp. 202 f. The important Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite vocabularies from Boghaz Keui, published in transcription by Delitzsch for the Berlin Academy (Abhandl. k. p. Akad., 1914, 3), though of the greatest value for our interpretation of Hittite words, have not thrown any further light upon the linguistic affinities of the Hittite language.

|| The fullest and most recent book on Hittite excavation and history is Garstang, The Land of the Hittites (1910). See also King, Bab. pp. 225-41; Hall, NE. ch.
INTRODUCTION

Of the early history of the Hittites we know nothing. Probably they formed at first a collection of semi-independent tribes, loosely united by the bond of a common extraction, and only temporarily acting together under one leader on such occasions as the raid on northern Syria and Babylonia which brought about the downfall of the First Babylonian Dynasty, *cir. B.C. 1926* (cf. p. lxiv). Ḫattušili I., who was king of the city of Kuşšar *(cir. B.C. 1400)*, was succeeded by his son Šubbiluliuma, who bound the Hittite clans into a strong confederation, and whose reign of probably some forty years *(cir. B.C. 1385-1345)* was a career of conquest resulting in the creation of an empire which lasted under one dynasty for nearly two hundred years.

In the latter years of Amenhotep III. we find Šubbiluliuma crossing the Taurus, and leading his forces to the attack of northern Syria. The safe retention of Naharin as an Egyptian province depended, as we have noticed (p. lxix), largely upon the goodwill of the king of Mitanni; and the alliance which had been contracted through the marriage of Thutmosi IV. with a Mitannian princess had been further cemented by the union of Amenhotep III. with Gilu-Ḫipa, sister of Tušratta, the reigning king of Mitanni, and subsequently with Tadu-Ḫipa, Tušratta's daughter, who, after the death of Amenhotep III., became a wife of his successor, Amenhotep IV. Tušratta, however, had succeeded to a kingdom weakened by internal intrigues, his brother, Artassumara, who reigned before him, having been assassinated. He was strong enough to repel the Hittites from Mitanni for the time being, but could not prevent Šubbiluliuma from invading Naharin, where the projects of the Hittite king were furthered by another brother of Tušratta, named (like his grandfather) Artatama. This prince, having very possibly been implicated in the murder of Artassumara, had been obliged to fly from Mitanni to Naharin, and, with his son Šutatarra, and grandson Itakama, of whom we hear later on as prince of Kinza or Kidsha (i.e. the district of which the principal city was Kadesh on the Orontes) welcomed the opportunity of intriguing with the Hittites against Tušratta. Further south, in the district of the Lebanons, Abd-

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* The site of this city is unknown.

† Unlike the Mitannian wife of Thutmosi IV., who was the mother of Amenhotep III., both Gilu-Ḫipa and Tadu-Ḫipa occupied the position of inferior wives only. The influential Ti, who was chief wife of Amenhotep III. and mother of Amenhotep IV., seems to have been of Semitic origin on her father's side. Nefertiti, the queen of Amenhotep IV., is now known to have been his full sister (the daughter of Ti); and Petrie's view (*Hist. Eg.* ii. p. 207) that she is identical with Tadu-Ḫipa is thus disproved; cf. Hall, *N.E.* pp. 255 f., 258, n. 2.

§ Cf. Kn. 17.
Asirta, who was chieftain of Amurru,* perceived that his own interests would best be served by making common cause with the Hittites, and attacking the rulers of the Phoenician coast-cities, who were loyal to Egypt. For a time this Amorite prince and his son Aziru managed with amazing astuteness to pass themselves off as faithful vassals of Egypt, in spite of the urgent representations of Rib-Adda, the governor of Gebal, who displayed the utmost energy in the Egyptian cause. Amenhotep III. seems at length to have been convinced of the true state of affairs and to have despatched an army; and the tension was temporarily relieved.† Under Ahnaton, however, no such help was forthcoming; and the Phoenician cities fell one after another into the hands of the Amorites.§

Meanwhile in the south affairs were little better; local dissensions were rife among the petty Canaanite princes, and we find them engaged in active intrigue against their suzerain, and at the same time sending letters to the Pharaoh full of protestations of loyalty and accusations against their neighbours. So far as we can judge, ARAD-Ijiba, the governor of Jerusalem, stood faithfully for the interests of the Egyptian king; but he seems to have stood almost alone. His letters make urgent and repeated requests for the despatch of Egyptian troops, and state that unless they can speedily be sent the whole country will be lost to Egypt. The part played by the Hittites and Amorites in the north is filled in the south by a people called Ḥabiru.||

The Ḥabiru are mentioned under this name in the letters of ARAD-Ijiba only.† He states that they have plundered all the king’s territory and occupied his cities; unless the king can send troops before the end of the year, the whole of his territory will certainly fall away to them. Certain of the vassals, notably one Milkili and the sons of Labaya, are accused of conspiring with the Ḥabiru and allowing them to occupy the king’s territory; and the district of Shechem ** seems to be specified as having thus passed into their hands. The cities of Gezer, Ashkelon, and Lachish

* On the sense in which the term Amurru is used in the T.A. Letters, cf. p. 41.
† Cf. Kn. 117, II. 21 ff.
§ For a fully detailed account of the movements of Subbiluliuma, and the north Syrian rebellion, cf. the admirable section in Hall, NE. pp. 341 ff., whose view of the relation of Artatama and his descendants to the reigning king of Mitanni is followed above.
|| Most writers refer to this people as Ḥabiri; but, as Knudtzon points out (cf. p. 45, n), out of the seven (or eight) passages in which they are mentioned the form is Ḥabiru in the two cases in which the name stands as a Nominative, Ḥabiri (with the Genitive termination) being in all occurrences an oblique form. So Dhorme, RB., 1909, p. 67, n.².
† This series of letters has been translated into English by Ball, Light from the East, pp. 89-93, and by Rogers, CP. pp. 268-273.
** (Mātītu) Sa-ak-mi, according to Knudtzon’s reading (289, l. 23). Winckler (185) fails to make satisfactory sense of the passage.
appear to have been implicated in assisting them.* Indeed, ARAD-Ḥiba states that he has been obliged to tax the king's own high commissioner with playing into their hands, and that on this account he has been slandered to the king. In this last reference (Kn. 286, ll. 16 ff.) the question addressed to the commissioner—'Wherefore lovest thou the Ḥabiru, and hatest the city-governors?'—sets them in contrast to the latter,† who represented the delegated authority of Egypt.

The question of the identity of the Ḥabiru has aroused greater interest and keener discussion than any other point raised by the T.A. Letters. Were they, as has often been alleged, identical with the Hebrews, i.e. with the clans which are pictured in Gen. as the descendants of Abraham the Hebrew, who may very well have been pressing into Canaan at about this period? Were they even (as has been more boldly suggested§) the tribes of Israel engaged under Joshua in the invasion and conquest of the Promised Land? The acceptance of this latter view involves the abandonment of the commonly received conclusion as to the date of the Exodus, and the placing of this event at least some two hundred years earlier (cf. pp. cxvi ff.).

The philological equivalence of (amelātu) Ḥa-bi-ru || with יָעַבְרָי, 'Hebrew'—or rather, since the form is not a gentilic, with אֶבֶּר, 'Ebher, -βα (Gen. 10:21, 11:14, al.)—is perfect. About this there can be doubt at all.¶

* This is an inference only; though a fairly certain one. In the letter in question (Kn. 287) there comes a break of about eight lines, after which ARAD-Ḥiba continues, 'let the King know that all the ṣhtes are leagued in hostility against me. Behold, the land of Gezer, the land of Ashkelon, and Lachish gave unto them food, oil, and everything that they needed; so let the King have a care for his territory, and despatch bowmen against the men who have done evil against the King my lord.' Here it can scarcely be doubted that the object implied in 'gave unto them' is the Ḥabiru, who must have been mentioned in the missing passage. So Weber in Kn. p. 1337.

† The term ḥazan(n)u, ḥazanu, plur. ḥazanātu, is doubtless the same as New Heb. ḥazzān, which means inspector or overseer. Cf. the reference to Jacob as a city- overseer (ḥazzan māṭhā) under Laban, quoted by Buxtorf, Lexicon, s.v. from Baba negot. The ordinary New Heb. usage of ḥazzān to denote a synagogue- overseer or minister is technical and secondary. Besides the title ḥazanu, the ordinary title by which the Syrian and Palestinian vassal-chieftains describe themselves to the Egyptian king, and are described by him (cf. Kn. 99), is amēlu, 'man' of such and such a city. To outsiders they are ṣarrāni 'kings' (cf. Kn. 30), a title which is familiar to us as applied to them in the O.T., and which was doubtless always claimed by them when independent of the suzerainty of Egypt.

§ So, most recently, Hall, N.E. pp. 409 ff.

|| Amēlu 'men,' or sing. amēlu 'man,' are used as Determinatives before the names of tribes or classes.

¶ Handcock (The Latest Light on Bible-lands, pp. 79-81) is mistaken in supposing that 'the crucial point' in the identification is whether the Heb. י can be equated with the Bab. Hà, and in concluding that such an equation 'is totally at variance' with 'the ordinary rules of philological transmutation'; and his pronouncement—
Discussion of the identity of the Habiru with the Hebrews is closely bound up with another question of identification. As we have observed, the (amelūtu) Ḥa-bi-ru (or -ri) are only mentioned in this form (i.e., their name only occurs spelt out syllabically) in the letters of ARAD-Ḥiba. Many other letters, however, mention a people whose name is written ideographically (amelūtu) SA.GAZ, who occupy a position as freebooters and aggressors against constituted authority identical with that occupied by the Habiru. The question is whether SA.GAZ is merely the ideographic method of writing Ḥabiru, and the reading Ḥabiru to be assumed wherever the ideogram occurs. The importance of this is to be found in the widespread character of the aggressions of the SA.GAZ. If the Habiru are identical with them, they must have permeated not merely southern and central Canaan, but also Phoenicia and northern Syria; for the SA.GAZ are mentioned, e.g., with especial frequency in the letters of Rib-Adda of Gebal as employed by coming as it does in a popular work—is liable to mislead. Granted that the y in Ḥabiru is probably soft (as may be assumed from the 𐤀 form 'EḇpaḤ), we have, in addition to Kinaḥše=.soundly cited by Handcock) the following examples of Bab. 𐤀=Heb. soft Ḥ among the Canaanite 'glosses' in the T. A. Letters:—ḥi-na-ia= 𐤀; ha-pa-rū (also a-pa-ri)= 𐤀; ha-zi-ri= 𐤀 (cf. references in Bohl, Die Sprache der Amarnaabrieffe, p. 15). Cf. also ba-ḥa-ḥu-la (Kn. 104, l. 7), and Mu-ut-ḥa-ḥu-la (Kn. 255, l. 3); and the place names (diu) Ṣa-ar-ḥa (Kn. 273, l. 21)= 𐤀, Ṣapaa; (diu) Ḥi-ni-a-na-bi (Kn. 256, l. 26)= 𐤀, the Ḥ of Josh. 11:21, 15:40; (diu) Ṣa-am-ḥu-na (Kn. 225, l. 4) perhaps= 𐤀, Jos. (Vita, 24) Ẓwunnu, modern Ġēmūniyyeḥ, five miles west of Nazareth, perhaps the Biblical 𐤀, Jos. 11:12, 19:15, which appears in 𐤀 as Ẓwunnu (cf. Buhl, Geogr. p. 215); (du) Ta-aḥ-mu-ka (Kn. 208, l. 14)=Ta-anakh (Tell Ta‘annuk). Were it necessary to go outside the T. A. Letters, we might add to this list by such Amorite proper names in First Dynasty tablets as Ḥammarabī, where the first element in the West Semitic 𐤀 (cf. Ḥa-mu-ni-ra by the side of Am-mu-ni-ra in the T. A. Letters); A-bi-e-su-ah (by the side of A-bi-e-su-ne)= 𐤀; Ya-di-ḥa-ḥu-la= 𐤀! (cf. 1 Chr. 7:6ff., 11:43, 12:21, 26:2); Ya-aḥ-ḥa-ma-(diu)-Da-gan= 𐤀, etc.

As for the vowels—they offer no difficulty. Dhorme's statement (RB., 1909, p. 72) that Ḥabiru is a participial form is unwarranted (we never find it written Ḥa-a-bi-ru, i.e. Ḥabiru). Habiru is of course not a gentilic form like Heb. sing. 'ibhr, plur. 'ibhrin (the Bab. gentilic form would be Ḥabirā; cf. p. lxxxi), but a substantive form like Ḥabiru 'ibher (the eponym of 'ibhr) with the nominative case-ending. The short i vowel in Habiru might very well vary: cf. Armu, Aramu, Arimu, Arumus=Heb. Ṣamir, 'Āram. A good analogy for Ḥabiru= 𐤀 may be seen in Blt Adini= 𐤀, Beth-Eden (probably 𐤀 should be 𐤀, but is differentiated by 𐤀 from the 𐤀 of Gen. 2: cf. Müller, A.E. p. 291, n 4).
Abd-Asirta and Aziru in the reduction of the Phoenician cities.* The view that SA.GAZ is to be read as Ḫabiru, which has always been regarded with favour by the majority of scholars, is now generally supposed to have been placed beyond question by Winckler’s discovery of the interchange of the two terms in documents from Boghaz Keui. This scholar states † that, besides mention of the SA.GAZ-people, there is also allusion to the SA.GAZ-gods, and that as a variant of this latter there exists the reading Ḫa-bi-ri, i.e. ‘Ḫabiru-gods.’ This discovery, while certainly proving a general equivalence of the Ḫabiru with the SA.GAZ, does not, however, necessarily involve the conclusion that SA.GAZ in the T.A. correspondence was always and everywhere understood and pronounced as Ḫabiru: indeed, the contrary can be shown to be the case.

In a syllabary given in ii. R. 26, 13 g-h, (amēlu) SA.GAZ is explained by ḫab-b[a-tum], ‘robber’ or ‘plunderer.’ In another tablet the ideogram is glossed by ḫab-ba-α-te. § No doubt the common Bab. verb șagāšu, which means to destroy, slay, and the like, is a Semiticization of the Sumerian ideogram; and the element GAZ, which in its pictographic form clearly represents a cutting or striking weapon, has by itself the values dāku, ‘to kill, fight, strike,’ mahāšu, ‘to smite, wound’ (Heb. ṭūm), etc. || Possibly the root ḫabātu, from which ḥabbatum is derived, though it regularly means ‘to plunder,’ may have an original connexion with the root ḫbt which runs through Heb., Aram., and Ar., with the sense ‘to strike or beat,’ in which case the root-sense of ḥabbatum would be ‘cutthroat’ rather than ‘thief’ (the two actions are commonly united among the nomad tribes of the Arabian desert). That (amēlu) SA.GAZ has its normal value in the T.A. Letters is placed beyond a doubt by the occurrence in a letter from XapaQi of Gezer (Kn. 299, 1. 26) of the form (amēlu) SA.GAZ.MES(-tum). ‡ Here -tum is a Phonetic Complement,** pointing to a Bab. equivalent which ends with this syllable, a fact which indicates ḥabbatum and excludes Ḫabiru (or -ri). In view of this we may infer that in a passage in

* A summary of all allusions to the SA.GAZ is given by Weber in Kn. p. 1147.
† Cf. MDOT. xxxv. p. 25, n. For the former, cf. Figulla and Weidner, Keilschriften 1, No. 1, Rev. 1. 50; No. 3, Rev. 1. 5; for the latter, No. 4, Rev. col. iv. 1. 29.
§ Cf. R. C. Thompson, The Reports of Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon, i. No. 103, Obv. 7.
|| Cf. Br. 4714 ff.
‡ MES, which means ‘multitude,’ is used as the sign of the plural.
** A Phonetic Complement is often used in cuneiform in order to obviate doubt as to the precise Bab. word or form denoted by an ideogram. Thus, e.g., the name Uta-napištim, which is commonly written ideographically UD.ZI, often has the syllable -tim added to indicate that ZI has the value napištim. MU, which means ‘to speak’ in Sumerian, and so can be used for the Bab. zakāru with the same meaning, may be written MU (-ar), MU (-ra) to indicate the precise form of the verb ṣakkar, ṣakkara. Thus perfect clearness is gained without the labour of writing the forms syllabically i-ṣaḵ-ka-r, i-ṣaḵ-ka-ra.
a letter from Dagan-takala (Kn. 318) in which he begs help of the King of Egypt—'Deliver me from the mighty foes, from the hand of the (amēlātu) SA.GA.AZ.MEŠ, the robber-people (amēlātu ha-ba-ti), the Sutū (amēlātu Šu-ti-i)—we have, not the specification of three distinct classes of foes, but of two only, amēlātu ha-ba-ti being simply an explanatory gloss on (amēlātu) SA.GA.AZ.MEŠ.*

We conclude, then, that wherever the ideogram SA.GAZ stands in the T.A. Letters, the equivalent that was understood and read was not ŠABBATUM but habbatum, 'the robber-people' or 'brigands.' It is a different question whether the Habiru were included among the people who could be classed as habbatum. That this is to be affirmed appears to be certain from the equivalent 'SA.GAZ-gods' = 'Habirugods' discovered by Winckler in the documents from Boghaz Keui (cf. p. lxxvi). When, further, while ARAD-Hiba refers exclusively to the encroachments of the Habiru and does not mention the SA.GAZ, other princes in the south refer in a similar connexion and in similar terms to the encroachments of the SA.GAZ and make no allusion to the Habiru, the inference is inevitable that the terms Habiru and SA.GAZ refer in these letters to one and the same people.‡

We must notice next that SA.GAZ, though meaning habbatum, 'robbers,' is not, as used in the T.A. Letters, a mere class-term (i.e. applicable to any body of people, of whatever race, who might

* It is true that amēlātu ha-ba-ti is not preceded by the diagonal wedge which as a rule marks a gloss; but this is sometimes omitted (cf. Kn. 148, l. 31; 288, l. 34). In 288, l. 52, the wedge follows the gloss at the beginning of the next line). The fact that Dagan-takala (or his scribe) did not know the ideogram GAZ, and so was obliged to write GA.AZ (which only occurs in this passage), favours the view that he may have glossed the ideogram in order to avoid misunderstanding. Dhorme (R.B., 1909, p. 69) compares Kn. 195, l. 24 ff., where Namyawaza offers to place his SA.GAZ and his Šutū at the disposal of the Pharaoh. 'These in fact are the two designations which describe the soldiers of the irregular and rebel army. There is no ground for regarding the Ha-ba-ti as a third group. Everything thus favours reading GAZ or SA.GAZ as Šabbatu.' In Kn. 207, l. 21, we actually find (amēlētu) GA.Z-MEŠ followed by the diagonal wedge and then the syllable ha-, after which the tablet is broken and illegible.

‡ Cf. especially ARAD-Hiba's statement, 'Behold, this deed is the deed of Milki and the sons of Labaya, who have given up the King's territory to the Šabbiru' (Kn. 287, ll. 29 ff.), with the statement of Biridiya of Megiddo, 'Behold, two sons of Labaya have [given] their money to the SA.GAZ' (Kn. 246, l. 5 ff.). Cf. also the words of Labaya, 'I do not know whether Dumuya has gone with the SA.GAZ' (Kn. 254, ll. 32 ff.); and of Milki, 'Let the King my lord know that hostility is mighty against me and Šwardata; and let the King deliver his land out of the hand of the SA.GAZ' (Kn. 271, l. 9 ff.); and of Belūt-UR.MAḪ.MEŠ (Ba'alth-Leba'oth! Cf. Josh. 15:32, 196. UR.MAḪ.MEŠ means 'lions'), 'the SA.GAZ have sent to Aijalon and Sor'ah, and the two sons of Milki were nearly slain' (Kn. 273, ll. 18 ff.). The fact that Labaya and Milki should themselves represent their relations with the SA.GAZ somewhat differently from ARAD-Hiba and Biridiya is only to be expected. The statements of ARAD-Hiba—'Let the King hearken unto ARAD-Hiba thy servant, and send bowmen, and bring back the King's territory to the King. But if there he no bowmen, the King's territory will certainly fall away to the Šabbiru'
adopt a bandit-life), but is definitely employed of a tribe or tribes from a particular locality, and united by racial affinity. This is clear from the fact that the ideogram is followed in two of its occurrences by the affix KI, ‘country or place,* which is used both with the names of countries and districts and with the names of tribes emanating from such districts. In one occurrence of Ḫabiru we likewise find KI added, † marking the term similarly as racial and not merely appellative. We may assume, then, with confidence that the connexion between the Ḫabiru and the SA.GAZ was a racial one; though it does not necessarily follow that all the SA.GAZ were Ḫabiru—since, on the evidence which we have reviewed, there is nothing to forbid the theory that the Ḫabiru may have been but a single clan of a larger body of people called SA.GAZ.§

Is it probable, then, that the Ḫabiru were merely the southern branch of the racial movement into western Syria represented by the aggressions of the SA.GAZ? That they had gained a footing not only in the extreme south (the district round Jerusalem) but also in central Canaan is clear from the facts that they are mentioned as in occupation of Shechem (cf. p. lxxiii), and that the prince of Megiddo expresses anxiety as to their movements (cf. p. lxxvii, footnote). But there is another reference in one of ARAD-Ḫiba's letters which seems to identify them with the SA.GAZ still further north. ‘When there was a ship (or a fleet?) at sea,’ he writes, ‘the king’s strong arm held the land of Naḥrima and the land of Kapasi (?); but now the Ḫabiru hold all the king’s cities’ (Kn. 288, ll. 33 ff.).|| Here the allusion undoubtedly is to the Egyptian fleet which, since the victorious campaigns of Thutmose III. had possessed a base in the Phoenician harbours (cf. p. lxviii), and enabled the Pharaoh to reach Naharin (Naḥrima) with little delay and suppress any inclination to revolt in the extreme northern part of his Asiatic empire. Now, however, in the absence of this fleet, the Ḫabiru are in the ascendant, and are holding either the cities of Naḥrima in the north, or (more probably) the Phoenician cities which it was necessary for Egypt to hold in order to maintain her footing in the ports. Adopting this latter hypothesis, we see at once that the SA.GAZ to whom Rib-Adda of Gebal so constantly alludes as employed by the Amorite chieftains Abd-Asīrta and Aziru for the reduction of (Kn. 290, ll. 19 ff.); ‘Should there be no bowmen this year, the King my lord’s territories are lost’ (Kn. 288, ll. 51 ff.)—are strikingly similar to the statement of Bayawa, ‘Unless Yanḥamu [the Egyptian plenipotentiary] arrives this year, the entire territories are lost to the SA.GAZ’ (Kn. 215, ll. 9 ff.); and it can hardly be doubted that the reference in each case is to the same peril.’

* Kn. 215, l. 15; 298, l. 27.
† Kn. 289, l. 24.
§ So Dörmeis, RB., 1909, p. 69.
|| The rendering here adopted is that which is generally accepted (cf. Winckler, Ball, Rogers, etc.), from which there seems no reason to depart. It is difficult to believe that Knudtzon's rendering is correct; still less that of Ungnad in TB. i. p. 133.
the Phoenician cities were Ḥabiru, as well as the southern aggressors. This is a point of the first importance for the elucidation of the Ḥabiru-question.

The close connexion of the SA.GAZ-Ḥabiru with the people called Sutû is evident. Both peoples are in the service of Namya-waza as mercenaries (Kn. 195, ll. 27 ff.); both commit aggressions upon Dagan-takala (Kn. 318), and, apparently, upon Ḫapaḥi of Gezer (Kn. 297-99). Rib-Adda of Gebal, who complains repeatedly of the aggressions of the SA.GAZ, also states that one Paḥura has sent Sutû who have killed his erdanu mercenaries (Kn. 122, ll. 31 ff.). Concerning the Sutû we happen to be fairly well informed. We learn from a chronicle that the Kassite king Kadāşman-Ḥarbe i. (cir. end of the fifteenth century B.C.) 'effected the conquest of the marauding Sutû from east to west, and destroyed their power, built fortresses in Amurru,' etc.* Adad-Nirari i. of Assyria (cir. B.C. 1325) states that his father Arik-dēn-il-li 'conquered the whole of the widespread Kutû, the Aḥlamû, and Sutû.'† The Aḥlamû are known to have been an Aramaean nomadic or semi-nomadic people. The Hittite king Hattuṣili ii. makes 'the Aḥlamû-peril' his excuse for having ceased diplomatic relations with the king of Karduniāš (Kadašman Enlil ii. §). Tiglath-Pileser i. (cir. B.C. 1100) tells us that he defeated 'the Aramaean Aḥlamû' who inhabited the district in the neighbourhood of Carchemish.|| It is clear from these references that the Sutû must have been a nomad tribe inhabiting the northern part of the Syrian desert to the west of the upper Euphrates || and with this agrees the statement of Asur-uballišt that the Sutû have detained the messengers of Agnaton (Kn. 16, ll. 37 ff.), since the Egyptian envoys would have to cross the desert on their way to Assyria.

Now the Egyptian term for the Semitic nomads of the Asiatic desert is ṣasu, a word which seems to be foreign to the language, and which has been plausibly connected with the West Semitic root ṣāṣā, 'to plunder.'** The ṣasu, then, are simply 'the plun-

† Cf. Tablet, ll. 19 f. in KB. i. p. 4; Budge and King, Annals of the Kings of Assyria, p. 6; and, for the reading Arik-dēn-il-li and not Pudi-ilu, King and Hall, Egypt and Western Asia, p. 396.
§ MDOG. xxxv. p. 22. Text in Figulla and Weidner, Keilschrifttexte 1, No. 10, Obv. ii. 36 f.
|| Cf. Annals, v. ll. 44 ff. in KB. i. p. 32; Budge and King, op. cit. supra.
** Cf. Müller, A.E. p. 181; Meyer, IN. p. 324. The Semitic root is only known to occur in Heb. where it is fairly frequent. Meyer (loc. cit., n1) notices the interesting fact that it is used in 1 Sam. 14:48, which relates Saul's conquest of the Amalekite Bedawin on the border of Egypt:—'he smote 'Amalek, and delivered Israel from the hand of his plunderer' (מָדַע).
derers or brigands'; and the agreement of this designation with the Bab. *habbatum*, which, as we have seen, is the equivalent of the ideogram S.A.GAZ, can hardly be merely accidental (cf. p. lxxxviii). While, therefore, the meaning of S.A.GAZ favours the conclusion that the appellation belongs to a nomad people, the connexion of the S.A.GAZ with the Sutu suggests that, like these latter, they belonged to the north Syrian desert, the region which both cuneiform and Biblical records associate with the Aramaeans. These facts should be taken in connexion with the further facts that the S.A.GAZ are principally mentioned as employed by Abd-Asîrta and his sons, and that the land of Amurru, over which these chieftains held sway, extended (as Winckler has proved from the Boghaz Keui documents*) from the Lebanon eastward across the Syrian desert to the Euphrates, thus embracing precisely the northern part of the desert inhabited by Aramaean nomads. Thus the conclusion that the S.A.GAZ—and therefore the Habiru—were Aramaean nomads seems to be raised to a practical certainty.

Now the O. T. definitely connects the ancestors of the Hebrews with the Aramaeans. Abraham is not himself termed an Aramaean, but he has Aramaean connexions. Rebekah, the wife of his son Isaac, is brought from Aram-naharaim, and is the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, his brother (Gen. 24 J.). Bethuel is termed ‘the Aramaean’ (Gen. 25 26 P, 28 5 P), and so is his son Laban, the brother of Rebekah (Gen. 31 20 24 E). Jacob’s wives are Aramaeans (the daughters of Laban), and he himself is called ‘a vagabond Aramaean’ (יְדֵי אֱרָמָאֵן, Deut. 26 5). On his return from Paddan-Aram he re-enters Canaan bearing the new name Israel (Gen. 32 28 J, 35 10 P) together with his many sons (or clans), and takes up his abode at or near Shechem, concerning his relations with which city variant traditions are extant.‡ The mere fact, then, that the situation pictured in the T.A. Letters is that Aramaean nomads are flocking into Syria-Palestine and taking

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‡ That Abd-Asîrta and his sons were aspiring to raise Amurru to the status of an independent kingdom like the powerful kingdoms on its borders was the opinion of Rib-Adda, as appears from Knudtzon’s reading of three passages in his letters, as interpreted by Weber (cf. Kn. p. 1101; so Dhorme, *RB.*, 1909, p. 69). In Kn. 76, ll. 11 ff., Rib-Adda says, ‘Who is Abd-Asîrta, the dog, that he should seek to take for himself all the cities of the King, the Sun? Is he the king of Mitanni, or the king of Hattušu [Karduniash] that he should seek to take the King’s land for himself?’ In Kn. 104, ll. 17 ff.; 116, ll. 67 ff., we find similar rhetorical questions with regard to the sons of Abd-Asîrta, the last passage adding comparison with ‘the king of Hata,’ i.e. the Hittites. Comparison of these three passages one with another proves that this interpretation is correct, rather than that offered by Winckler, which suggests that Abd-Asîrta and his sons were acting *in the interests* of the king of Mitanni, etc. The passages, then, indicate the wide scope of Abd-Asîrta’s schemes, and also suggest that he and his sons were largely responsible for organizing the flow of the Aramaean tribesmen westward into Syria-Palestine.

§ Cf. note on ‘Shechem,’ pp. 269 f.
forcible possession of many of its cities might by itself lead us plausibly to infer that the southern wing of this immigration probably included the ancestors of Israel—more especially since ARAD-Hiba states that they (the Habiru) are in possession of the land of Shechem (cf. p. lxxiii). When, moreover, we add to this the fact that the equivalence between the names 'Habiru' and 'Hebrew' is perfect (p. lxxiv f.), the inference is surely raised to a high degree of probability.

The only fact which should make us hesitate in assuming the identity of the Habiru with the Hebrews as proved beyond the possibility of a doubt is the occurrence of the term Ha-bir-a-a, i.e. a gentilic form of 'Habiraean,' in two Babylonian documents; in each case in application to men who bear Kaššite names—Harbīšīḫu* and Kudurra.† If, as it is reasonable to suppose, Ha-bir-a-a is the gentilic of Habiru,§ the fact that the only two names of Habiru-people that are known to us should be Kaššite is certainly remarkable; and the conclusion that the Habiru were Kaššites has been adopted by several scholars.|| Recently, Scheil has published a tablet bearing a brief memorandum which mentions the Habiru (amēlu Ha-bir-ri exactly as in the T.A. Letters) at Larsa in the reign of Rim-Sin, six centuries earlier than the T.A. Letters.¶ This scholar’s conclusion (based on this occurrence and on the Kaššite names above-mentioned) is as follows:—‘The Habiru were in origin an Elamite, Kaššite, or Lower Mesopotamian people. . . . In any case they served among the forces of the Elamite dynasty at Larsa. Without doubt they were also employed in the far countries to the west, where the supremacy of Kudur-Mabuk, Hammurabi, Ammiditana, etc., maintained itself with more or less authority, thanks to the presence of armed troops.’ The proof that Kaššite troops were stationed by these monarchs in Amurru (Syria-Palestine) is, however, non-existent; and still less (apart from the * Cf. iv. 2 R. 34, 2; and, for a transliteration and translation of the document, Winckler, A.F. i. pp. 389-396. The letter, written by an unnamed Babylonian king, mentions a king of Assyria named Ninib-Tukulti-Asur, who seems to have reigned towards the end of the thirteenth century B.C. (cf. Johns, Ancient Assyria, pp. 66 ff.), i.e. during the latter part of the Kaššite period in Babylon.

† Cf. Scheil, Recueil de Travaux, xvi. (1894), pp. 32 f. The name occurs on a boundary-stone of the time of Marduk-ahi-erba of the Fourth Babylonian Dynasty (B.C. 1073).

§ Hommel, however, regards the similarity between Habiru and Habirā as purely fortuitous, taking the latter to mean an inhabitant of the land of Hāpir or Apīr, i.e. that part of Elam which lay over against eastern Arabia. Cf. AHT. p. 286; Grundriss, p. 7.


¶ Revue d’Assyriologie, xii. (1915), pp. 114 f. The memorandum runs: ‘There are 4 (or 5) garments for the officers of the Habiru which Išni-Adad . . . has received. Levided (i) on the property of the temple of Šamaš by Ili-ippalzam. [Month of] Nisan, 11th day, [year of] Rim-Sin, King.’
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assumption that the Ḫabiru were Kaššites) can the presence of such troops in the west be proved for six centuries later.*

* It is true that ARAD-Ḫiba speaks of the outrages committed by the Kaš people, who seen on one occasion nearly to have killed him in his own house (Kn. 287, ll. 32 f., 71 f.); and Biridiya of Megiddo apparently couples them with the SA.GAZ as in the pay of the sons of Labaya (Kn. 246, ll. 5 ff.: the reading is uncertain, as the tablet is broken; but traces of Ka- can be seen after amēlāt maid). Since, however, Rib-Adda of Gebal more than once begs the Pharaoh to send him Kaš troops to protect Egyptian interests in Phoenicia (Kn. 131, 1. 13; 133, 1. 17; conjecturally restored in 127, 1. 22), and in one of these passages (133, 1. 17) Ka-[ṣ] is a gloss upon [Me-tu]-Ḫa, i.e. Ethiopia (Heb. ṣw Ḫuš), it can scarcely be doubted that the people of identical name mentioned by ARAD-Ḫiba and Biridiya were likewise Sudanese mercenaries at the disposal of the Egyptian high-commissioner, who may well have proved themselves hostile and troublesome to the governors of Jerusalem and Megiddo. It must be recollected that ARAD-Ḫiba actually charged the high-commissioner with favouring the Ḫabiru and hating the city-governors (Kn. 286, ll. 16 ff.). The identity of the Kaš with the Sudanese mercenaries in all these passages is assumed by Weber (Kn. pp. 1100 f.). There is the same ambiguity in regard to the term (Kushite or Kaššite) in cuneiform as exists in the case of the Heb. ṣw (cf. p. 64, footnote).

Sayce (ET. xv., 1903, pp. 282 f.) bases his theory that the Ḫabiru were ‘Hittite condottieri’ upon a discovery which he claims as the result of his attempted decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions, viz. that the name Kas was used throughout the Hittite region, the kings of Carchemish, for example, calling themselves ‘kings of the country of Kas.’ He takes references in the T.A. Letters to the land of Kaššu (Kašši in oblique forms) to refer to the land of the Hittites, alleging that reference to Babylonia (ordinarily assumed) is out of the question, since this is called Kardunias—in answer to which it is sufficient to remark that the full title claimed by the kings of the Third Babylonian Dynasty, as appears from a short inscription of Kara-indaš 1 (cir. B.C. 1426) is ‘King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of Kaššu (Ka-št-šw-šu), King of Kardunias’ (cf. iv. 9 R. 36 [38], No. 3; Delitzsch, Paradies, p. 128). Sayce then claims that the Kaš people of ARAD-Ḫiba’s letter are identified with the Ḫabiru in the passage in which the writer, having accused Milkili and the sons of Labaya of giving the king’s land to the Ḫabiru, then goes on to say, ‘Behold, O King my Lord, I am righteous as regards the Kaš people: let the King ask the high-commissioner whether [or no] they have dealt very violently and brought serious evil to pass’ (Kn. 287). Most readers, however, must surely infer that the passage, on the contrary, distinguishes between the two peoples. Why should the writer apply different appellations to one people in successive sentences? Obviously ARAD-Ḫiba, having made his own accusation against his enemies, then proceeds to deal with an accusation which they have made against him—probably resistance to the Sudanese troops of Egypt involving bloodshed, as we may infer from his later statement that they had nearly killed him in his own house. The letters from the Canaanite princes are full of such mutual recriminations. Equally groundless is the statement that the sons of Arzawa—who must certainly have been Hittites (cf. pp. lxxxiiif.)—mentioned in one letter (Kn. 289 = Winckler 182 = 185) take the place of the Ḫabiru in other letters. The passage in question says, ‘Behold, Milkili, does he not revolt with the sons of Labaya and the sons of Arzawa to give up the King’s territory to them? ’ Here, if the sons of Arzawa are Ḫabiru, we should surely draw the same inference with regard to the sons of Labaya. In two of the three other passages in question, however (Kn. 287, 290, 289, ll. 21 ff. = Winckler, 180, 183, 185), the sons of Labaya are distinguished from the Ḫabiru, for the former are associated with Milkili in giving up the King’s territory to the latter.
There is no reason, so far as we can say, why Rim-Sin should not have employed Aramaean (Hebrew) tribesmen as mercenaries cir. B.C. 2100. Abraham 'the Hebrew,' who is assigned to this period in Gen. 14, is earliest associated with the city of Ur (Gen. 11:28, 31, 15:7) on right bank of the Euphrates and bordering on the Syrian desert, with which Larsa on the left of the river was closely connected. There were SA.GAZ in Babylonia in Hammurabi's reign, and their overseer bore a Semitic Babylonian name, Anum-pî-Sin. If such tribesmen came later on into the regular employ of the Kassite kings, it would not be strange if some of them adopted Kassite names. We find, then, in this last mentioned evidence, no insuperable objection to the identification of the Habiru with the Hebrews in the widest sense of the term.

Another fact which we have learned from the T.A. Letters, and which is of high interest for the history of Canaan in the period prior to the Israelite settlement, is that a large and influential portion of the population of Syria-Palestine at this time was non-Semitic. That part of this foreign element was Hittite is now placed beyond a doubt. We have already alluded to 'the sons of Arzawa' and 'the sons of Labaya' as leagued with the Habiru in rebellion against the constituted authority of Egypt. There exists among the T.A. correspondence the copy of a letter addressed by Amenhotep III. to Tarḫundaraba, king of Arzawa (Kn. 31). This letter is written for the most part in a language which we must infer to be the language of the addressee; and the fact that this is Hittite has now been certainly proved by the discovery of a number

Lastly, Sayce's statement that Habiru (-ri) cannot be a proper name because it is not Habirā (a gentilic form) is directly contradicted by the fact that we have Suta (-ti), Aḫlamā ( -mi) which are certainly tribal names and yet are not gentilic (on these people, cf. p. lxxix); his explanation of the name as meaning 'confederates' (like Heb. ḫāḇēr, plur. ḫāḇērīn, the ordinary philological equivalent for which in Bab. is idru, which occurs in the T.A. Letters, Kn. 126, 1. 16) is ruled out by the occurrence of the gentilic Habirā with the two Kassite names which we have already noticed (p. lxxxi), since such a gentilic can only be formed from a proper name, and is excluded no less by the occurrence once of (amātētu) Ḫa-ri (KI) which marks the name as racial (a tribe from a particular district: cf. p. lxxxviii); and his finding in this last-mentioned method of writing the name an indication of the association of the 'confederates' with the city of Hebron (assumed to mean 'confederate-city') takes no account of the fact that we cannot dissociate Habirī (KI) from the two occurrences of SA.GAZ (KI) which we have discussed with it.

* A regular part of the title claimed by Rim-Sin is 'he that cared for Ur.' Cf. Thureau-Dangin, Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsschriften, pp. 216 ff.

† Cf. King, Hammurabi, no. 36; Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe, no. 26, with note b.

§ Cf. Winckler, KAT.¹ p. 197, n. 1. Knudtzon (p. 47, n. 8) maintains (against Scheil) that the name of Kudurra's father, which is read as Ba-ri-šu, seems not to be Kaššite.

of documents in the same language among the Boghaz Keui documents. The precise position of Arzawa is at present unascertained; but it seems to have been a subordinate Hittite kingdom in Asia Minor.* 'The sons of Arzawa' can hardly mean anything else than 'men from the land of Arzawa.' † Labaya, on the other hand, seems to be a personal name. There are three letters from Labaya (Kn. 252-254); and the first of these, though mainly written, like the others, in Babylonian, is so much coloured by a curious foreign jargon that in places it is incomprehensible. Another letter, written wholly in the Arzawa language and undeciphered (Kn. 32), mentions the name of Labaya three times; and the position of the earliest occurrence of the name in the first line leaves little doubt that the writer was Labaya himself.

Other non-Semitic names in the Syrian and Palestinian letters—Šuwardata, Yašdata, Zirdamyašda, Ῥταmamy, Ῥušmany, Manya, Biridašwa, Biridiya, Namya, Teuwat, Šubandu, Šutarna, etc.—appear to be Aryan; and some of them have certainly been identified as such.‡ They are found throughout Cana'an as well as to the north of the Lebanons. Šuwardata, who was in antagonism to ARAD-Ḫiba of Jerusalem, was chieftain of Kelti, i.e. in all probability the Biblical Ke'ila (1 Sam. 23:1, al.) some eight miles north-west of Hebron. Biridiya and his brother (?) Yašdata were princes of Megiddo. Ῥušmany was prince of the city of Šaruna, a name which is identical with the Biblical Sharon, the maritime plain north of Joppa. The presence of this Aryan element in Syria and Palestine is doubtless to be connected with the fact that the kingdom of Mitanni was at this period dominated by an aristocracy who described themselves as Ħurri, i.e. Aryan, bore Aryan-sounding names, and venerated the Aryan deities Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nāsatya-twins. || The bulk of the Mitannian population appears, however, to have been related to the Hittites, and very possibly owed its origin to the Hittite invasion of western Asia in

* Cf. Winckler in OLZ. ix. p. 628; MDOG. xxxv. p. 40; and especially the detailed discussion of Knudtzon, Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe (1902), pp. 16 ff.
† Similarly the appellation Arzawiyu applied to the chieftain of Ruḥizzi (probably in central Syria) seems to mean 'the Arzawan' (cf. Kn. 58, 54, al.).
‡ Similarly (PSBA. xxxi., 1909, p. 234; cf. also NE. p. 410, n5) identifies Šuwardata or Suyardata with the Aryan Šurya-dāta, i.e. 'Sun-given' ('Hλαοδόπος'. Böhl (KH. p. 17, n1) quotes G. J. Thierry as comparing Biridašwa with Sanskrit Brhad-āśva '(He who owns a) great horse.' Biridiya appears to contain the same first element. The element Arta in Ῥταmamy is seen in the names Ῥταmāmara and Ῥtattama of the Aryan dynasty of Mitanni: cf. the Old Persian Ῥtakhāštrā (Artaxeres) from arta 'great' and khāštrā 'kingdom.' The second element appears in Manya and Ῥušmany. Šutarna, the father of Namya, bears a name which is also borne by a member of the Mitannian dynasty. Namya may be compared with Mattuaua of the Mitannian dynasty. Cf. Hommel, Sitzungsberichte der k. w. h. Gesellschaft., 1898, vi.; E. Meyer, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschungen, xlii (1909), pp. 18 ff.; Weber in Kn. paseim.
|| Cf. Winckler, MDOG.** xxxv. pp. 37 ff., 51; OLZ. xiii. 289 ff. The names occur in Figulla and Weidner, Keilschriften, 1, No. 1, Rev. ii. 55 ff.; No. 8, Rev. i. 24.
the 20th century B.C., which, as we have seen (p. lxiv), brought about the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty;* or, it may be, to a still earlier settlement of Hittites, superimposed upon an older population. This Hittite population was governed, but not absorbed, by its Aryan conquerors, just as the Semitic population of Babylonia was governed by the Kassite aristocracy who doubtless belonged to the same wave of Indo-European invasion that founded the Aryan Dynasty of Mitanni. The language of Mitanni appears to be neither Hittite nor Indo-European, but is said to have connexion with the Vannic or Caucasian type.†

Now it seems to be clear that prior to the conquests of Thutmose I. and Thutmose III. the kingdom of Mitanni extended south-west of the Euphrates, and included Naharin, if not some portion of Syria still further south. We have noticed, in speaking of the campaigns of Thutmose III., that the leader of the forces of Naharin was probably the king of Mitanni (cf. p. lxviii). The glosses which occur in the letter from the inhabitants of Tunip prove that Mitannian was the language which was ordinarily spoken in this Syrian city.§

The inference is plausible that the cessation of the West Semitic Babylonian predominance in Amurru, which is marked by the fall of the First Babylonian Dynasty cir. B.C. 1926, laid this region open to Mitannian (i.e. Hittite-Aryan) influence and occupation, the permeation of this strain in the population extending ultimately up to the frontier of Egypt. The campaigns of the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty curtailed and eventually destroyed Mitannian claims to suzerainty in Amurru, confining the Mitannian kingdom to the eastern side of the Euphrates. The Hittite-Aryan strain still, however, formed a well-marked element in the population of Syria and Canaan; and there should be no doubt that it is this strain which is denoted in the O.T. by the term ‘Hittites,’ when this term is used in enumeration of ‘the seven races’ inhabiting Canaan at the time of the Israelite occupation (cf. ch. 3 * note).][

* The Hittite state of Hani on the middle Euphrates was apparently the outcome of this invasion. Cf. King, Bab., p. 210, n 4.
‡ Cf. Messerschmidt, MVAG., 1899, 4, pp. 119 ff. Tunip has been placed as far south as Baalbek in the Lebanon-district, and as far north as Tinnah, some 25 miles to the north of Aleppo. The largest consensus of opinion would locate it in the neighbourhood of Kadesh on the Orontes. Cf. Weber’s discussion in Kn. pp. 1123 ff.; and, for Egyptian evidence, Müller, AE. pp. 257 ff.
§ The proved existence of Hittites in southern Canaan in the 14th century B.C. is not, of course, a proof that they were there 700 years earlier in the time of Abraham (assuming this to have been the period of Hammurabi), as is pictured in Gen. 23 P where they appear as inhabitants of Hebron; nor can this be regarded as proved until it can be shown that there is good ground for believing Gen. 23 to be based on contemporary information, or until external contemporary information has been brought to light. For if (as there is reason to believe) Gen. 23 owes its composition (or even its
The existence of this Hittite-Mitannian element in Canaan seems to throw light upon the origin of another people enumerated among 'the seven races,' viz., the Jebusites of Jerusalem. The fact that ARAD-jiiba the governor of Jerusalem bears a name of this class seems to be clear. The Sumerian ideogram ARAD 'servant,' which forms the first element in his name, proves that the second element jiiba (also written Hebja) is a divine name. There can be little doubt that this is the Hittite-Mitannian goddess IJipa or Ḫepa, who figures in the names of the Mitannian princesses Gili-IJipa and Tadu-IJipa (cf. p. lxii), and in that of Pudu-IJipa, the wife of the Hittite king Ḫattušili II.; and who is enumerated among the great deities in the Boghaz Keui documents.* The name of the Jebusite of David's time, Ḫarawna (2 Sam. 24:20,22,23,24) or Ḫarunya (Kt., 2 Sam. 24:18), which is certainly non-Semitic, is Hittite in appearance: we may perhaps compare the Hittite king-names Arandaš and Arnuanta for the first element in the name.† On the other hand, Adoni-šedek of Josh. 10 (cf. Judg. 1:5,7) present form only) to an age much later than the time to which it refers, the possibility that the author or editor may have assumed the conditions of a later age for the more or less remote period of which he is writing has obviously to be taken into account. Cf. the way in which the Philistines are represented in Gen. 26 (J in the main) as inhabitants of the maritime plain in the Patriarchal period, although evidence leads us to conclude that they did not settle in Palestine until a much later date (cf. pp. xxvff.);

While making this criticism of Prof. Sayce's contention that the historical fact that there were Hittites at Hebron in Abraham's time can now be proved (cf. ET. xvii. pp. 418 ff.; HCM. pp. 143 ff.; and elsewhere), the fact should be noted that, while the historical existence of Hittites in southern Palestine at any period has been called in question by many scholars, Prof. Sayce has the merit of having all along maintained its truth upon evidence which might have been patent to all at least since the discovery of the Boghaz Keui documents (which certified the fact that the Arzawa language was a Hittite dialect), if not since that of the T.A. Letters. There is no a priori reason (so far as we know) why there should not have been Hittite clans in southern Canaan before 2000 B.C.; and evidence that such was the case may yet come to light. Sayce's evidence (Biblical World, Feb. 1905, pp. 130 ff.; cf. Archaeology, p. 206) in proof that the Hittites were already settled in southern Palestine at least as early as the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty (cir. 2000-1788 B.C.) breaks down under the criticism of Breasted, AJSL. xxi. (1905), pp. 153-158. Cf. also W. M. Müller, OLZ. xii. (1909), 427 f.

* Cf. MDOG. xxxv. p. 48. The reason why we transcribe the first element of ARAD-jiiba's name according to its value as a Sumerian ideogram is that if, as the honorific mention of Ḫija implies, he was a Hittite-Mitannian, the ideogram probably stands for the Hittite or Mitannian word for 'servant,' which is unknown to us. Hommel (Sitzungsberichte der k. böh. Gesellschaft, 1898, vi, p. 10) and Dhomme (R.B., 1908, p. 72) propose the form Arta-Ḥepa (cf. Artaššumara, Aratama, Artamanya); while Gustava (OLZ., 1911, 341 ff.) offers the form Put-ı-Ḥepa, the Mitannian root, put being interpreted by Bork (MVAG., 1909, 1, p. 126) in the sense 'to serve.' Cf. Weber in Kn. pp. 1333 f. The ordinarily-accepted form Abdi-Ḥiba is based upon the assumption that the man was a Semite, which is very improbable.

† It is likely that the termination in Aran-ya may be hypocoristic, the name bearing the same relation to a fuller form such as Aran-daš as Aki-ya does to Aki-Tešub, Aki-izzi, Gili-ya to Gili-Ḥepa, and Biridi-ya to Birid-ašwa.
is good Semitic, and so is Malki-sedek (Gen. 14:18), if this can be accepted as the genuine name of a king of Jerusalem.

Now Ezekiel, in characterizing figuratively Jerusalem’s idolatrous career from the earliest times, states at the opening of his description, ‘Thy father was the Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite’ (Ezek. 16:3; cf. v. 45). This statement has been often understood to be merely metaphorical—morally considered, Jerusalem may be said to have affinity with the early heathen races of Canaan. In the light, however, of the facts which we have just noticed, viz.: the mixture of Hittite and Semitic names among the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Jerusalem as known to us, it becomes highly probable that Ezekiel’s words preserve an ethnographical fact, and that the Jebusites of Jerusalem actually derived their origin from the amalgamation of two strains, Amorite and Hittite.*

By the end of Amenhotep’s reign Egypt had practically lost her hold upon the whole of her Asiatic dominions. North of the Lebanons Subbiluliuma had thoroughly consolidated the Hittite domination. Aziru’s duplicity in posing as the supporter both of Egyptian and of Hittite interests had at length proved disastrous to him, and the Hittite king had attacked and defeated him and reduced Amurru to vassalage.† The murder of Tušratta in a court-conspiracy, producing anarchy in Mitanni, gave Subbiluliuma the opportunity of intervening in the affairs of that kingdom; and having placed Mattiuaza, an exiled son of the late king, upon the throne, he married him to his daughter and assumed to himself the rôle of suzerain.§ Subbiluliuma seems not to have attempted to extend his domination to Canaan; and here the Habiru and other turbulent elements in the population were left to work their will unchecked by any effective control by Egypt. The death of Amenhotep was speedily followed by the sweeping away of the new religion which he had endeavoured to impose upon Egypt, and the restoration of the ancient cultus. The reigns of the succeeding Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Sakere, Tut’anhaton, and Ay, cover in all a period of not more than eight years (cir. B.C. 1358-1350), during which the power was really in the hands of the Amon-priesthood at Thebes, and the reigning monarchs themselves were little more than figureheads. Tut’anhaton (the change of whose name to Tut’anhamon marks the re-establishment of Thebes as the seat of government and the triumph of the god Amon), may possibly have attempted an expedition into Canaan as well as into Nubia; for under him envoys from Syria are represented, together

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with Ethiopians from the south, as bringing tribute,* and Haremheb is described, when commander-in-chief of the Egyptian forces, as ‘king’s follower on his expeditions to the south and north country.’†

It is doubtful, again, whether Haremheb,§ who succeeded Ay (cir. 1350), attempted to wage war in Syria. The name of Ḫeta (the Hittites) appears in a list of names belonging to his reign, and the captives whom he is represented as presenting to the gods of Egypt may include some Asians.|| It was probably Haremheb who concluded the treaty with Subbiluliuma (written Ș-p‘-rw-rw in Egyptian) to which reference is made in the treaty of Ra‘messe II. with Hattushili (cf. p. xci).

Ra‘messe I., the founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty, must have been an old man at his accession (cir. B.C. 1315), and his reign of two years or less was uneventful. His son and successor, Sety I. (cir. B.C. 1313), early turned his attention to the recovery of Egypt’s Asiatic dominions. At the beginning of his reign he received a report of the condition of affairs in Canaan:—‘The vanquished Sasu, they plan rebellion, rising against the Asians of Ḥaru. They have taken to cursing and quarrelling, each of them slaying his neighbour, and they disregard the laws of the palace.’¶ This report, which summarizes the situation in Canaan as we have it in the T.A. Letters, is of high interest as indicating that the SA.GAZ-Ḥabiru of the latter were identical with the people whom the Egyptians called Sasu, i.e. Asiatic Bedawin.**

Pushing through the desert without delay, Sety easily routed the outposts of the Sasu, and then marched through the whole length of Canaan, conquering or receiving the submission of various fortified cities on his route. A boundary-stone discovered by G. A. Smith, at Tell es-Sihāb, 22 miles due east of the southern end of the sea of Galilee, proves that he must have extended his arms east of Jordan to the Haurān.†† His main object, however, was to regain possession of the Phoenician coast-cities, in order that,

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* Cf. Breasted, A.R. ii. §§ 1027 ff. The fact that the tribute of the north is represented as presented to the Pharaoh by the two viceroys of Nubia creates suspicion that it may have been added, in imitation of earlier representations, as the conventional pendant of the tribute of the south.
§ Haremheb, who first rose to position as a general and administrator in the reign of Achnaton, seems to have been the real wielder of power during the reigns of the weaklings who succeeded this monarch. On the death of Ay he succeeded to the kingship as the nominee of the priesthood of Amon (to whose worship he seems all along to have adhered), and his position was legitimized by marriage with a princess of the royal line. Cf. Breasted, Hist. Eg. pp. 399 ff.; Hall, NE. pp. 810 ff.
|| Cf. Breasted, A.R. iii. § 34.
** Cf. the remarks on p. lxxix as to the identity in meaning of Sasu with SA.GAZ= ḫabbatum.
†† Cf. PEF. Qy. St., 1901, pp. 347 ff.; 1904, pp. 78 ff.
following the example of Thutmose III., he might obtain a naval base for the provision of reinforcements in a future campaign against the further north. This successfully accomplished, he returned to Egypt with his captives and spoil.

Resolved in a second (undated) campaign to try conclusions with the Hittites—whose king, Mursili (Eg. Mr-š-r'), the son of Subbiluliuma, had succeeded to the throne after the brief reign of his brother Arandaš—Sety advanced between the Lebanon, and for the first time Egyptian and Hittite forces met in conflict. Sety claims to have reached Naharin; but since he did not gain any decisive success against the Hittites, we may suspect that this is an exaggeration. After this campaign Sety concluded a treaty with Mursili,* the terms of which probably left Canaan and Phoenicia to Egypt, and the whole of Syria north of the Lebanon to the Hittites. During the remainder of Sety's reign (which lasted some 21 years in all) we hear of no further campaign in Syria. It is interesting to note that Sety (like Ra'messe II.) mentions a district called Ā-sa-ru, corresponding to the hinterland of southern Phoenicia †—precisely the position assigned in the Old Testament to the Israelite tribe of Asher (cf. ch. 13th note).

His successor, Ra'messe II. (cir. B.C. 1292), was fired with the ambition of recovering Egypt's Asiatic empire as it had existed at the end of the reign of the great conqueror Thutmose III. This was a task more difficult than ever before. The Hittite king Mursili, and his son and successor Muwattalli (Eg. Mw-t-n-r'), profiting by the long period of peace, had occupied Kadesh on the Orontes as a frontier-fortress, and rendered it a very formidable obstacle to be overcome by an Egyptian army advancing northward between the Lebanon. Of Ra'messe's earliest moves we know no more than the fact that a limestone stele, cut in the rock at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb near Bērūt, bears the Pharaoh's name, and is dated the fourth year of his reign. § This shows that, like his father Sety, his initial move was to follow the policy of Thutmose III. and to make sure of his hold upon the Phoenician cities; but whether this cost him any fighting we have no means of determining. In any case, his ulterior object was sufficiently obvious to forewarn the Hittite king; and when next year he advanced against northern Syria in order to try conclusions with the Hittites, Muwattalli || had

* Mentioned in the treaty of Ra'messe II. with Ḫattušili. This speaks of a treaty with Muwattalli; but there can be no doubt that the name is an error for Mursili; cf. Breasted, A. R. iii. § 377, note c.
† Cf. Müller, A. E. pp. 236 ff.
§ Another stele in the same place has been thought to be dated 'year 2' (so Petrie, Hist. Eg. iii. p. 46), but the date should more probably be read 'year 10.' There was but one campaign before that against Kadesh in 'year 5.' Cf. Breasted, A. R. § 297.
|| Hall makes Mursili the Hittite king whom Ra'messe met at Kadesh, and supposes that he died shortly after, 'crushed by the disaster that had befallen his armies' (NE. p. 361); but the treaty of Ḫattušili with Ra'messe certainly speaks as
mustered an army of some 20,000 including his north Syrian dependants and allies from Asia Minor, among whom we recognize Dardanians (Dardeny), Lycians (Luka), Mysians (Mesa), Kataonians (Katawaden), and Cilicians (Kelekeš). The bad strategy displayed by Ra’messe nearly involved him in defeat, his first and second divisions (the first led by the king himself) encountering a surprise-attack from behind the city of Kadesh, whilst the third and fourth divisions were still struggling some miles in the rear. The second division appears to have been cut to pieces in the first onset of the Hittites, while the first division (already in camp) was largely put to flight; but the personal bravery of Ra’messe (rallying no doubt his own bodyguard and some part of the first division) succeeded in holding the foe at bay until reinforcements arrived, when the aspect of affairs was changed and the Hittites were beaten off with heavy losses. Next day both armies seem to have been too exhausted to renew the combat; and Ra’messe had to be content to return to Egypt without attempting to reduce the fortress of Kadesh.*

It is easy to see that this campaign, though much magnified by Ra’messe on account of the personal part which he played in retrieving the issue of the battle, must have been somewhat disastrous to the prestige of Egypt in Syria. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that within the next year or so the whole of Canaan, stirred up doubtless by Hittite influence, was in revolt; and in his eighth year Ra’messe had to undertake a campaign for its reconquest, and was obliged to lay siege to and reduce even a city so far south as Ashkelon.

Pushing northward, he then captured a number of cities in the district of Galilee, among which we recognize the name of Beth-‘Anath (cf. ch. 138 note), and seems also to have extended his arms into the Lebanon-district, for he records the conquest of a city named Dapur ‘in the land of Amor’ (Amurru), which was garrisoned by Hittites.‡ Possibly the stele discovered by Schumacher at though peace had been broken in the time of Muwattali (Breasted, AR. iii. § 374), and this is the view which is taken by Breasted (Hist. Eg. pp. 423 ff.), Garstang (Hittites, p. 343), Luckenbill (AJTh. xviii. p. 49), and King (Bab. p. 235).

* The fullest accounts of this battle (with plans and Egyptian reliefs) will be found in Breasted, AR. iii. §§ 298 ff.; The Battle of Kadesh (Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, 1904); Hist. Eg. pp. 425 ff.; Petrie, Hist. Eg. iii. pp. 47 ff.

‡ The view commonly held (cf. Petrie, Hist. Eg. iii. p. 61; Breasted, AR. iii. §§ 356 ff.; Hist. Eg. p. 436; Hall, NE. p. 362) that Dapur is the Biblical Tabor in the plain of Esdraelon is not very probable. Heb. נ is not usually represented by Eg. מ (no instances cited by Burch.), nor ג by Eg. פ (very rare; cf. Burch. § 50); and the fact that this city alone is distinguished as ‘in the land of Amor’ surely dissociates it from the group in which it occurs. No Hittite remains have been discovered further south than Restán, north of the Lebanons. Elsewhere Dapur is associated with Kadesh: cf. Müller, AE. p. 221. We find Tabor normally spelt among the Asiatic names in the great list of Ra’messe iii. at Medinet Habu: cf. W. M. Müller, Egypt. Researches (1904) Pl. 65, No. 27; Burch. No. 1083.
EXTERNAL INFORMATION BEARING ON THE PERIOD xci

Sa'd in the Hauran,* about three miles north of Tell 'Aštarâ, may have been set up during this campaign.

The records for the following years are scanty, but it is clear that they witnessed a long and arduous struggle to recover northern Syria from the Hittites. Ra'messe must have advanced into Naharin as far as Tunip, conquered this city, and then lost it again; for in a subsequent campaign we find him once more capturing it, together with Katna and Arvad, and claiming to have subdued the whole of northern Syria and Naharin.† It is unlikely that he retained possession of his conquests for any length of time. Muwattalli, though he might be temporarily worsted, was by no means beaten, and probably wrested back most if not all of the captured territory as often as Ra'messe returned with his army to Egypt. At length, in or shortly before the twenty-first year of Ra'messe's reign, Muwattalli died and was succeeded by his brother Hattušili II. (Eg. H-t'-s'-r'), who immediately proposed a treaty of peace which the Egyptian king was not loath to accept. The Egyptian text of this treaty is engraved on the walls of Karnak and the Ramesseum, and has long been known§; and parts of a copy in cuneiform Babylonian were discovered among the Hittite archives at Boghaz Keui.|| It is a diplomatic document of the highest interest, dealing in legally phrased clauses with obligations of alliance and the mutual right of extradition of emigrants and political refugees. Both parties are placed upon a footing of exact equality—a fact which proves that neither had any permanent advantage to claim as the result of many years of conflict. There is no definition of the boundary-line between the two kingdoms; and our inference must be that it remained as defined or recognized in the earlier treaties of Šubbiluliuma (cf. p. lxxxviii) and Mursili (cf. p. lxxxix), to which the present treaty refers. Thirteen years later Ra'messe married the eldest daughter of Hattušili, and the Hittite king actually accompanied his daughter to Egypt for the ceremony.*

During the remainder of Ra'messe's long reign of sixty-seven years he was never again obliged to take the field in Syria.** His son Mineptaḥ was an elderly man when he succeeded him (cir. B.C. 1225), and his accession seems to have been the signal for a revolt in Canaan, which he quelled in his third year. Mineptaḥ's reference

* Cf. ZDPV. xiv. pp. 142 ff.
** To the reign of Ra'messe II. is assigned the composition of the document contained in Papyrus Anastasi i., which gives an imaginative and satirical description of the perils and difficulties attendant upon travel in Palestine. This document, which is of the highest interest on account of the typographical and descriptive information which it offers, has been most recently edited by A. H. Gardiner, Egyptian Hieratic Texts, Series I. Part I. (1911).
to this campaign is, from the Biblical point of view, of the highest interest, for in it we find Israel mentioned among Palestinian localities—Pe-kanan (i.e. 'the Canaan'), Ashkelon, Gezer, Yeno'am, Ḥaru (i.e. southern Palestine)—as plundered and subdued.* Mineptah’s statement is ‘Israel (y-s-r-r) is desolated, his seed is not,’† and the name Israel is marked by the Determinative which means ‘men,’ showing that it denotes a people and not a country.

The next event which is of interest for Biblical history is the settlement of the Philistines in Canaan. Already in the reign of Mineptah we can trace the beginning of a migratory movement among the peoples of the north-eastern Mediterranean. Mineptah was obliged, in his fifth year, to repel an extensive invasion into the western Delta on the part of the Libyans, together with various peoples who came by sea to assist in the raid, those who are named being the 'Aṣaywaša, Turuša, Luka, Sardina, and Sakaluša.§ After a lapse of nearly thirty years we find that history repeats itself, and the Libyans, profiting by the period of confusion and weakness which ensued in Egypt after the death of Mineptah (cir. B.C. 1215), again invaded the western Delta in force in the fifth year of Rašesse III. of the Twentieth Dynasty (cir. B.C. 1193), assisted by searovers called Pulasati and Ṭakkara,|| some of whom joined the land forces of the Libyans, whilst others entered the Nile-mouths in their ships. Rašesse claims a decisive victory against these

* The inscription in which this reference occurs was discovered by Petrie in 1896, and a full account of it was given by him in the Contemporary Review for May of the same year. Cf. also Petrie, Hist. Eg. iii. p. 114; Breasted, A.R. iii. §§ 602 ff.

† In the expression ‘his seed is not,’ seed seems to mean posterity; and the phrase does not mean ‘their crops are destroyed,’ as explained by Petrie and many scholars after him. This is clear from the fact that the same expression is used five times elsewhere of other conquered foes (cf. Breasted, A.R. iii. §§ 604), e.g. of the sea-peoples who endeavoured to invade Egypt in the reign of Rašesse III., of whom this king says, ‘Those who reached my border are desolated, their seed is not.’ Here reference to ‘crops’ is obviously out of the question.

§ Cf. Breasted, A.R. iii. §§ 569 ff. The 'Aṣaywaša are probably the 'Aχαφοι, Achivi, or proto-Greeks; the Turuša may be the Topr̄poł or Tyrrenians, whose migration from Asia Minor to Italy probably took place at about this period; the Luka, as we have already noticed (p. xc), are certainly the Lyctans; the Sardina were perhaps originally from Sardis in Asia Minor, and subsequently gave their name to Sardinia (some of them had been in the employ of Egypt as mercenaries since the days of Aḥaton: they appear in the T.A. Letters as ʾamēlu Ṣerdani; cf. Kn. 122, l. 36); the Sakaluša were probably from Sagalassos in Asia Minor (Sagalassian mercenaries are perhaps intended by ṣebê ālu Šēklali, ‘soldiers of the city of Šēklali’), mentioned by Abd-Asirta in one of his letters, Kn. 62; so Hall in PSBA. xxxi. p. 281, n.80). Cf. Müller, A.E. pp. 357 ff., 372 ff.; Hall, NE. pp. 63 ff., 377. On the -ša and -na terminations of many of these names as nominal suffixes in Asia Minor (illustrated by the Lycian -uži, -uzaa, etc.), cf. Hall, Oldest Civilization of Greece, pp. 178 f.

|| Or Zakkala, if Hommel (PSBA. xvii., 1895, p. 205; Grundriss, pp. 28, 32, n4) is right in connecting with the city-name Zakkalū, mentioned in a Babylonian inscription of the Kaššite period (the same that has already been cited for the name Ḥarbiššu: cf. p. lxxxi).
combined forces.* But a greater peril awaited him. In his eighth year he had to meet a threatened invasion of the sea-peoples, which was clearly no casual raid, but a migration on a large scale. The invaders came both by land, moving down the coast of Syria, and also by sea, the land-contingent bringing their families and possessions in heavy two-wheeled ox-carts. 'The isles were disturbed,' Ra'messe tells us, and 'no one stood before their hands,' even the Hittites being mentioned as wasted before their advance. 'They set up a camp in one place in the land of Amor [Amurru]. They desolated his people and his land like that which is not. Their main support was Pulasati, Takkara, Sakaluša, Danauna, Wašaša. These lands were united, and they laid their hands upon the land as far as the Circle of the Earth. Their hearts were confident, full of their plans.' § Ra'messe equipped a fleet to meet the invaders, and marched into Cana'an himself at the head of his land-army, which was composed partly of Egyptians and partly of Sardina mercenaries. Somewhere upon the coast of Phoenicia a battle was fought in which Ra'messe was victorious; and his army, having accounted for their foes by land, turned their arrows to the assistance of the Egyptian ships which were engaged in a naval battle inshore in one of the harbours. § Ra'messe thus succeeded for the time in checking the southern progress of the tide of invasion; but it cannot have been long afterwards — whether later in this Pharaoh's reign or in the period of national decay which supervened at his death — that the immigrant tribes pressed on and occupied the whole of the maritime plain of Cana'an from Carmel to the border of Egypt, extending ultimately, as it seems, across the plain of Edraelon to Beth-she'an (cf. p. 24).

However much doubt may attach to the identification of the other invading tribes, || it is certain that the Pulasati (written Pw-r'-s'-t or Pw-r'-s'-ty) are the *Philistim* of the O.T. The Philistines were recognized by the Israelites as immigrant settlers, and their earlier home is said to have been *Hariš* Kaphtor (Deut. 2:23, Am. 9:7),

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† Cf. Breasted, *AR. iv.* § 64.
|| The name Takkara has been connected by Petrie (*Hist. Eg.* iii. p. 151) with the place-name Zakro in eastern Crete, and this view is favoured by Hall (*NE.* p. 71). The older identification with the *Teucros* of the Troad, adopted by Lauth, Chabas, Lenormant, and ultimately by Brugsch (cf. references in Maspero, *Mélanges*, p. 464, n2) may also connect this people originally with Crete, whence the Trojan Teucer is said to have come (Virgil, *Aen.* iii. l. 192 ff.); cf. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 176. Maspero (*Revue Critique*, 1889, p. 110) and Breasted (*Hist. Eg.* p. 477) think of the pre-Greek Sikeli or Sicilians. The Danauna may have been the *Δαναοί*, as is commonly thought, in spite of the fact that there was a settlement of them in Cana'an some two hundred years before this date (cf. p. xcv). On the Sakaluša as the Sagalassians, cf. p. xcii. Most difficult of all to identify are the Wašaša, who Hall thinks may be 'the people of *Wacós* (Waxos), the 'Οακός of Herodotus and 'Ακός of later days, a prominent city of Crete' (cf. *op. cit.* p. 177).
which is defined in Jer. 47 by the term ‘Kaphtor,' always applied to the islands and coast-lands of the Mediterranean. The identity of Kaphtor with the Egyptian Keftiu, and of both with the island of Crete, admits of no reasonable doubt; but it is not unlikely that the ancestors of the Philistines had at one time or another connexion with the mainland of Asia Minor, especially with Lycia and Caria (which may, indeed, be included under the term Keftiu, if, as Hall states, it is derived from an Egyptian word meaning ‘behind,’ and so denotes somewhat vaguely ‘the back of beyond’). The term Κερθθι, which is often applied in the O.T. to a section of the Philistines (especially David’s foreign bodyguard), bears a close

* The absence of the final r in Keftiu as compared with Kaphtor is explained by Spiegelberg (OLZ. xi. 426 f.) as due to elision; and this seems more probable than the rival explanation offered by Wiedemann (OLZ. xiii. 59) that Kaphtor is the Egyptian Καφτ-θορ ‘Upper Kefti’ (like Retenu-θορ ‘Upper Retenu’), since it is more likely that the Israelites learned the name directly from the Philistines themselves than through an Egyptian medium. W. M. Müller (MVAG., 1900, p. 6) cites the Ptolemaic form Κφτθ with retention of r.

‡ The men of Keftiu figured on Egyptian tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty period bear striking resemblance to the Minoans, the remains of whose civilization have been excavated at Knossos and other sites in Crete, and the vases which they carry are identical in workmanship. It is impossible, however, to regard the Philistines as identical with these Keftians. The former, as represented in Egyptian reliefs, are quite unlike the latter, and always wear a high feathered headdress, such as, according to Herodotus (vii. 92) was worn at the battle of Salamis by the Lycians (πετρί κεφαλῆς πέτρας περιέχειν περιέχομένου), whom the same writer believes to have come originally from Crete (i. 173). Cf. the feathered headdress worn by the figures depicted on an Assyrian relief from Kuyunjik of the seventh century B.C.: Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, 2nd Series, Plate 44. Herodotus also states that the Carians came to the mainland from the islands, and were originally subjects of King Minos (i. 171; cf. also Strabo, xiv. 2, 27), and he ascribes to them, among other inventions borrowed by the Greeks, the fastening of crests on helmets—which, however, were clearly quite different from the feathered skull-caps of the Lycians and Philistines. A head with feathered headdress, identical with that of the Philistines, forms one of the pictographs upon the clay disk discovered by Pernier in the palace of Phaestos in Crete. The human figures included among the pictographs on this disk are non-Minoan in outline and costume, and the signs as a whole differ considerably from those of the Minoan signary. Whether the disk should ‘be regarded as a record of a peaceful connexion between the Minoan lords of Phaestos and some neighbouring race enjoying a parallel form of civilization,' or as ‘the record of an invading swarm, the destroyers perhaps of Phaestos itself,' is a question which cannot at present be settled. Cf. Evans, Scripta Minoa, i. pp. 22-28, with Plates xii. and xiii.

The Aegean pottery which has been discovered at sites in Palestine which come within the Philistine sphere (Tell es-Säfiyyeh, Gezer, ‘Ain-šems) is of the inferior style called ‘Late Minoan III. ’ i.e. belonging to the period subsequent to the destruction of Knossos which marks the end of ‘Late Minoan II.’ (c. B.C. 1400. Late Minoan III. style, which follows immediately on Late Minoan II., was very possibly the inferior imitation of Minoan art already developed in south-western Asia Minor by the invaders of Crete, who may have been the ancestors of the Philistines.

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resemblance to 'Cretan,' and is so rendered by Gr in Ezek. 25 15; Zeph. 2 9; and an allied tribe, also employed as mercenaries by the Judaean kings, bore the name יְנֵי Каָרִת (2 Sam. 20 23 Kt., 2 Kgs. 11 419), i.e. Carians.

The O.T. tells us nothing as to the other sea-peoples allied with the Philistines; but we gather from the narrative of the Egyptian Wenamon (cf. p. xcvi), that there was a Takkara settlement at Dor a little south of Carmel about eighty years after the invasion. It is possible that the Danauna may have settled on the sea-coast to the north of Phoenicia, where, as we learn from a letter of Abimilki of Tyre to Aḥnaton, there was a settlement of them some 200 years earlier.* So late as the latter half of the 9th century b.c. Kalumu king of Ya'dī in northern Syria was harassed by the king of the Danonim (דָּנִון), and was obliged to hire the assistance of the king of Assyria ‡—a fact which favours the inference that this people is to be looked for somewhere upon the north Syrian littoral.

After having successfully repulsed another invasion of the Libyans (this time in alliance with the Mašawaša, a north African people dwelling to the west of the Libyans), which took place in his eleventh year, Ra'messe III. undertook (probably within the next year or two) a second campaign in Syria concerning which our very scanty information is derived solely from pictorial reliefs.§ He seems to have stormed and captured several fortified cities, one of which is described as 'in the land of Amor,' whilst another, which is represented as surrounded by water, is probably Kadesh. Two others are pictured as defended by Hittite troops, and one of these bears the name Eret.

After the death of Ra'messe III. the Twentieth Dynasty was continued by a series of nine rulers, all of whom bore the name Ra'messe (iv-xii). The total period covered by their reign was under 80 years (b.c. 1167-1090); and since in the whole line there was not one monarch possessing the slightest vigour or initiative, the power of the empire suffered a swift and irretrievable decline. Early in Ra'messe xii.'s reign we find that a Tanite noble named Nesubenebed has made himself ruler of the whole Delta-region,

* Cf. Kn. 151, ll. 49 ff. Abimilki's words are, 'The King my lord has written to me, "What news hast thou of Canaan? Send me word." The king of the land of Danaun is dead, and his brother has become king in succession, and the land is at rest.' It is generally assumed that the O.T. references to the Philistines as occupying the maritime plain of southern Canaan in Patriarchal times (Gen. 21 32-34 E, 26 J; cf. also Ex. 13 18 E, 15 14 J) are necessarily anachronistic; but the fact that there were Danauna in Syria some two hundred years before the days of Ra'messe III should give us pause before we assert this categorically, since for aught we know there may have been an earlier Philistine settlement just as there was an earlier Danauna settlement. The existence of such an earlier Philistine settlement has been argued by Noordzij (De Filistijnen, p. 59), mainly on the ground that by the time of Samson and Saul the Philistines were already largely Semitized.

‡ Inscription of Kalunu, ll. 7 ff. Cf. references p. 174, footnote *.

while at Thebes the supreme power is in the hands of the high-priest of Amon, Hi'hor by name.

A document dated in the fifth year of this reign (cir. B.C. 1114) is of the highest interest to us as illustrating Egypt's total loss of power and prestige in Syria.* This is the report of a certain Wenamon, an official despatched by Hi'hor to Phoenicia in order to procure timber from the Lebanon for the sacred barge of Amon. The report, which is a chapter of misfortunes, is undoubtedly authentic, and was apparently drawn up to explain the emissary's waste of time and ill-success in accomplishing his errand.

Starting from Thebes in charge of an image of the god named 'Amon-of-the-Way,' Wenamon goes to Tanis, and on exhibition of his credentials Nesubenebed and his wife Tentamon give him a passage on board a trading-vessel commanded by a Syrian in order that he may reach Gebal and obtain the timber from Zakar-ba'al (Eg. Ṭ'r-Ṭ'b-r), the Phoenician prince of that city. In the course of the voyage the ship touches at Dor, which belongs to a settlement of the Takkara under a prince named Badyra, or, it may be, Bod'el (Eg. B-dy-r). † Whilst the ship is in harbour one of the crew steals Wenamon's money, amounting to 5 deben of gold and 31 deben of silver, § and decamps. Wenamon interviews Badyra and endeavours to make him responsible for the robbery, on the ground that it took place in his harbour; but the Takkara prince not unnaturally disclaims all obligation to make good the money, while politely promising to search for the thief. After waiting in harbour nine days without result, Wenamon is obliged to continue his journey. Unfortunately at this point there comes a lacuna in the MS.; but we are able to gather from what remains || that the ship put in at Tyre, and that either here or at some other port Wenamon met some Takkara travellers bearing a bag of silver amounting to 30 deben, and incontinently seized it as surety for his own money.

Arrived at Gebal, Zakar-ba'al refuses to see him, and sends a message, 'Begone from my harbour!' Wenamon waits patiently for nineteen days, in spite of daily orders to depart; then one of the youths in the prince's retinue falls into a prophetic frenzy, and demands that the god, and the messenger of Amon who has him in


† In favour of taking the name as Semitic we may compare the Phoenician names Bod'-Astart, Bod-Melkart, Bod-Tanith. Bod is probably a shortened form of 'servant of': cf. Cooke, NSI. p. 41.

§ That is (according to Petrie, Hist. Eg. iii. p. 197) about £60 in gold and £12 in silver.

|| Maspero (op. cit.) offers a conjectural restoration of the missing section.
his care, shall be brought into the presence of Zakar-ba’al. Thus Wenamon, who, having abandoned hope of accomplishing his mission, is loading his belongings on to a ship bound for Egypt, is stopped by the harbour-master and ordered to remain until the morning. He is then granted an interview with Zakar-ba’al, who, in spite of the prophecy, is by no means disposed to receive him with open arms, but demands his credentials which he has foolishly left in the hands of Nesubenebed and Tentamon, and asks why he and his god have been sent, not in a special ship, but in a mere merchant-vessel, in which he might easily have been wrecked and have lost the image of the god.* On Zakar-ba’al’s inquiring his business, he replies, ‘I have come after the timber for the great and august barge of Amon-Re, king of gods. Thy father did it, thy grandfather did it, and thou wilt also do it.’ Zakar-ba’al admits that this is true, and professes himself quite willing to do business at a price; then sending for the journal of his fathers he proves from it that they were paid in full for all the timber which they supplied, and were under no obligation to supply anything freely to Egypt as overlord.† This documentary evidence is clinched by an argument which is very noteworthy as proving how utterly the Phoenician cities had shaken off the Egyptian suzerainty. ‘If,’ says Zakar-ba’al, ‘the ruler of Egypt were the owner of my property, and I were also his servant, he would not send silver and gold, saying, “Do the command of Amon.” It was not the payment of tribute which they exacted of my father. As for me, I am myself neither thy servant nor am I the servant of him that sent thee. If I cry out to the Lebanon, the heavens open, and the logs lie here on the shore of the sea.’§

Wenamon blusters in vain; even the production of the image of Amon, and the solemn assurance that the life and health which the god is able to bestow is of far greater value than a mere money-payment, are without effect. He agrees, therefore, to send his scribe back to Egypt with a request to Nesubenebed and Tentamon to despatch various goods in payment for the timber; and, as an earnest that he is ready to perform his side of the bargain, Zakar-ba’al embarks a small part of the timber on the ship by which the messenger sails. The goods arrive from Egypt in due course, and Zakar-ba’al immediately gives orders that the timber shall be felled and dragged down to the shore. When all is ready for embarka-

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* The precise meaning of Zakar-ba’al’s remarks about the ship seems to be open to doubt. The interpretation adopted above is based on the rendering of Breasted.
† The keeping of this journal by Zakar-ba’al and his ancestors, coupled with the fact that among the goods supplied him from Egypt in payment for the timber are 500 rolls of papyrus, is of the first importance in proof of the high antiquity of the use in Canaan of an alphabetic script written upon papyrus or leather, alongside of the use of cuneiform Babylonian written upon clay tablets. Cf. Addit. Note on ‘The use of writing in Canaan at the time of the Judges,’ p. 258.
§ The actual quotations here given are derived from Breasted’s translation.
tion he sends for Wenamon, and points out that he himself has
done as his fathers did, whereas the Egyptian can scarcely make
the same claim. Then somewhat sarcastically he congratulates
Wenamon on being more fortunate than his predecessors—certain
messengers of Hamwese (probably Ra'messe IX.) who were detained
in the land seventeen years until their deaths: and he suggests that
Wenamon should go and see their tomb!

Wenamon, however, having secured his timber, is only bent on
embarking it as soon as possible and setting sail; but, unfortunately
for him, before he can accomplish this, eleven ships of the Takkara
appear outside the harbour with the object of stopping his departure
and arresting him—doubtless on account of his seizure of the silver
belonging to the Takkara travellers.* Wenamon is in despair; but
Zakar-baal manages to enable him to embark and slip through
their fingers. His ship is then driven by a contrary wind to the
land of Alasa (probably Cyprus); and here he is (or fancies that he is)
in imminent danger of death at the hands of the islanders, and
only escapes through finding some one who understands Egyptian,
and who interprets his words to the queen of the country. At
this point, unfortunately, the MS. breaks off; and we do not know
what further adventures Wenamon encountered before he managed
to reach Egypt.

This narrative of Wenamon—lengthy as it is even when reduced
to a mere summary—has seemed worthy of inclusion both on
account of its intrinsic interest as exemplifying Egypt's loss of even
the shadow of authority in her former Asiatic dominion, and also
because, illustrating as it does most vividly the condition of
civilization in Canaan, it falls into the middle of the period covered
by the Book of Judges, and happens to be the solitary piece of
extra-Biblical evidence known to us which belongs to that period.
The reason why—whilst earlier centuries have proved comparatively
rich in extra-Biblical material bearing on the history of Syria and
Palestine—the period of the Judges of Israel is thus so barren is
not far to seek. We have arrived at an age in which no external
great power was strong enough or free enough to interfere in the
affairs of Canaan. This period extends from the early middle part
of the twelfth century B.C. (end of the reign of Ra'messe III.) down
to the middle of the ninth century B.C. when the co-operation of
Ahab of Israel in the league against Shalmaneser III. of Assyria
(b.c 854) foreshadows the speedy interference of this great power
in the affairs of the small kingdoms of Canaan.†

* The narrative here suggests that a previous attempt to arrest Wenamon had been
made by the Takkara, and that the account of this has disappeared in the lacuna in
the middle of the MS.
† The incursion into southern Canaan of the Pharaoh of whom it is recorded in
1 Kgs. 9:16 that he captured Gezer and presented it as a dowry to his daughter on
her marriage with Solomon (early middle part of the tenth century B.C.), and the
invasion of Judah and Israel by Shishak (Sheshonk I.) in the reign of Rehobo'am of
The decline of Egyptian power we have outlined. The Hittite empire, shaken to its foundations by the irresistible movement of the sea-peoples of which we have already spoken (cf. p. xciii), appears to have been wiped out, perhaps some two decades later (cir. B.C. 1170) through the invasion of a people whom the Assyrians called Muškaya,* the Meshech of the Old Testament (Gen. 10, al.), and the Mōs̱e̱ of Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 78), who were probably akin to the Phrygians of later times. Thenceforward Carchemish became the chief centre of Hittite civilization; but there were other independent or semi-independent principalities throughout northern Syria, extending apparently as far south as Kadesh on the Orontes, the former frontier-city of the great Hittite empire.† The rulers

Judah (latter half of the same century), as recorded in 1 Kgs. 14, and upon the walls of the temple of Amon at Karnak, are isolated incidents merely, and do not mark a recrudescence of Egyptian power in Palestine.

* Tiglath-Pileser I tells us that in the first year of his reign (cir. B.C. 1120) he attacked and defeated 20,000 Muškaya and their five kings who fifty years previously had held the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzi, and after a course of unbroken victory had 'come down' and seized the land of Kummū (Commagene, south of the Taurus and north of Mesopotamia): cf. Budge and King, Annals of the Kings of Assyria, pp. 35 f.; KB. i. p. 18. In later times their land, to the north-west of Kummū on the borders of Cappadocia, is known as Musku or Musku: cf. for collected references Delitzsch, Paradies, pp. 250 f. It is on Tiglath-Pileser's information as to this Muškaya-movement—coupled with the facts that Arnuanta, who must have reigned cir. B.C. 1200 or a little earlier, is the last Hittite king whose archives have been found at Boghaz Keui, and that both Boghaz Keui and Carchemish exhibit signs of destruction and subsequent reconstruction at a period not much later than Arnuanta—that the conclusion is based that the Muškaya were the destroyers of the Hittite empire. Cf. Hogarth, The Ancient East, p. 38; Garstang, Hittites, p. 53; King, Bab. p. 241.

† This conclusion depends on the emendation of 2 Sam. 24, according to which the northern limit of David's kingdom extended 'to the land of the Hittites, unto Kadesh' (reading מֵתֶּיתָו מֵתָּה מַעְלִּיק לֹאֶדֶּד in place of the unintelligible מֵתֶּיתָו מֵתָּה מַעְלִּיק מַעְלִּיק 'land of Taḥtīm Hodshi' of Μethylene). There is no reason for doubting the restoration 'unto Kadesh'—with Driver (NHTS. ad loc.) and others—on the ground that David's kingdom could not have extended so far north, the ordinary northern limit of the kingdom of Israel being Dan (probably Tell el-Kādy, south of Ḥermon; cf. notes on 'Laish,' ch. 18, and on 'from Dan, etc.,' ch. 20), which is one hundred miles south of Kadesh, if, as is probable, the latter city is to be located on the Orontes at a point a little south of the lake of Ḥoms (cf. Maspero, Mētētēs, pp. 140 f.). The ideal northern limit of the kingdom, which was realized in the reigns of David and Solomon and again in that of Jerobo'am II., was 'the entry of Hamath' (cf. ch. 3 note), which is clearly proved by ch. 33, Josh. 13 to have been the northern and not the southern end of the pass (el-Buḵā) between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges. The attempt to identify 'the entry of Ḥamath' with Mergh Ayyūn, the southern mouth of al-Buḵā (so e.g. van Kasteren, RB. 1896, pp. 23-36; cf. Buhl, Geogr. p. 66), produces the ridiculous result that the terminus a quo in these two passages ('mount Ba'al-Ḥermon,' ch. 33 = 'Ba'al-Gad,' Josh. 13) and the terminus ad quem are in the same locality, or at most separated by five or six miles only; and how 'all Lebanon' can be said to lie between these two points, or, so situated, to be 'eastward' of 'the land of the Gebalites,' passes comprehension.
of these principalities are 'the kings of the Hittites,' mentioned in 1 Kgs. 10:29, 2 Kgs. 7:6.

Lastly, Babylon and Assyria were, during the period of the Judges as also two centuries earlier, so much engaged in mutual suspicions or open hostilities, that they had no scope for raids of conquest in the west. The Synchronistic History of Babylonia and Assyria* is a record of boundary-treaties and their violation, of invasions and counter-invasions, sufficiently preoccupying to absorb the main output of each kingdom's energy so long as their power remained, upon the whole, fairly evenly balanced. Taking a comprehensive survey of the four centuries from B.C. 1400 to B.C. 1000,‡ we observe that the tendency of Babylon is towards decline of power, whereas the tendency of Assyria is towards the gathering of strength and energy, which gives promise of the predominant position which she was to attain in western Asia from the ninth until nearly the close of the seventh century B.C. This may be largely explained by difference of temperament, the strong infusion of Sumerian and Kaššite strains in the Semitic blood of the Babylonians apparently tending towards a peace-loving and mercantile disposition; whereas such infusion as entered into the more purely Semitic blood of the Assyrians seems to have been furnished, at the beginning of their national history, by an Anatolian strain, which has been plausibly supposed to account for the lust of war and ruthlessness which distinguished them so markedly in comparison with their southern kinsmen.§

With the rejection of the southern end of el-Buḵa' as 'the entry of Ḥamath,' and acceptance of the northern end, van Kasteren's attempt to trace a line south of the Lebanons for the ideal description of Israel's northern boundary in Num. 34:7ff. P, Ezek. 47:15ff. breaks down entirely. Furrer's attempt (ZDPV. viii., 1885, pp. 27-29) to find the line north of the Lebanon-region and including it is probably approximately correct, except that he goes too far north in placing 'the entry of Ḥamath' at er-Restān (Arethusa), nearly fourteen miles north of Ḥoms (which would bring Kadesh—if it is to be sought at the site above indicated—nearly thirty miles within the border), and in identifying Ziphron of Num. 34:9 with Safrāneh, by the expedient of placing it before and not after Ṣēdād of v.⁶, i.e. the modern Ṣēdād. Probably the boundary crossed the Orontes near Riblah (modern Ribleh) some twenty miles south of Ḥoms (cf. Ezek. 6:14, reading מִתְפָּרְשִׁים), ran east-south-east to Ṣēdād, and then to the modern Zifrān, described by Wetzstein (Reisebericht über Haurān und Trachonen, p. 88) as an extensive ruined site fourteen hours north-east of Damascus. That such a northern extension of territory could be and was claimed by David as the result of his successful wars with the Aramaeans and his treaty with Tōl, king of Ḥamath (2 Sam. 8, 10) is extremely probable—more especially if the territory of Aram-Ṣōbah is to be placed approximately in the neighbourhood of Ḥoms (cf. Noldke in EB. 280).

* This chronicle has been edited by Peiser and Winkler in KB. i. pp. 194 ff.

‡ Cf., on this period of Assyrian and Babylonian history, Budge and King, Annals of the Kings of Assyria, pp. xxiv-xxvi; King, Records of the reign of Tukulti-Ninīšir I.; Bab., chaps. vii., viii.; Rogers, HBA.⁶ pp. 109-132, 144-179; Johns, Ancient Babylonia, pp. 94-106; Ancient Assyria, pp. 50-78; Hall, NE. pp. 368-370, 384-389, 398 f.

§ Cf. King, Bab. pp. 139 ff.
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In the first half of the thirteenth century B.C. the rise of Assyrian power was remarkably rapid, culminating in the reign of Tukulti-Ninib I. (cir. B.C. 1275), who actually conquered Babylon and held it for seven years. This monarch's reign, however, terminated in rebellion and civil war which brought about a period of retrogression, during which Assyria had to suffer at least one serious invasion by the Babylonians.* In the reign of Assur-dan I. (cir. B.C. 1167) the power of Assyria began to revive, † and reached a height never before attained in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I. (cir. B.C. 1120), the first really great empire-builder of this kingdom. Tiglath-Pileser's conquests, however, extensive as they were (including Babylon, and great tracts of country to the north and north-west of Assyria, even as far as the land of Kumanî in the Taurus region), did not reach so far south-west as the land of Canaan, where at this period the tribes of Israel were slowly gaining their footing under the Judges; though he came into conflict with Aramaean tribes in the neighbourhood of Carchemish and drove them westward across the Euphrates, and the fact that he claims to have set sail on the Mediterranean in ships of Arvad, and to have slain a great dolphin or whale,§ indicates some extent of penetration into northern Syria. After Tiglath-Pileser I. we possess practically no knowledge of the course of Assyrian history for a hundred and thirty years; and the silence of the Synchronistic History as to Assyrian victories is a sure indication that the kingdom must have undergone a long period of decline.||

Failing thus the interference of any great power in Syria and Palestine for a period of some three centuries, a unique opportunity was afforded to the smaller peoples of the country to settle down and consolidate their power. In the north the Aramaeans, whose gathering force and westward migratory movements came into evidence in the period of the T.A. Letters, now spread both eastward across the Euphrates into the district of Harran and south-westward into Syria, north and east of the Lebanons, founding in northern and central Syria a number of small principalities inter-spersed among the principalities which, as we have seen, were the survivals of the great Hittite Empire.|| South of the Lebanons

* According to the Synchronistic History, Adad-šum-nasir of Babylon slew Enli-kudar-usur of Assyria in battle, and besieged the city of Assur (cir. B.C. 1213). It is probable that this reassertion of Babylonian power was continued under his immediate successors: cf. King, Bab. p. 244; Rogers, HBA. 6 p. 125; Hall, NE. p. 385.
† He attacked Babylonia and captured several cities from Zamaš-šum-iddin, the last king of the Kaššite Dynasty. This defeat of Babylon was doubtless contributory to the fall of the Third Dynasty, which took place shortly after at the hands of the Elamites.
§ Cf. 'Broken Obelisk,' col. iv. ll. 2f. (Budge and King, op. cit., p. 188.)
¶ Our knowledge of north Syrian history is far too scanty to enable us even to draw inferences as to the relative strength and persistency of the Hittite and
opportunity favoured the southern branch of the Aramaean stock which is known as the Hebrews, among whom the tribes of Israel formed an important element. It is a fact worthy of notice that the Book of Judges, in recording the experiences of Israel in their struggle to obtain a footing in Canaan, makes no sort of allusion to any collision with, or aggression at the hands of, a great power such as Egypt or Assyria—as might well have happened had the information embodied in the book been merely vague and anachronistic. The absence of such allusion—which, as we have seen, is in strict accord with the historical circumstances of the period—should considerably strengthen our confidence that the course of history as described is in the main based upon a trustworthy tradition. The historical value of this tradition is discussed in the special introductions to the various sections of the book.*

Aramaean elements. Even the evidence of proper names is fallacious, since it is likely that, where Aramaean influence was strong, the Hittites may eventually have undergone Semiticization and have adopted Semitic names, just as we know that the Philistines did. It is at any rate a fair conjecture that it was in the far north (neighbourhood of Carchemish) that the Hittites longest retained their individuality, while further south Aramaean influence more speedily prevailed, as much by peaceful penetration as by conquest. Hamath, which—until the recent discovery of a Hittite inscription at er-Restân (cf. Garstang, *Hittites*, p. 85, n2)—was the most southerly site at which Hittite remains were known, is a state concerning which it is possible to bring together a few facts bearing on this question. Originally an important Hittite centre (on the Hittite remains, cf. Garstang, *Hittites*, pp. 93 ff.), it was probably still purely Hittite in David's time (B.C. 1000), since its king To'i or To'ou was anxious to secure David's support against the encroachments of the Aramaeans (2 Sam. 81 f = 1 Chr. 189). The name To'i may well be identical with the name which appears in the T.A. Letters as Tuji, and is borne by the regent of Mitanni during the minority of Tuštatta (Kn. 17, l. 12); cf. Luckenbill, *A.J.Th.* xviii. p. 57. The next king known to us is Irḫušeni, mentioned by Shalmaneser III. as allied against him with Bir-idri (Ben-Hadad II.), Ahab, etc., at the battle of Karkar (B.C. 854). His name is not convincingly Semitic, though we cannot affirm it to be Hittite. Zakir, King of Hamath (a little before B.C. 800), whose inscription we possess (cf. p. 173), bears a Semitic name and writes in Aramaic, though some at any rate of the seven kings with whom he is at war are also Aramaeans ('Bar-Hadad the son of Hazael' = Ben-Hadad III. of 2 Kgs. 13.4; BrɔƬɔ = 'Bar-Gus, probably = 'Arami the son of Gus' mentioned by Shalmaneser III., *KB.* i. p. 170—a fact not hitherto noticed; and 'the King of Sam'al'). Later Kings of Hamath are Eniel (who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser IV., B.C. 738), and Ilu-bi'di or Ya'u-bi'di (subdued by Sargon, B.C. 720), both of whom bear Semitic names. Here, then, from the time of Zakir onwards, we have evidence for the Semiticization of Hamath; but whether this implies an Aramaean conquest or merely a gradual assimilation it is impossible to determine.

* Taking a comprehensive and summary survey of Judges as a whole, we may confidently conclude that the figures of Deborah and Barak, Gideon-Jerubbaal, 'Abimelech, and Micah are historical, and that the narratives concerning them contain a very solid substratum of fact. The same may be affirmed with considerable probability of Ehud and Jephthah; though in the case of the narrative of the latter it remains ambiguous whether the enemy was 'Ammon or Moab. Balance of probability inclines (in the opinion of the present writer) against the historical character of Samson; though in any case the picture which is drawn of relations between
Thus we conclude our survey of the condition of affairs in Canaan and the surrounding countries prior to and during the period of the Judges of Israel. It is probable that the reader may notice a seeming omission: viz. that throughout we have advanced no theory as to the relation of Israel’s early traditions to the course of history with which we have been dealing. This has been intentional. Throughout the section our aim has been to bring together relevant information derived from sources contemporary with the events to which they refer. The early traditions of the O.T. (and here we are speaking of the traditions of Gen. to Josh.) are embodied in sources which, in their written form, are certainly many centuries later than the events which they narrate. Opinions vary greatly as to their historical value; but, whatever view be held upon this question, it can hardly be disputed that, for our present purpose, the wiser course is not to mix contemporary historical evidence with other evidence into the interpretation of which the theoretical element is bound to enter in a greater or less degree.

This principle, however, calls for a certain qualification. External history of Canaan, though unfortunately very barren of information bearing directly upon the early movements of the tribes of Israel, does offer a few facts which call for correlation with the O.T. traditions; and the interpretations of these facts—especially in their chronological relation to the Exodus and the settlement in Canaan—has its bearing upon the historical period covered by the Book of Judges. The facts in question have been mentioned as they occur. It may be convenient here to tabulate them:

Jacobel, the name of a Hyksos chieftain, before B.C. 1580 (cf. p. lxvi).

Israelites and Philistines possesses a real historical interest. Othniel and the five minor Judges, Tola', Ja'ir, Ibzan, Elon, and 'Abdon, are undoubtedly not individuals but personified clans. Shamgar, the son of 'Anath, is proved to be an historical name by the allusion in ch. 5 6; though, since this bare allusion is probably all that the author of the late insertion in 3:31 had to go upon, it is at least as likely that he was a foreign oppressor as a deliverer (cf. p. 113). Comparison of the contemporary Song of Deborah with the parallel prose-narrative in ch. 4 affords incontrovertible evidence of the large amount of genuine history which may be found in the old prose-sources (cf. p. 82), even though (as we must probably assume) they were handed down orally for many generations before being committed to writing; and it is a fair inference that other old narratives which contain intrinsic evidence of their appropriateness to the circumstances of the period (e.g. the J narrative of Gideon, and the stories of Abimelech and Micah) are no less historical. The only narrative which appears not to possess any historical value is the story of the outrage at Gibeah and the ensuing vengeance taken by Israel on the tribe of Benjamin; since the oldest form of the story (which we assign to J) is clearly constructed in close imitation of earlier J narratives, and appears to offer marked evidence of a special motive, viz. animosity to the memory of Saul. Even here, however, it would be bold to assert categorically (especially in view of the Shiloh-story in 2119ff.) that no historical elements at all have entered into the narrative.
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The name Asher occurs in western Galilee, cir. B.C. 1313 (cf. p. lxxxix).

Mineptah defeats a people called Israel in Cana'an, cir. B.C. 1223 (cf. p. xcii).

The question of prime importance to us here is the terminus a quo which we are to assign to the period of the Judges. This depends upon the date at which the Exodus is placed; and on this point, fortunately, we possess reliable information. Ex. 111 J states that the Israelites, under the system of forced labour imposed upon them, 'built for Pharaoh store-cities, Pithom and Ra'amses'; and Naville has proved that the site of Pithom (called in Egyptian P-ētōm, i.e. 'the abode of Ētōm,' a form of the Sun-god) was the modern Tell el-Masgāfa, in the east of the Wādy Tūmilāt, near the ancient frontier of Egypt, and that the founder of the city was Ra'messe ii.* Thus, granted the historical truth of the Israelite tradition (and in such a matter there is no reason to suspect it), it follows that Ra'messe ii. (cir. B.C. 1292-1225) was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and his successor Mineptah (cir. B.C. 1225-1215), probably the Pharaoh of the Exodus.†

If this is so, however, we observe at once that the external allusions above noted, which seem to refer to the presence of Israelite tribes in Cana'an, are all prior to the Exodus; and that at any rate the last two appear to postulate the existence there of Israelite elements which must have been distinct from those that made their escape from Egypt under Mineptah. Asher is occupying in the reigns of Sety i. and Ra'messe ii. the precise position in Galilee which, according to later Biblical tradition, was allotted to him after the settlement in Cana'an effected through the conquests of Joshua; and a people named Israel forms a tribal element in Cana'an (as is implied by its mention in the midst of Cana'anite * Cf. Naville, The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus (ed. 1, 1885; ed. 4, 1903); W. M. Müller in EB. 3782 ff.; Sayce in DB. iii. pp. 886 f.; McNeile, Exodus (Westm. Comm.), p. xciii; Driver, Exodus (Camb. Bib.), pp. xxx, 4.

† So at least we infer from Ex. 223,4 19 J, which indicate that, in the view of the narrator, the Pharaoh of the Exodus was the next after the great oppressor. Obviously, however, we cannot postulate the same degree of accuracy for this conclusion as for the statement of Ex. 111. Mineptah's reign was not very long (about ten years); and supposing that the Exodus took place not under him but in the period of weakness and anarchy which immediately followed his reign, we cannot be sure that the J writer would have known of this, or, knowing it, would have thought it necessary to make the point clear. In any case, however, it is obvious from the Hebrew narrative that the Exodus followed at no long interval after the death of the Pharaoh of the oppression.
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place-names*) at a date nearly coincident with (or rather earlier than) the Biblical Exodus.

The conclusion that the historical Exodus from Egypt did not include the whole of the tribes which were subsequently known as ‘Israel’ is not, however, to be drawn from these external references merely, but is inherent in the earliest traditions of the O.T. itself, if they be read between the lines. It is clear that the conception of Israel as a unity of twelve tribes, effecting the conquest of Canaan in a body under the leadership of Joshua, can only have arisen long after these twelve tribes had been welded into a political whole under the monarchy. Indeed, we can trace, in the different strata of the Biblical narrative, the growth and hardening of this conception.

The oldest account of Israel’s settlement in Canaan, as we have it in Judges 1-2 of the narrative of J, representing as it does Israel’s occupation as very gradual and partial, effected largely by the individual efforts of each of the tribes rather than by a great united movement, differs widely from the impression produced by R in Joshua, according to which the whole of Canaan, except the maritime plain and the Lebanon district (cf. Joshua 13:1-6), was conquered by the combined tribes under the leadership of Joshua; and the impression produced by the theory of R has been heightened and stereotyped in the document which forms the main part of Joshua 13:1-21:42, in which a post-exilic priestly writer (P) represents the detailed allocation of the whole of Canaan among the tribes as the work of Joshua subsequent to the conquest (cf. pp. 1 f.). In choosing between these differing conceptions of the conquest of Canaan, we cannot hesitate for an instant in selecting the presentation of J as nearer to the truth, and in explaining that of R and P as coloured by the circumstances of later times. It is true that even J, as we have the historian’s work in Judges 1 (cf. the original form of the narrative as reconstructed in Addit. note, p. 47), seems to represent the tribes as assembled at Gilgal (2:1) or at Jericho (1:16), and as starting their individual efforts from this point largely under the direction of Joshua (cf. ch. 1:8, note); but that this conception sits very lightly upon the narrative is clear. Careful examination of the movements of separate tribes in the light of all available Biblical information proves e.g. that Judah must have conquered his inheritance, not by moving southward from Jericho, but by moving northward from Kadesh-Barnea into the Negeb, and subsequently into the district of Hebron (cf. Addit. note, p. 44)—therefore independently of Joshua. The settlement of half-Manasseh east of Jordan, in northern Gilead, which the later

*) In view of the grouping in which the reference to Israel occurs, the alternative explanation which suggests itself—viz. that we may have here Minepta’s version of the Exodus, the disappearance of Israel in the waterless desert being, from the Egyptian point of view, regarded as equivalent to their extinction—may be dismissed as out of the question.
sources in the Biblical narrative assume to have been decided upon by Moses and confirmed by Joshua (cf. Deut. 3:18, Num. 32:35 R* Josh. 13:30-31 P), is shown by the J narrative of the settlement (if Josh. 17:14-18 as slightly modified, and, in sequence, Num. 32:36-41, Josh. 13:13, are rightly assigned to it; cf. pp. 49 ff.) to have been really an overflow-movement from the west of Jordan owing to want of room in the latter district; and though the J narrator himself assumes that the movement was made at the advice of Joshua, the reference to the Machir-clan of Manasseh in Judg. 5:14 as still west-Jordanic in the time of Deborah leads us to infer that it did not take place until some time after Joshua’s death (cf. note on ‘Machir,’ pp. 134 f.).

Concluding, therefore, as we seem bound to do, that the representation of Joshua as the head of a united body of twelve tribes, their leader in the conquest of the main part of Canaan, and the subsequent arbiter as to the precise extent of their heritages, is a comparatively late conception, finding little or no support in the earliest information which we possess, the way is prepared for the further inference that the tribes which he did lead across Jordan to the conquest of a footing in Canaan were probably a part merely and not the whole of the elements which went to form united Israel in later times; and, since tradition is doubtless correct in making him the successor of Moses in the leadership of Israel, that therefore the Israelites whom Moses led out of Egypt at the Exodus were not the whole of Israel, as the term was subsequently understood; but that certain elements which eventually formed part of the nation must have gained their heritages in Canaan by other means and at other periods.

This inference, which, as we have seen, is pressed upon us by the extra-Biblical evidence which seems to postulate the existence of Israelite tribes already settled in Canaan at the period when the tribes eventually delivered from bondage by Moses must have been still in Egypt, is further borne out by the evidence of the O.T. The tribe Asher, which appears from Egyptian evidence to have been settled in its permanent heritage by the reign of Sety I., i.e. about one hundred years before the Exodus, belongs to the group of tribes which Israelite tradition represents as descended from the sons of handmaids and not full wives—a tradition which can hardly mean anything else than that these tribes were regarded in later times as holding an inferior position in the Israelite confederacy, perhaps because they were not purely Israelite by race. The terms in which Dan—another member of the same tribal group—is mentioned in the old poem called ‘The Blessing of Jacob,’ Gen. 49:10, are best explained as meaning that full tribal rights in the con-

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* Num. 32, which appears to be a mixed narrative formed by combination of JE and P (cf. Driver, LOT, pp. 68 f.; Gray, Numbers (ICC.), pp. 425 ff.) deals throughout with the negotiations of Gad and Reuben alone. It is only in v33 that half-Manasseh is introduced—evidently by a very late hand.
federacy, though eventually won, were not won until some little
time at least had elapsed after the final settlement of all the tribes
in Canaan (cf. p. 392). Other facts which make in the same direc-
tion are the detachment of the handmaid-tribes Gad, Dan, and
Asher from the common interests of Israel in the time of Deborah,
as evinced by their failure to respond to the call to arms (Judg.
5:17*); and the names of these same three tribes, which point to
their primitive adhesion to forms of cultus other than pure Yahweh-
worship (cf. pp. 197, 392). In J's account of the settlement,
Asher, Naphtali, and Dan are very far from appearing in the light
of recent and successful invaders. The two former 'dwelt in the
midst of the Canaanites,' i.e. it is the Canaanites who hold the
predominance, both in numbers and in power§; while the last-
named is actually ousted from his territory and driven up into the
hills (ch. 1:31-34). Gad is unmentioned.

* Naphtali, the remaining handmaid-tribe, forms an exception—probably because,
owing to his geographical position, his interests were directly concerned.

† If there was a god Asher who was a form of the Moon-god (as is suggested by
the evidence brought together on pp. 196 ff.), he may also have been regarded as a par-
ticular aspect of the God Yahweh (cf. p. 197, footnote*; Addit. note, p. 249) by the
Canaanite worshippers of that Deity; and this may explain why the symbol of his
(assumed) consort Ashera was so often set up by the side of Yahweh's altar, and also
the keen antipathy with which the Ashera was regarded by the exponents of the
ethical (Mosaic) form of Yahweh-religion. For the theory of two forms of Yahweh-
religion, one long indigenous in Canaan and marked by naturalistic characteristics,
the other, highly ethical in character, owing its origin to Moses (or rather to the
revelation vouchsafed to him), and introduced into Canaan by the Israelite tribes
who came under Moses' influence, cf. the present writer's article in JTS. ix. (1908),
p. 321 ff. If Dan, however, is a title of the Sun-god (cf. p. 392), then here we can
trace no connexion with Yahweh, however remote; and it is open to conjecture that
this tribe may not have embraced the worship of Yahweh until their migration to the
north and forcible appropriation of Micah's altar and his Yahweh-priest, whose worth
had been proved for them by the oracle indicating the success of their undertaking.
If the interpretation of ch. 18 § suggested in the note ad loc. is correct, the Danite
spies do not ask for an oracle from Yahweh in the first place, but from the Teraphim
('elhohim'); and it is the latter which returns the answer as from Yahweh. As to Gad,
the god of Fortune, in relation to Yahweh we can affirm nothing.

§ Contrast the statement with regard to Ephraim (ch. 1:29), from which we learn
that though this tribe 'did not dispossess the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer,' yet
'the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of Ephraim,' and not vice-versa.

‡ Steuernagel (Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan, pp. 28 f.)
has suggested with some plausibility that, since Naphtali and Dan were originally one
tribe (Bilhah), and Dan at first dwelt south-west of Ephraim, Naphtali's earliest
home was probably in the same neighbourhood, and he, like Dan, eventually had to
seek a new home further north. Thus, in the statement of Judg. 1:32 that 'Naphtali
did not dispossess the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath,' the reference
may be to the southern Beth-shemesh ('Ain-šems). The mention of these two cities
in the north in Josh. 19:36 P is then a later assumption based on the fact that
Naphtali later on occupied a northern position. This view gains some support from
the blessing of Naphtali in Deut. 33:23: 'Possess thou the Sea and the South,'
(ז ירהש ירשה). Here Naphtali (according to Steuernagel) appears, like Dan, to
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Not merely the four handmaid-tribes, however, but probably also some of the tribes which were reckoned as full members of the Israelite confederacy, may be conjectured to have taken no part in the historical Exodus. The northern tribe Zebulun stands in J's narrative (ch. 1 30) on much the same footing as the handmaid-tribes Asher, Naphtali, and Dan; i.e. so far as the information offered us is concerned, he is there in Canaan maintaining a precarious footing among the Canaanites, and nothing is told us as to how he came to be there. Another northern tribe, Issachar, is unmentioned in the document as we know it; and the same is true of the trans-Jordanic Reuben. In fact, the only tribes of which the J writer records conquests fall into two groups: (1) Judah and Sime'on, and (2) the house of Joseph. We have found reason to believe that the conquests of the first group took place not under Joshua from the east of Jordan, but by a northward move from Kadesh-Barnea. The house of Joseph, on the other hand, is explicitly connected with Joshua in the part of the narrative which now stands in Josh. 15 14, 15; and there are indications which suggest that the southern campaign as described by JE in Josh.—viz. the conquest of Jericho, Ai, and Bethel, and the defeat of the Amorite league at the descent of Beth-horon—was really carried out by these Joseph-tribes under Joshua's leadership, and not by united Israel (cf. 1 22 notes).

It is clear that the tradition which connects the Joseph-tribes with Egypt is primitive and authentic. Whether they were the only tribes which suffered under Egyptian bondage and were delivered by Moses is a further question. We find in early times certain Israelite or related clans dwelling in the south of the Negeb close to the borders of Egypt. These are the north Arabian clans which ultimately went to form the tribe of Judah (Kenites, Jerahme'elites, etc.; cf. p. 45); the remnant of Sime'on which, after a tribal disaster in central Canaan, appears to have sought a home in the extreme south, in the neighbourhood of the Judah-clans (cf. ch. 1 3 note); and probably the remnant of Levi—as we may conjecture from the early association of this tribe with Sime'on in the raid on Shechem with its disastrous results, and from its subsequent association chiefly with the tribe of Judah (cf. Addit. note, pp. 436 ff.). Whether any of these Israelite clans crossed the frontier into Egypt we cannot say for certain; but considering the comparatively hard conditions of existence in the region south of the Negeb, and the readiness with which permission

be hard-pressed by foes, and the wish is expressed for him that he may exert his power and conquer the Philistine maritime plain (yām) and the dārōm, i.e. the Shephelah, which is so designated in late Jewish usage (cf. Neubauer. Geographie du Talmud, pp. 62 ff.; Buhl., Geogr. p. 85, and references to Daroma in OS., where we find cities such as Eleutheropolis, 'Anab, Eshtemoa', and Siklag assigned to the region). On the ordinary assumption that Naphtali is here pictured as occupying his final northern position, 'sea' is explained as the sea of Galilee; but no commentator has succeeded in offering a plausible explanation of dārōm.
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to pass into the region of Goshen (the Wady Tūmilāt) was granted by Egyptian kings of the Empire-period to similar tribes when impelled by stress of famine,* it is highly probable that they may have crossed and recrossed on more than one occasion—as often in fact as the pinch of hunger compelled them to seek a more fertile pasture-land, or the return of favourable seasons lured them back to the nomadic life to which they were accustomed. Evidence that Simeon was in Egypt at the period of the oppression may perhaps be found in the Joseph-story, according to which Simeon is the brother selected to be bound and retained as a hostage (Gen. 42 24-36 E). That Levi, at least in part, was also there, seems to follow with the acceptance of the traditional view of the identity of the earlier secular tribe with the later priestly body (the view maintained in Addit. note, p. 436), since Moses was a Levite, and the Egyptian names borne by him and by Phinehas offer valid evidence both for the historical existence of the bearers and for their Egyptian connexions (cf. ch. 20 35 note, and footnote). Tradition is clear that some of the elements which subsequently went to form the tribe of Judah (e.g. the Kenites) were not in Egypt but in the wilderness (Midian); though it is conceivable that other elements of the tribe may have taken part in the Exodus. In any case there is good reason to believe that the Joseph- and Judah-groups were associated at Kadesh-Barnea for a considerable period, and together came under the influence and teaching of Moses (cf. Addit. note, pp. 439 f.).

Another point, which for our purpose it is important to notice, is the fact that the O.T. traditions represent the migration of Israel's ancestors from their early home in the east westward into Canaan, not as a single movement completed in a short space of time, but as a series of movements extending over a very considerable period. Assuming (as we are bound to do) that these early traditions deal in the main with the movements of tribes under the guise of individuals;† the earliest of these tribal move-

*Cf. the inscriptions mentioned on p. 439, footnote *.

† The explanation of individuals as personified tribes, and of their doings as tribal movements, which is in fact forced upon us in regard to much that is related in the patriarchal narratives (cf., as typical instances, the accounts of Abraham's descendants by his second wife, Ke'thurah, Gen. 25 1 ff., and of the relations of Jacob's 'sons' with Shechem, Gen. 34), must of course not be pressed to account for every detail in the stories; since some elements may possibly be due to the admixture of reminiscences as to actual individuals (tribal leaders, etc.), and a good deal in the setting of the stories (especially of those which are most picturesque and lifelike) undoubtedly belongs to the art of the story-teller. The literature which deals with this subject is endless. It is sufficient here to refer to the Introduction to Skinner's Genesis (ICC.), pp. iii-xxxii, and to Kittel, GVT i. pp. 386-455, as offering markedly sane and judicious estimates of the character of the Genesis-narratives. Guthe (Gesch. des Volkes Isr. pp. 1-6) lays down canons for the interpretation of the narratives in their historical reference to tribal movements which are helpful so long as the qualifications above suggested are borne in mind.
ments is represented by the journey of Abraham (Abram) and his
nephew Lot from Harran into southern Canaan—a movement
which tradition regarded as responsible for the formation of the
different divisions of the 'Hebrew' race, Ja'cob, Edom, Moab, and
'Ammon, not to mention various Arabian tribal groups to whom
Israel acknowledged a relation more or less remote. Now the
tradition embodied in Gen. 14 makes Abraham contemporary with
Hammurabi (Amraphel), dating him therefore cir. B.C. 2100. The
traces of lunar worship in early Hebrew religion centre primarily
round the Abraham-tradition, and undoubtedly connect Abraham
with Ur and Harran, and with the First Dynasty period (cf. the
facts cited in Addit. note, pp. 249 ff.). Whether, therefore, we
regard Abraham as an historical clan-chieftain or as the ideal per-
sonification of the clan itself, there is good ground for believing in
the historical truth of a Semitic clan-movement at this period from
Ur to Harran, and thence to southern Canaan (Be'er-sheba'). And
since, as we have seen (pp. lxxxi, lxxxiii), there were Habiru in
Babylonia as early as the time of Hammurabi and Rim-Sin, it is
reasonable to conclude that this migration was (as the O.T. tradition
represents it) the beginning of the Hebrew westward movement—
itslf but a part of the larger Aramaean movement which indispu-
tably continued during a period of many centuries.
A subsequent accession from the east seems to be represented by
the arrival of the Aramaean tribe Rebekah, who, by union with
Isaac, Abraham's 'son,' produces the two tribal groups, 'Esau-Edom
and Ja'cob. These for a while dwell together in southern Canaan,
until the hostile pressure of the former compels the latter to cross
the Jordan in the direction of his ancestral home, where, in course
of time, he unites with fresh Aramaean elements (Ja'cob's wives).
Ultimately the whole tribal body thus formed moves once more
towards Canaan, impelled as it appears by the westward pressure
of other Aramaeans (the pursuit of Laban), with whom eventually
a friendly treaty is formed, fixing the tribal boundary at or near
Mispah in Gile'ad.* When this Hebrew group, thus modified by
fresh accessions, once more enters Canaan, it no longer bears the
common name of Ja'cob, but is known as Israel.†
We may now observe that this tribal interpretation of early
Israelite traditions—taken in broad outline as they stand, and with-

* Cf., for the interpretation of early tradition embodied in this paragraph,
Steuernagel, Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan (1901),
§§ 6 ff. Steuernagel's book is a far-seeing and suggestive examination of early
Israelite tradition which merits careful study.
† It is possible, as Steuernagel assumes, that the Le'ah- and Zilpah-tribes may
have been in Canaan earlier than the Bilhah- and Ja'cob-Rachel-tribes, and, coming
subsequently to be regarded as 'brothers' of the latter, were not unnaturally traced
back to a common 'father.' Thus, owing to priority of settlement, Le'ah comes to
be regarded as the earlier wife, while Rachel is the more closely united and better-
loved wife. Cf. op. cit. p. 54.
out any shuffling or rearrangement to fit in with a preconceived theory—offers us a chronological solution of most of the facts derived from extra-Biblical evidence (pp. ciii ff.) which seem to have a bearing upon the history of Israel's ancestors. If the Hebrew immigration into Canaan represented by Abraham really took place as early as cir. B.C. 2100, it is natural that a tribe called Ja'cob, descended from Abraham, should have given its name to a site Ja'cob-el in southern or central Canaan by B.C. 1479.* And if the Ja'cob-tribe, having again crossed the Jordan eastward, returned to Canaan at a later period increased by fresh Aramaean accessions, this may well have been in process of happening, cir. B.C. 1375, when, as we know from the T.A. Letters, an Aramaean people called Ḥabiru were pressing into Canaan, and gradually gaining a footing there upon a semi-nomadic basis (i.e. transitional between the nomadic and the settled stage), much as Ja'cob-Israel and his 'sons' are represented in Gen. as doing.† The fact that Ja'cob, in making his westward migration, is pressed by the Aramaean Laban agrees with the T.A. presentation of the Ḥabiru-movement as of a part with a widespread Aramaean movement as represented by the SA.GAZ and the Sutū; and the seizure of the district of Shechem by the Ḥabiru (cf. p. lxxiii) may well be identified with the events of which we have an echo in Gen. 34, 48.21.22. Indeed, the latter passage can hardly be explained except upon the assumption that the Shechem-district, which eventually came in post-Exodus times to form part of the possession of the Joseph-tribes, had been captured at an earlier period by another section of Israel. Finally, the allusion to Israel as a people in Canaan in the reign of Minepta, cir. B.C. 1233, agrees with the Biblical tradition that Ja'cob on his second entry into Canaan assumed the new name Israel. If it be merely a coincidence that prior to the Ḥabiru-invasion we have external evidence for Ja'cob in Canaan, while subsequently to it we have like evidence for Israel, it is certainly a remarkable one.

A further question upon which we have not yet touched concerns the period at which the Joseph-tribes broke off from the rest of Israel and migrated to Egypt. It has commonly been

* The name Ja'cob (Ya'akov), like Isaac (Yishāq), Joseph, etc., is a verbal form implying the elision of -'el, 'God,' as subject of the verb. Cf. the personal and place-name Yiphṭāh (Judg. 11:1 ff., Josh. 15:42) with the place-name Yiphtah'el (Josh. 19:14,17), and the place-name Yabne (2 Chr. 26:8)= Yabnc'el (Josh. 15:11). Other examples of tribal-names thus formed are Yisra'el and Yisma'el (but probably not Yiraffel; cf. p. 252). Other place-names so formed are Yizre'el, Yeḳabs'el (Neh. 11:32= Kabs'el, Josh. 15:21, 2 Sam. 23:9) Yokheī'sel (Josh. 15:38, 2 Kgs. 14:17), Yirpe'el (Josh. 18:27). On the transference of tribal names to places or districts, cf. Burch. ii. p. 84. The West Semitic names Yaḥkub-el, Yaḵub-el (without expression of y, which is represented in the first example by ḫ), Yakhbone (hypocoristic, exactly like Ja'cob) occur in early Bab. documents; though we cannot be quite sure of their equivalence to Ja'cob, since the syllable ḫkub may also stand for ḫkup, ḫkub, ḫkap. Cf. Ranke as cited by Gressmann, ZATW. xxx. (1910), p. 6.

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assumed that this must have taken place during the Hyksos domination. This conclusion is based partly upon the assumption that the entry of Semitic tribes into Egypt would have been most likely to have occurred under the Hyksos, who were themselves in all probability Asiatic Semites; partly upon the fact that the duration of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, as given in Ex. 12:40 P, viz. 430 years, if reckoned backward from the probable date of the Exodus in the reign of Mineptah—say, from B.C. 1220, gives B.C. 1650 as the date of entry, which falls well within the Hyksos-period, whether we adopt the long or the short scheme of reckoning that period (cf. p. lxvi). If, however, we are correct in identifying the immigration of Israel and his ‘sons’ into Canaan with the invasion of the Habiru, cfr. B.C. 1400, and if, again, it is the fact that the O.T. traditions preserve a substantially correct recollection of the order of events (as we gathered from our preceding discussion), then it appears that Joseph did not break off from his brethren and go down into Egypt until after the Habiru-invasion, i.e. perhaps two centuries after the expulsion of the Hyksos by Ahmosi I., the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is remarkable, indeed, that if the Pharaoh under whom Joseph is represented as rising to power was a member of the Hyksos-dynasty, the ‘new king, who knew not Joseph’ (Ex. 1:8), and instituted an era of oppressive measures in order to check the increase of Israel, is found, not in Ahmosi I., who expelled the hated Semitic invaders, but in Ra'messe II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty, nearly 300 years later. The Biblical estimate of 430 years for the duration of the sojourn in Egypt belongs to the latest stratum of the narrative, and is clearly bound up with a purely artificial system of calculation (cf. p. cxvi). A different tradition is preserved in the text of the passage, where the addition of the words καὶ εἰ ἔγγῳ Χαραὰ makes the 430 years include the whole patriarchal period as well as the sojourn in Egypt; and since on the Biblical reckoning the former lasted 215 years, the latter is therefore reduced to a like period. This reckoning would give us B.C. 1435 as the date of the entry, i.e. during the reign of Amenhotep II.

Increasing knowledge of the history of Egypt during the Empire proves beyond a doubt that the period of the Eighteenth Dynasty, from the reign of Thutmosi III. onwards, when Canaan was a province of Egypt and the intercourse between the two countries was (as we learn from the T.A. Letters) close and constant, is in all respects suited to the condition of affairs which, according to the Genesis-tradition, brought about the entry of Israel's ancestors into Egypt. The Egyptian inscription noticed on p. 439 footnote, in which Asiatic refugees crave, and receive, admission into Egypt, * belongs either to the reign of Haremheb or to that of one of the successors of Aḥnaton under whom Haremheb held the position of

External Information Bearing on the Period

General. Here the Asiatics beg the Pharaoh to grant them a home within the border of Egypt "after the manner of your fathers' fathers since the beginning"—a statement which indicates that it had long been customary for the Pharaohs to grant such admission. Under Amenhotep III., when the power and luxury of the Empire were at their height, the development of trade between Syria and Egypt left its mark upon the Egyptian language through the introduction of a large Semitic vocabulary.* The Semitic population of Egypt must have been considerable, partly drawn thither by trade and partly as slaves, the captives of Asiatic campaigns. 'As this host of foreigners intermarried with the natives, the large infusion of strange blood made itself felt in a new and composite type of face, if we may trust the artists of the day.' † Some of these Semitic foreigners rose to important positions of trust and authority in the state. Such were Dūdu and Yanhamu, two high officials bearing Semitic names who are often mentioned in the T.A. Letters.§ Indeed, the position of the latter, who was high commissioner over Yarimuta, a great corn-growing district,|| offers several points of analogy to the position of Joseph as pictured in Gen., and he has been thought with some plausibility to be the historical figure round whom the story of Joseph's rise to power in

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§ On the name Dūdu, cf. p. 291. Yanhamu may stand for דניאל, which is known as a Sabean proper name; cf. Weber in Kn. p. 1171.
|| Yarimuta was reached by sea from Gebal, and thence the Gebalites imported the necessities of life, especially corn, for which, when reduced to straits, they were obliged to barter their sons and daughters, and the furniture of their houses (a fact which reminds us of Gen. 47:18ff.): cf. references given by Weber in Kn. p. 1153. The view that Yarimuta lay in the Delta, and was possibly identical with the land of Goshen, is favoured by Niebuhr in MVAG., 1896, 4, pp. 34-36; W. M. Muller in MVAG., 1897, 3, pp. 27 f.; Weber in Kn. p. 1153; Dhorme, RB., 1909, p. 370; Hall, N.E. p. 346. If, however, it is the same as Yarmut in 'the upper land' to which Sargon of Akkad lays claim in the inscription recently published by Poebel (cf. p. lv, footnote 7), it can hardly have lain in the Nile-Delta, but must be sought upon the Syrian seaboard. Poebel suggests 'the plain of Antioch, along the lower course and at the mouth of the Orontes river' (op. cit. pp. 225 f.). The resemblance of the Biblical name דניאל Yarmuth is striking; and so is that of the Benjamite clan-name דניאל Yirimoth or Yirmoth. The former was a Canaanite city of some importance (associated with Jerusalem, Hebron, etc., in Josh. 10:22,29,JE), and situated in the Shephelah (Josh. 15:36 P)—a fact which would seem to exclude comparison with the maritime Yarimuta, unless (as is not impossible) the name was extended to denote not merely the city but the southern maritime plain which afterwards belonged to the Philistines, and which was, and still is, an excellent corn-growing country: cf. the description of it by Eshmunazar, king of Sidon (quoted on p. 387, footnote 7), which suggests that Sidon was dependent upon the district for its corn-supply. Whether, however, Yarimuta actually lay within the borders of Egypt or not, the fact that Yanhamu was constantly in Egypt and in close touch with the Pharaoh as a high official of the court remains undoubted: cf. the conspectus of allusions to him given by Weber in Kn. pp. 1169 ff.
INTRODUCTION

Egypt was constructed.* If, then, we may assume that the entry of the Joseph-tribes into Egypt took place during the flourishing period of the Empire,‡ it is likely that the change of policy under Ra'messe II., which led him to take measures to oppress and to check the increase of the Hebrews, may have been dictated by the fact that the loss of Egypt's hold upon her Asiatic empire, which resulted from the weakness of Aḥnaton and his successors, tended to make the presence of a considerable body of Semitic aliens upon the north-east border of Egypt a menace to the safety of the state.§

While, however, our theory places the entry of the Joseph-tribe into Egypt considerably later than the Hyksos-period, this does not forbid the view that earlier ancestors of Israel may have been in Egypt with the Hyksos. If Abraham represents a Hebrew migration to Canaan some centuries before the Hyksos-invasion of Egypt, and if this invasion was a southward movement of the people of Amurr( cf. p. lxvi), it seems not at all unlikely that some of Israel's ancestors, who (as tradition informs us) occupied southern Canaan,


‡ Evidence does not allow of our fixing a more exact date. We naturally infer that it was after the invasion of Canaan by the Ḥabiru had begun, if this is rightly identified with the entry of the tribes of Israel into that country; but the T.A. Letters, though they show us this invasion in full flow, afford no evidence as to the date at which it began. The theory that the people (marked as foreigners by a Determinative) called 'Apiriu or 'Apiriu in Egyptian inscriptions were the Hebrews, which was first advanced by Chabas (Mélanges Égyptologiques, i. Ser., 1862, pp. 42-55; ii. Ser., 1864, pp. 108-165), accepted by Ebers (Aegypten und die Bücher Mose's, 1885, p. 316; Durch Gosen zum Sinai², 1881, pp. 505 f.) and then generally contested and rejected by Egyptologists, has been revived by Hommel (AHT. p. 259), and supported with strong arguments by Heyes (Bibel und Ägypten, 1904, pp. 146-158), and is regarded as plausible by Skinner (Genesis (ICC.), pp. 218 f.). Driver, Exodus (Camb. Bib.) pp. xlii f., and other Biblical scholars; though among modern Egyptologists Maspero (Mélies, p. 443, n²; Contes populaires, p. 119, n²) and Breasted (A.R. iv. § 281, n*) definitely reject it, while W. M. Müller (EB. 1243) more guardedly refuses to decide either for or against it. The chief objection to the identification seems to be found in the representation of Heb. b by Eg. p; but that this interchange, though rare, does actually occur is proved by Heyes (cf. op. cit. p. 148; his best instance is Eg. ḫapr= Heb. ḫērebh, 'sword'); cf. also Burch, §50. The 'Apiriu find mention in inscriptions ranging from the reign of Thutmosi III. to that of Ra'messe IV. (cir. B.C. 1167): thus, if they were really the Hebrews, the inference must be that some Hebrews (not necessarily Israelites) remained behind in Egypt after the Exodus. Cf. the discussion by Kit. (GVT² i. p. 453, n²), who concludes that, though they may have been Hebrews in the wider sense, they can hardly have been Israelites. The inscriptions picture them as performing (like the Hebrews of Ex. 11ff.) heavy manual labour in connexion with the building operations of the Pharaohs, especially the quarrying and transportation of stone. Driver (op. cit.) gives a convenient conspectus of the passages in which they are mentioned.

§ Cf. Spiegelberg, Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten (1904), pp. 35 ff.
may have been implicated in it. The tradition of Gen. 12:10-20, which brings Abraham and his wife and followers to Egypt in time of famine, looks not unlike an echo of the Hyksos-period; and the way in which the patriarch is represented as escorted out of the land may not impossibly amount to the placing of the best interpretation upon a dismissal which may really have been an expulsion—possibly based on a vague recollection of the actual expulsion of the Hyksos by Ahmose I. If this is so, it is not impossible that the Hyksos-chieftain Ja'cob-el may have been a representative of the Ja'cob-tribe.

Thus the only extra-Biblical allusion to Israel's ancestors for which, on our interpretation of the Biblical tradition, we fail to find an explanation is the supposed occurrence of Joseph-el as a place-name in Canaan, cir. B.C. 1479; since, on our theory, the Joseph-tribe can scarcely have been in Canaan at this date. The interpretation of Y-š-p'-ā-rq as Joseph-el is, however, as we have noticed (p. lxviii), of very doubtful validity.

The view which makes Ramesses II. the Pharaoh of the oppression, and Mineptah, or one of his immediate successors, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, though favoured by the majority of scholars, is not universally accepted. The fact is certainly remarkable that, if we take the Biblical scheme of computation as it stands, and adding 480 years to B.C. 967 (which is fixed with approximate certainty for the fourth year of Solomon: cf. p. liii, footnote), in accordance with the statement of 1 Kgs. 6:1 P, obtain B.C. 1447 (in the reign of Amenhotep II.) as the date of the Exodus; then add 430 years for Israel's residence in Egypt (cf. Ex. 12:40 P), and obtain B.C. 1877 (in the Hyksos-period according to Petrie's longer scheme of chronology, though earlier according to Breasted and Hall) for the entry into Egypt; then add 157 years for the Patriarchal period (according to Gen. 12:41, 21:5, 25:20b, 47:9a, all P*), and obtain B.C. 2092 for Abraham's departure from Haran; this last date falls within the reign of Hammurabi (cir. B.C. 2123-2081) in accordance with the tradition of Gen. 14. Thus Hommel ‡ adopts the reign of Amenhotep II. for the Exodus.

It should not, however, escape our notice that the one fact which makes this computation remarkable is the approximate correctness of the exterior dates, viz. that 1125 years appear accurately to represent the period from a date in Hammurabi's reign to a date in Solomon's reign. This is probably not the result of accident, but may well be due to the fact that a Jewish chronologist living in Babylon during the exile may easily have obtained from Baby-

* According to this scheme Abraham is seventy-five on his departure from Haran, and one hundred at the birth of Isaac; Isaac is sixty at the birth of Ja'cob, and Ja'cob is one hundred and thirty when he enters Egypt with his sons.

‡ ET. x. (1899), pp. 210 ff. Hommel assigns in each case a date nine years later than those given above. Orr, Problem of the Old Testament (1908), pp. 422-424, adopts the conclusions of Hommel.
Ionia sources the figure which represented the period from Hammurabi to his own day.* This, however, argues nothing for the correctness of the sectional periods within the external limits. The back-reckoning to Solomon is of course based upon the (approximately correct) chronology of Kgs.; but the Babylonians could supply no information as to the date of the Exodus, or of Israel’s entry into Egypt, or of the lives of the patriarchs. As we have seen (§ 5) in discussing the period assigned in 1 Kgs. 6 1 for the Exodus to the fourth year of Solomon, 480 years is a purely artificial computation, based on the theory of twelve generations of forty years each, and worked out within the period by the use of suspiciously recurrent periods of forty years. If, however, we cannot find even an approximately historical basis for the Biblical chronology of this period, why should we pin our faith to the correctness of the earlier periods given for Israel’s sojourn in Egypt (based, apparently, on the assumption of four generations of one hundred years each ?), and for the lives of the patriarchs? The reign of Amenhotep II., when Egypt’s hold upon her Asiatic empire was at its strongest immediately after the victorious reign of Thutmosi III., may well be thought to be the least probable period for the Exodus and settlement in Canaan by force of arms.

Another view as to the date of the Exodus is represented by Hall (*NE.,* pp. 403 ff.), who attempts to revive the theory of Josephus (C. *Ap.* 1. 14) by connecting the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos; and further supposes that the aggressions of the Habiru, as we read of them in the T.A. Letters, are identical with the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites under the leadership of Joshua. This theory is obliged to do great violence to the Biblical tradition; for not only are the circumstances of Ahmosi’s expulsion of the Hyksos widely different from the Biblical account of the Exodus, but, in order to dispose of the inference (based on Ex. 11) that Ra’messe II. was the Pharaoh of the oppression, the names Pithom and Ra’amases have to be explained as ‘the interpretations of a scribe who knew their names as those of Egyptian cities which existed in his time in and near the land of Goshen’ (p. 405), and, to bridge the interval between Ahmosi I. and Amenhotep III., the ‘forty’ years in the wilderness (probably intended to represent the length of a generation§) have to be expanded to nearly two hundred years (p. 408), and thus the possibility of a real historical connexion between Joshua and Moses is necessarily excluded. On the identification of Joshua’s conquests with the Habiru-invasion we cannot, as Hall confesses (p. 410), identify any of the persons mentioned in the one source with those who are mentioned

* The care and accuracy with which the Babylonians preserved their chronological data, even back to the earliest period of their history, are familiar facts. Cf. Rogers, *HBA.* 6 i. pp. 470 ff.


in the other.* The question whether the character of the Habiru-aggressions closely resembles the Biblical narrative of Israel's doings as depicted in Josh. must be largely a matter of individual opinion. In the view of the present writer the position of Habiru and SA.GAZ in Canaan is more nearly analogous to that of the floating, semi-nomadic population which has at all times formed a feature of Palestine—a population living at peace with the settled inhabitants of cities and villages when the country is under a strong government, though even then ever ready to seize the opportunity for blackmail and petty aggression; but a really dangerous element when affairs are unsettled and the government is weak or non-existent, and without scruple as regards selling their services for warfare and intrigue to the highest bidder. Such a relation towards the Canaanites—normally peaceful, but sometimes aggres-

* Orr (The Problem of the Old Testament, pp. 423 f.) likewise holds that the invasion of the Habiru 'synchronises very closely with the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites,' and finds in this 'a coincidence of much importance.' It is curious that this writer, whose book is a defence of the historical character of the O.T. against the attacks of criticism (cf. especially ch. iii.), and who rightly (in the opinion of the present writer) objects to the sweeping statement of Kuenen that 'the description of the Exodus from Egypt, the wandering in the desert, and partition of Canaan . . . to put it in a word, are utterly unhistorical' (cf. p. 57), should fail to observe that the identification of the Habiru-invasion with that of Israel at once cuts at the roots of the historical character of the old narratives in Josh. Comparison of the names of Canaanite kings in Josh. and the T.A. Letters, where we have information from both sources, yields the following result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book of Josh.</th>
<th>T.A. Letters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lachish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gezer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Jerusalem     | Adoni-ṣedeḵ (107) | ARAD-Ḥiba (Kn. 285 ff.) |
| Lachish       | Yaphia' (103)     | Yābni-ḥ (Kn. 328) |
| Gezer         | Horam (102)       | Ḫaḇni (Kn. 329) |
| Hazor         | Yabin (111)       | Abdi-Tirši (Kn. 228) |

Here, since the T.A. names, as derived from actual contemporary letters, must necessarily be correct, the Biblical names, if referred to identically the same period, are ipso facto declared to be false; and if this is the fact with every name which can be tested, what ground have we left for holding that any names, or indeed any facts, mentioned in the Biblical account of the conquest of Canaan are of the slightest historical value? The only supposed historical gain arising from identification of the Habiru-invasion with the conquests of Joshua', is that it fits in well enough with the late Biblical scheme of chronology which we have already discussed (p. cxv); yet, while we can attach a real historical value to an ancient narrative in which the main outline (i.e. as concerns names, scenes, and actions) appears to be approximately true to fact, even though chronological data are lacking (as in J and E upon the view which we maintain), it is difficult to see what importance can be attached to the maintenance of a chronological scheme which (on the test of external evidence) at once wrecks the historical character of the narratives to which it is applied. To do Dr. Orr justice, it is probable that he did not realize the further implications of his argument as they are here pointed out; yet, if this is so, what is the value of an argument which, basing itself upon the supposed identity between two sets of circumstances as pictured in Biblical and extra-Biblical sources, neglects so obvious a precaution as the comparison of the names of some of the principal actors?
sive—appears more nearly to correspond to the position of Israel in Canaan in patriarchal times (cf. for the aggressive side, Gen. 34), than to the invasion of the Joseph-tribes under Joshua' which, when we have made all allowance for the exaggerations of R', was still a definitely organized campaign of conquest. In any case, since, as we have seen (cf. pp. lxxv ff.), it is impossible to separate the Habiru from the SA.GAZ, or to deny that the former were, at least to a large extent, identical with the latter, the Habiru-invasion must have extended over a far wider (more northerly) area than did Israel's career of conquest even as interpreted by the later editors of the old narratives in Josh.

The outstanding advantage which seems to accrue from Hall's theory of the Exodus, as also from that of Hommel, is that we gain a far longer period for the course of events from the Exodus to the fourth year of Solomon, for which, as we have seen, the late author of 1 Kgs. 6 assigns 480 years, but which, if we place the Exodus under Minepta', cannot really have covered much more than 250 years (cf. p. liii). Considering, however, the facts noticed on pp. liii ff., no valid reason can be advanced in proof that a longer period than 250 years is required. On the other hand, supposing that we identify Joshua's conquest of Canaan with the Habiru-invasion, we are faced by the very real difficulty that the Syrian campaigns of Sety I. (which dealt primarily with the Habiru-aggressions; cf. p. lxxxviii), Ra'messe II., Minepta' (who actually defeated Israel), and Ra'messe III. all fall within the period of the Judges; yet, while much is told us in Judg. of the aggressions of comparatively petty antagonists, not a word is said as to any collision with the great power of Egypt. Such an omission, which, on the theory of the Exodus which we adopt, is an argument from silence which may be taken to favour the general authenticity of the narratives of Judg. (cf. p. cii), must surely be deemed very strange if we are to throw Israel's occupation of Canaan under Joshua' back to the period of the T.A. Letters.


The religious value of any O.T. Book may be considered under a twofold aspect—(1) its place in the record of Revelation, i.e. the historical evidence which it affords as to the evolutionary process through which the religion of Israel attained its full growth; and (2) the extent to which its teaching is fitted to awaken a response in the human conscience of to-day. The value of the first aspect may be defined as evidential; that of the second as spiritual. Both these aspects are to be discerned in most of the O.T. writings; though it goes without saying that each aspect is not equally prominent in all. Without doubt the Prophetic writings exhibit the fullest combination of the two aspects, invaluable as they are, both
as marking stages in the development of Israel's religion, and also as making a direct appeal, whether it be to the collective or to the individual conscience, which can never become obsolete.

It should not, however, escape our notice that here there exists some amount of interaction between the two aspects. The spiritual value of the teaching of the Prophets has (as the outcome of modern critical study of the O.T. Scriptures) been greatly enhanced through the understanding of the circumstances of the times which called it forth, and of the relation which it bears to earlier thought.

In other parts of the O.T. literature we observe the one aspect greatly predominating over the other. Thus, e.g. a very large number of the Psalms, owing to an entire absence of historical allusions or any similar criteria of date, are difficult to place in their historical, or even in their logical, position in the line of religious development; yet at the same time their abiding spiritual worth, as evidenced by the manner in which they touch men's souls to-day, causing them to vibrate in spiritual sympathy, and voicing their highest and deepest aspirations in relation to God, is as great as that of any part of the O.T. Conversely, some portions of the historical literature—and perhaps most markedly the Book of Judges—are insignificant in their direct spiritual value as compared with the Prophets and the Psalms; yet their importance for the understanding of the historical evolution of Israel is unique.

Taking the O.T. as a whole, however, we notice, in part as compared with part, the same kind of interaction between the two aspects of religious value as we observed especially in the Prophetic writings when considered by themselves. The Psalm which voices the most inward feelings of Christian faith, invaluable as it is in itself, attains an enhanced value when the fact is clearly recognized that it is the product of a stage in a long line of religious development, for the tracing of which the historical books, as analysed and understood by modern critical methods, are of prime importance. For the question is at once raised how, out of beginnings exhibiting elements that are crude, primitive, and it may be even repulsive, there can have sprung to being thoughts and aspirations which, as the expression of all that we understand by Religion, have never been surpassed; and the only possible answer is found in the recognition of an inward Principle of Divine Inspiration, guiding and determining the course of Israel's religious evolution. Conversely, such a record of Israel's early history as the Book of Judges, which, taken by itself, might (so far as its religious aspect is concerned) be deemed to possess a value not much deeper than that represented by the interests of the anthropologist or student of comparative mythology, becomes, in the light of that which O.T. Religion taken as a whole has produced (e.g. the level of faith and practice represented by the Prophets and Psalms), of deep, if not of vital, importance for the study of the antecedents of historical and practical Christianity.
CXX INTRODUCTION

(1) The value of Judg. for the history of Israel's social and religious evolution is obvious. The Book covers a period of transition from the unsettled and disintegrated tribal life to the more or less organized federation of tribes on the way to be moulded into a nation. The extent of the disintegration of the tribal units which afterwards went to form the nation can only be gathered from Judg., and would hardly be realized by us if we only possessed the records contained in the Pentateuch and Josh. in the form in which they have come down to us. We see the tribes acting to a large extent independently of their fellows, settling down as best they could in the midst of an alien population, which for the most part they seem to have been unable to subdue, adopting forms of religious cultus which were coloured by the beliefs and practices of their heathen neighbours, if not identical with them. When, however, a period of oppression at the hands of a foreign foe and of desperate misfortune supervenes, the man whom the crisis produces as leader and deliverer, and who at least in some cases (witness the Song of Deborah) succeeds in rousing the scattered tribes to such a measure of common action as foreshadows the later unity of Israel as a nation, acts in the name and at the instigation, not of some local Canaanite or Israelite Ba'al, but of Yahweh, the warrior-God whose ancient seat was found, not within Canaan, but at Mount Sinai in the desert-region of Se'ir, external to the land of Israel's settlement (cf. ch. 54).

Here, then, are raised problems which press for solution before we can attain any really satisfactory grasp of the development of the early religion of Israel. How did Yahweh, whose earlier sphere of influence appears to have been conceived as extraneous to the land of Canaan, come to be regarded as asserting and maintaining His influence over Israel, and in Israel's favour, when the tribes were settled in the land of their inheritance? What was there in Yahweh's character and claim which enabled Him at times of special crisis to exercise a unifying influence over the scattered and somewhat heterogeneous elements out of which the nation of Israel was eventually produced? How was it that, when evidence points to the recognition of 'gods many and lords many,' and that not merely among the earlier Canaanite inhabitants, but among the tribes of Israel themselves, in spite of all, the worship of Yahweh, fostered apparently by crisis and misfortune, emerged as the dominant religion, and came (amid such unpromising surroundings) to be of the lofty spiritual and ethical character which we find exemplified in the Prophetic writings of the eighth century B.C. and onwards? Biblical history, as we know it, claims to supply answers to these questions. A special Providence, a chosen people, a unique Revelation made at an early period in the history of the race to a leader and teacher endowed with exceptional qualifications for his office—these are factors which tradition
pictures as guiding and determining the evolution; and however much modern scientific study may modify our conceptions of the process, it will be found that, apart from the recognition of such factors, the history of Israel's religious development remains an insoluble enigma.

(2) While, however, it is true that there is nothing in Judg. which makes a direct spiritual appeal to men's consciences at the present day at all comparable to that which is made by the teaching of the later Prophets, the fact must not be overlooked that the book is placed in the Hebrew Canon among 'the Former Prophets,' and occupies this position because it is history written with a purpose, and that purpose a religious one (cf. § 1). This religious purpose stands out very prominently in the main redactor's philosophy of history, according to which neglect of Yahweh's ordinances and the worship of strange gods lead to punishment, but true repentance is followed by a renewal of the Divine favour. The fact that God deals with nations in accordance with their regard or disregard for His moral laws offers a lesson the emphasizing of which can never become superfluous, especially at such a crisis as that through which the world is passing at the present time (1918). If it be objected that the editor of Judg. is reading into past history the standpoint of his own much later time, and drawing conclusions as to Yahweh's moral government which could not have been drawn by Israel in the time of the Judges, it may be replied, firstly, that the lesson as deduced by the editor would remain for the instruction of subsequent ages, fortified by the teaching of the later Prophets and of our Lord Himself, as well as by the experience of history, even if the historical data upon which it is based were only susceptible of such an interpretation in the light of more developed experience of Yahweh's moral dealings with His people; but, secondly, that it is by no means certain (in view of what has been said above on the personality of Moses and his inculcation of ethical Yahwism as of the nature of historical postulates in the evolution of Israel's religion) that at any rate some part of Israel (e.g. those, such as the Joseph-tribes, who had incontestably come under the influence of Moses) were unconscious that, in rejecting Yahweh and following the Ba'als and the 'Ashtarts, they were lapsing from a higher form of religion to a lower, and infringing the covenant into which Israel had entered with Yahweh as the outcome of the signal deliverance from Egypt, and the events which immediately followed it. It should be noticed that the doctrine of sin, chastisement, repentance, and salvation is not confined to the main redactor's pragmatic setting, but is worked out and emphasized by the lessons of past history in portions of the book which belong to the later school of E—ch. 6:7-10, 10:5-16, and in parts of 1 Sam. which seem to emanate from the same hand, and doubtless originally belonged to the same connected work—1 Sam. 7:2-14, 8:5-8, 10:18-19a, 12:1-25. These passages,
as we have already noticed (§ 4), are closely connected in thought with the formulae of $R^\text{28}$, and seem to have supplied their model.

If we go back to the most ancient parts of the narrative, we find the utmost emphasis laid upon the fact that the Judges act in the Divine strength which inspires and supports them, enabling them to gain the victory against odds which, from the human point of view, might seem to be insuperable. It is Yahweh who commissions them either by a prophetic message (4:6) or by a Self-manifestation ($6\text{11ff.}$, $13\text{3ff.}$), who promises His presence and support ($6\text{14,19}$), and vouchsafes special signs in confirmation of His promise ($6\text{17ff.30ff.}$, $13\text{19ff.}$). His Spirit ‘comes upon’ them ($11\text{29}$; cf. 3:10 $R^\text{28}$), or ‘clothes itself in’ them ($6\text{34}$), or ‘rushes upon’ them ($14\text{3,19}$, $15\text{14}$), or strengthens them in answer to prayer ($15\text{18,19}$, $16\text{28ff.}$). He goes forth before His host in the visible manifestations of nature ($5\text{4,5}$; cf. 4:14), discomfits ($4\text{15}$) and gives into their hands their foes ($3\text{28}$, $6\text{9,15}$, $8\text{3,7}$, $11\text{30}$, $12\text{3}$; with ‘before me’ in place of ‘into my hand,’ $11\text{9}$), and gives them victory ($15\text{18}$).

It is this fact that the achievements of the Judges were wrought in reliance upon the Divine guidance and power which impresses the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and enables him to regard them as the heroes of Faith:—‘the time will fail me if I tell of Gide'on, Baraḳ, Samson, Jephtha; ... who through faith subdued kingdoms, ... from weakness were made strong, waxed mighty in war, turned to flight armies of aliens’ (Heb. 11:32-34).

Without inquiring too closely into the ethical character of this ‘faith’ as viewed from the Christian standpoint, it is sufficient for us to reflect that it fulfilled, in relation to the age which produced it, the function which is fulfilled by the quality as we understand it at the present in the full light of Revelation; and thus we are still able to number these ancient heroes among the ‘great cloud of witnesses’ whose example and inspiration may help us to ‘run with patience the race that is set before us.’


_Hebrew Text._ If we except the Song of Deborah, the Heb. Text ($\Pi$) of Judg. may be said to be well preserved, being comparable in this respect with the narrative-portions of Josh. and Kgs., and superior to Sam. Such corruptions as occur are due to the ordinary causes which have affected the Heb. Text of the O.T. as a whole, and a rough classification of them may be not without value for the purposes of textual criticism; though the fact must be borne in mind that, from the nature of the subject, anything like an exhaustive and well-defined classification is out of the question. Reference is made throughout to the pages of the Commentary where the points in question are discussed.
1. Alteration.


Here the examples marked * are most likely to have arisen in the ancient script, and those marked † in the square script. Many examples, however, can hardly be explained as due to similarity, and may have arisen from such an accident as the obliteration or illegibility of a letter, combined with the influence of the context in determining what the original word in which it occurs may have been. Such a case is no doubt to be seen in the substitution of ר for original מ in י in י in י in י in י in י, ch. 8.


Transposition of clauses:—pp. 102, 120, 124, 210, 387, 417.


Substitution through propinquity:—pp. 137 (כש for כש), 369 (כש for כש, הביא for הבא), 376 (יד for יד, הביא for הביא), 474 (כש for כש).

Wrong division (a) of words:—pp. 119 f., 136, 150, 230, 474, 484; (b) of sentences:—p. 130.

Error due to the use of abbreviation in writing:—pp. 119 f., 123 f., 129, 149, 150, 307, 466.


Grammatical solecisms:—Masc. for Fem., pp. 93, 321, 493 (cf. p. 129); Fem. for Masc., p. 383 bis, 463; Sing. for Plur., pp. 226, 229, 463, 474, 492; Plur. for Sing., pp. 61, 68, 285, 287, 310, 347, 348, 480, 483; False Tense, pp. 73, 214, 383, 483.

Intentional perversion:—pp. 5, 58, 64, 65 f., 228, 434, 461 (cf. p. 32).

2. Insertion.

Dittography (a) of words:—pp. 61, 225, 475, 482 (cf. p. 68); (b) of letters:—pp. 90, 114, 316, 470, 482 (cf. p. 35).

Doublets:—pp. 57, 130, 139, 232, 327, 350, 351 f., 415, 423 f., 474, 485.
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Other marginal notes inserted in the text:—pp. 113, 350, 382, 415, 428 (cf. p. 484).

Insertions explicative of an already corrupt text:—pp. 148, 151, 327, 366, 470.

Unclassified:—pp. 142, 152, 273.

3. Omission.

Homoeoteleuton:—pp. 380, 470.

Haplography of letters:—pp. 282, 472.

Unclassified omissions (a) of single words or parts of words:—pp. 17, 205, 319, 326, 369, 427 f., 473; (b) of sentences or parts of sentences:—pp. 22, 38, 140, 209, 490.

The Septuagint. The fact has long been remarked that in the Greek version of Judg. the uncial MSS. A and B exhibit a divergency which is without parallel in any other part of the O.T., and which raises the question whether they should not be ranked as two distinct translations from the Hebrew. The learned Septuagint scholar J. E. Grabe, writing in 1705 to Dr. John Mill, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, deals with the subject of this divergency, remarking 'Omnibus mediocriter tantum Graecae linguae peritis primo intuitu patet Vaticano et Alexandrino codice duas diversas dicti libri versiones, vel saltem duas editiones saepissime ac multum inter se discrepantes contineri.' This Epistola ad Millium, which runs to 56 quarto pages, aims at establishing the fact that Cod. A represents the genuine Greek text; while Cod. B offers the recension of Hesychius, which, as we know from the often-quoted statement of Jerome, was current in Egypt at the time when he wrote. Whatever view be taken as to Grabe's conclusions, the fact can hardly be disputed that he raised a very genuine problem when he emphasized the divergency of A and B in Judg.—a problem which calls for serious consideration before Greek can satisfactorily be employed for the elucidation of the text of the book.

The divergency between the two Greek versions of Judg. was most thoroughly exemplified by P. de Lagarde in his Septuaginta Studien, Erster Theil, 1891, in which he printed the two texts of chs. 1-5 on opposite pages, thus exhibiting their variation in as striking a manner as possible. Lagarde did not rest content with reproducing merely the texts of the two uncial A and B. Together with A he grouped the Aldine and Complutensian editions, the five cursive MSS. which appear in the notation of HP. as 108, 19, 54, 118, and 29, and the Armenian (Arm.), Old Latin (L), and Syro-hexaplaric (Sb) versions. With B he associated the text of the Sixtine edition, the Codex Musei Britannici Add. 20,002, the Catena Nicephori, and the short extant fragments of the Sahidic and Bohairic versions. Lagarde printed the texts of A and B in extenso, and recorded in footnotes the variants which are found in his other authorities for each respective version of the Greek text.

Professor Moore, in the course of his studies in preparation for his Commentary on Judg., had reached independently the same con-
clclusions as Lagarde in a paper read before the Society of Biblical Literature in May 1890; and when his Commentary appeared in 1895 he offered an enriched conspectus of the MS. and other authorities which represent each version respectively. His summary conclusion as to the \( \text{G} \) versions is as follows:—'I say versions; for Lagarde has demonstrated in the most conclusive way, by printing them face to face through five chapters, that we have two Greek translations of Judges. It would probably be going too far to say that they are independent; the author of the younger of them may have known and used the older; but it is certain that his work is not a recension or revision of his predecessor’s, but a new translation.'*

The editors of the Larger Edition of the Cambridge Septuagint, Messrs. Brooke and M’Lean, have decided that it would be impossible to present the textual evidence for the \( \text{G} \) text of Judg. clearly if the text of B alone were taken as a standard; the readings of MSS. which contain the A recension being treated as variants. They are therefore proposing to follow the plan inaugurated by Lagarde, and to print the text of A and B on opposite pages.† Pending the preparation of this edition, they have published (1897) a trustworthy edition of the text of A in Judg. which forms the most available source for purposes of collation. The \textit{prima facie} conclusion of these scholars as to the relationship of the two versions is as follows:—'No final verdict can as yet be pronounced, but a preliminary investigation of the earlier chapters leads to the surmise that the true text of the Septuagint is probably contained neither in the one nor in the other exclusively, but must

* Moore’s notation is as follows:—

1. Older \( \text{G} \) version: Uncials:
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^1 \)} \text{= Cod. Alexandrinus}. \]
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^p \)} \text{ (or \( \text{G}^w \) in \( \text{SBOT.} \)) = Cod. Coislianus=HP. X.} \]
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^v \)} \text{ (or \( \text{G}^e \) in \( \text{SBOT.} \)) = Cod. Basiliano-Vaticanus=HP. XI.} \]
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^\text{C} \)} \text{ (or \( \text{G}^\text{G} \) in \( \text{SBOT.} \)) = HP. IV, V.} \]
   Cursives in three groups:
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^\text{C} \)} \text{ = HP. 19, 108, 118, the Complutensian Polyglot, and Lagarde’s Libr. V. T. Canon. pars prior, 1883 (cf. p. cxxvi).} \]
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^\text{N} \)} \text{ (or \( \text{G}^\text{v} \) in \( \text{SBOT.} \)) = HP. 54, 59, 75, 82, and the fragments of a Leipzig uncial palimpsest.} \]
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^0 \)} \text{ (or \( \text{G}^\text{v} \) in \( \text{SBOT.} \)) = HP. 120, 121, and the Aldine edition (Venice, 1518).} \]

2. Younger \( \text{G} \) version: Uncials:
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^\text{B} \)} \text{ (or \( \text{G}^\text{v} \) in \( \text{SBOT.} \)) = Cod. Vaticanus.} \]
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^\text{G} \)} \text{ (or \( \text{G}^\text{v} \) in \( \text{SBOT.} \)) = Cod. Mus. Brit. 20, 002.} \]
   Cursives:
   \[ \text{\( \text{G}^\text{v} \)} \text{ = HP. 16, 30, 52, 53, 58, 63, 77, 85, 131, 144, 209, 236, 237, and the text printed in the Catena Nicephori (Leipzig, 1773).} \]

† Since the above was written, the part containing Judges has appeared (1917). The editors have not carried out their original intention, but have printed the text of B in full, and have given prominence to the variant readings of the A-text by the use of Clarendon type.
be sought for by comparing in detail, verse by verse, and word by word, the two recensions, in the light of all other available evidence, and especially of the extant remains of the Hexapla.

So much may suffice to illustrate the stage at which the question of the two G texts of Judg. has arrived at the present time. We may now proceed to statement of the main results which seem to accrue from examination of the two texts.

The outstanding fact is that the text of Cod. A, together with other members of the same family as noted by Lagarde and Moore, is really identical with that text of G which Lagarde has, with high probability, argued to be the recension which was the work of Lucian, the presbyter and martyr of Antioch—a recension which Jerome states to have been current in Constantinople and Asia Minor, as far west as Antioch.

The stages by which the recovery of Lucian’s recension was effected were as follows. Vercellone, in his Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum Editionis, Tom. ii. (1864), p. 436, had remarked that the four G MSS. which appear in HP. notation as 19, 82, 93, and 108 exhibited a text which very frequently coincided with the extant remains of E; and that this is also the case with the G text of the Complutensian Polyglot, which has been shown to be based substantially upon HP.108. When Wellhausen published his Text der Bücher Samuelis (1871), he commented on the fact that the same four MSS. frequently offered readings which are intrinsically more probable than those contained in Cod. B. Ceriani in 1863 had suggested (Hexapla, p. lxxxvii) that the recension of Lucian was contained in these MSS.; but it was not till 1883 that Lagarde published his Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum, pars prior, containing the G text of the O.T. from Genesis to Esther based upon these four MSS. with the addition of HP. 118. In his preface to this work the editor pointed to the numerous agreements between the readings of these five MSS. and the Biblical quotations of St. Chrysostom, who, since he was a priest of Antioch and bishop of Constantinople, may be presumed to have made use of that recension of G which was current in Antioch and Constantinople, viz., as Jerome informs us, the recension of Lucian.

Of the five MSS. upon which Lagarde bases his text of Lucian, 118 is complete for Judg., while 19 and 108 exhibit considerable lacunae. 82, which is also available for Judg., is placed by Moore in another group of the A version family, which he distinguishes by the signature G². We have already noticed that the three Codd. 19, 108, and 118 are cited by Lagarde for his A group in Septuaginta Studien, together with the Complutensian (based upon 108), and E, the correspondence of which with Lucian’s recension in the other historical books has been noted.*

* Cf. the examples cited by Driver for Samuel in NHTS.² pp. lxxvii-lxxx and by the present writer for Kings in NHTK. pp. xxxvi-xl.
Adequate discussion of the characteristics of the two \( G \) versions and their relation one to the other demands a separate treatise. It is only possible here to state summarily the conclusions which seem to result from comparison of the two texts.

1. They are distinct translations, in the sense that each presupposes the independent use of a Heb. original.

2. The two Heb. originals, while possessing much in common which differentiated them from \( H \), yet varied in many important particulars. That used by \( G^B \) was the nearer to \( H \). That used by \( G^A \) exhibited many readings which possess the stamp of originality.*

3. Though the two \( G \) texts may be classed as distinct translations in the sense above specified, they exhibit identities in rendering which cannot be the result of chance, and which indicate that the younger translation (whichever that may have been) was made by the aid of reference to the older.

4. Both translations, and perhaps especially that represented by \( G^A \), have been extensively worked over, and contain many doublets.

The Vulgate (\( V \)), Peshittâ (\( S^P \)), and Targum (\( T \)) are of but slight critical value as compared with the two \( G \) texts, since all represent recensions of the original Heb. much more closely akin to \( H \); and their main importance lies in the early traditions of interpretation which they embody. The principal characteristics of these versions may be gathered from modern works and articles (such as those of DB.) which deal with the textual criticism of the O.T., and need not be noticed here. It is worth while, however, in the case of \( S^P \)—a version of which we possess no authoritative critical text, and of the origin of which little is known—to point out certain affinities with other versions which are apparent in the text of Judges.

1. Affinities with \( G \) are fairly frequent, especially with the version represented by \( G^A \).†

2. \( S^P \) prefixes \( \text{Šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \). Cf. \( G^H \) τάδε λέγει κύριος.

3. \( S^P \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \). Cf. \( G^A \) Φίλοι κριθοῦν, \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \) \( \text{šú} \).

* This version (as represented by \( G^A \), \( S^h \), \( L \)) preserves superior readings to \( H \) and to \( G^B \) in the following passages in Judg.: 54.14, 73.6, 84, 1011, 1120.24, 122.3, 1322, 1411.19, 158, 1621.24, 172, 194.5.33, 2021.32. In 512, 1128.36, 1810, 1625, 189 the readings of the version have claims to consideration, though they are not actually adopted in the present commentary Cf. notes ad loc.

† The same phenomenon has been noted in the \( S^P \) text of Sam. by Driver, NHTS, p. 1xxi, and in that of Kgs. by the present writer in NHTK, p. xxxii. In citations from \( S^P \) the text of Walton's Polyglot has been collated with that of Ceriani's facsimile of the Codex Ambrosianus.
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5 11. סָׁמְאָה אָבָּה 'which he multiplied.' Cf. אָבָּה אָבָּה. 
7 5. At end of verse $^p$ adds וַיֵּאָפָהוּ (יָפָהוּ) (יָפָהוּ).
So $^aL$, $^h$.
7 22. בְּכָלָה המָהָנָה. $^p$ omits י with $^b$, $^L$.
9 48. הַדֶּרֶךְ. $^p$ adds וַיֵּאָמְרוּ (דְּרָא). So $^aL$, $^b$, $^Y$.
10 1. $^p$ adds וֻּלְכָּה (understanding וִלֶכֶא to mean 'his uncle'). Cf. $^b$ וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ פַּרְעָחָא $^v$ 'patru Abimelech.'
10 11. $^p$ agrees with $^aL$, $^h$, $^L$, $^U$ in omitting וַיָּרְאוּ and taking list of nations as subj. of וַיָּרְאוּ.
10 34. מִשְׁמַע. $^p$ מִשְׁמַע מִשְׁמַע (מִשְׁמַע). So $^aL$, $^h$.
11 25. $^p$ sides with $^b$, $^Y$ (cf. note ad loc.).
12 3. נַעֲשֻׁת (נַעֲשֻׁת). $^p$ נַעֲשֻׁת נַעֲשֻׁת. So $^aL$, $^h$.
14 7. נַעֲשֵׁה. $^p$ נַעֲשֵׁה נַעֲשֵׁה. So $^aL$ כָּלֶּשׁ מַשְׁכָּל מַשְׁכָּל כָּלֶּשׁ. So $^aL$, $^h$.
15 3. וַיִּשְׁמַע (וַיִּשְׁמַע). So $^aL$, $^U$.
15 6. וַיִּשְׁמַע כָּלַה (וַיִּשְׁמַע כָּלַה). So $^Y$ מֹסָס, 
$^aL$, $^h$.
20 18a. $^p$ מֵעַל עָבָר ... with $^aL$, $^U$.
2. There are clear instances of affinity with $^C$—and this of a character which is not to be explained merely by the fact that both versions are Aramaic, or by the probability that both may have been influenced by a similar Jewish tradition of exegesis, but which suggests actual connexion between the two.*
3 3, al. יִדְרֵי. $^p$ יִדְרֵי יִדְרֵי יִדְרֵי יִדְרֵי.
3 25. $^p$ הָיָה $^h$ מִסָּמָּה. So $^h$ מִסָּמָּה מִסָּמָּה.
7 18. לִפְתִּהְו $^p$ מִסָּמָּה מִסָּמָּה. So $^b$ מִסָּמָּה מִסָּמָּה מִסָּמָּה.
18 6. קָשָׁה יָדְרֵי $^p$ אַלְּאָמְרָה $^b$ מִסָּמָּה. So $^b$ מִסָּמָּה מִסָּמָּה. So $^b$ מִסָּמָּה מִסָּמָּה.

* Cf. for Sam. $^NHTS$, pp. lixi f. and for Kgs. $^NHTK$, pp. xxxiv f.
THE BOOK OF JUDGES

I. 1–2. 5. Survey of Israel's settlement in Canaan.


This section was added by a post-exilic editor of the Priestly school of thought (RP) as a fresh introduction to his new edition of the history of the Judges. The introduction is composed in the main of extracts culled from the old Judaean document (J) of the ninth century B.C. J's narrative originally gave an account of the first settlement of the tribes of Israel in Canaan, describing the gradual and partial manner in which it was effected. Extracts from the same narrative are found in the Book of Joshua', several of them being parallel to passages in Judg. 1, and, where not identical in wording, appearing in a more original form. Thus Josh. 15:14–10 = Judg. 1:20–10b (in part); 11–15; Josh. 15:63 = Judg. 1:21; Josh. 16:10 = Judg. 1:29; Josh. 17:11–13 = Judg. 1:27–28. Further extracts from the same narrative, not contained in Judg. 1, are found in Josh. 13:13, 17:14–18, 19:47, and probably in Num. 32:30,41,42. The original form of J's narrative of the settlement in Canaan has been very skilfully reconstructed by Bu.: cf. Additional note, p. 47.

The reason why the old narrative of J did not appear in full in Josh. doubtless was that, as picturing the settlement in Canaan as the work of individual tribes, and as only very partially effected, it conflicted with the view taken by the Deuteronomistic editor (R”) of JE in Josh., according to which practically the whole of the promised land, with the exception of the maritime plain, was summarily conquered by all Israel in a series of campaigns under the leadership of Joshua’; and was even more sharply opposed to the presentation of affairs as given by the Priestly writer (P) in Josh., which makes the accurate delimitation of the conquered territory among the twelve tribes to have been settled by Joshua’ after the conquest. Cf. further *Introd*. pp. xxxiv f.

In utilizing J’s matter for his introduction to Judges, RP regards it as referring, not to the first settlement in Canaan, but to the outcome of events ‘after the death of Joshua’(v. 1). Thus, in order to illustrate (from his point of view) the slackness of Israel in failing to carry out
what they might have accomplished in obedience to Yahweh’s command, he alters in several passages J’s statement that they ‘could not dispossess’ the Canaanites into ‘did not dispossess.’ So in vv. 21.27 as compared with the parallel passages in Josh.; and doubtless also in v. 19 (cf. note). R also adds statements with regard to the conquest of Jerusalem (v. 6) and the Philistine cities (v. 18) which actually conflict with statements from J which he incorporates (vv. 21.19). Cf. further notes following.

The standpoint of ch. 2.1-5 is clearly that of R. The severe censure of Israel as a whole on the ground that they have willfully neglected Yahweh’s command by failure to extirpate the inhabitants of Canaan is of a piece (Bu. RS. p. 20) with the deliberate alteration of ‘could not dispossess’ into ‘did not dispossess’ noticed above. The representation of the tribes of Israel as apparently assembled in one body at Bethel (cf. note on 2.1) is at variance with the narrative of J in ch. 1, which represents them as scattered throughout the land, and each making its own settlement as best it could. The speech which is put into the mouth of the Angel of Yahweh appears to be a free composition by R, based upon reminiscence of passages in the Pentateuch and Josh. (cf. notes ad loc.). Wellh., however, is doubtless correct in recognizing (Comp. 3 p. 210) that in vv. 16-18 we have genuine fragments of the old narrative of J, describing the removal of the religious centre of Israel from Gilgal to Bethel after the conquest of the latter city by the house of Joseph, as narrated in 22 ff.

The purpose of R’s introduction is to explain the unsettled condition of affairs as related in the narrative of Judges, by the addition of details known to him which had not been incorporated by the main editor (R^2) in his introduction, ch. 2.6-3.6.

The following words and phrases are to be noticed as characteristic of J:—‘the Canaanites,’ as a general term for the inhabitants of Palestine, 1 (see note); ‘the Canaanites and the Perizzites’ coupled, 1 (note); ‘at the first’ (בראשית), 1; ‘deal kindly with’ (lit. ‘do kindness with,’ עשה ידים עמו), 1; ‘dependencies’ (lit. ‘daughters,’ נשות), 1, five times; ‘and it came to pass, when’ (בִּבְלָד, 1; ‘dwelt in the midst of’ (בראשית), I; ‘prevailed’ (lit. ‘was heavy,’ ויהי), 1, 20, 28, 30; ‘the Angel of Yahweh’ (מלאך יהוה), 21.9. Cf. CH.

I. 1. R^ Now after the death of Joshua, J the children of

I, 1. after the death of Joshua. As related in Josh. 24.29-30 (E). R^ assumes that he is taking up the history from the point reached in the closing chapter of Josh. The proper continuation of Josh. 24 is found, however, in R^7’s introduction to Judg., contained in ch. 2.6-11, where vv. 6-9 are nearly verbally identical with Josh. 24.28-30. So far from dealing with events which happened subsequently to Joshua’s death, the old narrative of J pictures Israel as still at Gilgal (21), or
Israel enquired of Yahweh, saying, 'Who shall go up for us first against the Canaanites to fight against them?'

2. And Yahweh said, 'Judah shall go up: behold, I have given the land into his hand.'

3. And Judah said to Simeon his brother, 'Go up with me into my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanites, close by at Jericho (118), shortly after the passage of the Jordan and before the tribes had entered upon their inheritances.

The children of Israel enquired, etc. Literally translated, v.1 runs, 'And it came to pass, after the death of Joshua', and the children of Israel enquired, etc., the use of 'and' to introduce the sentence to which the time-determination refers being idiomatic in Hebrew. Thus, apart from R's note of time, the sentence is to be rendered, 'And the children, etc.' This may have formed the commencement of J's narrative of the tribal conquests: cf. Additional note, p. 47.

enquired of Yahweh. The reference doubtless is to consultation of the oracle by means of the sacred lot; cf. the use of the phrase in 1 Sam. 1437, 2210, 232, 308, etc. This lot was cast by means of Urim and Tummim, as appears from the undoubtedly original form of 1 Sam. 1441, preserved by G. Here Saul's address to Yahweh runs, 'O Yahweh, God of Israel, wherefore hast thou not answered thy servant to-day? If this iniquity be in me, or in Jonathan my son, O Yahweh, God of Israel, give Urim; but if it be in thy people Israel, give Tummim.' Cf. also 1 Sam. 286. Thus Urim and Tummim were apparently two concrete objects employed in connexion with the Ephod. Cf. 1 Sam. 1418, where G preserves the true reading 'Ephod' in place of 'Ark of God' in H. On the nature of the Ephod, cf. note on ch. 837.

Who shall go up. From the Jordan valley, which is the point of departure in v.16, into the hill-country to the west. The expression 'alá 'go up' is used, however, in a general way of a military expedition. Cf. ch. 123, 189, 1 Sam. 77, Isa. 3610, al.

against the Canaanites. The use of 'Canaanite' as a general term to describe the inhabitants of the country west of Jordan is characteristic of J; while E uses 'Amorite' in the same general sense. When greater accuracy is deemed desirable, the Canaanites are defined as the dwellers in the lowlands, i.e. the maritime plain and the Jordan valley, and the Amorites as inhabitants of the hill-country which lies between. So in Num. 1320 (prob. R18), Josh. 113 (R5); cf. Deut. 1710, 20, Josh. 51, 1334 (both R5). The inhabitants of the mountain-range east of Jordan and north of the Arnon are described as Amorites by E and by writers influenced by this source (R18 and school of D). Upon the evidence as to the use of the terms from extraneous sources, cf. Additional note, p. 41.

3. into my lot. J, like E and R5 and P in Josh., doubtless represented the partition of Canaan among the tribes of Israel as decided
and I also will go up with thee into thy lot.' So Sime'on went with him. 4. R\textsuperscript{2} And Judah went up; and Yahweh gave the Canaanites and the Perizzites into their hand; and they smote them in Bezek—ten thousand men. 5. J And they came upon

by lot under the direction of Joshua'. Cf. Introd. p. cv. The position and (ideal) extent of Judah's 'lot' is described in Josh. 15 1-12 P. It was bounded on the east by the Dead Sea and on the west by the Mediterranean, while the northern border ran from the Jordan near its junction with the Dead Sea, and passing close to the south of Jerusalem (which fell within the territory of Benjamin), terminated at the Mediterranean near Jabne'el (Yebnà). The southern border is noticed under v. 96 'from the Crag'.

So Sime'on went with him. The cities assigned to Sime'on in Josh. 19 1-8 (P) fall within the territory of Judah; and most, if not all, of them are reckoned to Judah in Josh. 15 26-32,42 (P). The tribe of Sime'on seems to have been very small. The story of Gen. 34 (J and P combined) probably reflects an early attempt made by this tribe and the tribe of Levi (Additional note, p. 437) to settle in central Palestine; when an attack made upon the Canaanite city of Shechem, in violation of friendly treaty, provoked (as we may infer from Gen. 49 7 J) such reprisals on the part of the Canaanites as decimated the aggressors and caused the dispersion of the remnant of their clans to seek a settlement in other parts of the land. As to when this Shechem-incident may have occurred, cf. Additional note, pp. 437 ff. In the so-called 'Blessing of Moses,' Deut. 33 (E), dated by Driver (Deut., ICC., p. 387) either shortly after the rupture under Jerobo' am I, or during the middle and prosperous part of the reign of Jerobo' am II. (c. 780 B.C.), Sime'on is not mentioned at all; unless we follow the suggestion of $\text{Gaul}$ in v. 6b, and read, 'and let Sime'on be few in number' ( necessário for $\text{Nism}$. The rendering πολείς ἐν ἀριθμῷ rests on a false interpretation of י ': $\text{Nism}$ as implying a large number).

4. The verse seems to be a summary statement by R\textsuperscript{2} of the result of the campaign, based upon the information afforded by J in the following verses.

5. And they came upon Adoni-bezek in Bezek. The name Adoni-bezek is open to grave suspicion, since nowhere else do we find a Hebrew proper name which describes a man as 'lord' of his city or country. The form of name which we should expect as a compound of Adoni is 'such and such a deity is lord': cf. Adonijah, 'Yah or Yahweh is lord,' Adoniram, 'the High one is lord,' and in Phoenician Adoni-eshmun, 'Eshmun is lord,' etc. It is conceivable that Bezek may have been the name of a local Canaanite deity; but such a deity is otherwise quite unknown, and it is scarcely possible that the city should bear the name of the deity, without some such prefix as Beth, 'house of' (cf. Beth'ananath, Beth-dagon). Moreover, no city
Adoni-bezek in Bezek, and they fought against him, and smote named Bezek in southern Palestine is mentioned elsewhere in the O. T.; and the Bezek of 1 Sam. 11:8 (the modern Hirbet Ibzik, seventeen miles N.N.E. of Nablus on the road to Bèsân) cannot be the place intended, since Judah and Simeôn are represented as moving in a westerly or south-westerly direction from Jericho (v.16), into the territory allotted to Judah. A site Hirbet Bezekh, six miles S.E. of Lydda, has been advocated by Conder (SWP. Mem. iii. 36), but this seems too far to the west to have been the scene of action.

The mention of Jerusalem in v.7, as the city to which the king was taken, apparently by his own followers (cf. note), after his mutilation by the Judaean, makes it probable that we have here to do with Adoni-šedek, king of Jerusalem, who is named in Josh. 10:1 (E) as the head of the confederacy against Joshua in southern Palestine; in which case we would seem to have an account of his fate different from that given by E in Josh. 10:22 ff. The view that, in Adoni-šedek, Šedek is the name of a Canaanite deity is plausible, but the evidence is inconclusive. Cf. Additional note, p. 41. Adoni-šedek may denote 'my lord is righteous' (lit. 'is righteousness'); in accordance with the common substitution of substantive for adjective in Heb.), or 'lord of righteousness.'

If Adoni-šedek be the original form of the name in our passage, the form Adoni-bezek, unless merely due to accidental corruption, is probably an intentional perversion made by a late scribe in order to cast ridicule upon the name of a heathen deity. Šedek, either the deity's name, or ascribing 'righteousness' to the heathen divine 'lord,' is changed into bezek, a word unknown to us in Heb., but very likely existing with the meaning 'pebble' or small 'fragment' of stone, as in Syr. beskā, Aram. bizkā, perhaps in jesting allusion to the material and helpless idol: cf. Hab. 2:19, where the idol is described as a 'dumb stone.' Such perversion of the title of a heathen deity is most probably seen in Baal-zebub, 'lord of flies,' 2 Kgs. 1.2-3.6.16, for an original Baal-zebul (cf. Βεστεβούλ, Mk. 3:22 and parallels, Matt. 10:20), 'lord of the mansion' (temple, or heavenly abode; applied to Yahweh's abode in 1 Kgs. 8:14, Isa. 63:16; cf. Cheyne in EB. col. 407 f.); and in the substitution of bašeth, 'shameful thing,' for Ba'al where it occurs in proper names, as in Ishbosheth in 2 Sam. 2:8, etc., for Eshba'al, 1 Chr. 8:31, 9:38, and in other cases: cf. the present editor's Outlines of O. T. Theology, pp. 27 f. Similar instances of the perversion of names in jest are noticed in ch. 3:8 note. The form Ḡōwēzbek has been adopted by E in Josh. 10:2 (2 codd. Ḡōwēzbek; so Josephus and other writers: cf. Mo., Comm., p. 17).

Upon this view of the origin of the name Adoni-bezek, it is probable that the words 'in Bezek' were added still later as an explanatory gloss, when the proper name had come to be understood as 'lord of Bezek.' The statement 'they came upon Adoni-
the Canaanites and the Perizzites. 6. And Adoni-bezek fled; and they pursued after him, and captured him, and cut off his thumbs and his great toes. 7. And Adoni-bezek said, 'Seventy kings, with their thumbs and their great toes cut off, used to pick up food under my table: as I did, so hath God requited me.' And they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died there.

8. R ste the children of Judah fought against Jerusalem, and

Sedek' does not necessarily postulate mention of the locality where the encounter took place, though this may have existed in the full narrative of J. Bu. would supply 'the king of Jerusalem' after the proper name.

The Canaanites and the Perizzites. The two terms are so coupled only in J, Gen. 13:7, 34:20: the occurrence in v.4 (R') being adopted directly from J in v.5.

The view that the Perizzites were a remnant of the pre-Canaanitish inhabitants of Palestine (cf. Kautzsch in Riehm, HWB, ii. p. 1211) is based upon insufficient grounds. More probably the term, like prázi in 1 Sam. 6:18, Deut. 3:6, denotes the dwellers in unwalled hamlets; just as the term Hivvites appears to denote communities of tent-dwellers (cf. note on ch. 10:4).

6. cut off his thumbs and his great toes. Le Clerc and commentators after him compare the statement of Aelian (Var. Hist. II. 9) that the Athenians voted to cut off the thumb of the right hand of every one of the Aeginetans, that they might be unable to carry a spear, but able to propel an oar. Similar mutilations of prisoners of war are noticed by Mo. ad loc. Probably, however, La. is correct in concluding, with Calmet, that the mutilation was intended to degrade the captive to the position of a punished slave, rather than to prevent the bearing of arms; though the latter motive may also have been operative.

7. Seventy kings. A large round number. Cf. note on ch. 8:30.

as I did, etc. There is perhaps an etiological connexion between the tradition of Adoni-sedek's speech and the name which he bears; the idea of 'measure for measure' being suggested by 'the Lord is righteous' (i.e. just; cf. use of term in Deut. 25:16, al.).

they brought him to Jerusalem. The subject of the verb must be Adoni-sedek's own followers; since J, the author of the narrative tells us in v.31=Josh. 15:63 that the Judaeans were unable to conquer Jerusalem. It is likely, however, that R referred the verb to the victorious Judaeans, and so introduced his statement as to the conquest of Jerusalem in the verse following.

8. And the children of Judah fought against Jerusalem, etc. This statement by R is obviously incorrect. So far from the city having been captured and set on fire, we are told by J in Josh. 15:63 that the
took it, and smote it at the edge of the sword, and the city they set on fire. 9. And afterward the children of Judah went down to fight against the Canaanites dwelling in the hill-country and the Negeb and the Shephelah. 10. And Judah went against sons of Judah were unable to dispossess the Jebusites dwelling in Jerusalem (so v. 21, with the variation ‘did not dispossess’ noticed in the opening section). With this failure to capture Jerusalem agree the facts of history as otherwise known to us. In the old story of Judg. 19 Jerusalem or Jebus is a ‘city of the Jebusites, ... the city of foreigners who are not of the children of Israel’ (vv. 10–12). And in 2 Sam. 5 ff., the capture of the city from its Jebusite inhabitants is related as one of the great achievements of David. Even R in Josh., who relates in 10 ff. the capture and destruction of the cities of three of the kings who took part in the southern confederacy (10 3 E), viz. Lachish, ‘Eglon, and Hebron, makes no statement as to the capture of Jerusalem; though it is true that the king of Jerusalem is included (v. 10) in the list of vanquished kings given in Josh. 12.

at the edge of the sword. Lit. ‘according to the mouth of the sword’ (ἡ ῥύπη ἐκ τοῦ σαξονοῦτος, as in ἐξῆς ἐκ τοῦ σαξονοῦτος; lit. ‘according to the mouth of his eating,’ Ex. 16 18), i.e. ‘as the sword devours,’” viz. without quarter.

9. the children of Judah went down. Jerusalem is 2593 feet above the Mediterranean sea-level, Hebron (v. 10) 3040 feet; and the intervening country rises slightly on the whole rather than falls. Thus the expression ‘went down’ would be in this respect inappropriate. The writer, however, is thinking, not merely of the much lower Negeb and Shephelah, but also of the fall in the hill-country from the central plateau on which Jerusalem stands, both westward towards the Shephelah, and towards the wilderness of Judah in the direction of the Dead Sea.

the Negeb. The arid steppe-region extending from a little south of Hebron, where the hill-country gradually sinks, to Kadesh-Barnea about fifty miles south of Be’er-sheba on the border of the desert. The root ṣān in New Heb. and Aram. means ‘to be dry or parched’; and Negeb accordingly must denote ‘the dry region’: cf. v. 16 where springs of water are named as a desideratum. From the standpoint of Palestine ‘the Negeb,’ or, ‘towards the Negeb,’ is a common designation of the south. Negeb is in R.V. always rendered ‘the South’ (with capital S); but its application to a particular region of southern Palestine requires the retention of the Hebrew term.

the Shephelah. A term meaning ‘lowland,’ and, according to Smith (HG., pp. 201 ff.), properly applied to the low hills or downs lying between the Judaean hill-country to the east and the maritime plain (called ‘emek, ‘the Vale,’ by J in v. 10) to the west—a region which, as distinct both from hill-country and plain, was constantly debatable ground between the Israelites and Philistines. Smith
the Canaanites who dwelt in Hebron: (now the name of Hebron clearly proves the distinct character of this region, as separated from the hill-country of Judah by a series of valleys running southward from Aijalon, a distinction which does not exist north of Aijalon, where the hill-country slopes down directly into the maritime plain. Yet there are indications that the use of the term Shephelah was not always or at all times thus limited in its application. As Buhl (Geogr. p. 104) remarks, the specification of the cities in the Shephelah in Josh. 15:33 ff. points to a wider application, especially vv. 46-47 which include the Philistine cities with their neighbouring villages as far west as the sea and as far south as the wady of Egypt (wady el-`Aris); these latter verses indicating the linguistic usage of the term at the period at which they were penned, even if they be regarded as a later interpolation. The same inference may be drawn from the Gr. rendering πεδινός or ἔπειτον, and from Eusebius' statement (OS. 296.10) that the term includes all the low country (πεδινός) lying about Eleutheropolis (Bêt-`Gibrin) to the north and west.* On the other hand, the fact must not be overlooked that Ob. 18, 2 Chr. 28:18 appear expressly to distinguish the Shephelah from the territory of the Philistines (the maritime plain); and the same seems to be true of Zech. 7:7, which refers to the period when the Shephelah was inhabited by Judah. The usage of the term thus appears to have fluctuated between a wider and narrower application, the wider and looser usage probably being relatively later.

10. And Judah went, etc. J's account of the conquest of Hebron and Debir is found in Josh. 15:14-19. There, after a statement by a late Priestly writer (v. 13) that Caleb was given Hebron or Kiriath-arba' as his portion, we read: - 14. And Caleb dispossessed from thence the three sons of Anaq, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai. 15. And he went up thence against the inhabitants of Debir, etc., vv. 16-10 being verbally identical with Judg. 1:11-15, except for the variation לני 'and he went,' Judg. 1:11, for לני 'and he went up,' Josh. 15:18, and the addition המים וגו 'who was younger than he,' in Judg. 1:13, after the words 'the brother of Caleb.' The parallel to v. 14 of Josh. is found in Judg. 1:20b and the names of the sons of Anaq at the end of v. 10.

Judg. 1:20a, 'And they gave Hebron to Caleb, as Moses had said,' is J's statement upon which Josh. 15:18 is based by a late redactor who inserted the narrative of J into the midst of the P document in Josh. The original form of J's narrative is found if we place Judg. 1:20a before Josh. 15:14-19: cf. Additional note, p. 48. The dislocation in Judg. 1 by which v. 20 comes later on instead of prior to v. 10 end is due to R', who, by his insertion of vv. 9.10 down to 'and they smote,'

* Buhl's further objections to Smith's view appear to be satisfactorily met by the latter writer in Expositor, 1896, pp. 404 ff.
formerly was Kiriat-tarba'; and they smote J Sheshai and Ahiman, doubtless intended to represent the whole tribe of Judah as acting in concert.

_Hebron._ The modern el-Halil, _i.e._ 'the Friend,' an abbreviation of 'Town of the Friend of God' (the Mohammedan title for Abraham), about eighteen miles a little west of due south of Jerusalem.

_now the name of Hebron formerly, etc._ So exactly Josh. 14:16 (in a section 14:6-15 R, but probably a later note). The statement that Kiriat-arba' was the same as Hebron is also found in Gen. 23:2, 35:27, Josh. 15:13, 20:7, 21:11 (all P), and the name appears in a list of cities inhabited by the children of Judah in Nehemiah's time, Neh. 11:25.

_Kiriat-arba._ The name means 'City of Four'; and there can be little doubt that 'Four,' like 'Seven' in Be'er-sheba, 'Well of Seven,' is a divine title. Probably both 'Four' and 'Seven' represent aspects of the Moon-god, the former referring to the four phases of the moon, the latter to one quarter, or the seven-day week. For the evidence upon which this view is based, cf. **Additional note, p. 43.**

The view generally adopted that 'City of Four' means Tetrapolis, fourfold city or city of four federated tribes, is based merely upon conjecture; and no evidence can be adduced in support of it, unless it be found in the fact that the name Hebron may possibly be explained as 'association' or 'federation.' The Priestly writer in Josh. 15:13, 21:11 would appear to suppose Arba' to have been the ancestor of the 'Anakite clans originally inhabiting Hebron; and in Josh. 14:15 Arba' is stated to have been 'the greatest man among the 'Anakites.' In all these passages, however, _G_ reads 'the metropolis of 'Anak,' or 'of the 'Anakites' (μητρόπολις = ἔφοι 'mother,' _i.e._ 'mother-city,' as in 2 Sam. 20:19); and Mo. argues with reason that this was the original reading, and that the alteration in _W_ is due to a scribe who misunderstood the sense in which the term 'mother' is used.

_Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai._ Described in v. 20 as 'the three sons of 'Anak'—a statement with which the three proper names were originally connected in J's account. Cf. the first note on v. 10. The reference is to three 'Anakite clans rather than to three individuals. In Num. 13:22 (JE) the spies, and notably Caleb (cf. note on v. 12), come across the same three in their reconnaissance of Hebron—a fact which perhaps has its bearing upon the question of Caleb's conquest of Hebron (cf. Additional note, p. 46). Mo. speaks of the 'Anakite names as 'of distinctively Aramaic type'; but it is more to the point to observe that they seem to exhibit the influence of North Arabia. It should be noticed that names with the termination -ai, as in Talmai and Sheshai, appear to have been specially numerous among the Judaeans, and not least among the Calibbite and Jerahmeelite elements of this mixed tribe. Cf. the genealogy of 1 Chr. 2, and notice besides Hushai, 2 Sam. 15:32, _al._, and the Gittite Ittai, 2 Sam. 15:19, _al._ The name Talmai occurs in 2 Sam. 3:8, 13:37 as
and Talmai. II. And they went up\(^1\) thence against the inhabitants of Debir. (Now the name of Debir formerly was

borne by a king of the Aramaean state Geshur (probably north of Gile'ad), and Talmi has been found in inscriptions from el-'Olā near Tēmā as the name of two kings of Līḥyān (D. H. Müller, *Epi-


Num. 13 22 *G* 1 *Σεσεί*, *B* *Σεσεῖ*. Cf. Shāshai, שָׁשַׂה, Ezr. 10 40 *G* 2A *Σεσεῖ*, identical with *G* 6 *Σεσεῖ*, *A* *Σεσεῖ* of I Esdr. 9 34\(^1\) is apparently a variation of the name Shisha or Shavsha (שִׂוָּה, שָׁוָה) borne by a

Judaean of the time of David and Solomon (1 Kgs. 4 3; 1 Chr. 18 16); and names with this termination -a (with final נ) are likewise characteristic of Judah (cf. 1 Chr. 2), and point to North Arabian influence, which may thus be supposed to have been operative in southern Canaan as early as the time of the *Anakites*. Shavsha (more original than Shisha: cf. *NHTK*. p. 38) undoubtedly stands for Shamsha, *i.e.* 'the Sun'; cf. Aram. *Ki-sava* (כִּי-סָבָא) for Bab. *Ki-sama* in an inscription of B.C. 504: *CIS*. ii. 65 (cited by Cheyne in *EB*. 4433). Shēshai, which, as the *G* variants indicate, may have been originally Shavshai, Shasshai, or Shishshai (שְׁשַׂה), may be compared with the late Bab. *šamšu* for *šamšu*, 'sun.' It is worth noticing that the Heb. Samson (properly Shimshōn; Bab. *šammānu*, BDB. *s.v.* perhaps 'Sun-man,' and the place-name Beth-shemesh, 'House of the Sun,' also belong to southern Palestine.

In *Aššur* the element *mān* is probably the name or title of a deity, perhaps Mēnī, the god of *fate* or *destiny* mentioned in Isa. 65 18. Cf. the goddess Manōthū in the Nabataean inscriptions; Ar. Manāt, Kurān 53 20. The name belongs to the familiar class which claims relationship to a deity:—'Brother of Mān,' or 'Mān is my brother.' The occurrence of the name (מָני) in the list of Levites in 1 Chr. 9\(^2\) is probably an erroneous dittography of the following הָרִיסָה, 'and their brethren.'

II. And they went up. Reading שָׁנַה with *G* 6 and || Josh. 15 18, in place of דִּגְנַה. The singular verb is taken by *R* to refer, as a collective, to the tribe of Judah mentioned by him in v. 10; but in the original narrative of *J* it referred to Caleb. Cf. the first note on v. 10.

Debir. The site commonly accepted for Debir is ez-Zāhariyyeh, which lies about eleven miles south-west of Hebron, and which 'may
1. 11. ]  

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Kiriath-sepher.) 12. And Caleb said, 'He that smiteth Kiriath-
be regarded as the frontier town between the hill-country and the Negeb' (Smith, HG. p. 279; cf. Trumbull, Kadesh-Barnea, pp. 104 f.). This identification depends merely upon conjecture. It suits the connexion in which Debir stands in Josh. 15:48-51 with Socoh (the modern Šuwēkēh), 'Anab (Anāb), and Eshtemoa (elsewhere Eshtemoa', probably the modern es-Semū'), which are all in close proximity, and the narrative of vv. 14 ff. (cf. note on v. 15); but is opposed by the fact noticed by Sayce (DB. i. p. 578a) that Petrie found no traces at eg-Zāhariyyeh of anything older than the Roman period.*

It may also be observed that, while Hēbron stands 3040 feet above the sea, the elevation of eg-Zāhariyyeh (2150 feet) is nearly 900 feet lower, and the descent from the former site to the latter appears, in the main, to be gradual and continuous.† Thus, if the reading 'And they went up from thence (i.e. from Hēbron) to Debir' is correct, the identification of Debir with eg-Zāhariyyeh would seem to be excluded, unless we regard the expression 'went up' as used in the general sense of making a campaign (cf. note on v. 1), an explanation which the precise 'from thence' (אֶל) may be thought to render somewhat improbable. The only site south of Hēbron which seems to stand on a higher elevation is Yūṭṭā (3747 feet); but this corresponds in name at least with the Biblical Juṭṭah, Josh. 15:66, 21:16.

Kiriath-sepher. As vocalized, the name appears to mean 'book-city': ἔγι καίτοι γραμμάτων (and so ἔγι in Josh. 15:10, 16, and in 15:49, where Ῥ reads Kiriath-sannah, probably a textual error); L 'civitas litterarum'; S 'city of writings'; T 'archive-city.' Upon this slight basis, merely, Sayce builds the theory that the city 'must have been the seat of a library like those of the great cities of Babylonia and Assyria,—a library which doubtless consisted in large measure

* Conder's statement (Tent Work, p. 245) that the name Debir 'has the same meaning' as eg-Zāhariyyeh is wholly incorrect. It may be true that the name of the modern village is 'derived from its situation on the "back" of a long ridge.' Zahr means 'back,' and zahār is applied to 'the exterior and elevated part of a stony tract' (so Lane), both words being derived from a verb zaharā, 'to be outward, exterior, apparent.' But Debir, on the contrary, can only be explained from Ar. dabara, 'to be behind,' whence dabr and dabr, 'hindmost or back part,' and is the same, apparently, as the Heb. word used in 1 Kgs. 6:16 al. as the older name of the most holy place in Solomon's temple, which, upon this etymology, may be rendered 'shrine.' The contrast in sense between the two roots is clearly seen if we compare zāhir, 'exterior' (commonly opposed to bājin, 'interior') with dabr, 'the location or quarter that is behind a thing' (so Lane).

† Cf. SWP. Great Map, xxi. Smith (loc. cit.), though regarding the identification of eg-Zāhariyyeh with Debir as probable, describes the journey from Hēbron as a descent 'over moors and through wheat-fields, arranged in the narrower wadies in careful terraces, but lavishiy spread over many of the broader valleys.'
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12. And Caleb said. The statement evidently points back to an earlier mention of Caleb in J’s original narrative. Cf. the first note on v. 10. Caleb is called ‘the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite’ in Num. 32:12 (P), Josh. 14:6-14 (R⁷). In JE’s narrative of the mission of the spies to explore the Negeb (Num. 13, 14) he is the only spy mentioned by name, and the only one among the number who maintains the possibility of the conquest of the ‘Anakites inhabiting the region (Num. 13:30). In the later narrative of P, which is interwoven with that of JE in these two chapters, and in which the twelve spies (one for every tribe, and all named) explore the whole of Canaan, Joshua is associated with Caleb (the representative of Judah) in urging the immediate conquest of the land. Cf. for the analysis of the narrative, Gray, Numbers (ICC.), pp. 128 ff. In Josh. 14:6-15 (R⁷ based on JE) Joshua grants Hebron to Caleb in response to his request, and in remembrance of the promise of Moses made to Caleb after the return of the spies.

Caleb’s clan of the Kenizzites appears from Gen. 36:11 to have belonged to the Edomites, and, like the allied clan of the Jerahmeelites (1 Chr. 2:18,21), still remained distinct from Judah in the early days of David: cf. 1 Sam. 27:10, 30:14. Evidence seems to indicate that the Kenizzites, like other elements which went to form the mixed tribe of Judah, really entered and settled in the Negeb by advancing northward from the neighbourhood of Kadesh-Barnea, and that the tradition which makes the granting of Hebron and Debir to Caleb subsequent to and dependent upon the invasion and conquest of Canaan under Joshua, represents a later adjustment of facts. Cf. Additional note, p. 44.

13. Othniel, the son of Kenaz. The reference is probably, as in the case of Caleb, to a Kenizzite family rather than an individual. Othniel is named in ch. 3:9 as the deliverer of Israel from a foreign oppressor.

the younger brother of Caleb. The sentence may be construed grammatically as referring either to Kenaz (so G) or to Othniel of books on clay which may yet be brought to light’ (HCM. p. 54).

If the name really meant ‘city of books,’ or rather ‘records,’ we should expect the form מִֽשְּפַרְמִים (Kiriath-šophərim: cf. Kiriath-yəwərim); and it is possible that the plur. מִֽשְּפַרְמִים may have been written in the abbreviated form מִֽשְּפֶרֶם, which came to be mistaken for the singular (cf. footnote § on p. 124). מִֽשְּפֶרֶם in this passage reads קָרָאָסְתָסֹפָר, i.e., apparently, Kiriath-šophər, ‘city of the scribe’; a name which W. M. Müller would recognize in the Egyptian Ba’i-ti-šu-pa-ira, ‘house of the scribe’ (AE. p. 174). This vocalization of the Heb. name is in itself more probable.

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Caleb’s clan of the Kenizzites appears from Gen. 36:11 to have belonged to the Edomites, and, like the allied clan of the Jerahmeelites (1 Chr. 2:18,21), still remained distinct from Judah in the early days of David: cf. 1 Sam. 27:10, 30:14. Evidence seems to indicate that the Kenizzites, like other elements which went to form the mixed tribe of Judah, really entered and settled in the Negeb by advancing northward from the neighbourhood of Kadesh-Barnea, and that the tradition which makes the granting of Hebron and Debir to Caleb subsequent to and dependent upon the invasion and conquest of Canaan under Joshua, represents a later adjustment of facts. Cf. Additional note, p. 44.

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J brother of Caleb, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter as wife. 14. And when she came, [he] incited [her] to ask of her father a field: and she lighted down from off the ass; and Caleb said to her, 'What wouldest thou?' 15. And she said to him, 'Grant me a present; for thou hast set me in the land of the Negeb; so give me springs of water.' And Caleb gave her the upper spring[^1] and the nether spring[^1].

(so י in JES); but, since Caleb is himself called 'the Kenizzite' (cf. note above), it seems clear that he too is regarded as a descendant or 'son' of Kenaz, and that Caleb and Othniel are ranked as brothers. This was the view of R's, who added, after 'the brother of Caleb,' the words 'who was younger than he' (so ch. 3[9]), in order to explain how the fact that Othniel married his own niece did not imply a great disparity in age. R's addition is not found in the parallel narrative of J in Josh. Cf. the first note on v. 10.

he gave him Achsah, etc. Probably the story implies the union of two families of the Kenizzites.

14. when she came. Apparently, as Mo. suggests, Achsah is pictured as arriving to meet her father and her future husband from some place of safety, such as Hebron, where she had been left during the attack on Debir.

he incited her. Reading יָהַת with G, L, S[^b], F here, and F and some MSS. of G in || Josh. 15:18, in place of יָהַת 'she incited him.' The correction is necessary in view of the fact that the request, as narrated, comes from Achsah.

15. a present. Lit. 'a blessing,' in the tangible form of a gift. The expression is so used in Gen. 33:11 (E), 1 Sam. 25:27, 30:26, 2 Kgs. 5:15.

thou hast set me, etc. The character of the district (Negeb, 'the dry region'; cf. v.^[b] note) justifies the request.

springs of water. The Heb. word guldbth, here rendered 'springs,' is otherwise unknown, and the meaning can only be inferred from the context.* It may perhaps be an old Canaanite word which dropped into disuse in later Hebrew; or, as Mo. thinks, 'a proper name of alien origin' (so Bu.).

the upper spring and the lower spring. Reading יָהַת sing. with the old fem. termination, as is demanded by the sing. adjectives יֹהַת and יָהַת. This old termination, as seen in gullath, is frequent,

[^1] * Cf., however, י in Cant. 4:12b, which, if not merely a corruption of י, 'garden,' which occurs in the first half of the verse (as presupposed by G, F, S[^b]), probably means 'spring': יֹוָהַת parallel to יֹוָהַת.
16. And *Hobab the Kenite, the father-in-law of Moses,* as Bu. remarks, in Canaanite place-names, e.g. *Sephat, Ba'alath, Sarephath:* cf. *NHTK.* p. 42 f. || *Josh. 15*19 has the plur. 'the upper springs, etc.' The springs in question have been plausibly identified with the springs of Seil ed-Dilbeh between Hebron and ez-Zâhariyyeh, 'on the north, the 'Ain Hegireh with a shadoof for irrigation, and on the south the 'Ain Dilbeh, a square pool covered with weeds.' (Smith, *HG.* p. 279, n 2). Cf. *SWP. Mem.* iii. p. 302. Mo. notices the fact that these springs are somewhat nearer to Hebron than to ez-Zâhariyyeh, and appositely remarks that the story 'is told to explain or establish the claim of Achsa, a branch of the Kenizite clan Othniel of Debir, to waters which by their situation seemed naturally to belong to the older branch, the Calebites of Hebron.'

16. *And Hobab the Kenite.* Reading יסחוב the Kenite with Mo., Bu., No. (cf. ch. 411), in place of *יהובכּ the Kenite,* which cannot be original, since the gentilic adjective 'Kenite' cannot be used of an individual without the Article, which is tacitly inserted in R.V. The words, 'the father-in-law of Moses,' which follow, seem to demand mention of the proper name. *G*A1, *S*B read, 'And the children of Hobab the Kenite,' a text which suits the pl. verb וַיָּלְדוּ, 'went up,' in v.16a, but not the sing. וַיַּלְדָּה, 'and he went and dwelt,' in v.16b. *G*N reads 'Jethro' in place of 'Hobab.' These variations suggest that the original of *G* already lacked the proper name, and that the lacuna was differently supplied in different MSS. (Stu., Meyer); though it is possible that the reading 'Jethro' represents the substitution of the better known name of Moses' father-in-law, in place of Hobab (Mo., La.). The reading of *G*A1 is adopted by La., Kit., and may be original: but the sing. verbal forms in v.16b favour the reading adopted above; and it is easy to suppose that the pl. verb in v.16a has been altered from sing. והלכו to suit the subject as it stands in *G.* Meyer (*N.* p. 90) emends וַיֵּלְדוּ simply, and thus reads, 'And Kain, the father-in-law of Moses, went up, etc.'; but, as Mo. notices, the mention of 'Hobab the Kenite' in ch. 411, whether it be original or a later gloss, depends upon and substantiates the reading in our passage, Moses' father-in-law being elsewhere described not as a Kenite but as a Midianite.

Kain occurs as the tribal name of the Kenites in ch. 411, Num. 2422 (JE). The name may denote a worker in metal, and perhaps indicates that this form of industry was characteristic of the tribe. For the theory that the story of Cain (Kain) and his descendants (Gen. 4 J) was intended to explain the nomadic life of the Kenites and their skill as artificers, cf. Cheyne, *EB.* 621 f.; Skinner, *Genesis (ICC.)*, pp. 111 ff.
went up from the City of Palms with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah which is in the Negeb of ‘Arad; and

the father-in-law of Moses. Moses’ father-in-law, when first introduced in Ex. 2:18 (J), is called Re’uel. The document E, which takes up the narrative in Ex. 3, speaks of him by the name Jethro; and this name is uniformly employed elsewhere in E. Num. 10:20 (J) mentions ‘Ḥobab, the son of Re’uel, the father-in-law of Moses.’ Here it is ambiguous whether the title ‘father-in-law’ refers to Ḥobab or Re’uel; and, if this passage stood alone in mentioning Ḥobab, we should naturally refer the title to Re’uel in agreement with Ex. 2:18, and regard Ḥobab as brother to Sipporah, Moses’ wife, and brother-in-law to Moses. But from Judg. 4:11 the title ‘father-in-law’ is clearly seen to refer to Ḥobab. It is true that R.V. text, in order to solve the difficulty, renders ‘brother-in-law’; but this is quite unwarrantable. The Heb. term employed, ḥōthen, is the same as the Ar. ḥāṭīn, properly ‘circumciser,’ the original reference being to the nomadic custom by which the father-in-law performed the rite of circumcision upon the bridegroom (Heb. ḥāthān, ‘the circumcised’) shortly before marriage. Probably Hobab is the true name of Moses’ father-in-law according to J, and Re’uel is a remoter ancestor—perhaps the clan-name.

went up. Cf. note on v.1, ‘who shall go up.’ The 3rd sing. יִּהֲשְׁבֹּל is read in place of pl. יִּהֲשְׁבּוּ in ב. Cf. the first note on this verse.

the City of Palms. Mentioned again in ch. 3:13, Deut. 34:3, 2 Chr. 28:16†, the two latter passages showing the reference to be to Jericho. Jos. (HJ. iv. viii. 3) alludes to the ‘many kinds of date-palms, differing from each other in flavour and name,’ which flourished in his day in the neighbourhood of Jericho, owing to the fertilizing influence of Elisha’s fountain. Other references are collected by Smith, HG. p. 266, n.4. At the present day the palms have entirely disappeared. The site of Jericho is undoubtedly the modern Tell es-Sultân, a large mound which lies in the Jordan valley five miles east of Jordan, and at the foot of the central range of hills, close to the mouth of the Wâdy el-Kelt, which affords a passage into the hill-country of Ephraim, and is thought to be the ancient valley of ‘Achor. Just below Tell es-Sultân lies the ‘Ain es-Sultân, which must be identified as Elisha’s fountain. The modern Jericho (Erihâ) is a squalid village lying one and a half miles to the south.

with the children of Judah. Num. 10:20ff. (J) records Moses’ invitation to Ḥobab to throw in his lot with Israel, and join in the occupation of Canaan.

into the wilderness of Judah which is in the Negeb of ‘Arad. The description is somewhat obscure, and the text may be suspected; but the case for its rejection is not convincing. Mo. regards the statement as ‘self-contradictory,’ because ‘the wilderness of Judah, the
16. And Judah went "barren steeps in which the mountains break down to the Dead Sea, and the Negeb are distinct regions." The fact that in Josh. 15 21-62 (P), the territory of Judah is divided into 'the Negeb' (v. 21-35), 'the Shephelah' (v. 33-47), 'the Hill-country' (v. 48-60), and 'the Wilderness' (v. 61-62), would seem at first sight to draw such a distinction; but the precise term, 'the wilderness of Judah,' only occurs once again in the O. T. in the heading of Ps. 63, and is there applied to the scene of David's wanderings during his outlaw life, including doubtless 'the wilderness of Ziph' (1 Sam. 23:14, 26:2; Tell Zif), 'the wilderness of Ma'on,' in the 'Arabah south of Jeshimon' (1 Sam. 23:24, 25), Tell Ma'in), close to Carmel (1 Sam. 25:2; el-Kurmul, about one mile north of Ma'in), 'the wilderness of 'En-gedi' (1 Sam. 24:1; 'Ain Gidi). Ziph, Ma'on, and Carmel are assigned in Josh. 15 55 to 'the Wilderness' but not to 'the Hill-country.' The wilderness of Ziph and of Ma'on may be thought of, then, as the region immediately eastward of these cities breaking down towards the Dead Sea; but, if this part of the Wilderness actually took its name from two cities in the Hill-country, it might be said to extend into the Hill-country, and (conceivably) to be 'the Wilderness of Judah which is in the Hill-country.' 'Arad is to be identified with Tell 'Arad, 'a barren-looking eminence rising above the country around' (Rob. BR 3 ii. p. 101), which lies seventeen miles nearly due south of Hebron, and about half that distance due south of Ma'on. Some eight miles south-west of Tell 'Arad is el-Milh, which is probably the City of Salt (Heb. 'ir ham-melah) mentioned in Josh. 15 62 as one of the six cities in 'the Wilderness.' 'En-gedi, the only other one of these six cities which can be identified, lies approximately twenty miles north-east of Tell 'Arad, and the three sites are so placed that a line drawn from 'En-gedi to el-Milh would fall upon Tell 'Arad (cf. Map IV). Thus it would seem that 'Arad (though assigned to the Negeb in the possibly composite passage, Num. 21:1 JE) might have been included in 'the Wilderness' if it had been enumerated among the cities of Judah in Josh. 15. Just as the wilderness of Ziph and Ma'on appears to denote not precisely the region in which these cities were situated, but the barren country to the east which bordered upon them, so the Negeb of 'Arad may denote that part of the Negeb bordering upon 'Arad to the south, into which the wilderness of Judah might be said to extend (cf. 'the Negeb of the Kenites,' 1 Sam. 27:10).

All suggested emendations of the passage base themselves, to some extent, upon προς τὴν ἑρμηνευν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμον ἱερᾶς τῆς Δανίῃς, ἐν ἐπὶ καταβάσεως Ἀραδ. προς ἁρὰ, ἀντιπροσώπους ἴωνα, and place it after ἑρμηνευν as in προς; but the word is marked with an asterisk in προς, and it seems clear that προς represents the more original form of προς. Hence La. reads בָּנָהָיָר אֶל-שָׁר מַגָּנָה כַּמְלָה, 'into the wilderness which is in the Negeb of
with Sime'on his brother, and they smote the Canaanites who inhabited Šephath, and devoted it to destruction. And the name Judah at the descent of 'Arad'; van Doorninck (Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1884, p. 211), followed by Bu. (RS. p. 10)

דר נthane הים יאש

קבר ביאנה יאש

סֹפֶתָה "into the wilderness of Judah which is at the descent of 'Arad." It is not clear, however, considering the site of Tell 'Arad, to what 'the descent of 'Arad' could refer. The Heb. term rendered 'descent' is used in Josh. 10:11, Jer. 48:5, and probably also in Josh. 7:5, of a steep pass between mountains. Læ.'s contention that 'if Tell 'Arad is on a plain, the plateau descends not far off from it, towards the east,' is not very convincing as to the appropriateness of the expression in this connexion. Examination of the rendering of גּ" can scarcely fail to suggest that the words תִּהְוֹ וּדְגָאָן וְתֹּרְוָנְו and הַטּוֹרְוָנְז הָרָה וָתַה וָרִי in the Hebrew; in which case בָּרוּם or מָרָה ( роли הקארם) is simply a corruption of הבנוב (דנ טורון), the resemblance between the two words in the ancient character being not remote. Mo. regards מָרָה as an old error for מָרָה, 'into the wilderness,' as in Josh. 8:24 ג. In his view בָּרוּם 'into the wilderness of 'Arad' represents the original text; הבנוב יאני, 'which is in the Negeb,' is a gloss to 'Arad from Num. 21:1 introduced into the text in the wrong place (i.e. before instead of after "Arad"); and בָּרוּם, 'into the wilderness (of),' being thus left without a genitive, has finally been explained by the addition of מָרָה, 'into the wilderness of Judah.' Mo.'s view is adopted by No., Kit., and approved by Bu. in his Comm., except that Bu. favours retention of the words הבנוב יאני after בָּרוּם, thus reading, 'into the wilderness of 'Arad which is in the Negeb.'

with the 'Amalekites. Reading יאני-האות with all recent commentators. The reading occurs as a doublet (מְרַא תּוֹרְוָנְו אֲמָלַכְּק) in ג, ל, Copt. The Kenites are found among the 'Amalekites in 1 Sam. 15:6, and are associated with them in Balaam's prophecy (Num. 24:20-21 JE). ג, 'and he went and dwelt with the people,' gives no intelligible sense. Heb. הָעָם, 'the people,' is doubtless a remnant of the original reading הָעָם אֲמָלַכְּק.

17. Šephath. Only mentioned here. The ruined site Sebaita, nearly thirty miles south of Be'er-sheba, is favoured by many; but there is no philological connexion between this name and the Heb. Šephath. In this respect nothing can be alleged against Rob.'s finding of the name (BR, ii. p. 181) in נַסְבָּא (נַסְבָּא אֶשְּ-סַף ("pass of the smooth rock"), a steep pass upon the route from Petra to Hebron, east-north-east of the gebel el-Maderah; though no trace has been discovered of a city bearing the name.

and devoted it to destruction. The Heb. verb is the Hiph'il (causative) modification of a root הָרָה which does not occur in
of the city was called Ḥormah. 18. R² And Judah took Gaza

Heb. in the simple stem, but the sense of which may be illustrated from Ar. In Ar. ḫarmuima means ‘to be forbidden, prohibited, unlawful,’ then ‘to be sacred or inviolable.’ Hence, in the first sense, ḫarim denotes the forbidden or private part of a house, i.e. the women’s apartments; maḥram is a female relation who comes within the prohibited degrees, and whom therefore it is unlawful to marry; el-Muḥarram is the first month of the Mohammedan year, during which fighting is prohibited. In the second sense we may notice Ḥaram, the sacred territory of Mecca, el-mesgīd el-harām, the sacred mosque. In Heb. the causative ḫerēm means to make a thing unlawful or taboo, by devoting it to God, and is commonly applied, as in this passage, to Israel’s action in their religious wars, when the foes and their cities were devoted to wholesale destruction, and sometimes the cattle also (cf. Josh. 6 21, 1 Sam. 15 3), though not always (cf. Deut. 2 34, 3 6-7). Inanimate objects coming under the sacred ban were destroyed by fire; or, as in the case of gold and silver, and utensils of metal, dedicated to Yahweh’s sanctuary (Josh. 6 21: the latter half of the verse appears, however, to be an addition by R² to the older narrative). Everything so devoted was called ḫerem, ‘devoted thing’; and appropriation of any such ḫerem was thought to incur Yahweh’s dire displeasure, and could only be expiated by death, as in the case of ‘Achan (Josh. 7 1 f.). The verb is used in a precisely similar sense by Mesha’, king of Moab, when relating his treatment of a captured Israelitish city:—‘And Chemosh said to me, “Go, take Nebo against Israel”; and I went by night, and fought against it from break of dawn until noon, and I took it and slew the whole of it, 7000 men, and ... ; and women, and ... ; and damsel; for to ‘Ashtar-Chemosh had I devoted it (ה photoshop, ḫerematiha); and I took thence the vessels of Yahweh, and dragged them before Chemosh’ (Moabite Stone, ll. 14-18).

And the name of the city was called Ḥormah. Tradition connects the name with the root ḥara in the sense ‘devoted to destruction.’ Possibly the original meaning of the name may have been ‘sanctuary’ or ‘sacred area.’ Cf. Ar. ḥaram noticed above. The site of Ḥormah has not been identified. This narrative seems to be a duplicate of Num. 21 13 (JE), which is probably the immediate sequel of Num. 14 40-46 (JE), and which places the conquest and extermination of the Canaanites inhabiting a district of the Negeb, and hence the origin of the name Ḥormah, immediately after the mission of the spies, who, according to JE, were sent out from Kadesh-Barnea. Probably the position of the narrative in Num. is the more original, and points to the capture and settlement of a portion of the Negeb by Judaeans (Calibbites) who advanced northwards from Kadesh at some time prior to the occupation of Canaan by the Israelite tribes who entered from the east under Joshua. Cf. further Additional note, p. 44.
18. And Judah took Gaza, etc. The three Philistine cities here specified (the modern Gazzeh, 'Askalân, and 'Âkîr) are all situated in the maritime plain, i.e. the Vale,' the inhabitants of which v. 19 tells us Judah could not dispossess. Josh. 13:3 (R) informs us that these three cities, together with Ashdod and Gath, remained uncaptured by Joshua; and in Judg. 3:3 'the five lords of the Philistines' are included among 'the nations which Yahweh left to test Israel by them' (31). There is no suggestion that Judah first captured the cities and then failed to hold them; and it thus seems probable that v. 18, like the statement as to the capture of Jerusalem in v. 8, is a mistaken editorial insertion. Ἐκρόν corrects to καὶ αἷς ἐκληρονόμησαν.

'Effron. The Ἐκρόν form is Ἐκκαρων, while the name appears in the Assyrian inscriptions as 'Amaruna; and these two facts taken together suggest that the Heb. vocalization should be 'Amaron for 'Amaron, the double ḫ representing assimilated ṣ, or the ṣ arising through dissimilation of double ḫ.

19. he gained possession. The Heb. verb ḥōrîṣ (causative of yāras) means 'to cause to inherit or possess,' with the collateral idea of causing succession to the inheritance of the previous owner, and so disinheriting or dispossessing him. This double sense is illustrated by the present verse, where 'gained possession of' and 'to dispossess' are both represented by the same verb in the Heb. In v. 27 a single occurrence of the verb is applied, by a kind of zeugma, both to cities (Beth-she'an, Ta'anach), for which the rendering 'gain possession of' would be the more suitable, and to the inhabitants of cities (Dor, Ible'am, Megiddo), with regard to whom this rendering is impossible, and the sense postulated is 'dispossess.'

he was not able to dispossess. R has simply 'not . . . to dispossess,' the governing verb לֹּא תְּקֹּלֵל, 'was able,' being absent. It is theoretically possible to translate the Heb. as it stands 'was not for dispossessing,' i.e. 'could or did not dispossess' (cf. Driver, Tenses, § 204); but since we know, from the parallel narrative in Josh., that in vv. 21.27 an original 'could not dispossess' has been altered by R into 'did not dispossess' for dogmatic reasons (cf. introd. note to section), it is reasonable to conclude that such an alteration was intended by R in this case also, and that he has carried it out imperfectly by simple excision of the verb לֹּא תְּקֹּלֵל (we should have expected emendation to a perfect שָׁוָּא, as in vv. 21.27).

the Vale. The Heb. 'ēmek, lit. 'depression,' is applied to a wide and
had chariots of iron. 20. And they gave Hebron to Caleb, as Moses had said: and he dispossessed from thence the three sons of 'Anāq.

21. But the Jebusites dwelling in Jerusalem the open vale or lowland country, and here denotes the maritime plain to the west of the hill-country of Judah, or, more accurately, to the west of the low foothills which lie between the Hill-country and the Vale (cf. note on 'the Shephelah,' v.9). Cf. further, p. 203, footnote.

chariots of iron. These are also mentioned as forming the most effective part of the military equipment of the Canaanites inhabiting the vale ('ēmek) of Jezreel: Josh. 17:10 (J); cf. Judg. 4:3. Among the steep and narrow passes of the Judaean hill-country they would have been useless: though in 1 Sam. 13:5 the Philistines are described as bringing them up into the central hill-country as far as Michmash, doubtless through the pass of Aijalon. Here the incredibly large number of 30,000 chariots given by יְהוּדָה, appears in כֹּל, כֹּל as 3000. The Aramaeans in later times found chariots ineffective among the hills surrounding Samaria: 1 Kgs. 20:23–25.


the three sons of 'Anāq. Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai, mentioned in v. 10 end, which is the proper sequel to v. 20 in the original form of J's narrative (cf. the first note on v. 10). Heb. 'ānāq means 'neck'; and it may be inferred that bēnē 'ānāq properly denoted 'long-necked (i.e. tall) men.' Cf. the spies' description of their size and stature in Num. 13:3 (JE), and the rendering of εἰς ψιλόν γενόμενον in Deut. 1:28.

21. the Jebusites. Nothing is known of this people beyond the fact that they appear as the inhabitants of Jerusalem here and in ||Josh. 15:63, and in the narrative of David's capture of the city, 2 Sam. 5:6ff. 'Araunah the Jebusite' still lived at or just outside of Jerusalem after David had captured it and made it his capital (2 Sam. 24:19ff.); and very possibly the Jebusites, after their expulsion from the stronghold of Šion (the south-east hill), which became the city of David, were still allowed to dwell upon the (presumably unwalled) south-west hill, which is styled 'the cliff (lit. "shoulder") of the Jebusites' in Josh. 15:6, 18:16 (P). In Judg. 19:10, 1 Chr. 11:4–6 the name Jebùš is given to Jerusalem as an earlier name of the city. In the Tell el-Amarna tablets, however, we find the name Urusalim regularly employed so early as cir. B.C. 1400. Cf. further, on the Jebusites, Introd. pp. lxxxvi f.

the children of Judah. Reading 'Judah' in place of 'Benjamin' with ||Josh. 15:63. The alteration in יְהוּדָה has been made in accordance with Josh. 18:16 (P), which, in describing the lot of the children of Benjamin, makes the border run south of Jerusalem so as to include the city, and mentions it among the cities belonging to the tribe in v. 28.
children of Judah did not dispossess: and the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah in Jerusalem, unto this day.

22. And the house of Joseph also went up to Bethel: and did not dispossess. An alteration of || Josh. 15\textsuperscript{63} 'were not able to dispossess.' Cf. introd. note to section.

dwelt . . . unto this day. To what period does this note of time refer? We can scarcely imagine Jebusites and Judaeans dwelling side by side in Jerusalem prior to the capture of the ancient stronghold by David; and in fact in the old narrative of Judg. 19\textsuperscript{11,12} Jebus is described as 'the city of foreigners who are not of the children of Israel,' and so likely to prove inhospitable to the Levite in need of a night's lodging. On the other hand, the fact that Jebusites remained at Jerusalem after the capture of the city by David (cf. note on 'the Jebusites' above) appears to have been due rather to David's clemency than to the inability of the Judaeans to dispossess them. This consideration, however, may have been overlooked by the writer of J; and it seems the more probable view that the note refers to a period subsequent to David's capture of the city.

22. the house of Joseph. So v.\textsuperscript{30}, Josh. 17\textsuperscript{17} (J), 2 Sam. 19\textsuperscript{20}, 1 Kgs. 11\textsuperscript{28}, Am. 5\textsuperscript{6}. The reading of Gr, ωιοι Ιασσημ, is probably an alteration under the influence of the plural verb 'went up' (Ἡπαίνω). The term may be used to include not merely Ephraim and Manasseh, but also Benjamin. Cf. 2 Sam. 19\textsuperscript{20}, where Shime'i, the Benjaminite (16\textsuperscript{11}), speaks of himself as belonging to the house of Joseph.

went up to Bethel. Sc. from Gilgal: cf. v.\textsuperscript{1} note; ch. 2\textsuperscript{1}. Bethel is the modern Bētin,* about ten miles north of Jerusalem; and 'Ai, the first city captured in the hill-country, according to Josh., lay immediately to the east of Bethel (Josh. 7\textsuperscript{5}, 8\textsuperscript{9,12} JE; cf. Gen. 12\textsuperscript{2} J). The narrative seems to picture an independent attack made by the Joseph-tribes upon the hill-country; and it is not improbable that it originally formed part of a longer account in which this section of Israel carried out its campaign under the leadership of Joshua. This is the view of Bu., who suggests that J's narrative originally ran 'went up to 'Ai,' and then followed on with an account of the capture of 'Ai, as in Josh. 8, before mentioning the reconnaissance and capture of Bethel (v.\textsuperscript{27}). Cf. RS. pp. 57 f., and see further Additional note, p. 48. The mention of the men of Bethel in Josh. 8\textsuperscript{17} as joining with the men of 'Ai in repelling Israel's attack upon the latter city is clearly a late gloss, which finds no place in Gr, and is out of harmony with the context. We have no account in Josh. of the capture of Bethel, but Josh. 12\textsuperscript{16} (R\textsuperscript{5}) mentions the king of Bethel in the list of kings smitten by Joshua.

* For the modification of the final -ēl to -ēn, cf. Zer'īn for Jerēvēl, Isrā'īn for Isrā'ēl (in Birket Isrā'īn at Jerusalem), Bēt Šībrīn, 'House of Gabriel,' and Wādī Isma'īn (Ishma'ēl).
22 THE BOOK OF JUDGES

23. And the house of Joseph made a reconnaissance at Bethel. (Now the name of the city formerly was Luz.)
24. And the watchers saw a man coming out of the city, and they laid hold on him and said to him, "Show us, we pray thee, the way to enter the city, and we will deal kindly with thee." 25. So he showed them the way to enter the city, and they smote the city at the edge of the sword; but the man and Yahweh was with them.

23. made a reconnaissance. The same Heb. verb têr is used of the exploration of Canaan by the spies (hat-têrîm, Num. 14:9) in the parts of Num. 13, 14 which belong to P. In this passage we have the Hiphîl (causative) modification of the verb, which, if not merely an error for the simple stem (lîtârîm for rînîm), may mean 'caused a reconnaissance to be made.' This reading makes out a good case for the suggestion that under both readings, 'Yahweh' and 'Judah,' there lies an original 'Joshua.' If, as is generally acknowledged, Josh. 17:1-18 belongs to this narrative, some mention of Joshua is to be expected. A sufficient reason for the excision of the name of Joshua, and the substitution of the reading of our text, is furnished by the fact that R professe to be giving an account of events which happened 'after the death of Joshua' (cf. introd. note to section).

24. and they laid hold on him. So [lêhâyôw aôrûv, i.e. [lêhîm], which, as Bu. remarks, may easily have fallen out before [lêhîm], 'and they said.'

the way to enter. So Mo. The Heb. mtôbhô (lit. 'place or act of entry') might mean 'entrance' (so R.V.), as in 2 Kgs. 11:16, 16:18 al.; but, as the position of the city-gate must have been obvious to the spies, the expression probably means, as Mo. remarks, 'the most advantageous point for an assault or surprise.'

25. at the edge of the sword. Cf. v.8 note.
1. 26. 27.] THE BOOK OF JUDGES

all his clan they let go. 26. And the man went to the land of the Hittites, and built a city, and called its name Luz: that is its name unto this day.

27. And Manasseh did not dispossess Beth-she'an and its

26. the land of the Hittites. The Hittite principalities (relics of the earlier mighty empire which embraced a great part of Asia Minor and northern Syria) extended as far south as Kadesh, near the sources of the Orontes in the Anti-Lebanon. The northern limit of the kingdom of Israel in David's time seems to have extended 'to the land of the Hittites unto Kadesh' (2 Sam. 24:6, reading אֲרֵי הָיוֹת הָיוֹתָן קְדֶשָׁה after סְקָ in place of the unintelligible text of בּ). On the Hittites, cf. further Introd. pp. lxxi f., lxxxiv ff., xcix f.

called its name Luz. The site of this northern Luz is unascertained. As Mo. notices, modern names compounded with the Ar. lauz, 'almond,' are not infrequent, and any attempt at identification must therefore be wholly unreliable.

27. And Manasseh did not dispossess, etc. Upon the use of the verb הָרְסֵי, here rendered 'dispossess;' cf. note on v. 19. Beth-she'an, which received the Greek name Scythopolis in Macedonian times (cf. E's gloss Ἔλευσιν Σκύθου πόλις), is the modern Bēṣān, situated above the Jordan valley at the mouth of the Wādy Ghūlūd, which descends south-east from the plain of Esdraelon; Ta'anach, now called Ta'annuk, lies some seventeen miles a little north of due west of Bēṣān, upon the southern edge of Esdraelon, and about eight miles north-north-west of the Wādy Bel'amēh, which probably preserves the name of the ancient Ible'am;* Megiddo, coupled with Ta'anach in ch. 5:10, Josh. 12:21, 17:1, 1 Kgs. 4:12, is now identified with Tell el-Mutesellim ('the mound of the governor'), five miles north-west of Ta'annuk, an important site commanding the pass from the plain of Sharon to the plain of Esdraelon, which the recent excavations of the German Palestine Exploration Society (vol. i. of the Report 1908) have shown to have been a fortified city of the Canaanites many centuries before the Israelite occupation of Palestine. The statement of Josephus that Dor was situated on the Mediterranean seacoast, near Carmel (Ant. VIII. ii. 3; cf. C. Ap. ii. 116), is confirmed by the Egyptian narrative of Wenamon, the envoy of Hrīhor of Thebes (cir. B.C. 1114), who in his voyage from Egypt to Phoenicia puts in at the harbour of Dor (Breasted, AR. iv. § 565; cf. Introd. p. xcvi).

* The modern Yebla, north-west of Bēṣān, proposed by Conder (SWP. Mem. ii. p. 98) as the site of Ible'am, is philologically less probable. The dropping of the final syllable with its guttural І might be paralleled, however, by the modern el-Glib for Gibe'on. For the dropping of the preformative ב of בֵּל in Bel'amēh, cf. the form בֵּל בִּלְאָם I Chr. 6:70 (מְלָא), and Zer'in for זֶרִין.
dependencies, and Ta'anach and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Dor and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of

OS. places the site eight Roman miles from Caesarea (283°), and this tradition is preserved in the identification with the modern Tanṭūrah, which lies north of Caesarea at a little less than eight English miles. The term Niphath (Niphōth) Dor (Josh. 11:2, 12:23, 1 Kgs. 4:11), if rightly explained to mean 'the heights of Dor,' is difficult to account for upon this identification, unless it is applied to the outlying flanks of the Carmel-range some distance inland from Tanṭūrah.

As the text stands, it is rather strange that Dor, lying in the extreme west, should be interposed between the two cities Ta'anach and Ible'am, which occupy a central position in near neighbourhood to one another. Thus it is probable (as Mo. suggests) that the mention of Dor originally stood last, as in 1 Chr. 7:29, which is probably based upon this passage. With this change, the cities are mentioned approximately in their geographical order from east to west; and it is noticeable that they must have formed, with their dependencies, a strong belt of fortresses separating the central tribes of Israel from the tribes in the north. We learn from the narrative of Wenamon that the inhabitants of Dor at this period were not Canaanites but Ṭakkara, a western people who invaded Canaan at the same time as the Philistines, and who were probably allied to them (cf. Introd. pp. xcii f.). This fact, coupled with the fact that we find Beth-she'ān in the hands of the Philistines at the end of Saul's reign (1 Sam. 31:10), suggests the possibility that the whole series of cities extending from Sharon across the plain of Esdraelon may have belonged to these western invaders in the times of the Judges.

The account of the inheritance of West Manasseh, as given in Josh. 17 (J and P combined), is somewhat perplexing. This much, however, is clear, as stated by P (vv. 9–10). It was bounded on the west by the Mediterranean; on the north by the territory of Asher, which, we are told in Josh. 19:9–10, extended as far as Carmel; on the south by the territory of Ephraim, the boundary line being the Wādy Ḳāna, i.e. it need not be doubted, the modern Wādy Kāna* running into the Nahr el-'Auğa, which reaches the sea a few miles north of Joppa. The eastern boundary is stated to have been the territory of Issachar; and it is here that our information is too slight and perplexing to allow of any certain inferences as to the delimitation. According to J in Josh. 17:11, the towns along the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon which Manasseh was unable to conquer were (though rightly belonging to Manasseh) 'in Issachar and in Asher.'

dependencies. Lit. 'daughters,' a term applied to smaller cities or hamlets dependent upon the larger fortified cities. The use of the expression is characteristic of J. Cf. CH.J 88.

* The Ar. name is spelt with K, but it seems likely that this is a transcripational error for K, which is found in the Heb. name.
Ible'am and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and its dependencies; but the Canaanites persisted in dwelling in this land. 28. And when Israel was waxen strong, they impressed the Canaanites for labour-gangs, and did not dispossess them at all.

29. And Ephraim did not dispossess the Canaanites who persisted. The Heb. verb (ןְיִתְּנָה) is used in this special sense in || Josh. 17:12 and in v. 35 of this chapter. Elsewhere, when used of an action undertaken of one's own accord, it has the sense to resolve: cf. Gen. 18:27,31 (R.V. 'I have taken upon me'), Deut. 1:6 (R.V. 'began'); and we may infer therefore for the special usage with which we are dealing the sense to carry out one's resolution, so persist. When the verb is employed of an action undertaken at the instance of some one else, to consent is the appropriate rendering: cf. ch. 17:11, 19:6, 2 Sam. 7:29, 2 Kgs. 5:23, 6:3 (R.V. 'be content' in all passages except 2 Sam. 'let it please thee').

28. labour-gangs. The Heb. term mas denotes a levy of men impressed for task-work, rather than the task-work itself (as in R.V.): cf. especially the phrase mas 'obkedh, 'toiling labour-gang,' Gen. 49:16, Josh. 16:10, 1 Kgs. 9:21. Such a levy was imposed upon the Israelites in Egypt (cf. Ex. 1:11, where, as Mo. points out, the term should be rendered 'gang-foremen' rather than 'task-masters' R.V.), and by Solomon not merely upon the Canaanites (as stated in 1 Kgs. 9:15-22) but also upon the Israelites for the purposes of his extensive building operations: cf. 1 Kgs. 5:13 (27 3).

and did not dispossess them at all. The Heb. construction ( CONTRIBUTORS, Infinitive Absolute emphasizing the finite verb) lays stress upon the fact that the expulsion of the Canaanites was left absolutely unaccomplished. R.V., by its rendering 'and did not utterly drive them out,' suggests that the expulsion was partially but not completely accomplished, a sense which is directly at variance with the meaning of the Heb.

29. Ephraim. The account of Ephraim's heritage as given in Josh. 16:5ff. P is somewhat confused and perplexing: cf. Hogg in EB. 1319. Here we need only notice that the tribe occupied the central part of Canaan, its northern boundary marching with that of Manasseh along by the Wady Kana (cf. note on Manasseh, v. 27) to the sea, while the southern boundary, starting from the Jordan near Jericho, met the territory of Benjamin and Dan, apparently turning north or north-west at Gezer. Cf. further p. 222.

Gezer. The modern Tell Gezer, situated in a commanding position to the east of the maritime plain of Philistia, upon an outlying spur of the low hills of the Shephelah, about eighteen miles west-north-west
dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of them in Gezer.

30. Zebulun did not dispossess the inhabitants of Kitron, nor of Jerusalem. The identity of the site with the ancient Gezer, inferred from the identity of the modern Ar. with the ancient Heb. name, was placed beyond doubt by the discovery in 1871 by Clermont-Ganneau of the inscription 'the boundary of Gezer,' cut in ancient Heb. characters upon several of the rocks at a short distance from the site: cf. Macalister, *Bible Sidelights from the Mound of Gezer*, pp. 22 ff.; Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 46. The site of Gezer has been excavated by Mr. Macalister under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund (1903-1905, 1907-1909), and a detailed Memoir has recently (1912) appeared. For a convenient summary of the discoveries, cf. Driver, *op. cit*.

The excavations have shown that Gezer was inhabited by a race of cave-dwellers as early as cir. B.C. 3000. It is first mentioned in history as captured by Thutmose III. (cir. B.C. 1501-1447). Among the Tell el-Amarna letters (cir. B.C. 1400) there are several from Yaphaḥi, king or governor of Gezer, who appeals for help against a people whose name is written ideographically SA.GAZ, and who are generally supposed to be identical with the Habiru (cf. *Introd.*, pp. lxxv ff.). Mineptah claims to have captured Gezer upon the celebrated 'Israel' stele: cf. Breasted, *AR.* iii. § 617. This must have been cir. B.C. 1223, a few decades before the Israelite invasion of Canaan under Joshua*. The failure of the Ephraimites to capture Gezer is confirmed by 1 Kgs. 9:16, where we learn that the city was still in the hands of the Canaanites in the days of Solomon, when it was taken and burnt by the Pharaoh who was king of Egypt at that time, and given as a dowry to his daughter on the occasion of her marriage with Solomon. These facts are for us difficult to reconcile with the statement of R on in Josh. 10:33 that, when Horam king of Gezer came to the assistance of Lachish, 'Joshua' smote him and his people until he had left him none remaining.'

*but the Canaanites . . . Gezer.* G adds ἀλλ' ἐγίνετο (ὁδρῷ) εἰς φόρον. || Josh. 16:10b, 'but the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of Ephraim unto this day, and became toiling labour-gangs': probably the more original form of J's statement. The words 'unto this day,' if they 'do not necessarily imply a time prior to the destruction of the city by the Egyptians' (Mo.), at any rate seem to point to the earlier monarchic period. Cf. note on the same expression in v. 51.

30. Zebulun. The description of Zebulun's territory given in Josh. 19:10ff. P is obscure. The southern boundary was contiguous with the territory of Issachar along a line which ran east and west across the plain of Esdraelon in the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor; while on the south-west the boundary marched with the territory of Manasseh,
the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of them, and became labour-gangs.

31. Asher did not dispossess the inhabitants of 'Acco, nor the north-west with the territory of Asher, and north, and apparently east, with that of Naphtali. Jos., however, states (Ant. v. i. 22) that their inheritance included the land which reached as far as Gennesaret, as well as that which lay about Carmel and the sea (cf. Gen. 49 13).

Kitron . . . Nahalol. Neither site has been identified. Nahalol (perhaps meaning 'watering-place' of flocks; cf. plural נמלות, Isa. 7 19) appears in Josh. 19 16, 21 as Nahalal. Gανομα in the present passage must have read Dimnah, which is coupled with Nahalal in Josh. 21 51. In Josh. 19 16 Kattath seems to stand in place of Kitron; but neither name occurs elsewhere. The Jerusalem Talmud (Megillah, i. 1) identifies Nahalal with Mahlul; and for this the modern Ma'llul, 3½ miles west of Nazareth, has been advocated by Schwarz and others,* and 'Ain Māhil, about the same distance north-east of Nazareth, by Conder.

In the same passage in the Talmud Kattath is said to be Keti'nith or Kētonith ‡ (cf. Gα Karawan in Josh. 19 16), a site which may be the modern Ḥirbet Kuteineh to the west of the plain of Esdraelon §: cf. Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud, p. 189. The view put forward in the Babylonian Talmud (Megillah, 6a) that Kitron is the same as Ḡippori (Sepphoris), i.e. the modern Şeffūriyyeh, 3½ miles north of Nazareth, is opposed by Neubauer (op. cit. pp. 191 f.) upon the ground of a tradition (preserved in the same passage in the Talmud) that the tribe of Zebulun complained that, while Naphtali had been granted fields and vineyards, they had only been granted mountains and hills. ᠑ippori, however, was famed for its fertility; and hence Neubauer argues that it must have belonged not to Zebulun but to Naphtali.

31. Asher. The tribe is mentioned as inhabiting western Galilee in the lists of the Egyptian kings, Sety i. and Ramesses ii., prior to

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* The substitution of Ar. ' for Heb. k requires substantiation; and this is also needed as regards the interchange of n and m in Nahalal, Mahlul, if the two forms are to be regarded as philologically connected.
‡ Editions vary as to the form. Kētonith (or Kētunith) is given by Neubauer loc. cit., and by Mo. and Cheyne (EB. 2654) following him. The Krotoschin edition (1866) has моделиנ, Kētonith, but the Jitomir (1866) and Petrokov (1899) editions read מֵשלֵיה, Ketinheth. The reference given by Neubauer from the Tosefta (Sotah, ch. 15) to מַשְׂיָהְו כְּפָנִים, 'a man of Kētonith,' should be, as a matter of fact (Pazewalk edition, 1881), כְּפָנִים גָּדוֹלִים, 'a son of Kētinith,' with var. lect. כפונים, Kitinith or Katnith.
§ The Heb. Kētinith corresponds exactly to the Ar. Kūteineh if this latter is to be regarded as a diminutive. Cf. for the vowel change modern Ar. kefsāh for kufeshā, 'little basket': Wright, Comparative Grammar, p. 89.

Kattath may very likely have arisen from an original Kaṭtant or Kaṭtīnt: cf. bath from bint, and, for the lengthening of the a, 'aim for 'amm.
The inhabitants of Šidon, nor Aḥlab, nor Achzib, nor Ḥelbah, nor
the Israelite invasion under Joshua'; cf. Introd. p. lxxxix. The posi­
tion of Asher's inheritance is described in Josh. 19 24 ff. P. It seems to
have been a strip of country reaching southward to Carmel, where it
joined the territory of Manasseh, and apparently bordering the sea
as far north as Achzib and Maḥāleb (cf. note following on Aḥlab).
Farther north the western boundary must have been formed by the
territory of the Šidonians, while the east and south-east boundary-line
was formed by the territory of Naphtali and Zebulun. Probably the
limits thus defined are largely ideal, a considerable portion of the
territory which they include belonging properly to the Phoenicians;
cf. note on v. 32.

'Acco. The modern 'Akūkā, situated on a rocky promontory at the
northern extremity of the bay of 'Akūkā, the south side of which is
formed by the promontory of Carmel. The town received the name
Ptolemais during the Greek period; cf. OS. 224 75. The Acre of
the Crusaders is a modification of the modern Ar. name; cf. Smith's
article in EB. 396 7 ff. 'Acco is wanting in the text of Υ in
Josh. 19 24 ff., but should probably be restored in place of 'Umma
in v. 30.

Šidon. The modern Šaida, about twenty-five miles south of
Beirut.

Aḥlab . . . Ḥelbah. The two names are so similar that they look
like variations of the same name. Schrader (COT. i. p. 161) and
Delitzsch (Paradies, pp. 283 f.) compare the name Maḥalliba mentioned
by Šennacherib in a list of Phoenician cities which capitated to
him in his third campaign: Taylor Cylinder, Col. ii. l. 38; cf. KB.
ii. p. 90. Šennacherib names 'Great Šidonnu (cf. הָדָר יִדְנָא, Josh. 19 28)
little Šidonnu, Bit-zitti, Šariptu (Šarēphath, 1 Kgs. 17 9, 10, Ob. 30,
Σαρεφάθ Λυ. 4 26; the modern Šarafand), Maḥalliba, Ušu, Akzibi,
Akkū'; and the order running from north to south should place
Maḥalliba somewhere between Šarafand, which lies eight miles south
of Šidon, and Achzib (cf. note following), some thirty miles farther
south. Mo. hazards the conjecture that the name may have been
'the old name of the Promontorium album of Pliny, the modern Rās
el-Abyaq, midway between Tyre and Achzib,' a suitable site for an
important town. The name may be connected with Heb. הָלָב, 'milk,' in allusion to the whiteness of the headland.

The strange הָלָב of Josh. 19 20 (mekēbel; R.V. 'by the region';
marg. 'from Hēbel') is almost certainly a corruption of הָלָב, Maḥāleb (cf., in support of the transposition, 48 ἀνθ; Λευ); and this
fact lends support to the view of Müller (AE. p. 194, n 4), La. that the
name should be so read in our passage, as against that of Mo. that
Maḥalliba, Aḥlab, Ḥelbah were existing variations of the same name.
1. 32. 33.] THE BOOK OF JUDGES

Aphik, nor Reḥob: 32. but the Asherites dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites inhabiting the land; for they did not dispossess them.

33. Naphtali did not dispossess the inhabitants of Beth-

Achzib. The Ἐκδησσα of O.S. 224 vac., a form in which the δ seems to preserve the Aram. pronunciation. The modern identification is ez-Zib, eight and a half miles north of Accho.*

Aphik. Mentioned (in the form Avheq) with Reḥob among the cities of Asher in Josh. 19:30. That the Apheq of 1 Sam. 29:1 is the same (as suggested by Bu., La.) is scarcely likely, as this latter is probably to be sought in northern Sharon ‡ (Smith, HG. p. 350), and would therefore lie too far to the south. On the other hand, as Mo. points out, the modern Afqa, north of Bērūt (probably the Apheq of Josh. 13:4), 'is much too far north for the present context and that of Josh. 19:30.' The name Apheq appears to have been by no means uncommon.

Reḥob. The site is unknown. Müller cites the occurrence of the name in Egyptian lists; AE. p. 153. That the Beth-reḥob of ch. 18:26, 2 Sam. 10:6, inhabited by Aramaeans (probably the Reḥob of Num. 13:21), cannot be the same as the Asherite Reḥob is perhaps too positively asserted by Mo. The identity is assumed by Nöldeke in EB. 279.

32. the Asherites dwell, etc. In the case of Asher it is not claimed that the Canaanites eventually became a subject people. The maritime cities mentioned in v. 31 belonged to Phoenicia throughout the period covered by the history of the kingdom of Israel. In the Song of Deborah (ch. 5) the reference to Asher in v. 17 ('Asher sat still by the shore of the seas, dwelling beside his creeks') seems to indicate that the Asherites dwelt among the Phoenician Canaanites in a condition of dependence; and being thus unmolested by the central Canaanites, refused to make common cause against them with the other Israelite tribes.

33. Naphtali. The territory of Naphtali is described by P in Josh. 19:32-38. It lay to the north of Zebulun, and was bounded by the territory of Asher on the west and by the Jordan on the east. The predominance of the foreign element in the region of Naphtali and Zebulun, as in that of Asher, is indicated by the title "Gham hag-goyim, 'the District (circuit) of the Nations' applied to it in

* If the name comes from the Heb. root ḫl, Aram. ḫl, as is suggested by the form Ἐκδησσα (cf. the word-play of Mic. 1:14 in the case of the southern Achzib), we should expect ἐδ-Ḏb. The substitution of e for d in modern Ar. is, however, not unparalleled.

‡ Probably Josh. 12:18 ought to read שָׁם נִטֶּר נֵבִים פֶּסֶנָה שָׁם, 'The king of Aphek pertaining to Sharon, one'; cf. Buhl, Geogr. p. 213, n 674.
30 THE BOOK OF JUDGES [1. 34.

shemesh, nor the inhabitants of Beth-‘anath; but they dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites inhabiting the land; and the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and Beth-‘anath became labour-gangs for them.

34. And the Amorites pressed the children of Dan into the

Isa. 9 1 (יו 8 23), or, in short form, hag-Gālîl, Josh. 20 7, 21 32; 1 Kgs. 9 11; 1 Chr. 6 76 (יו 61), whence the name Galilee. Cf. also ־Ḥarosheth of the nations, ch. 4 21ff, probably in Zebulun; cf. note ad loc.

Beth-shemesh ... Beth-‘anath. Both sites are unidentified (cf., however, Introd. p. cxxi, footnote ||). Beth-‘anath occurs in the Egyptian lists of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties; cf. Müller, AE. pp. 193, 195, 220. ‘Anāth is the name of a goddess, possibly the same as the Babylonian Antum or Anatum, consort of Anu, the god of heaven, and chief of the first triad of gods (Anu, Enlil, and Ea); cf. Jastrow in DB. v. p. 538 b, and RBA. i. p. 143. Further traces of the cult of this goddess in Canaan are preserved in the southern ‘Anāthôth ('Anâta, two and a half miles north-north-east of Jerusalem), and in the proper name Shamgar ben-‘Anāth, ch. 3 31, 5 6. She was worshipped in the fifth century B.C. by the Jewish garrison stationed at Elephantinē on the southern border of Egypt. We meet with the compound name ‘Anath-bethel, in which the deities ‘Anath and Bethel (treated as a divine name) are probably equated; * and ‘Anath-yahu also occurs. Probably she was ‘the queen of heaven,’ who, according to Jer. 44 16ff, was worshipped by the Jews who dwelt in Pathros, i.e. in Upper Egypt, where Elephantinē was situated. Our information as to this Jewish garrison and its religious cultus is derived from recently discovered Aram. papyri which were edited in 1911 by Sachau under the title Aramäische Papyr enlarge Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantinē. Cf. the present editor’s article in Church Quart. Rev., July 1912.

but they dwelt. ἐν καὶ κατάκηνην Ἰσραήλ, very possibly the original text; cf. note on Josh. 13 13, which belongs to the same narrative, in Additional note, p. 51.

34. the Amorites. The term is used, here and in v. 35, as a general name for the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine, who elsewhere in this section (vv. 1, 3, 6, 17, 28, 32, 33; cf. also vv. 4-9 from the editor R²) are described as Canaanites, in accordance with the regular practice of J. Such a use of ‘Amorites,’ on the contrary, is characteristic of E (cf. note on v. 1); and the difficulty of accounting for this deviation in usage on the part of J has led Meyer (ZATW. i. p. 126) to conclude that vv. 34-36 are the work of a later hand. So Stade, GVI. i. p. 138 n. Against this view Bu.’s arguments (RS. pp. 15 ff.) are cogent; notice

* Such a compound deity is seen in ‘Ashtar-Chemosh, mentioned on the Moabite Stone, l. 17.
hill-country; for they did not suffer them to come down into
J’s phrases in v. 35—‘persisted in dwelling,’ as in v. 27, Josh. 17 18,
‘became labour-gangs,’ as in vv. 32, 33, Josh. 16 10; and the fact that
v. 34 clearly forms the lowest grade in a descending scale—in vv. 37-30
the Canaanites remain in the midst of Israel, and eventually become
subject; in vv. 31-33 Asher and Naphtali dwell in the midst of the
Canaanites, the inference being that these latter retained the pre­
dominance, whether in power or in numbers (cf. notes on vv. 32, 33);
in v. 34 the ‘Amorites’ actually oust the Danites from their territory.
It is probable that J originally wrote ‘Canaanites’ in these two verses*
(Xalaraioi is the reading of HP. 55 in v. 35), and that the substitution
of ‘Amorites’ is due to a later hand, under the influence, it may be
conjectured, of the textual corruption ‘Amorites’ for ‘Edomites’
in v. 36.

pressed the children of Dan, etc. Josh. 19 41-46 P assigns sixteen or
seventeen (3 cities to Dan, all of which, so far as they can be
identified, lie in the Shephelah and vale-country to the east of the
territories of Benjamin and northern Judah. Out of this list, however,
Sorah, Eshta’ol, ‘Ekron, and Timnah are assigned by P to Judah in
Josh. 15 35, 36, 37. In the narrative of Samson the Danites appear to be
confined to a small district about Sorah and Eshta’ol, immediately
contiguous to the hill-country, while Timnah is occupied by Philistines
just as ‘Ekron is elsewhere. We may infer that the Amorites or
Canaanites who, as our narrative informs us, forced the Danites into
the hills, were themselves suffering from the encroachments of the
Philistines on the west. The Philistines, who entered Canaan about
the same time as, or a very short time before, the Israelite invasion
under Joshua’ (cf. Introd. pp. xci ff.), must naturally have driven such
of the original Canaanite inhabitants of their territory as escaped
extirpation (cf. Deut. 2 29) eastward towards the hill-country, where
they would come into conflict with the Danites, who may have made
their settlement prior to Joshua’s invasion (cf. Introd. pp. cvi f.). Josh.
19 41, which originally formed part of J’s narrative, informs us that finally
a large portion of the tribe of Dan, if not the main portion, finding
their district too narrow (read מָלֹך ... יִשְׂרָאֵל, ‘was too strait for
them,’ in place of מָלֹך ... יִשְׂרָאֵל, R.V. ‘went out beyond them’),
migrated to the extreme north of Palestine, conquered the city of
Leshem (or perhaps Lēshām : cf. ch. 18 7 note), and established them­
selves in and about the city, which they renamed Dan. This migration
is further related in ch. 18, where the conquered city is called Laish
(vv. 7-27), and seems already to have taken place at the period to which
the Song of Deborah relates (cf. note on ch. 5 17). Thenceforward
Dan figures in the common phrase ‘from Dan to Beersheba’ as the
northernmost limit of Palestine.

* Meyer appears now to incline to this view: cf. JN. p. 525, n 1.
the Vale. 35. And the Amorites persisted in dwelling in Har-heres, in Aijalon, and in Sha'albim: yet the hand of the house

35. persisted in dwelling. Cf. v. 21 note.

Har-heres. The name means 'hill of the Sun,' and the fact that herees = semes has led Stu. and others after him to identify the site with Beth-shemesh ('house or temple of the Sun'), i.e. the modern 'Ain-sems ('spring of the Sun') which occupies an elevated site to the south of the Wády Sarár (vale of Sorek), where it opens out upon the Shephelah. This identification is favoured by the fact that Beth-shemesh is mentioned with Sha'albim in 1 Kgs. 4, and 'Ir-reshem ('city of the Sun,' doubtless the same as Beth-shemesh) with Sha'albim and Aijalon in Josh. 19, just as Har-heres is in our passage.

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Aijalon. The identification of Rob. (BR ii. pp. 253 f., iii. pp. 144 f.) with the modern Yálo, seven miles north-north-east of 'Ain-šems and in the south of the 'vale' into which the pass of Beth-šoron opens out ('the vale of Aijalon,' Josh. 10) is universally accepted. The name 'Ayyálah perhaps means 'haunt of deer' ('ayyal). How arrived at the rendering ai ḍóρκοι is obscure, unless this may be regarded as a corruption of ol ḍóρκοι for the normal ai ḍóρκάδεσ. Ε, however,

* Cf. the gloss 'quod interpretatur testaceo,' which appears in V.

† It must be considered doubtful whether 'Ir ha-heres, 'city of destruction,' in Isa. 19 18 is also to be considered as an alteration of an original 'Ir ha-heres, 'city of the Sun,' i.e. Heliopolis. The phrase 'one shall be called' implies that one of the five cities mentioned is to be distinguished by a name which denotes its special character as representative of the worship of Yahweh; and this consideration weighs in favour of the view that the reading of Ε, πόλις αἰσθένη, i.e. πόλις ῥήνυ, 'city of righteousness' (as it were 'the Egyptian Jerusalem': cf. Isa. 1 18), is likely to be the original reading. Cf. Gray's acute discussion of the passage in Isaiah (ICC.) ad loc. This, however, may have been afterwards altered to 'Ir ha-heres in allusion to Heliopolis, and the reading of Ε, 'Ir ha-heres, may represent a still later stage.

§ οἱ ὅρκοι is found in Nicolaus of Damascus (A.C. 16), 46, 47; Dioscorides (cir. A.D. 60), 2, 85; Testamenta XII. Patriarcharum 1121 D: cf. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon s.v.
36. And the border of the Edomites was from the ascent of 'Akrabbim, confines שָׁעָלֶבִּים to the Heb. שְׁבַל, "gazelle," with which the 'ayyal is often coupled, but never confused.

Shā'ālabim. Site unknown. The name appears in Josh. 19:42 as Sha'alahabin, and probably means "foxes": cf. Assyr. šilibu, Ar. šil'ah, and the rendering of G alרַּבְּנֹי. Apart from this place-name, the fact that the word was used in Heb. would be unknown to us, the ordinary Heb. word for "fox" being שָׁלָל.

prevailed. Lit. 'became heavy.'

36. the border of the Edomites. Reading יֹרָה in place of יָרָה 'the Amorites' with Bu., Kit. (HH. i. p. 268), Buhl (Edomiter, p. 25), No., La., etc. The reading דּוֹרְא לאו מְוָאָן of Ἰδούμαιος is found in Ε, the group of MSS. cited by Mo. as Ε, Arm., Eth., סח (with obelus before ד יא.), and this is adopted by Hollenberg, ZATW. i. p. 103. But the writer's interest is centred upon the footing gained by the tribes of Israel in Palestine, and the frontier between Amorites and Edomites would scarcely concern him in this connexion; while such a use of the term 'Amorite' is contrary to the practice of J: cf. v.34 note. It cannot be doubted that he is indicating the line along which the frontier of the southernmost tribe (Judah) marched with the frontier of Edom. יָרָה is an easy corruption of יָרָה, and the versions as cited above present a doublet. A similar confusion occurs between בֵּן 'Edom' and בֵּן 'Aram': 2 Sam. 8:12,13 (cf. v. 14, 1 Chr. 18:11,12, Ps. 60 heading), 2 Chr. 20:2, 2 Kgs. 16:6.

from the ascent of 'Akrabbim. Usually identified with the Naḥb es-Safā, a steep pass which runs up northward out of the Wādī el-Fikrah: cf. note on Sephath v.17. An obvious objection to this identification lies in the fact that the frontier of Edom cannot be said to commence from this point, since this would leave out of account the twenty-five miles or so which intervene between the mouth of the Naḥb es-Safā and the southern extremity of the Dead Sea at which the frontier is stated to begin in Num. 34:3, Josh. 15:2 P. The same objection applies, in an enhanced degree, to the more westerly Naḥb el-Yemen, advocated by Trumbull (Kadesh-Barnea, p. 111). More probably we should find the ascent in the Wādī el-Fikrah, which Trumbull (op. cit. pp. 94 f.) describes as 'a wādī which ascends south-westerly from the 'Arabah, from a point not far south of the Dead Sea, and which separates Palestine proper from the 'Azāzīmeh mountain tract, or Jebel Mukrāh group. The northern wall of this wādī is a bare and bold rampart of rock, forming a natural boundary.' Scorpions ('אֲקֻרְבִּים) are said to abound in this district.
from the Crag and upwards. 

*from the Crag:* Here we seem to have a second starting-point for the frontier-line between Judah and Edom, *i.e.* upon the most natural hypothesis, the other extremity of the frontier, farthest removed from the ascent of 'Akrabbim. The identification of has-sela, 'the Crag,' has caused difficulty. Clearly the reference cannot be to the city of Petra,* which was the capital of the Nabataeans from *cir.* B.C. 300 until the second century A.D.; for Petra lies some fifty miles a little east of due south of the southern end of the Dead Sea, among the mountains of Se'ir to the east of the 'Arabah; whereas the researches of Trumbull in connexion with his identification of the site of Kadesh-Barnea at 'Ain-Kudâs, nearly fifty miles south-south-west of Be'er-sheba (generally accepted), have proved beyond a doubt that the territory of Edom must have extended for a considerable distance west of the 'Arabah: cf. Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea,* pp. 106 ff.; Buhl, *Edomiter,* pp. 23 ff. The course of the southern boundary of Judah is described in detail in Num. 34 3-6, Josh. 15 1-4 P. From these passages we gather that its eastern extremity was the southern ‘tongue’ of the Salt Sea, and that thence it took its start (יוֹנֶת Josh. 15 5) to the south of the ascent of 'Akrabbim (*i.e.* upon the identification of the ascent proposed above, upon the south side of the Wâdy el-Fîkrah; the wâdy, or at least its north side, being claimed by Judah: *cf.* the analogy of Deut. 3 16, 'the middle of the wâdy being also a boundary'), made a turn (םָּל Num. 34 4) south of this ascent and passed on to Sin (an unknown site), and reached its extremity in this direction (חָלַת Num. 34 4) south of Kadesh-Barnea. It then took a new start (יוֹנֶת Num. 34 4), presumably to the west or north-west, and passing on by a number of unidentified sites, took a turn (םָּל) to the 'Wâdy of Egypt,' *i.e.* the Wâdy el-'Aris, and found its end (חָלַת) at the sea (the Mediterranean; Num. 34 6). Here the line along which the frontier of Judah marched with that of Edom was, it must be assumed, in its course west-south-west from the Dead Sea along the Wâdy el-Fîkrah, and then south-south-west to a point just south of Kadesh-Barnea; and it is noteworthy that, in the narrative of Moses' embassy to the king of Edom (Num. 20 14 ff. JE), he states that the Israelites are 'in Kadesh, a city in the extremity of thy border.' The natural inference

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* Whether Sela' (without the article) in Isa. 16 1, 42 11 is the name of a city is very doubtful. Cheyne (*EB.* 4344) takes the word as a collective term, referring to the country as a whole—'the rocks.' In 2 Kgs. 14 7, which relates Amaziah's defeat of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt and the capture of has-Sela', the reference, if it stood alone, might most naturally be explained as referring to a city; but 1 Chr. 25 10 takes has-Sela' to be 'the crag' from the top of which the captured Edomites were cast headlong.
2. 1. And the Angel of Yahweh went up from Gilgal unto
is that haš-šēlā', 'the Crag' of our passage, which formed one
extremity of the frontier-line between Judah and Edom, is the same as
haš-šēlā' 'the Crag' at or close to Kadesh, which tradition regarded
as the crag which was smitten by Moses (Num. 20:10.11 JEP). This
conclusion, reached independently by the present editor, is also that
of Buhl (op. cit. 25) and La.
Bu., Mo. regard the מ in מַהַמָּא as due to dittography of
the preceding מ in מַיִּיר, and emend מַיִיר to סְלָא. Mo. con-
jectures that the site of haš-Šēlā may have been the modern
es-Šafafa, near the southern end of the Dead Sea; but his descrip-
tion of this as 'a bare and dazzling white sandstone promontory
a thousand feet high' (derived from Buhl, op. cit. p. 29) is stated by
La. to be incorrect; and moreover, if, as he supposes, the ascent of
' Açrabbim is the Nakāb es-Šafafa, the boundary-line between the two
points as specified extends for not more than twenty-five miles, and
the description must be regarded as merely fragmentary.
and upwards. Upwards towards the first point of departure, the
ascent of ' Açrabbim. As La. remarks, 'On indique deux points de
départ, c'est-à-dire les deux extrémités de la frontière nord, et מ
marque tout le reste d'une façon indéterminée.'
If the emendation 'to Šēlā' noticed above be adopted, the sense
in which מ is used is inexplicable, since Mo.'s rendering 'and
beyond' cannot be justified. Bu. emends מ in this sense.
2, 1-5. Upon the relation of these verses to the preceding narrative
cf. introductory note to 111.
the appearance of the Angel of Y. to Manoah (ch. 13), if it be assumed that R.V. is right in rendering in v. 22, 'We must surely die, for we have seen God.' Possibly, however, 'elohim may here denote no more than 'a god' or divine being': cf. note ad loc. and ch. 6 42.

There are, however, a few passages in which a distinction appears to be drawn between Yahweh and His Angel. So in Gen. 24, Yahweh sends His Angel before Abraham's servant vv. 7-40 (yet in vv. 21-48 the servant acknowledges that it is Yahweh who has led him); in Num. 22 31 Yahweh uncovers Bala'am's eyes so that he sees the Angel of Y. In Ex. 23 20 Yahweh promises to send His Angel before Israel, who is described in 23 20 as 'an Angel' (גֵלֹה indf.; but, according to ג, א, Sam., 'mine Angel' as in v. 23 י). Similarly 'mine Angel' of Ex. 32 24 is described as 'an Angel' in 33 2 (ג 'mine Angel!'), and appears to be something less than Yahweh's full manifestation; since Yahweh says in v. 6, 'If I go up into the midst of thee for one moment, I shall consume thee,' and it is only as the result of importunate intercession on the part of Moses that Yahweh promises 'My Face shall go' (33 14), i.e., clearly, Yahweh Himself as distinct from His Angel.

It must be observed, however, that both in Ex. 23 and 32, 33, the narrative largely consists of redactional matter which is relatively late as compared with J and E (cf. the analysis of CH. ad loc.); and probably at the period to which this redaction belongs, the tendency to modify reference to Yahweh's self-revelation to Israel by the introduction of an intermediary was already operative. It is not unlikely, indeed (as suggested by the alternation of 'the Angel of Y.' with 'Yahweh' in the passages first noticed), that the original conception of the Angel represents an early attempt (imperfectly carried out) to interpose such an intermediary, where the primitive narratives simply spoke of Yahweh Himself as appearing and holding direct intercourse with men. If this is so, we may trace a very early anticipation of the far more drastic introduction in the Targums of the 'Memra' ('Word') of Yahweh in passages where reference to Yahweh's direct communication with man was offensive to the taste of later times.

from Gilgal. Gilgal was the headquarters of Joshua and the Israelites during the invasion of the hill-country, and before the tribes...
And he said, 'I visited you indeed, and brought
had effect a settlement in the land: cf. Josh. 4:19 P, 9, 10 R. The name is preserved in the modern Birket ('pool') Gilguliyeh, three miles east-south-east of the ancient site of Jericho, and about the same distance west of the Jordan. Several other places in Palestine bore the same name: cf. E.B., s.v. Gilgal, which in Heb. always has the definite article prefixed, 'the Gilgal,' doubtless denotes 'circle' (cf. Heb. galgal, 'wheel'), and seems to refer to a circle of stones of a primitive religious character. The Gilgal of our passage was probably so named from the stones which tradition related to have been set up by Joshua at the first 'lodging place' (Josh. 4:1–3) after the passage of the Jordan, which is stated (4:19 P) to have been Gilgal. The explanation of Josh. 5:9, which connects the name with the 'rolling away' of the reproach of uncircumcision (Heb. gallôthî, 'I have rolled away,' from root gâlal), is merely a play of words, such as is frequent in J's narrative.

unto Bethel. بنتو 'unto hab-Bochim': but (1) it is unnatural that the name should be given before the occasion which was its cause is related, and (2) غ preserves the name Bethel in the doublet ēpî rōn Klaubôra kai ēpî Baubîl, and since there can have been no reason for the introduction of this latter if ēpî rōn K. (i.e. the reading of غ) already stood in the text, we may infer (with most moderns) that 'unto Bethel' was the reading of غ's original. Adopting this reading, the passage comes into connexion with the narrative of ch. 1:22 ff., which relates the capture of Bethel by the house of Joseph. The Ark, which was the visible symbol of Yahweh's presence, was carried up from Gilgal and found a resting-place at Bethel, where sacrifices were offered to Yahweh (v. 6 b). The Ark is still at Bethel in the narrative of ch. 20:27: cf. also 20:18, 21:2. Of the circumstances which led to its removal to the Ephraimite sanctuary of Shiloh, where it appears in 1 Sam. 3:3, we have no information.

After ēpî Baubîl غ has the addition kai ēpî rōn oîkon Isrâîl. It is probable that this is merely an accidental doublet of נ אֵֽלֶיָּהוּ (so Mo.), the נ in an imperfectly legible MS. being mistaken for a contraction of אֵֽלֶּֽיָּהוּ such as נ. A similar process has taken place in Deut. 32:8 غ, where נאֵֽלֶּֽיָּהוּ נֵבֶּר יִשְׂרָאֵל 'according to the number of the children of Israel,' appears in غ as kara àref'tov ággelov theov (נ אֵֽלֶּֽיָּהוּ), which probably represents the original text.* Bu., regarding the addition as genuine, would restore נאֵֽלֶּֽיָּהוּ תֹּֽבִּֽיָּאֵל, and so Kit., La. If this is correct, it is likely, as Bu., No. suggest, that נאֵֽלֶּֽיָּהוּ is an alteration.

* If the passage pictures the 'Sons of God,' or subordinate angelic powers, as guardians of the foreign nations, the contrast offered by the following clause, 'But Yahweh's portion is his people,' becomes more pointed and effective.
you up from Egypt, and brought you in unto the land which I
of an original עבד, and the passage notes the fact that it was ‘unto
the house of Joseph’ that the Angel of Yahweh went up, i.e. they had
the charge of the sacred Ark.

*I visited . . . up.* Reading פַּחַדְךָ יָאוָה אֲתַבָּה בַּעֲלָה עָלֶם אֲתַבָּה in
place of בַּעֲלָה עָלֶם אֲתַבָּה. The restoration is purely conjectural; but
the use of the Heb. Imperfect in עָלֶם is inexplicable, since a future
signification ‘I will bring you up’ is impossible; nor is it natural to
explain the tense here as used pictorially to describe the event as still
in progress—a usage which is not uncommon ‘in the language of
poetry and prophecy’ (cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 27), but is scarcely suited to
a plain statement of fact such as the present. That an omission in
the text was suspected by the Massoretes is perhaps indicated by the
אַבְרָם or lacuna in עָלֶם before עָלֶם.* It is natural to suppose that 1
consecutive originally stood before the Imperfect, in continuation of
some event of which the statement has fallen out of the text of עָלֶם.
This missing statement was supplied by Böttcher (*Neue exeget.*
*Krit. Ahrenlese*) from Ex. 3:16, Gen. 50:24, his restoration running
"I visited you indeed and said, “I will
bring you up, etc.”; † and this suggestion has the advantage of
accounting for the omission by homoeoteleuton, the scribe’s eye
passing from פַּחַד to בַּעֲלָה. The text adopted above is that of
Doorn. (who followed Böttcher in part), and is favoured by Bu., Oort.
It makes, with its continuation, a statement in nearly identical terms
of the fulfilment of the promise of Gen. 50:24: ‘God will indeed
visit you, and bring you up out of this land unto the land which he
swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.’ Cf. Ex. 13:19 E.

Other suggestions have been made as to the text. Stu. simply
inserts יָאוָה "I said, “I will bring you up,”’ and cites in favour of
this ה.3, ‘And furthermore I said.’ So also Ber. La. substitutes the
Perf. for the Imperf., reading יָאוָה יִתְנַן ‘It was I who brought
you up’—a cutting of the knot. Mo. thinks that, since the speech of
the Angel is ‘a cento of quotations and reminiscences,’ it is possible
that the author copied Ex. 3:17, ‘I will bring you up,’ without correct-

* אַבְרָם supplies this lacuna by the words תַּּהוּ הָעַדָּר קֻבּוֹס, and the same words
are found in סֹפְר, Ar. This, however, does not solve the difficulty of the Heb.
tense. אתו, אַבְרָם וּפָרָשָׂהוּ אֲתַבָּה turn the verbs into the 3rd person, but
inconsistently preserve 1st person כָּלְלָה וּלְפָרָשָׂהוּ in v.3—a fact which tells against
the originality of the preceding variations from עָלֶם.

† Böttcher offers the alternative יָאוָה אֲתַבָּה יֵלָהוּ יָאַר אֲתַבָּה ‘I made choice
of you and said, etc.’
swear unto your fathers; and I said, "I will never break my covenant with you. 2. And ye—ye shall not make a covenant with the inhabitants of this land; their altars ye shall break down." But ye have not hearkened to my voice: what have ye done? 3. And furthermore I said, "I will not drive them out from before you, but they shall be [adversaries] to you, and their gods shall be a trap to you." 4. And it came to pass, ing the tense: but we have no reason to suspect RP of such gross carelessness.


I will never break, etc. For the expression, cf. Lev. 26:44 H. The precise reference, however, is not to H, but to the covenant of Ex. 34:27 J: 'for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel.' Cf. note following.

2. And ye, etc. A quotation from Ex. 34:11,12a: ‘Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee: but their altars ye shall break down.’

3. And furthermore I said. The reference is to Josh. 23:13 R D, Num. 33:65 P.

adversaries. Reading יָּלַעְרְיָא with Q, L, F, T, מָסָא, Stu., Ber., Doorn., Mo. (in SBOT.), No., Kit., Ehr., in place of יָּלַעְרְיָא. Cf. Num. 33:65 P יָּלַעְרְיָא יְרָבָא 'and they shall act as your adversaries.' According to the regular meaning of יָּלַעְרְיָא in Heb., the statement of יָּלַעְרְיָא can only be rendered 'they shall be to you as sides.' R.V. expands this into 'they shall be [as thorns] in your sides,' with marg. ref. to Num. 33:65. Such a sense cannot possibly be inherent in יָּלַעְרְיָא as the text stands, though it is legitimate to suppose, with Mo. (Comm.), Bu., La., that יָּלַעְרְיָא may be the remnant of an original reading יָּלַעְרְיָא יְרָבָא יְרָבָא as in Num. 33:65a: cf. Josh. 23:13 R D . . . יָּלַעְרְיָא יְרָבָא יְרָבָא 'and they shall be . . . as a scourge on your sides.' Delitzsch (Prolegomena, p. 75) compares יָּלַעְרְיָא with Assyri. saddu, 'net, snare, trap'; but this word is not elsewhere found in Heb., and the improbability of its occurrence here is enhanced by the fact that we expect to find in this passage (as elsewhere in the speech) a reference to an earlier warning. Grätz emends יָּלַעְרְיָא יְרָבָא יְרָבָא 'as thorns.'

a trap. The metaphor is that of bird-catching, and the Heb. term מָוָּקָשׁ, lit. 'fowling instrument,' is commonly parallel to פָּה, i.e. probably a form of clap-net still employed in Palestine, and bearing
as the Angel of Yahweh spake these words unto all the children of Israel, that the people lifted up their voice, and wept. 5. So they called the name of that place Bochim. J And they sacrificed there to Yahweh.

the same name faḫ in Ar.: cf. Baldensperger in PEF. Qy. St. 1905, p. 38. BDB. and Driver on Am. 3 explain möḵēš as the lure or bait, a rendering suggested by Am. 3 (where the text, however, is almost certainly at fault *), but impossible in Job 40 24, 'pierce his nose with möḵēšim;' and in Ps. 64 6 'they tell of hiding möḵēšim (a bait or lure is to be displayed not hidden), and inappropriate (to say the least) in Ps. 18 5, where the möḵēš māweth (‖ nooses of She'ol) are a terror and not an attraction. Since the root ḫāqāš is evidently connected with nāḵāš 'strike,' the two verbs being variant triliterals of the biliteral ḫ̄̄, it is probable that möḵēš denotes some form of trap in which the release of a spring or support caused the striking (knocking down or piercing) of the victim.

5. Bochim. Meaning 'weepers.' Stu. is probably correct in suggesting connexion with the 'A'llān bakhūth, 'oak of weeping,' which is stated in Gen. 35 8 E to have been 'below Bethel.'

And they sacrificed, etc. Cf. note on Bethel, v. 1.

* As the text stands in Ψ, the passage runs—

Shall a bird fall into a pakh upon the ground,
When there is no möḵēš for it?
Shall a pakh spring up from the ground,
Without surely capturing?

It is impossible, however, to think that Amos could have written anything so awkward as the repeated pakh; and as a matter of fact the word is omitted by ε in the first clause: el pēṣērāu bano'w eni ṭēnu ṭēnu 'anev 'izynōv. With this omission there disappears the necessity of explaining möḵēš as something in the nature of a lure.

† Dr. Driver has privately communicated the following note:—'As to möḵēš, the last words of my note in Am. p. 158 leave, I fear, an incorrect impression on the reader: but I have corrected it in Exodus (Camb. Bib.) on 107. It seems to me to be something like what we should call a trigger, with a bait upon it, which, whether touched by the bird, or pulled by the fowler, caused the trap, or net, to close upon the bird (cf. the illustration, Am. p. 157). The möḵēš certainly was destructive; but it seems certainly to have acted as a lure to entice to disaster (Ex. 10 7, 23 8, 1 Sam. 18 21); and it is this double aspect of it which suggests to me that it was the trigger properly, but often spoken of as including the bait upon it as well. Job. 40 24 suggests that it had a sharp point—possibly it struck the bird with this: it was sufficient to be the means of catching a bird, but not to pierce the nostril of the hippopotamus. ḫ̄̄al in Aram. is to strike; and hence the idea that it was a boomerang: cf. BDB. s.v. ḫ̄̄; but the view in this article seems to me doubtful. I see that BDB. under möḵēš do say "prop. a bait or lure"; but "prop." seems to me to be wrong; this is only a secondary idea.'
EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE USE OF THE TERMS 'CANA'AN' AND 'THE LAND OF THE AMORITE'

(cf. ch. 1 note)

For the Egyptians Pe-kanan, i.e. 'the Canaan,' denoted 'the entire west of Syria-Palestine' (Breasted, AR. iii. § 87), while the corresponding ethnographical term seems to have been extended beyond the low-lying maritime region to the population of Western Syria as a whole, as in the usage of J. The Egyptian term Amor was applied to the mountainous district of Lebanon.

The early Babylonians, as far back as the time of Sargon of Akkad (about the end of the fourth millennium B.C.: cf. Introd. p. li, footnote §), knew Syria and Palestine generally as Amurru.* In the T.A. Letters (cir. B.C. 1400) the term Kinaḥši, or Kinaḥna, Kinaḥni (i.e. Canaan), is applied to the Phoenician coast-land, while Amurru (the land of the Amorites) is not applied to Palestine as a whole, but denotes the 'Hinterland' of the northern Phoenicians, i.e. the mountainous district of the Lebanon, and also, as now appears from the cuneiform documents recently discovered at Boghaz Keui, the region still farther east, i.e. the Syrian desert and its surrounding districts, as far as the border of Babylonia: cf. Winckler in MDOG. xxxv., Dec. 1907, pp. 25 f. Possibly these facts may have a bearing on the distinction of usage between J and E; the former embodying the tradition of the south which lay outside the sphere of the Amorites, while the latter presents the tradition of the northern tribes: cf. Winckler, GI. i. pp. 52 ff. See further, on the extra-Biblical evidence as to the usage of the two terms, Jastrow in EB. 638 ff.; Meyer, GA.2 i. §§ 354, 396; Bohl, KH. pp. 2 ff., 31 ff.; Müller, AE. pp. 177, 205 ff., 218 ff., 229 ff.; Weber in Kn. pp. 1132 ff.

ŠEDEK AS A DIVINE NAME (cf. ch. 1 note)

The view that, in Adoni-šedek, Malki-šedek, šedek is the proper name of a Canaanite deity is commonly held, but the evidence cannot be said to be conclusive. The following occurrences of Šidk or Šedek in compound proper names may be noticed: šidki-milk on a Phoenician coin, cir. B.C. 449-420, Cooke, NSI. p. 349; Sabaean šidki-el, Hommel, Süd-ar. Chrestom. quoted by Cooke, loc. cit.; Aram. Šidki-Rammān, CIS. ii. 73

* The name Amurru is commonly represented by the Sumerian MAR.TU, 'west land'; but evidence shows that from the earliest times MAR.TU was read and pronounced as Amurru among the Semitic Babylonians: cf. Bohl, KH. pp. 32, 33.
(letters כ not quite certain), cf. EB. 'Names,' § 36; Phoenician Ṣidki-dakar, quoted by Baethgen, Beiträge zur Sem. Religionsgesch. p. 128 (without ref. to source); and the following instances from cuneiform literature quoted by Zimmern in KAT.3 p. 474: Ṣidak, king of Ashkelon, a contemporary of Ḫezekiah, KB. ii. 91; Rab-Ṣidki in T.A. Letters, Knudtzon, no. 170 (given as Ben-Ṣidki by Winckler, no. 125 in KB. v.); Ṣidki-ulu as the name of an eponym, B.C. 764, cf. Winckler, KT. p. 59; Ṣūbi-ṣidki, Johns, Deeds, no. 6, rev. 3. From these we can scarcely separate the Israelite Ḫa'or Ṣidki-Yahu or Ṣidki-Yah. The conclusion that Ṣedek is the proper name of a deity is based upon a statement of Philo of Byblos that the Phoenicians had a deity named Ṣuduk. This writer (quoted by Eusebius, Praep. Evan. i. 10), in the course of a lengthy account of the Phoenician Pantheon, based upon information derived professedly from Sanchuniaton, remarks that ἀπὸ τοῦτων [Ἄμων καὶ Μάγως] γενέσθαι Μισσωρ καὶ ὤδυκ, τοῦτο ἐλθων καὶ δίκαιων. Ὡστοι τίνι τῶν ἀλὸς χρήσιν ἔδρον. Here ὤδυκ and Μισσωρ are shown to correspond to the Heb. words ṣedeḳ 'justice,' and μέσαρ 'uprightness.' The statement that these deities 'discovered the use of salt' seems to indicate no very profound acquaintance with their origin and characteristics; and definite information thus failing us, it is natural to suspect the influence of Babylonian thought, in view of the fact that for the later Babylonians kettu † 'justice,' and μέσαρυ 'uprightness' appear as the 'sons' of Šamaš the Sun-god (cf. KAT.3 pp. 224 n1, 370), a theory which would seem to imply hardly more than that these attributes were characteristic of Šamaš, or at most that they were venerated in connexion with his worship: cf. the manner in which Ḫammurabi pictures himself as deriving his legal code, the embodiment of Justice, directly from Šamaš. Not very dissimilar are certain statements in the Psalms with regard to Yahweh: 'Righteousness (or Justice, ṣedeḳ) shall walk before him,' 8513; 'Righteousness (ṣedeḳ) and Judgment are the foundation of thy throne,' 8914, cf. 972; 'Righteousness (ṣedeḳ) and Peace have kissed,' 8510.

But, granted the existence of a W. Semitic deity Ṣedeḳ § = Bab. Kettu, the inference by no means follows that, where Ṣedeḳ occurs

* Possibly we may trace connexion with the חַבְּרָה covenant of salt' (Num. 1819 P, 2 Chr. 139), in which ṣedeḳ 'righteousness,' and μέσαρ 'uprightness' would naturally be involved. Cf. La., ERS.2 p. 421. Upon the ceremonial use of salt in covenants, cf. Gray's note on Numbers loc. cit.

† Kettu for kentu, ṣ̄ kānu = Heb. קֶסטֶק. Kettu is the Bab. equivalent of the W. Semitic ṣedeḳ.

§ קֶסֶד, i.e. Ṣedeḳ or Siddīk, occurs as a masc. proper name in Sabaean (cf. CIS. iv. no. 287, II. 2, 11, 15, etc.); and this is perhaps to be explained as contracted from קַסֶּד, a form which we have noticed above as occurring in
in compound proper names either predicatively or in the genitival relation, it must refer to this deity. 'Justice' or 'Righteousness' cannot have been pictured as the exclusive possession of the son of Šamaš, and it is reasonable to assume that the attribute may have been predicated of other deities. Thus few would dispute that Šidki-Yahu means, not 'Yahu is the god Šedek,' but simply 'Yahu is righteousness' (i.e. righteous), the name corresponding in form precisely to Ḫizki-Yahu, 'Uzzi-Yahu, 'Yahu is strength' (strong). Analogously it may be inferred that Šidki-Ramman denotes 'Rammān is righteousness.' It would seem to follow, therefore, that where Šedek is coupled, not with a proper name, but with an honorific title such as 'adoni, melekh, or 'el, it is at least as probable that the meaning intended is 'the (unnamed) Lord, King, or God is righteous' as that we are to find reference to (the god) Šedek described as Lord, etc.

THE MEANING OF THE NAME KIRIATH-ARBA'

(cf. ch. 1 10 note)

The evidence which goes to prove that in Kiriath-arba', i.e. 'City of Four,' 'Four' is a divine title is as follows. The name naturally suggests comparison of the Assyrian Arbela between the Upper and the Lower Zab. The name of this city is written in cuneiform (ālu) Arba' ilu, 'city) Number Four God.' Here it is beyond doubt that the numeral Four is employed as a divine name or title. The inference that Kiriath-arba' is to be explained similarly is strengthened by comparison of the place-name יָבֹת עַרְבֵל 'Beth-Arbel' of Hos. 10:14 (perhaps situated near Pella on the east of Jordan), where we find the name Arba-ilu apparently taken directly from the Assyrian or Babylonian, since the י of the Hebrew יָבֹת is wanting.* Winckler (GI. ii. pp. 39 ff.), who adopts this explanation of Kiriath-arba', further explains Be'er-sheba' in like manner as 'Well of Number Seven God.' Thus fresh light is thrown upon the subject. A god Sibitti, i.e. 'Number Seven,' was known to the Babylonians at the period of the First Dynasty. Thus, for example, we find such names

Sabaean. It is worthy of observation that, in the inscription cited, the name פּוֹרָא stands in close conjunction with מַלְאַךְ הַשִּׁמְשָׁם, i.e. according to Derenbourg, 'Vir Solis' (Ar. ʿAmr-ul-Shams), to be explained as 'vir Solis cultor': cf. discussion in CIS. loc. cit.

* Cf. דַלַי, Isa. 46:1, Jer. 50:8, 51:44, taken directly from Bab. dēlu=Aram. דַלַי, Heb. דַלַי.
as Warad (ilu) Sibittim, i.e. 'servant of (God) Sibitti': Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie Babyloniennes*, p. 50; cf. further references in Jastrow, *RBA*. i. p. 173.

The meaning of Four and Seven as divine titles is elucidated by the well-known fact that the name of Sin, the Moon-god, is commonly written in cuneiform as 'God Number Thirty,' thirty days being the conventional length of the lunar month. It is probable that, as Winckler thinks (*op. cit.* p. 48), Four and Seven represent different phases of the Moon-god, the former the four phases of the moon, the latter the seven-day week as a lunar quarter. Evidence that the worship of *Sibitti* extended to the West is to be found in the fact that, in the list of kings of the West whom Tiglath-Pileser IV. mentions as paying tribute, the king of Gebal bears the name Sibittibi'l, i.e. 'Number Seven is lord': cf. Rost, *Tiglath-Pileser*, p. 26. The evidence here brought together is based upon the present editor's note in *JTS*. xii. pp. 118 f.

**THE CONQUEST OF THE NEGB (cf. ch. i 16·17 notes)**

The account of the conquest of 'Arad in the Negeb which is given in Judg. i 16·17 cannot be considered apart from the very similar account which is found in Num. 21 1-3 (J). This latter narrative states that, during the period of Israel's sojourn in the wilderness, the king of 'Arad advanced against them, apparently because they were encroaching upon his territory, fought against them, and took some of them prisoners. Israel thereupon vowed a vow that, if Yahweh would deliver up the Canaanites into their hand, they would place their cities under a ban (*ḥêrem*), and utterly destroy every inhabitant. Success attended their arms; the vow was carried out; and the name of the district was thenceforth known as Ḥormah, a name in which there is an assumed connexion with *ḥêrem*.

This narrative, which implies a northward advance of Israel from Kadesh-Barnea into the Negeb, is at variance with the preceding narrative (Num. 20 14-21 JE), which apparently pictures the whole of the Israelites as turning southwards from Kadesh, in order to compass and avoid the land of Edom. It is also difficult to understand why an immediate settlement in the conquered territory was not effected by at least a portion of the Israelites, when the whole of the Canaanites inhabiting it had been put to the sword.

The author of the introduction to Deut., who apparently bases his information upon E, gives, in 1 41-46, an account of a disorganized attempt made by the Israelites to conquer the Negeb, after the failure of the mission of the spies, and against the express command of Moses. This was repulsed by 'the Amorite who inhabited that hill-country,' Israel being put to the rout, and beaten down 'in Se'ir as far as Ḥormah.' This narrative corresponds with Num. 14 40-46, which apparently combines elements from J as well as from E, and
in which the foe appears not as 'the Amorite,' but as 'the Amalekite and the Canaanite' (v. 46 a). No mention is made in Deut. of Israel's subsequent success, and their extirpation of the inhabitants of the district; and we are probably correct in inferring that these details were not contained in the E source.

The question is further complicated by the account of the conquest of Arad which occurs in Judg. 1:16-17. Here it is the tribes of Judah and Sime'on, together with the Kenites, who are related to have effected the conquest, moving southwards from the City of Palms (i.e. Jericho) subsequently to the passage of the Jordan under Joshua.

As in the narrative of Num., however, the origin of the name Hormah is explained by the fact that the Canaanites inhabiting a city (previously named Sephath) were smitten, and the city placed under the ban and utterly destroyed.

The narratives of Num. 21 and Judg. are obviously parallel, and cannot, as they stand, be reconciled. It is easy to supply a reason for the occurrence of the narrative in Judg. as a duplicate to that in Num., viz., the view that the conquest of Canaan under Joshua was the first settlement in the land of any of the tribes of Israel: but, if the narrative of Judg. be taken to be correct in its present position, it is not easy to divine why the narrative of Num. should have come in at that particular place.

Adopting, then, the view that the conquest of Arad in the Negeb took place through a tribal movement northward from the neighbourhood of Kadesh, the inference becomes plausible that this movement was effected, as related in Judg., by the tribes of Judah and Sime'on in alliance with the Kenites. It is a well-known fact that the tribe of Judah consisted of mixed elements: the genealogy of 1 Chr. 2 includes among the descendants of Judah the North Arabian tribes of the Kenites and Jeraḥme'elites, and the clan of Caleb which was of Kenizzite, i.e. of Edomite, origin (cf. Gen. 36:11). Whether or not these clans originally formed an integral part of the tribe of Judah, it is clear that so early as the days of David they were regarded as standing in a very intimate relation to the tribe. In 1 Sam. 27:9ff., which relates David's stay as an outlaw with Achish king of Gath, we read that David made pretence to Achish that his occasional raids were directed 'against the Negeb of Judah, and against the Negeb of the Jeraḥme'elites, and against the Negeb of the Kenites'; and Achish remarks to himself with satisfaction, 'He hath made his people Israel utterly to abhor him; therefore he shall be my servant for ever.' Again, in 1 Sam. 30:26-31, David sends presents 'of the spoil of the enemies of Yahweh' to the Judeans of the Negeb, including the Jeraḥme'elites and the Kenites.

If, then, clans which originally inhabited the region south of the Negeb are subsequently found occupying the Negeb and forming part of the tribe of Judah, what is more probable than that this change of locality was effected through conquests gained in the
Negeb in a movement directly northwards, as is suggested by the narrative of Num. 21?

We seem, in fact, to be upon the track of a Calibbite tradition, embodied in the Judaean document J, which originally narrated the way in which this northward movement was effected by the clan of Caleb, and probably other kindred clans. It may be conjectured that this tradition lies at the bottom of the older (JE) narrative of the spies which is combined with the P narrative in Num. 13 and 14.* In this older narrative (in contrast to that of P) it is the Negeb only which is explored; Caleb is the only spy who is mentioned by name; and it is Caleb only who maintains, against the opinion of the other spies, that the conquest of the district is quite a feasible undertaking, in spite of the race of giants—the sons of 'Anak—inhabiting it:—

'We can easily go up and possess it, for we are well able to overcome it' (Num. 13 30).

As a matter of fact, the conquest of these sons or clans of 'Anak and their cities is directly ascribed to Caleb in Josh. 15 14-19 = Judg. 1 9-10b (in part), 11-15 from the narrative of J. Is it not, then, at least a plausible theory that the original Calibbite story related that Caleb, after first spying out the Negeb, then proceeded to go up and conquer it?

It seems probable that the present form of the combined JE narrative of the spies, which makes the project of conquest fail in spite of Caleb's protests, is due to the theory that the conquest of any part of Canaan did not take place until the country as a whole was invaded by a combined movement from the east made by the whole of the tribes under the leadership of Joshua. This theory, as we have seen, accounts for the present form of Judg. 1 6-17, which makes the conquest of the Negeb to have been effected through a movement which took its start from Jericho.

It is the Judaean document J which embodies the Calibbite tradition in Num. 21: cf. 'the Canaanite' in v.1. The Ephraimite E, on the other hand (which is naturally the principal repository of the Joshua-tradition), from which is drawn the narrative which is found in Deut. 1 41-46 (cf. 'the Amorite' in v.44), while mentioning the defeat of the Israelites, knows nothing, or at any rate will have nothing, of the subsequent victory as narrated by J.

Our inference, then, is that clans which went to form the tribe of Judah (including North Arabian clans then or subsequently embodied in the tribe) advanced northward from Kadesh-Barnea; and, in combination with the remnant of the tribe of Simeon (which, after a disastrous attempt to effect a settlement in Central Palestine, appears to have moved southward: cf. note on 1 3), conquered the territory of 'Arad, and settled down in it, afterwards advancing their conquests

* In Gray's Numbers (ICC.), pp. 130ff., the two narratives of the spies are arranged in parallel columns, and will be found each to read nearly continuously.
still farther north, into the country which is known to us later on as the hill-country of Judah.

If this inference be true, it will help to explain to us a very striking fact in the later history, viz. the isolation of Judah and Sime'on from the rest of the tribes. From the Song of Deborah, which celebrates the great victory over the forces of Šisera, it is clear that an organized attempt was made on that occasion to unite the tribes of Israel against the Canaanites. Ten tribes, including the tribes from the eastern side of Jordan, are mentioned, either for praise as having taken part in the contest, or for blame as having held aloof: Judah and Sime'on alone remain unnoticed. We must infer, therefore, that at that period they were so far isolated from the rest of the tribes that they were not even expected to take part in the common interests of Israel, and therefore received no call to arms.

This single instance is in itself so striking, that we need do no more than allude briefly in passing to the fierce rivalry which is pictured as existing between the men of Israel and the men of Judah in the days of David (2 Sam. 19:41-43), and to the fact that the superficial union between Judah and the rest of the tribes which was effected under Saul, David, and Solomon, was readily dissolved at the commencement of Rehobo'am's reign.

THE ORIGINAL FORM OF J'S ACCOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL IN CANA'AN

Bu. has displayed great skill and critical insight in reconstructing J's narrative in the form in which it may be supposed originally to have stood: cf. RS. pp. 84 ff. The following reconstruction is indebted to him throughout, but exhibits in detail such variations as have been adopted in the notes on the text, with citation of Bu.'s readings in the footnotes.

Judg. 1:1a-b

And the children of Israel enquired of Yahweh, saying, 'Who shall go up for us first against the Canaanites to fight against them?' And Yahweh said, 'Judah shall go up: behold, I have given the land into his hand.' And Judah said to Sime'on his brother, 'Go up with me into my lot, that we may fight with the Canaanites, and I also will go up with thee into thy lot.' So Sime'on went with him. And

emended after they came upon Adoni-šedek,‘ the king of Jerusalem, and they fought against him, and smote the Canaanites and the Perizzites. And Adoni-šedek fled; and they pursued after him, and captured him, and cut off his thumbs and his great toes. And Adoni-šedek

a Bu. 'Adoni-bezek.'
said, 'Seventy kings, with their thumbs and their
great toes cut off, used to pick up food under my
table: as I did, so hath God requited me.' And
they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died there.
And Yahweh was with Judah, and he gained posses­sion of the hill-country; for he was not able to
dispossess the inhabitants of the Vale, because they
had chariots of iron. But the Jebusites dwelling in
Jerusalem the children of Judah could not dispossess;
and the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah in
Jerusalem, unto this day.

And they gave Hebron to Caleb, as Moses had
bidden: and he dispossessed from thence the three
sons of Anak, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai.
And he went up thence against the inhabitants of
Debir. (Now the name of Debir formerly was
Kiriath-sepher.) And Caleb said, 'He that smiteth
Kiriath-sepher, and taketh it, I will give him Achsah
my daughter as wife.' And Othniel, the son of
Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it: and he gave
him Achsah his daughter as wife. And when she
came, he incited her to ask of her father a field: and
she lighted down from off the ass; and Caleb said
to her, 'What wouldest thou?' And she said to him,
'Give me a present; for thou hast set me in the land
of the Negeb; so give me springs of water.' And
Caleb gave her the upper spring and the lower spring.

And Hobab the Kenite, the father-in-law of Moses,
went up from the City of Palms with the children
of Judah into the wilderness of Judah which is in
the Negeb of 'Arad; and he went and dwelt with
the Amalekites. And the border of the Edomites
was from the ascent of 'Arad, from the Crag
and upwards.

And Judah went with Sime'on his brother, and
smote the Canaanites who inhabited Sephath, and
devoted it to destruction. And the name of the city
was called Hormah.

And the house of Joseph also went up to 'Ai: and
Joshua was with them. . . . And the house of
Joseph made a reconnaissance at Bethel. (Now the

b—Bu. 'And to Caleb, the son of Kenaz, there was given an inheritance
among the children of Judah, namely Hebron.'
c—Bu. 'at the descent of 'Arad,'
d—d Bu. 'to Petra and beyond.'

e Here Bu. is probably right in supposing that the document originally related
the conquest of 'Ai, as in Josh. 8.
name of the city formerly was Luz.) And the watchers saw a man coming out of the city, and they laid hold on him, and said to him, 'Show us, we pray thee, the way to enter the city, and we will deal kindly with thee.' So he showed them the way to enter the city, and they smote the city at the edge of the sword; but the man and all his clan they let go.

And the man went to the land of the Hittites, and built a city, and called its name Luz; that is its name unto this day.

And the Angel of Yahweh went up from Gilgal unto Bethel: and they sacrificed there to Yahweh.

And Manasseh could not dispossess Beth-she'an and its dependencies, and Ta'anach and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Ible'am and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Dor and its dependencies; but the Canaanites persisted in dwelling in this land.

And when Israel was waxen strong, they impressed the Canaanites for labour-gangs, and did not dispossess them at all.

And Ephraim did not dispossess the Canaanites who dwelt in Gezer: but the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of Ephraim unto this day, and became toiling labour-gangs.

Josh. 17

And the house of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, 'Why hast thou given me but one lot and one territory for an inheritance, seeing that I am

f Not adopted by Bu. The passage is supplied from $E$: cf. note ad loc.

g This is placed by Bu. at the close of the narrative, after mention of the settlement of the other tribes.

h Bu. follows the order of $H$. For the reasons for the transposition, cf. note ad loc.

The fact that Josh. 17:14-18 was originally derived from the J narrative is clearly shown by the phraseology: cf. Bu. RS. p. 32. That the subject in v. should be 'the house of Joseph' and not 'the children of Joseph' appears from v. 17 and from the singulars 'to me,' 'and I,' etc., in v. 14 and elsewhere. It is impossible, however, to derive any consistent sense from the section as it stands in $H$. The house of Joseph complain that they have only received one lot, which is insufficient for their numbers, the extent of this lot being further diminished owing to the fact that part of it falls in the vale, where the Canaanites are too strong to be ousted by them owing to their possession of iron chariots (cf. Judg. 11:9, 49). Joshua, in acknowledging the justice of their protest, recommends them to 'go up' into the forest and cut down for themselves (v. 15), this forest being further described as 'hill-country' in v. 18. That the reference, however, cannot be to any part of the hill-country west of Jordan appears to be clear. The situation presupposed is that the west Jordan
Josh. 17:16

a great people, forasmuch as hitherto Yahweh hath blessed me? The hill-country doth not suffice for me: and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the vale have chariots of iron, both they that are in Beth-she'an and its dependencies, and they that are in the vale of Jezreel.' And Joshua said unto the house of Joseph, 'Thou art a great people, and hast great power: thou shalt not have one lot only. For the hill-country of Gilead shall be thine: get thee up into the forest and cut down for thyself there; since the hill-country of Ephraim is too narrow for thee.'

Then Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorites that were country has already been allotted among the tribes, and the house of Joseph have not found the difficulties of gaining a footing in the portion of hill-country (in contrast to the vale) allotted to them to be insuperable. Thus Bu suggests, with great plausibility, that the hill-country which Joshua invites them to conquer is the hill-country of Gilead, which is appropriately described as יער forest or jungle-land: cf. 2 Sam. 18:6.17. As the result of Joshua's suggestion there follows the conquest of districts in Gilead by different clans of Manasseh, as described in the passages from Num. given above, which may plausibly be taken as the continuation of our narrative. If Bu's view of the situation be correct, 'Gilead' in Josh. 17:16 may be supposed to have been excised by the priestly redactor of this section of Josh., to whom is due the general dislocation of the J passage in question. Marks of his hand are to be seen in the plurals v.14, 'And the children of Joseph spake' (an alteration, noticed above), v.16a, 'And the children of Joseph said' (addition necessitated by the dislocation of v.16), 'to us' (alteration of 'to me'), in the explanatory 'to Ephraim and to Manasseh,' v.17, and in the P phrase 'its goings out,' v.18b. The main part of this final verse, with its five times repeated וב and its apparent ascription of iron chariots to the Canaanites inhabiting the hill-country, appears in its present form to be due to this editor as a weak summary of his view of the situation, viz. that what is contemplated is a further extended conquest west of Jordan. The words of v.18 'in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim,' which are wanting in Ge. are probably merely a corrupt doublet of the following וב יא לא הר יא, 'since the hill-country of Ephraim is too narrow for thee.'

Bu., to whom is due the merit of this reconstruction, varies in the following details. In v.16a he retains וב 'to us' of פ, and reconstructs v.16b by the help of v.18b:—'And the Canaanites which dwell in the vale I cannot dispossess, since they are too strong for me. For they have chariots of iron, both they that are in Beth-she'an,' etc. After v.18b he adds the words of v.18a, 'and its goings out shall be thine.'
Josh. 13

13 Zebulun did not dispossess the inhabitants of Kitron, nor the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of them, and became labour-gangs.

131 Asher did not dispossess the inhabitants of Acco, nor the inhabitants of Sidon, nor Mahaleb, nor Achzib, nor Aphek, nor Rehob: but the Asherites dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites inhabiting the land; for they did not dispossess them.

133 Naphtali did not dispossess the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh, nor the inhabitants of Beth-anath; but they dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites inhabiting the land; and the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath became labour-gangs for them.

134 And the Canaanites pressed the children of Dan into the hill-country; for they did not suffer them to come down into the vale. So the border of the children of Dan was too strait for them; and the children of Dan went up, and fought with Lesham, and took it, and smote it at the edge of the sword, and took possession of it, and dwelt therein; and they called Lesham, Dan, after the name of Dan their father. But the Canaanites pressed in dwelling in Har-heres, in Aijalon, and in Sha'albim:

Possibly the original may here have read 'the children of Manasseh.' The reading 'in the midst of Israel' (with reference to the clans of Manasseh) in the latter half of the verse is favoured by the analogy of τοῦ in Judg. 1:33 which reads, with reference to Naphtali, καὶ κατόχους Ἰσραήλ, in place of μονος simply. Cf. R.S. p. 39.

Here Bu. supposes a lacuna for the account of the settlements of Benjamin and then Issachar.

Bu. reads Ahab, and adds Helbah after Achzib, as in §.

Bu. 'Amorites,' as in §.

Reading בְּכֵל בֶּנ-יִשְׂרָאֵל, Bu., following G, reads בְּכֵל בֶּנ-יִשְׂרָאֵל 'so they made the border of their inheritance too strait for them.'
yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, and they became labour-gangs.

So Yahweh left these nations, not expelling them quickly, only on account of the generations of the children of Israel, to teach them war. And the children of Israel dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites; and they took their daughters to themselves for wives, and their own daughters they gave to their sons; and they served their gods.

2. 6–3. 6. Introduction to the History of the Judges.

This section forms the introduction to the Book of Judges as it left the hand of the main editor (R²): cf. Introd. p. xxxv. That it is not homogeneous is clear even from a cursory examination; but the analysis is difficult, and scholars are not agreed upon points of detail.

The narrative of the Book of Joshua is resumed in 2:6-9 by repetition of Josh. 24:28-31. The two passages are identical except for small verbal variations, and for the different order in which the verse occurs which states that the people (Josh. ‘Israel’) served Yahweh during the lifetime of Joshua and the elders who survived him (in Josh. 24:31 after the mention of Joshua’s death, in Judg. 2:7 before it). Critics are agreed in assigning this section to E, with the exception of Judg. 2:7 = Josh. 24:31, which is regarded as editorial. That this verse should belong to E is demanded, however, by the E narrative in Josh. 24:10-14: cf. especially vv. 18b, 21, 22, 24. If, according to E, the people, in response to Joshua’s last appeal, pledged themselves to serve Yahweh, the narrative of E (upon the assumption that it went on to relate the history of the Judges: cf. Introd. p. xxxviii) must have stated that this promise was carried out up to a certain point. Such a statement is found in Judg. 2:7.

The same conclusion as to the origin of this verse appears to be demanded by what follows. Judg. 2:10, which forms the natural continuation of v.9 in the E narrative, certainly presupposes v.7: cf. especially v.7, ‘who had seen (Josh. ‘known’) all the great work of Yahweh which he had wrought for Israel,’ with v.10, ‘who knew not Yahweh nor yet the work which he had wrought for Israel.’ To assign v.10 as well as v.7 to the main editor (whether we call him R, or, according to our theory, R²) seems to be forbidden by the fact that v.10 is a necessary link in the introduction to E’s narrative of the Judges, which, as appears below, can be traced in the verses which follow, and which may be expected to read continuously, since there is no reason to suppose that R² felt the need of excising any portion of it. Moreover, if v.7 be editorial and not part of E, it is not clear

* Bu. adds ‘against the Amorites.’

* Here Bu. adds the list of nations given in 3:3, which we assign to RD.
how it came to be incorporated both in Josh. and Judg.; for in each case the editor was presumably drawing directly from the pre-Deuteronomic work of R\(^{16}\).*

The small variations between the two recensions of these verses may be dismissed in a few words. It is clear from the narrative of Josh. 24 that \(v.28\) was originally intended by E to round off and conclude the account of Joshua’s last words which precedes; and for this purpose the statement that ‘Joshua’ dismissed the people every man to his inheritance,’ is obviously sufficient. In Judg. 2\(^6\), however, this sentence, which concludes a section of E, is taken by R\(^{32}\) to introduce what he has to narrate about the events which followed the settlement. It may be assumed, therefore, that the expanded form of \(v.6b\) represents an adaptation due to R\(^{32}\). The disappearance from \(v.8\) of the E phrase, ‘and it came to pass after these things,’ which occurs in the corresponding \(v.29\) of Josh. 24, is of course due to the fact that the ‘things’ referred to have no place in Judg. If Judg. 2\(^10\) be rightly regarded as forming part of E, it follows that 2\(^7\) is in its original position with regard to its context, since the connexion between 2\(^10\) and 2\(^9\) cannot be broken. The position of Josh. 24\(^31\) must therefore have been altered by the redactor.†

In the verses which follow, a difference in the point of view is evident. In \(vv.11-19\) Israel’s punishment for idolatry is that they are delivered into the hands of the surrounding nations; as we find, in fact, to be the case in the narrative of the Judges which follows. In \(vv.20-21\), however, the punishment consists in Yahweh’s refusal to interpose any further in order ‘to dispossess any from before them of the nations which Joshua left when he died’; obviously meaning the races still remaining within the land after the settlement of the tribes and their merely partial conquest. This aspect, then, of Yahweh’s relation to Israel is not strictly apposite to what follows in Judg., in so far as it cannot have been specially framed in order to introduce the events which follow in the book; these events, as we have noticed above, serving rather to illustrate the former point of view.

Moreover, the purpose for which the nations still remaining after Joshua’s death are here stated to have been left by Yahweh is not that of 2\(^11-19\), where the surrounding nations are employed in order to punish idolatrous Israel. It is stated in 2\(^28\), 3\(^14\) to be ‘in order

* The only solution, upon the assumption of the Deuteronomic origin of the verse, would seem to be that it may have been inserted in Josh. by a later hand in order to make Josh. 24\(^28-31\) square exactly with Judg. 2\(^6-9\). The converse process (insertion from Josh. into Judg.) is excluded by the facts noticed above.

† In \(28\) of Josh. the verse stands in the same position as in Judg.
to prove Israel by them. The method of 'proof,' however, is explained in two different ways. In 2:10, 3:4 it is a religious probation—to test the adhesion of Israel to Yahweh's precepts ('the ways or commands of Yahweh'); but in 3:1, 2 it is explained simply as directed towards keeping the successive generations of the children of Israel exercised in the use of arms, and is therefore, it may be inferred, devoid of any strictly religious purpose. These remaining nations, again, which form Yahweh's instrument of probation, appear, as mentioned in 3:3, to be (with the exception of 'all the Canaanites') surrounding nations, inconsistently with 2:20-23, but in accordance with 2:11-19, where it is these nations that form Yahweh's instrument of punishment. Once more, 3:6 harks back to the point of view of 2:20-23, and it is the races within Canaan with whom the writer is concerned.

Looking once more at 2:11-19, the existence in these verses of a duplication of statement can hardly escape notice. Thus v.13 repeats v.12, and vv.15-16 are in substance the same as vv.16-17. If, however, we remove one set of duplicates, viz. vv.12, 15-16, it will be found that the remainder, with the exception of vv.14b, 15, is nearly identical in wording with the pragmatic framework of the book as seen in the introductions to the histories of the various judges. The closeness of the parallel may best be seen by a comparison with 3:7-9:

2:11 And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight
3:7a And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight
2:12 of Yahweh, and they forsook Yahweh and served the
3:7b of Yahweh, and they forgat Yahweh their God, and served the
2:14a Ba'als and the 'Ashtarts. And the anger of Yahweh was
3:8 Ba'als and the 'Ashtarts. And the anger of Yahweh was
2:14a kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the hand
3:8 kindled against Israel,
2:14a of spoilers and they spoiled them, and he sold them into
3:8 and he sold them into
2:14a the hand of their enemies round about.
3:8 the hand of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim: and

3:8 the children of Israel served Cushan-rishathaim eight years.
2:16 <And the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh,> and Yahweh
3:9 And the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh, and Yahweh
2:16 raised up judges,
3:9 raised up a saviour for the children of Israel, and he saved
2:16 them from the hand of their spoilers.
3:9 them . . .

This framework is due to the main editor, who appears (as has
been argued in the *Introd.* pp. xli ff.) to have been a representative of the later school of E.

The words in 2:14a.10, which find no parallel in 3:9 ('and he delivered them into the hand of the spoilers and they spoiled them'; 'from the hand of their spoilers'), may be by a later hand (D^2; cf. 2 Kgs. 17:20); but it is more likely that they belong to R^3, who in referring to Israel's enemies generally at the commencement of his history, may be expected to use some emphasis and even repetition (2:14a). The clause missing in P, 'And the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh,' seems necessary to complete the nexus, and has been supplied in accordance with 3:9-15, 4:3, 6:6, 10:10.

The verses, however, which appear not to have originally formed part of this writer's scheme, viz. vv. 13-18, are just the verses which exhibit very markedly the phraseology of Deuteronomy*; and we can hardly err therefore in regarding them as additions made in later times by a member of the Deuteronomic school (D^2).

2:20-3:5 is very difficult to analyse with any certainty. If, as seems probable, E's narrative in 2:6-10 is continued by v. 13 (notice E's expression 'the Ba'als and the 'Ashtarts'), vv. 20-21 form the appropriate sequence. Notice the opening phrase, 'So the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel,' which has formed the text of the editorial expansion of R^3 in vv. 14a.16.17.

Of the two methods of probation noticed above, that which consists in religious proving (3:4) may be regarded as due to E (7153 in this sense is characteristic: cf. CH.J 192 a). The somewhat awkwardly inserted interpolation 2:22, which also refers to this religious probation, is marked by its phraseology as Deuteronomic. The alternative method of probation ('to teach them war,' 3:2a) as devoid of religious purpose, may be judged to be older than the other, and is therefore probably to be assigned to J. This seems to connect on to 2:23; which may very well be the sequel to the J narrative in 1:1-2:5, which gives a detailed account of the foreign races within Palestine which the different tribes were unable to expel. Notice the expression 'these nations,' clearly referring to nations just previously mentioned. The immediate sequel to 3:2a is 3:5-6, which relates how Israel settled down among the Canaanites, intermarrying with them and adopting their religious practices ('Canaanites,' J's general term for the inhabitants of Palestine: cf. 1:3 note. Notice also the J phrase 'dwelt in the midst of'). 2:2b (back-reference to 2:1b), and 3:5 (list of races) exhibit the hand of the redactor of J and E.

The summary of nations 'which Yahweh left to prove Israel by them,' 3:1a.3, must be due to D^2: cf. the similar Deuteronomic summary in Josh. 13:2ff. Finally, the awkwardly placed explanatory glosses in 3:1b.2b seem to be due to the latest hand of all (R^7).

* Cf. especially the phrases 'go after other gods,' vv. 12, 19, 'vex Yahweh,' v. 12, 'as Yahweh had spoken and as Yahweh had sworn to them,' v. 18a; cf. CH.0 85, 91, 107b; phrases of R^5 in Kings in *DB.* ii. pp. 860 f., nos. 32, 39.
6. So Joshua dismissed the people, and the children of Israel went every man to his inheritance to possess the land. 7. And the people served Yahweh all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great work of Yahweh which he had wrought for Israel. 8. And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Yahweh, died, aged one hundred and ten years. 9. And they buried him within the boundary of his inheritance, in Timnath-HERÉŠ, in the hill-country of Ephraim, on the north of mount

6. dismissed the people. From Shechem; where, according to Josh. 24:1-28, they had been assembled by Joshua to receive his final charge.

7. the elders. The sheikhs of the various tribal clans who were the representatives of permanent official authority in matters social and religious. They appear from the earliest times, both in J (Ex. 3:16-18, 12:21) and E (Ex. 17:6, 18:12, 19:7, 24:19,16). The phrase 'prolonged days after.' Upon the use of the phrase in this passage, cf. footnote, p. 53.

who had seen, etc. || Josh. 24:31 'who had known, etc.' So in our passage ἔφωσαν, ἔφωσαν, 'noverant.' The expression 'all the great work of Yahweh' probably includes (as Mo. notices) not merely the conquest of Canaan, but also the wonderful events of the Exodus and wilderness-wanderings. Cf. Deut. 11:7, where the same phrase is employed with regard to these latter.

8. the servant of Yahweh. This title, which is only applied to Joshua here and in || Josh. 24:30, is very frequently used with reference to Moses: so in Deut. 34:5, Josh. 1:1 (both E), Josh. 1:13,15, 8:31,33, 11:12, 12:6, 13:6, 14:7, 18:7, 22:4.6 (all R), 2 Kgs. 18:12 (R), 2 Chr. 1:3, 24:6 (cf. 'servant of God,' 2 Chr. 24:9, Neh. 10:29, Neh. 10:29, Dan. 9:11). It is applied to David in the headings of Pss. 18 and 36, and to the nation of Israel in Isa. 42:9. Similarly, 'my servant' or 'my servants' (in Yahweh's mouth), 'his servants' are employed as a description of the outstanding figures of Israel's history, especially the prophets, and the idealized representative of Israel in Isa. 40 ff.; the idea embodied being that of vocation to a special mission: cf. the editor's Outlines of O. T. Theology, pp. 112 ff.


The site of this city is uncertain. Christian tradition, as represented by Eusebius and Jerome, identifies it with the Timnah of Gen. 38:13 (OS. 261, Θαυμα), i.e. the modern Tibneh, ten miles north-west of Bethel. About three miles to the east of Tibneh is Kefr ISÁrain,
And also all that generation were gathered unto their fathers; and there arose another generation after them who knew not Yahweh, nor yet the work which he had wrought for Israel.

And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and forsook Yahweh the God of their fathers, who had brought them out of the land of Egypt; and they went after other gods, of the gods of the peoples who were round about them, and bowed themselves down to them; and they vexed Yahweh.

And they forsook Yahweh, and i.e. 'Joshua's village.' Samaritan tradition, however, claims as the site the modern Kefer Hā'īrīs, some nine miles south-south-west of Nāblus, which is said to have been the burial-place of both Joshua and Caleb. Cf. Buhl, Geogr. p. 170.

Mount Ga'ash. The site is unknown. 'The wādys of Ga'ash' are mentioned in 2 Sam. 23:30 = 1 Chr. 11:52; and these Buhl conjectures to be the valleys close to Tibneh on the west: Geogr. p. 101.

were gathered unto their fathers. Elsewhere the expression used (in every case in P) is 'gathered unto his kindred' (יִשְׂרְאֵל); so Gen. 25:17, 35:29, 49:33, Num. 20:24, Deut. 32:60; cf. Num. 27:13, 31:2.

At the end of the verse, (with the Versions) adds 'and they served the Ba'als,' a statement which is redundant by the side of v. 12, and probably represents an early accidental repetition.

went after ... round about them. A reminiscence of Deut. 6:14.

The title Ba'ăl signifies 'owner' or 'possessor,' and was applied by the Western Semites to a deity as owner of a special sphere of influence, whether in the heavens, e.g. Ba'āl-zebub, 'owner of the (heavenly) mansion' (cf. 1 Kings note), and, among the Phoenicians and Aramaeans, Ba'āl-shamēm, 'owner of the heavens'; or of a special locality or city where his worship was practised, e.g. Ba'āl-Ḥermon, and Phoenician Ba'āl-Ṣidon, Ba'āl-Libanon, etc.; or of a special property, e.g. Ba'āl-berith, 'owner of a covenant' worshipped at Shechem, ch. 8:33, 9:4; Ba'āl-Gad, the name of a locality where the Ba'āl was worshipped as the god of fortune, Josh. 11:17, 12:7, 13:6. The plur. 'the Ba'āls' refers to the different local Ba'āls among the Canaanites. Upon the use of the title as applied to Yahweh in early times, cf. the present editor's Outlines of O. T. Theology, pp. 27 ff.

* Mo. emends 'served the Ba'āls, etc.,' into 'burned incense (קְטָר) to the Ba'āls, etc.,' on the ground that וַעֲבֹר is unexampled.' But, as Bu. rightly remarks, even if the occurrence of the verb with this constr. in Jer. 44:3 be regarded as a gloss (as by Mo.), the constr. is found twice over in 1 Sam. 4:9 (probably E):}
served the Ba'als and the 'Ashtarts. 14. So the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel, and he gave them into the hand of spoilers, and they spoiled them, and he sold them into the hand of their enemies round about, and they were not

Ba'al being thus not the proper name of a deity, but a title applied to many local Canaanite deities, it is impossible to define any special characteristic which may have been common to all. We can only infer from such passages as Hos. 2 5.8.12 (7.10.14) that the Ba'als were commonly regarded as the givers of agricultural fertility, and were therefore worshipped in a round of agricultural festivals: cf. ch. 9. This view is confirmed by the common connexion of the Ba'als with the 'Ashtarts, on which see note following.

The local forms of the goddess 'Ashtart. The vocalization 'Ashtoreth, which meets us everywhere in א, is an intentional alteration made by the introduction of the vowels of בּשֶת, 'shame' or 'shameful thing,' in order to indicate that this word is to be substituted in reading. א, however, always renders אָשָׁר, which doubtless nearly preserves the true pronunciation.* The same substitution of the vowels of בּשֶת has been made in Molech for Melech, 'king;' the god in whose worship the Israelites made their children to pass through the fire; and the word בּשֶת is substituted for Ba'al in Hos. 9, Jer. 3 24, 11 13, and in the proper names Ishbosheth, Mephibosheth, Jerubbesheth: cf. note on 'Jerubbaba'al, ch. 6.

There can be no doubt that a principal (if not the principal) conception embodied in the Canaanite 'Ashtart was that of the mother-goddess, to whom was due the fecundity of nature. This may be inferred from the expression אשתרות שונק'ה, i.e. either the 'breeding ewes' or 'the offspring of thy flock,' Deut. 7 13, 28 4.18.51; and also from the special characteristics of the numerous small figurines, apparently of this goddess, which have been unearthed in the excavation of city-sites in Palestine: cf. Driver, Schweich Lectures, pp. 56 ff.; Vincent, Canaan, ch. iii.; TB. ii. pp. 81 ff. Whether the קֶדֶשִׁים and קֶדֶשִׁית, i.e. the temple-prostitutes of both sexes belonging to the Canaanite religion, were specially devoted to the service of 'Ashtart is not certain. The Bab. Istar, however, had her female prostitutes, who bore the title קדש伊斯兰 or חַיִּיתוּ: cf. KAT. p. 423.

Old Testament writers seem to regard 'Ashtart as specially a Phoenician deity: so 1 Kgs. 11 33, 'Ashtart the goddess of the Sidonians': cf. 2 Kgs. 23 10. Her worship was, however, very widely diffused among the Semites. She is the Bab. Istar, the one goddess

* An original 'Ashtart may have come to be pronounced 'Ashtarath or 'Ashtreth. בּשֶת for בּשֶתךְתָא בֶּהֶשֶתָא for בּשֶתךְתָא Beth-'Eshtera in Josh. probably preserves one original form of the name.
able any more to stand before their enemies. 15. Whithersoever they went out the hand of Yahweh was against them for evil, as Yahweh had spoken, and as Yahweh had sworn to them; and they were in sore straits. 16. R\textsuperscript{E2} \langle And the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh, \rangle and Yahweh raised up judges, and they saved who holds her position as it were in her own right, and not merely as the somewhat shadowy consort of a god. Different localities in Babylonia were famous for the worship of Ištar, who thus appeared, under various localized forms, as the Ištar of Eresh, of Nineveh, of Arbela, etc. The principal aspects under which she was regarded were as the goddess of war (she is spoken of as bēlit taḫāši, 'mistress of battle,' and her chief epithet is karittu, 'warrior'; see references in Muss Arnolt's \textit{Dict.}, and, for a representation of the goddess under this aspect, \textit{TB.} ii. p. 80) and goddess of love or mother-goddess (cf. Hero-dotus' statement (i. 131. 199) that the Assyrians called her Muḫḫettu, i.e. muallīdat, 'she who causes to bear'). This latter aspect of the Canaanite 'Ashtart we have already noticed: of the existence of the former in Canaan we have no evidence; though it may be noticed that the Philistines, after their victory over Israel and the death of Saul, hung Saul's armour in the temple of 'Ashtar (1 Sam. 31\textsuperscript{10}).

The plur. ištarāti came to be used in Babylonian in the general sense 'goddesses' (a point of resemblance to the Heb. plur. 'Aštarōth); and even the sing. Ištar is sometimes employed to denote 'goddess;' alongside of ilu, 'god,' especially in the penitential psalms: cf. ilšu u ištarū zēnā iltīšu, 'his god and his goddess are angry with him': Muss Arnolt, s.v. ištaru.

The same deity is seen in the Sabaeans 'Athtar, the Aram. 'Attar, and in the Moabite compound form 'Ashtar-Chemosh. With regard to 'Athtar, Barton (\textit{Semitic Origins}, pp. 123 ff.) has made out a plausible case in proof that the mother-goddess came to be transformed into a male deity; but his argument that the same phenomenon is to be observed in the Moabite deity (only mentioned once in Meshā’s inscription, l. 17) is not equally convincing: cf. \textit{op. cit.} pp. 141 ff.

15. \textit{Whithersoever they went forth.} Sc. to battle. So Le Clerc 'quamcumque expeditionem aggreridentur'; Mo. 'in every campaign,' and similarly Stu., Bach., Bu., La. For \textit{RS} 'go forth' in this military sense, cf. ch. 5\textsuperscript{4}, 2 Kgs. 18\textsuperscript{7}, Deut. 28\textsuperscript{26}.

\textit{as Yahweh had spoken, etc.} Cf. Deut. 28\textsuperscript{26}, and, generally, the whole tenour of that chapter.

16. \textit{And the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh.} This clause is not found in ר or Verss., but forms elsewhere a regular element in the pragmatic scheme of R\textsuperscript{E2}, and can scarcely be dispensed with in the present connexion. Cf. \textit{introd.} to the section.

\textit{judges.} The two verbs šāphat 'judge,' and hōšîa 'save,' are used interchangeably by R\textsuperscript{E2} with reference to Israel's deliverers.
them from the hand of their spoilers. 17. But even unto their judges did they not hearken; for they went a whoring after other gods, and bowed themselves down to them: they turned aside quickly from the way wherein their fathers had walked, obeying the commandment of Yahweh: they did not do so. 18. And when Yahweh had raised up judges for them, Yahweh would be with the judge, and would save them from the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge: for Yahweh would be moved to pity because of their groaning by reason of them that crushed and oppressed them. 19. But when the judge died they would turn back, and deal more corruptly than their fathers, in going after other gods to serve them and to bow themselves down to them: they did not let fall any of their practices or of their stubborn way. 20. So the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel, and he said, 'Because this nation have transgressed my covenant which I commanded their fathers, and have not hearkened to my voice, 21. I also will no more expel any from before them of the nations which Joshua left when he died':

and they saved them. Possibly original (so La.); cf. v. 18, where Yahweh is similarly subject of the verb.

17. went a whoring. A frequent metaphor for intercourse with other deities and unfaithfulness to Yahweh. So again in ch. 827,32, they turned aside quickly, etc. For the phrase, cf. Ex. 32 (E?), Deut. 918.18.

18. would be with, etc. The verbal sequence in the Heb., in this and the following verse, describes what happened on repeated occasions.

would be moved to pity. R.V. 'for it repented the Lord' does not adequately express the sense of the verb. Cf. the use of the same verb (חַלָּה) in ch. 216,16, Jer. 156, Ps. 9013.

20. have transgressed my covenant. I.e. the divine constitution given to Israel by Yahweh at Horeb or Sinai, upon the basis of which (i.e. upon condition of the faithful performance by Israel of the ordinances of the constitution) Yahweh undertook to make Israel his peculiar people. The two sides of the covenant are tersely summarized in Deut. 2617-19.

21. left when he died. Lit. 'left and died.' The Heb. constr. is very peculiar. כָּל, in place of יִהְיוּ 'and died,' reads אִנָּי תְאַנְּיָה כָּל דְּפַקְּרֵנָו (in connexion with the verse following תַּנְּוֶיְהָא קַנְּלַ). Here אִנָּי תְאַנְּיָה is most likely only an insertion explanatory of the
22. D$^2$ in order to prove Israel by them, whether they would keep the way of Yahweh to walk 'therein', as their fathers kept it, or not. 23. J So Yahweh left these nations, not expelling them quickly, R$^{18}$ and did not give them into the hand of Joshua'.

3. 1. D$^2$ Now these are the nations which Yahweh left to prove Israel by them, R$^v$ even all who had not experienced all the wars of Canaan; 2. J only on account of [ ] the generations of the preceding κατολίστησιν : but καὶ ἀφάγησεν ὡς, i.e. the opening word of v. 23 'and [Yahweh] left,' which must have stood in immediate connexion with v. 21 before D$^2$'s insertion (v. 23) was made. It is possible, therefore, that D$^2$ took up this word to introduce his insertion (meaning perhaps to write ἀποκαταστήσεται), and explained 'So he left them in order to prove Israel,' etc. This may then be supposed to have become subsequently corrupted into νῦν ἐπὶ. Such a repetition by an editor of the words of the older source as the text of his expansive comment is seen in R$^{18}$: 'So the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel'; a statement which introduces νν. 14, 16, 17 prior to the occurrence of the same phrase in v. 20 E.

La. emends הָעְפֹד for הָעְפֹד, and connects the verb closely with the preceding sentence: 'que Josué a laisse subsister “en repos”'; but this is scarcely possible.

22. therein. Reading sing. נָב with some MSS. and G, L, F, S, in place of נָב plur. נָבָי. 3, 2. on account of the generations, etc. I.e. the generations successive to the one which had been responsible for gaining the first footing in Canaan; as is explained by R$^v$'s gloss, 'such namely as formerly knew nothing thereof.' The text adopted is that of G, פִּיי יִשְׂרָאֵל תֹּסָא יְהֹוָה: יִשְׂרָאֵל שֵׁת לְאָכָל, and this can only be rendered with S$^v$, T, R.V., 'only that the generations of the children of Israel might know'; what they were to know being left to be understood inferentially from the context, viz., the art of war, as the following sentence states. But the constr. 'that they might know (sc. war) to teach them war' is impossibly harsh, and the fact that יִנְצֹר 'to know' is omitted by G points to its being merely an erroneous dittography of יִנְצֹר 'generations' (so Oort, No., Kit., Ehr.).

Mo. (and so Bu.) would prefer to read יִנְצֹר instead of יִנְצֹר, and to regard לְאָכָל as a gloss on the former word, thus obtaining the text נָבָיָה יִנְצֹר יִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעָלָה יִנְצֹר 'merely in order that the children of Israel might have experience of war.' This of course
children of Israel, to teach them war, R\* such namely as formerly knew nothing thereof:—3. D\* the five lords of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians, and the Hittites\* dwelling in mount Lebanon, from mount Baal-Hermon unto the

simplifies the passage, and says all that is required to convey the writer's meaning; but it may be doubted whether we are justified in so far altering the text against the evidence of \&\& which gives us a quite comprehensible construction.

knew nothing thereof. Lit. 'had not known them.' The 'them' refers to R\*’s previous 'all the wars of Canaan' in v. 1; and he uses the plur., regardless of the fact that the sing. 'war' intervenes in the old source (v. 2a).

3. the five lords of the Philistines. The rulers of the five principal Philistine cities are always distinguished by the title šeren—a title never used in any other connexion. The word is not, so far as we know, susceptible of a Semitic derivation; the old view (cf. Ges. Thes.) that it is the same as the Heb. šeren, 'axle' of a wheel (1 Kgs. 7:30, and in the cognate languages), and that the princes are so called as being, as it were, the axles or pivots of the state, being both unlikely in itself, and also (presumably) precluded by the fact that we do not find the title used elsewhere among the Hebrews or other Semitic peoples.

This being so, it is likely that the title may be of native Philistine origin. S\* לארשי, \& ירא render τοπαννος, and it is thus a plausible conjecture that šeren is simply τοπαννος reproduced in a Hebraized form. \& renders σαρπάνα, σαρπανεία, ἀρχόντες (most usual in \&\&), and στραγγοί (once); \E, satrapae, reguli, principes.

Upon the Philistines and their origin, cf. Introd. xxic ff.

the Hittites dwelling in mount Lebanon. \N and all Verss. 'the Hivvites.' In Josh. 11:3 we find mention of 'the Hivvites under Hermon in the land of Mispah.' In this latter passage \&\& reads 'Hittites,' making the opposite change (Hivvites for Hittites) in the list of races dwelling in the central hill-country of Palestine which immediately precedes. In other passages in which the Hivvites are mentioned in such a way that they can be more or less definitely localized, they appear as inhabitants of Central Palestine: so in Gen. 34:2 (P) the term is used of the Shechemites, and in Josh. 9:7 (J) of the Gib'eonites. Thus, in both passages where Hivvites are mentioned in \N as dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lebanon and Hermon,\* modern scholars take the view that the true reading should be Hittites (בְּיוֹת may easily have been confused with יונה; cf. \&\&

\* 'The land of Mispah' in Josh. 11:3 seems to be the same as 'the valley (Heb. הִרַּד) of Mispah' in v. 8; i.e. probably the southern portion of the great plain between the two Lebanons now called el-Bukā’ in Ar.: cf. Warren in DB. iii. p. 402.
3. 5.] THE BOOK OF JUDGES

entry of Hamath. 4. E And they served to prove Israel by them, to know whether they would hearken to the commandment of Yahweh, which he commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses. 5. J And the children of Israel dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites, to the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivvites, and the Jebusites. 6. J And they took their daughters to themselves for wives, and their own daughters they gave to their sons; and they served their gods.

in Josh. 115). The Hittite principalities extended as far south as Kadesh in the neighbourhood of the Anti-Lebanon (cf. Introd. p. xcix); and it is likely that Hittite clans may have penetrated into the Lebanon-district, which is ideally reckoned as part of the promised land.

from mount Baal-Hermon . . . Hamath. The northern extremity of Israel's inheritance, which still remained unconquered after the campaigns of Joshua, is described in Josh. 136 (RD) as 'all Lebanon eastward [sc. of the land of the Gebalites], from Baal-Gad under mount Hermon unto the entry of Hamath.' Josh. 1117, 127 (RD) mentions Baal-Gad as the extreme northern limit of the territory subdued by Joshua. Here Baal-Gad is probably the same as Baal-Hermon, and this is supposed to be the modern Banyas (Greek Panaes, O.S., 21740; in N. T., Caesarea Philippi), a grotto near the sources of the Jordan where the ancient worship of Gad was superseded in later times by the worship of Pan; cf. Rob. BR.3 ii. pp. 409 ff. Hamath, frequently mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as Amattu or Hammatu, is the modern Hamah, situated on the Orontes about 115 miles north of Damascus. 'The entry of Hamath' is mentioned several times as the ideal northern limit of the kingdom of Israel (Num. 1321, 348; Josh. 136, 1 Kgs. 865 = 2 Chr. 78, 2 Kgs. 1426, 1 Chr. 135, Am. 614, Ezek. 4720, 481); probably because it represented the actual northern limit of the kingdom as Solomon inherited it after the conquests of David (1 Kgs. 865), and as it was regained in later times through the victories of Jeroboam II. (2 Kgs. 1425). It is doubtless (as Rob. BR.3 iii. p. 568, points out) the northern extremity of the pass between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges. The descriptions here and in Josh. 136 are obviously intended to cover all the Lebanon-district from south to north. Cf. Introd. p. xcix, footnote 4.

5. the Canaanites, etc. To the term 'Canaanites' used by J as a general designation of the inhabitants of Canaan (cf. 13 note) RJK adds the catalogue of races which, when complete, enumerates the 'seven nations' of Canaan: cf. Deut. 71, Josh. 310, 2411.* Here the Girgashites are missing. On the races mentioned, cf. references in Index.

* Driver, on Deut. 71 (ICC.), gives a conspectus of all the passages in which the enumeration occurs, noticing the order and omissions.
This narrative exhibits throughout the characteristic phraseology of R's pragmatic scheme. Indeed, R appears to have possessed no further information than the names of the oppressor and deliverer, and the length of the periods of oppression and subsequent peace. The name Cushan-rish'athaim, signifying 'Cushan of double wickedness,' or, as we might say, 'the double-dyed barbarian,' excites suspicion; and, if genuine, can scarcely be preserved in its original form. The subjugation of Canaan by a kingdom so remote as that of Mesopotamia might have been expected to have left further traces than we here possess: and it is strange that the deliverer from this foe from the north-east should have been found in a Kenizzite from the extreme south; a member of a clan whose connexion with the northern and central tribes of Israel appears at this time to have been of the slightest (cf. pp. 44 ff.). Hence many critics have supposed that the editor was altogether without authentic information, and, in order to fill up a blank in his scheme of history, chose the name of Othniel, which had the advantage of being well known, and, at the same time, of giving a Judge to Judah. Such an hypothesis does not explain the origin of Cushan-rish'athaim, a name which can scarcely be the product of mere invention.

Of the attempted explanations of this name which have been put forward, the most plausible is that suggested by Ball (ET. xxi. Jan. 1910, p. 192), who compares the Kašite name Kashsha-rishat (cf. Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names, p. 244, n.7). The Kašsites were foreign invaders of Babylonia, probably from Elam and the farther East, who founded the Third Babylonian Dynasty, which lasted from cir. B.C. 1760 to cir. 1185: cf. Introd. p. lxv. Their name appears in cuneiform as Kaššu; and there can be little doubt that this is the Heb. קַשְׁת (Kush) mentioned in Gen. 10 as the 'father' of Nimrod, whom the writer regards as the founder of civilization in Babylonia.* The name Kashsha-rishat happens, in the occurrence cited, to belong to a woman; but both elements in the name are familiar in other names, both masc. and fem. Thus the element Kash is seen in Kash-tiliash, which occurs twice among the king-names of the dynasty. Such a name would have been represented in Heb. as קֶשֶׁש or קַשִּׁש, and would thus readily have lent itself to the jesting modification which is found in מ. As Ball remarks, 'on any computation, the period of the

* The passage belongs to J; and it is probable that this writer's Kūš is unconnected with the Hamitic Kūš of P in v.6. Cf. Skinner (Genesis, ICC., p. 208), who remarks that 'it is conceivable that in consequence of so prolonged a supremacy, Kaš might have become a name for Babylonia, and that J's knowledge of its history did not extend farther back than the Kašsite dynasty. Since there is no reason to suppose that J regarded Kaš as Hamitic, it is quite possible that the name belonged to his list of Japhetic peoples.'
7. And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and forgot Yahweh their God, and served the Ba’als, and the ¶ Ashtarts.

8. And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Cushan-rish’athaim, king of Aram-naharaim: and the children of Judges, that is to say, the period of the settlement of Israel in Canaan, falls within that of the Cassite or “Cushite” domination in Babylonia. Although nothing is known at present of any expedition westward on the part of these Babylonian Cushites, it is quite possible that the story of Cushan-rish’athaim’s oppression of Israel may preserve an indistinct memory of such an historical episode. *

The only other suggestion as to Cushan-rish’athaim which needs be noticed is that proposed by Klostermann (GVI. p. 119), who, working upon the suggestion of Grä. that Aram should be Edom (confusion of דָּרָן and בָּרָן as in 2 Sam. 8:12, 13; 2 Chr. 20:2, 2 Kgs. 16:6: in this case ‘naharaim’ must be regarded as a later gloss; notice its omission in v. 10), supposes that there may have been an Edomite king named Cushan, † and that rish’athaim may represent an original רִשְׁחָט הַת-טֶּמֶנִים, i.e. ‘chieftain of the Temanites’ (רֵרָשְׁחָט הַת-טֶּמֶנִים from רֶבֶן תֶּמֶנִים). This king, he thinks, may be identical with ‘Husham (הַשָּׁמִים) of the land of the Temanites’ mentioned in Gen. 36:34. This view is favoured by Marquart, Fundemente israelitischer und jüdischer Geschichte, p. 11; Cheyne, E.B. 969; and (as regards the emendation ‘Edom’) by La. Granted that the emendations based upon the proper name are highly precarious, it is at any rate possible that an encroachment upon southern Palestine by the Edomites may have occurred at this period; and, if so, the deliverer might naturally be found in a clan (the Kenizzites) which was allied to or incorporated with the tribe of Judah.

3. 7. the ‘Ashtarts. Reading נָחַר הַשָּׁרְתֹּת with two MSS. and E (‘the ‘Ashtarts’ are regularly mentioned elsewhere by E or R* in connexion with ‘the Ba’als’: cf. 2:12, 10:6, 1 Sam. 7:4, 12:10) in place of נָחַר הַשָּׁרְתֹּת, the ‘Asherôth.’ The plur. of ‘Ashera (on which cf. ch. 6:26 note) is usually ‘Asherim (nineteen occurrences); while ‘Asheroth is only found twice besides: 2 Chr. 19:3, 33:3.

8. Cushman-rish’athaim. See introduction to the section. A similar distortion of the name of an enemy in order to cast ridicule upon him

* In the passage cited by Ball from the T.A. Letters which appears to connect קָז with נָחַר תֶּרֶם (i.e. the Biblical Aram-naharaim), ‘as by rights belonging to the Pharaoh’s empire’ (according to Winckler’s reading in KB. v. 185, l. 35: cf. also KAT. 7, 985), the mention of קָז cannot be substantiated, since the actual reading is קָז-פָּרֶס: cf. Knudtzon, Die el-Amarna Tafeln, 288, l. 36.

† Cf. the use of Cushan as a tribal name parallel to ‘the land of Midian’ in Hab. 3:7.
Israel served Cushan-rish’athaim eight years. 9. And the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh, and Yahweh raised up a saviour for the children of Israel, and he saved them, to wit ‘Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb’s younger brother. 10. And the spirit of Yahweh came upon him, and he judged Israel; and he went forth to war, and Yahweh gave into his hand Cushan-rish’athaim, king of Aram; and his hand prevailed against Cushan-rish’athaim. 11. And the land had rest forty years. And ‘Othniel the son of Kenaz died.

is probably to be seen in the Aram. name 伝え, Isa. 7:6, properly _Tabîl, i.e. ‘El is wise’ (cf. Tabrimmon, ‘Rimmon is wise,’ I Kgs. 15:18), but vocalized by מ as Ṭab’al in order to suggest to Jewish readers the Heb. meaning ‘good for nothing.’ Other instances of a like perversion are perhaps to be seen in Zebah and Salmunna (ch. 8:6 note), and Adoni-bezek (ch. 1:5 note).

Aram-naharaim. ‘Aram of the two rivers,’ mentioned elsewhere, Gen. 24:10 (J), Deut. 23:4 (6 einz), I Chr. 19:6, Ps. 60 title. The two rivers (if the dual form be correct) are the Euphrates and possibly the Chaboras (Heb. Ḥabor, 2 Kgs. 17:6, 18:11). The land of Nahirima or Narima is repeatedly mentioned in the T.A. Letters, and the same designation is found in the Egyptian Naharin, which seems to have been used of the district both east of the Euphrates and west as far as the valley of the Orontes: cf. Müller, AE. pp. 249 ff. Possibly, as Mo. suggests, the dual form in Heb. may be a later artificiality (cf. רְחִימִים, for רְחִים), and the original form may have been a plur. נְחַרִים, ‘Aram of the rivers,’ i.e. the upper watershed of the Euphrates.* R.V. ‘Mesopotamia’ (as גִּל, F) is too wide, since this term appears to have been used by the Greeks to cover the whole vast district between the Euphrates and Tigris: cf. references cited by Mo.

9. ‘Othniel, etc. Cf. 11:12 notes.

10. And the spirit of Yahweh came upon him. The divine incentive to deeds of superhuman valour. The same expression is used of Jephthaḥ in ch. 11:29, and, with emphatic and pictorial description of the force of the divine access, of Gideon, 6:34 (it ‘clothed itself in him’), and Samson, 13:25 (it ‘began to impel or smite him’), 14:6, 10, 15:14 (it ‘rushed upon him’: the same verb 살ָה is used of the rapid onslaught of fire in Am. 5:6).

 judged Israel. Avenged and vindicated them, as the verse goes on to relate.


* The reason adduced by Mo. (followed by Cooke), viz. that there is no trace of a dual form in the Egyptian Naharîn, is based on the argument of W. M. Müller, AE. pp. 252 f. In EB. 287, however, the same authority states that the form might equally well be read as Naharîn, i.e. a dual form.

An ancient narrative is introduced by Re 2 in vv. 12-15a, in which we find the editor's characteristic phraseology combined with material derived from his source. Re 2 also closes the narrative in his usual manner in v. 30. That the old narrative is not a unity, but combines elements derived from two sources, was first recognized by Winckler (Alttest. Untersuchungen, pp. 55 ff.); and this view is also taken by Mo., Bu. (Comm.), No. The most striking evidence for this is found in vv. 18-20. In v. 10b, Eglon is surrounded by his retinue, and Ehud manages to gain a private interview by stating that he has a secret communication (ךל וּרְבִּגְוָי) to make to the king, thus securing the dismissal of the bystanders. In v. 20, however, Ehud comes in unto him (תִּשְׁנָה), apparently from outside, and finds him sitting alone in his roof-chamber; whereupon he announces that he is the bearer of a divine communication (ךל וּרְבִּי). Having noticed this indication of a double narrative, we can scarcely fail to observe that v. 19b interrupts the connexion between v. 18 and v. 10b. Clearly Ehud, after dismissing his own retinue (v. 18), at once takes steps to secure a private audience (v. 10b). If v. 10a were really part of this narrative, we should expect v. 10b to be introduced by the statement that he re-entered the king's presence. As the narrative stands, the sequence is somewhat abrupt. The natural sequence to v. 10a is v. 20. This, when directly connected with v. 10b, may have run יָבֵא אֶל הַמֻּלְלֵק 'And he came in unto the king.'

Other traces of a double source may be seen in v. 22b by the side of v. 23a, and in v. 23 following upon v. 27. In v. 27 Ehud musters his forces, and we are told that 'they went down with him from the hill-country' into the Jordan valley. In v. 28 he invites them to come down, only then explaining the purpose of the muster; and we are again told that 'they went down after him.' Traces of two accounts of Ehud's escape have been supposed to exist in v. 26; but these are not so obvious.

Beyond these points, it is difficult to discover further indications which might aid in discrimination of the sources; and phrases peculiarly characteristic of either J or E do not happen to occur in the narrative. Bu. (RS.) notices that the verb תָּרָע 'tarry' in v. 26 is confined to J when it occurs in the Pentateuch (Gen. 19 16, 43 10; Ex. 12 39). Rather more significant as a mark of J is the expression in v. 28 which relates the holding of the fords of the Jordan against Moab, as compared with ch. 12 5a:

עָלְיָה הַמְּבֹרֵאת הָיוֹרֶה לְמַמְּאָב
עָלְיָה לֶעָלָה הָיֹרֶה לְקַמִּרְם

Cf. also ch. 7 24 (also J), as emended in our text, עָלְיַה הַמְּבֹרֵאת הָיוֹרֶה. Here the use of the ל as a kind of дативus incommodi
12. Rf9 And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh; and Yahweh strengthened 'Eglon king of Moab against Israel, because they had done that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh. 13. And he gathered unto him the children of 'Ammon and 'Amalek; and went and smote Israel; and ' took possession of the City of Palms. 14. And the

('against' or 'to the detriment of') is rather striking. It must be acknowledged, however, that criteria upon which to base a detailed analysis are wanting; and nothing can be affirmed with even approximate certainty as to the composition of the narrative beyond the fact of the existence of a few fairly clear indications that two sources have been employed. The old narrative as a whole is therefore marked in the text as JE.

3. 12. Yahweh strengthened 'Eglon. The same verb (hizzêk) is used in Ezek. 30:24 of Yahweh's 'strengthening' the arms of the king of Babylon as an instrument of punishment.

13. 'Amalek. A marauding Bedawi people dwelling in the south of the Negeb (Num. 13:29, 14:25 RΙJ, 43:46 JE), in the neighbourhood of the Kenites (ch. 1:18 note, 1 Sam. 15:6) and the tribe of Sime'on (1 Chr. 4:44). Israel is related (Ex. 17:8 ff. E, Deut. 25:17-19) to have first come into conflict with them soon after the Exodus upon arriving at Rephidim, which must have been close to Ḥoreb or Šinai—a fact which tells in favour of the location of the holy mountain somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-Barnea—in the south of the Negeb: cf. note on ch. 5:4. David, whilst dwelling at Siklag in the Philistine country, made forays against the 'Amalekîtes (1 Sam. 27:8), and suffered reprisals in his turn (1 Sam. 30). ‘ in ch. 5:11, 12:15 suggests that 'Amalekîtes may at one time have been found in Central Palestine; but cf. note on the former passage. The 'Amalekîtes are again mentioned as invading Israelite territory during the period of the Judges in ch. 6:33, 7:12, where they appear in conjunction with the Midianites and 'all the children of the East,' nomadic peoples like themselves with whom it is natural to find them associated. In the present narrative there is no further allusion to 'Ammon or 'Amalek; and it is possible that Rf9 may have amplified the account of the invasion by the addition of the names of these peoples. Nödeke (EB. 128) suggests that 'Amalek in this passage may have arisen from an ancient dittograph of 'Ammon (עָמָלְקָי הַעֲבָרָה).

and took possession of. Reading sing. שָׁלַל with G, F, in place of א with (and so Ḥ) plur. שִׂלְלָה. F has plur. verbs throughout v.13b, 'they went and smote, etc.'
children of Israel served 'Eglon king of Moab eighteen years.
15. And the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh, and Yahweh raised up for them a saviour, to wit Ehud the son of Gera, the Benjaminite, a left-handed man; and the children of Israel

* The verbal form רָעָבָא is not, as stated by Mo., cognate with עָבַד, but rather belongs to a series of triliteral roots from an original DAR, TAR, ŠAR, ŠAR, ZAR, with the sense 'go round,' 'surround,' and hence, in some instances, 'bind' (a form of surrounding). So רָעָבָא (Ar. ḏūrā and its derivatives, e.g. ḏūr, 'dwelling,' or properly circle of buildings round a court; Bab. ḏūru, 'wall' as encircling; Heb. ḏūr 'generation' as periodic, ḏūr 'ball' as being round), probably ḏūr (whence ḏūṭ 'swallow,' perhaps as flying round in circles), כָּרְבִּי, כָּרְבִּי (Ezek. 46:22); כָּרְבִּי, כָּרְבִּי, כָּרְבִּי: כָּרְבִּי, כָּרְבִּי (bind harvest); כָּרְבִּי, כָּרְבִּי, כָּרְבִּי (compress).
sent by his hand tribute to 'Eglon king of Moab. 16. And Ehud made himself a sword with two edges, a cubit long; and he girded it under his raiment on his right thigh. 17. And he presented the tribute to 'Eglon king of Moab: now 'Eglon was a very fat man. 18. And when he had finished presenting the tribute, he sent away the people who were carrying the tribute.

'blind,' 'illēm 'dumb,' ḫisse'p 'lame;' etc.; but that the peculiarity did not involve any defect in skill appears from the reference to the 700 left-handed Benjaminites in ch. 20.10. ἕ renders ἀμφιστροφός (—δεξιός), 'ambidextrous,' in both passages; and similarly ἕ here 'qui utraque manu pro dextera utebatur,' but in 20.16 'sinistra ut dextra proeliantes.' Cf. the description of the Benjaminites in 1 Chr. 12.2.

tribute. The Heb. minḥā is used elsewhere in this sense in 2 Sam. 8.26, 1 Kgs. 4.21 (৫ ৫), 2 Kgs. 17.3. In other passages the word has the meaning of a present offered voluntarily in order to gain the favour of the recipient: cf. Gen. 32.13, 14, 2 Kgs. 8.8, 20.12. In the sacrificial terminology of the Priestly Code minḥā denotes the meal-offering.

16. two edges. Lit. 'two mouths': cf. the expression 'a sword of mouths;' Prov. 5.4, Ps. 149.6, and the phrase noticed in ch. 1.8.

a cubit long. The Heb. term ḡōmedh (only here in O.T.) is explained by the Jewish interpreters as a short cubit, i.e. the length from the elbow to the knuckles of the closed fist: cf. Mo. in JBL. xii. p. 104. The measure thus corresponds to the Greek πυγμη, approximately 13½ inches. ἕ renders σπιθαμής τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς, 'a span long'; but, as Mo. (following Stu.) appositely points out, 'the description of 'Eglon's corpulence (v.17) is pertinent only in relation to the fact that a long dirk was buried, hilt and all, in his belly.' ἕ offers a curious and obscure paraphrase, intended to explain the character of the sword: 'gladium ancipitem, habentem in medio capulum longitudinis palmae manus;' interpreting ḡōmedh as a hand-breath and referring it to the hilt. ἕ ἔτσι is interesting as reading ḡāmādh (cf. Ar. ḡāmādā, 'cut off'; Aram. ḡāmadh, 'contract') in place of ḡōmedh: 'he curtailed its length.' Such a proceeding on the part of Ehud, for the purpose of more effectively concealing the weapon under his raiment; would be perfectly intelligible: still, the consideration noticed above seems to demand a precise mention of the length of the sword, as in ἕ. under his raiment. Heb. maddim is the loose outer garment, outside of which the sword was usually worn: cf. 1 Sam. 17.20.

18. he sent away the people, etc. The tribute was doubtless paid in kind (most probably in farm-produce) and would require a number of bearers. In later times, when Moab was subject to Israel, the tribute consisted in the wool of one hundred thousand rams and one
19. But he himself returned from the graven images which are near Gilgal; and he said, 'I have a secret communication for thee, O king.' And he said, 'Silence!' And there went out from him all who stood by him. 20. And Ehud came in unto him: now he was sitting by himself in his cool roof-chamber.

hundred thousand lambs: 2 Kgs. 3.4. A representation of a train of envoys of Jehu, king of Israel, bearing tribute to the Assyrian king, is to be seen upon the black obelisk of Shalmaneser III. (cf. Driver, Schweich Lectures, p. 17), and in this case the tribute is very costly (consisting largely in vessels of gold: cf. NHTK. p. 377), in accordance with the resources of the kingdom of Israel in Jehu's time.

19. graven images. This is the meaning which is regularly borne by the Heb. פִּלְסִים elsewhere (twenty-one occurrences). In itself the term simply denotes 'carved things,' and might refer to figures in low relief carved upon standing stones, possibly some of the stones from which Gilgal derived its name (cf. note on ch. 2.1). The connexion in which the פִּלְסִים are mentioned is, however, rather striking: it is when Ehud reaches this point that he dismisses his retinue; and later on (v. 26) when he has passed it he gets clear away, and so escapes. Both references, especially when taken together, can scarcely fail to suggest a comparison with the sculptured boundary-stones which have been found in Babylonia (cf. OTLAE. i. p. 11; Jastrow, RBBA. pp. 230, 385 f.), and to raise the possibility that the פִּלְסִים may have marked the limit of the sphere of Moab's influence, beyond which comparative safety was attained. Such a theory could not hold if the narrative were a unity; since, according to v. 13, Jericho, three miles west-north-west of Gilgal, was in the possession of Moab. But, as we have noticed, the story clearly seems to have been derived from two sources, and the source to which the references to the פִּלְסִים belong may have differed as to this point; or the words 'which are near Gilgal' may be a later and erroneous identification of the site of the פִּלְסִים.

A.V., R.V. render 'quarries,' apparently following εἰς τοὺς ἱεροπλῆς. Εἰς ἁπάν τῶν γυμνικῶν, 'ubi erant idola,' support the ordinary meaning of the word. פִּלְסִים employs the same word as פִּלְסִים.

a secret communication. Lit. 'a word of secrecy.'

Silence! The command (Heb. ḫēš, onomatopoeic, like English 'hush!' or 'ssh!') is addressed by Eglon to his retinue.

20. roof-chamber. The Heb. 'אֱלִיָּהוּ is explained by the same term 'אֱלִיָּהוּ/אֱלִיִּיָּהוּ in Ar., in which it denotes a room built on the top of the flat roof of a house, with windows on every side for the free passage of air. Cf. Mo., who quotes authorities for the use of such roof-chambers in the modern east. The purpose of this 'אֱלִיָּהוּ is
And Ehud said, 'I have a communication from God for thee.' And he rose up from his seat. 21. And Ehud put forth his left hand, and took the sword from his right thigh, and thrust it into his belly. 22. And the hilt also went in after the blade, and the fat closed over the blade; for he drew not the sword out of his belly. And he went out into the vestibule. 23. And Ehud further defined by the term ham-mekêrâ (הַמֶּכֶרָא), lit. 'roof-chamber of coolness.' The size and character of the windows in such a chamber is indicated by 2 Kgs. 1:9, where we are told that king Aḥaziah accidentally fell through the lattice-window (הַנַּשְׁבָּה) in his 'aliyyâ.

...
went out into the colonnade, and shut the doors of the roof-chamber upon him, and locked them. 24. Now when he had gone out, his servants came; and they looked, and beheld, the

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E, ῆ* seem to have read or understood hap-péreš (Ex. 29:14; Lev. 4:11, 8:17, 16:27; Num. 19:5, Mal. 2:4) in place of hap-parškhônâ: ‘and the faeces came out’ sc. from the anus, as is said to be the ordinary consequence of a wound in the abdomen (cf. Mo.). This emendation is adopted by Nöldeke, Mo., Bu., Kent; but the objections advanced against it by No. are valid;† and in any case it can scarcely stand in view of the support given to ῆ by the Assyr. parallel.

῾A‘ and he went out hastily (ἂνὶμαὶ) is a bad guess. R.V. ‘and it came out behind’ depends upon a mere conjecture made by a number of the older commentators (cf. Mo.’s enumeration), and involves a violation of grammar (‘the sword’ is fem., and can scarcely be the subject of the masc. ῆ‘ and it came out’).

23. into the colonnade. Or ‘portico.’ Heb. ham-miṣdrônâ only here. The meaning of the term is almost as obscure as the meaning of that last discussed, to which it probably corresponds in the parallel narrative. The Heb. root sādhăr means ‘to arrange in order or in a rank,’ and is so used in New Heb., Assyr., and Aram. We have cognate substantives in all these languages meaning ‘arrangement,’ ‘rank,’ or ‘row’ (in Assyr. ‘line of battle’); and it may thus be inferred that miṣdrôn, in accordance with its form (substantives with preformative ל commonly denote the place of the action implied by the verbal form), may mean ‘place of rows’ (sc. of pillars), i.e. ‘colonnade.’ This is the rendering of S* kṣādhrôn, i.e. ξυστός. ῆ ῆ διασαγεων recognizes the meaning of the root, but is at a loss for an intelligible rendering. ῆ ‘per posticum’ (perhaps an error for ‘per porticum’).

And locked them. The Heb. construction (ךל ה, Perfect with Weak wāw) is irregular. We should expect ה, but it is quite possible that the form intended is the infinitive absolute ה in continuation

* ῆ’s rendering, however, ῆ ἄρτος ἔμαθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμεθρίτης, is merely an illustration of the Rabbinic method of explaining an incomprehensible word by analysis (ῆ ἀρτος ‘dung’ and ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμεθρίτης ‘to cast out’), as is rightly noticed by Stu., Ber., No. The translator therefore had the same reading before him as that of ῆ.

† ‘Schon Holzinger hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass diese Aenderung ῆ nicht ohne Bedenken ist, insofern ῆ gewöhnlich den Thiermist, nicht aber den Menschenkoth bezeichnet, man würde auch ein μετομο ὁ or doch das Suff. am Subj. erwarten; endlich ist es auch nicht leicht zu verstehen, wie unter dem Einfluss von ῆ das urspr. ἦμεθρίτης verderbt werden konnte.’ No. offers no explanation of the difficult word.
doors of the roof-chamber were locked: and they said, 'Surely he is covering his feet in the closet of the cool apartment.'

25. And they waited till they were ashamed; and, behold, he opened not the doors of the roof-chamber: so they took the key and opened them, and, behold, their lord was fallen down on the ground dead. 26. But Ehud had escaped while they tarried, and had passed the graven images, and escaped to Se'irah.

27. And when he arrived, he blew the trumpet in the hill-country of Ephraim, and the children of Israel went down with him from the hill-country, and he before them. 28. And he said unto them, 'Come down after me, for Yahweh hath given

of the preceding imperfect with הוה consecutive: lit. 'and locking,' for 'and locked.' For this idiomatic construction, cf. Davidson, Hebrew Syntax, § 88; G-K. § 113 z. A precisely similar construction is found in ch. 7, and they blew the trumpets and brake (lit. "and breaking") the pitchers.' Adopting this slight change of one vowel-point, there is no reason to suppose, with Mo., that the words 'are, as the false tense proves, the addition of a scribe, who, observing that the doors were locked (vv. 24-25), missed an explicit statement here that Ehud locked them.'

24. he is covering his feet. The same euphemism is found in 1 Sam. 24.3.

25. till they were ashamed. Or, 'to the point of confusion': Heb. שֵׁיַרְדָּן. The expression here implies the perplexity and apprehension caused by an occurrence which is inexplicable. As we might say, they were at their wit's end. There are two other occurrences:—2 Kgs. 2:17, 'they urged him till he was ashamed' (such was the importunity of the disciples that Elisha had no longer the face to refuse their request); 2 Kgs. 8:11, 'And he steadied his countenance, and set (it on him) till he was ashamed' (Elisha looked Hazael out of countenance).

the key. A flat piece of wood with projecting pins corresponding to holes in the wooden cross-bolt into which the pins of the socket fall when the door is locked. When the key is inserted into a hollow in the bolt and pushed upwards, the pins of the key push up the pins of the socket, and the bolt is released. For a full description and illustrations, cf. DB. ii. p. 836.

26. had passed, etc. Cf. note on v.19.

Se'irah. The site is unidentified.

28. come down after me. Reading μετά μου with Παράβησα ὁμιόω μου (cf. the following, 'and they came down after him'), in place of μέτα ὑπ' ἑμᾶς, which can only mean 'pursue after me.'
your enemies, even Moab, into your hand.' So they went down after him, and took the fords of the Jordan against Moab, and suffered no man to pass over. 29. And they smote of Moab at that time about ten thousand men, every stout and every valiant man; and there escaped not a man." 30. So Moab was subdued that day under the hand of Israel. And the land had rest eighty years.

R.V. renders 'Follow me'; but such a meaning for the verb cannot be paralleled.

took the fords, etc. Cf. ch. 7 24 (note), 12 6. The coup was designed to prevent the escape of the Moabites who occupied Israelite territory west of Jordan (cf. v. 18b), and at the same time to prevent the despatch of assistance to them from the land of Moab.

29. And they smote, etc. The statement implies that the army of occupation west of Jordan was cut to pieces, but scarcely (as R\$ seems to imply in v. 30) that the land of Moab was invaded and subdued.

30. eighty years. A round number representing, approximately, two generations.

3. 31. Shamgar.

It is quite clear that this brief notice formed no part of the Book of Judges as it left the hand of R\$. The story of Ehud must have been directly connected by R\$ with ch. 4 1: 'And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, when Ehud was dead.' We miss, moreover, R\$'s pragmatic introduction and conclusion, and no hint is given as to the length of the period of oppression or of the subsequent period of tranquillity.

The name of Shamgar the son of 'Anath is, however, certified as historical by its occurrence in the Song of Deborah, which alludes to the desolate condition of the country 'in the days of Shamgar the son of 'Anath' (ch. 5 6); though, for all this passage tells us, Shamgar may have been a foreign oppressor (see below as to his name) and not an Israelite judge. The exploit recorded of Shamgar bears striking resemblance to that of one of David's heroes, Shammah the son of Agee (2 Sam. 23 11ff.), and also to Samson's feat with the jawbone at Ramath-lehi (ch. 15 14ff.). In all three cases the success is recorded to have been gained against the Philistines. It should be noticed, also, that the Song of Deborah, though mentioning Shamgar, says nothing about any encroachment of the Philistines, who seem at this point to appear too early in the narrative. It may be added that, since the Song deals with the Canaanite aggressions in N. Palestine, it is the less natural to connect Shamgar with the Philistines in the south.
The name Shamgar is certainly non-Israelite. It bears close resemblance to the Hittite Sangara or Sangar (KB. i. pp. 107, 159), which we find as the name of a king of Carchemish in the reigns of Ashurnasipal and Shalmaneser III. (ninth century B.C.). It is perhaps worth noticing that some codd. of F read Sangar; and so Jos. Ant., v. iv. 3 Zaváyapós. 'Anath as the name of a goddess has been noticed under ch. 1. The use of the name as a masc. proper name, without such a prefix as 'ēbhēdē ('servant of 'A.': cf. Baethgen, Beiträge, pp. 52, 141), may seem strange to us, but is certainly not unusual (as stated by Mo.), since Anatum occurs several times among the names of the period of the first Babylonian dynasty: three occurrences are cited by Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names, p. 66, and three (one probably the name of a woman) by Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie Babyloniennne, p. 15. The name also occurs at the close of one of the T.A. Letters; anu Anati šulma kibi, 'To Anatu speak salutation' (No. 125 in Winckler's ed., KB. v. p. 236; No. 170 in Knudtzon's ed.).

Granted that ch. 3.31 forms no part of R's history, it is a further question whether this allusion to Shamgar as a judge of Israel is due to the same hand as introduced the five 'minor' judges in ch. 10 1-5; 12 8-16 (R': cf. note on 10 1-5). It is noteworthy that, according to R's scheme, the number of judges is twelve (the tribal number) without Shamgar; since R, who reintroduced the story of Abimelech into the book (pp. 263, 266, 268), clearly intended him to rank as a judge: cf. ch. 10.1, 'And there arose after Abimelech to judge Israel, etc.' Moreover, as Mo. remarks, the verse which tells Shamgar's brief story exhibits 'none of the distinctive formulas of the list 10 1-5, 12 8-16; and what is more conclusive, Shamgar is not embraced with them in the final chronological scheme of the book; neither the period in which he wrought deliverance for Israel nor its duration is given.' Thus it seems likely that the verse is an insertion made subsequently to the work of R'; possibly, as Bu. suggests (RS. p. 166, and Comm.), by a scribe who wished to dispense with the reckoning of the wicked Abimelech among the twelve judges. Notice, as a mark of the later hand, the niššān, 'he also saved Israel.' This interpolator probably extracted the name Shamgar the son of 'Anath from the Song of Deborah, upon the supposition that he was an Israelite hero, and may have based his exploit upon the similar

* If the termination -atum is really an hypocoristic affix, as is supposed by Ranke (op. cit. pp. 14 f.), it is possible that 'Anath, Anatum, used as a personal name, may be not really the name of the goddess, but an hypocoristic abbreviation of a personal name compounded with the name of the god Anu, e.g. Anum-malik, 'Anu counsels,' Anum-gamil, 'Anu spares,' etc. Cf. Sinatum, Sinnatum (Ranke, op. cit. pp. 153, 162), by the side of Sin-malik, Sin-gamil, etc.

† Jos. (Ant., v. iv. 3) states that he died within a year of his election as judge, an assertion which is clearly intended to explain the absence of the usual chronological note.
And after him came Shamgar, son of Anath, who smote of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad. And he also saved Israel.

exploit of Shammah the son of Agee which we have already noticed.

Mo. (Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1898, p. 159) notices that certain recensions of ε (codd. 44, 54, 56, 59, 75, 76, 82, 106, 134 H.P.; sub obel. 121), together with א, Arm., Slav., have the account of Shamgar’s exploit a second time after 16:1. Here it appears with the introductory formula και ἄνεστη μετὰ τῶν Σαμψων Σεμεγαρ νίδος Ἐναν, which corresponds closely to the formula of ch. 10:1, ‘And there arose after Abimelech to save Israel,’ etc. Comparing this with ‘the awkward and unparalleled’ וִיהִי וִיהי (ε ἀνέστη) of 3:1, Mo. infers that the position and form of the reference to Shamgar, as it stands in 16:31 in the authorities cited, is the more original:—‘There is thus good reason to think that the verse at first stood after the story of Samson, and was subsequently, for some reason, removed to a place between Ehud and Barak.’ More probably the notice, as it stands in 3:31 (depending, as we have seen, upon the allusion in 5:6), was subsequently moved to a position after 16:31 because it seemed to refer to the period of the Philistine domination; and the introductory formula was at the same time squared with that which is found in 10:1, 3.

Nestle (JTS. xiii. pp. 424 f.) cites a chronicle (published by Lagarde, Septuaginta Studien, ii. pp. 21 ff.) which originated in the Vandalian Church of Africa in A.D. 463, as stating both that Shamgar of 3:31 was an oppressor of Israel, and that Shamgar the Judge succeeded Samson.* These statements are (according to Nestle) of much greater antiquity than A.D. 463, that which places the judge Shamgar after Samson being at least as old as Julius Africanus (cir. 140 A.D.).

ox-goad. Heb. melmedh hab-bāḵār. The word melmedh (assumed Absolute form) occurs only here, and must be supposed to denote literally ‘instrument of instruction or training.’ In Hos. 10:11 the verb from which it is derived, limmedh, is used of training a heifer to the yoke. Elsewhere the word for ‘goad’ is dorbhān, 1 Sam. 13:21 (also used in New Heb.), dorbhōna, Eccles. 12:11. The modern Palestinian ox-goad is a wooden pole eight or nine feet long, shod at one end with a metal point and at the other with a metal blade for cleaning the ploughshare. Cf., for figures, EB. p. 78; DB. i. 49.

ε ἐκτὸς μύσχων (τῶν) βοῶν, שֵׁלָל, read מַלִּים for מַלֵּים.

* After allusion to Ehud, the chronicle states, ‘deinde servierunt regi Semegar annis xx. hic occidit ex alienigenis in aratro boum octingentos viros et defendit filios Israel.’ The reference to Samson is followed by a second allusion to Shamgar, this time as Judge:—‘Deinde Sampson filius Mānoe ... qui plus occidit in morte sua quam quod in vita sua. deinde Samera iudicavit eos anno uno. hic perussit ex Allophylis sescentos viros praeter iumenta et salvum fecit et ipse Israel. deinde pacem habuerunt annis xxx.’
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4. 1-5. 31. Deborah and Barak.

Besides the Commentaries, etc., quoted throughout the book, cf. Cooke, The History and Song of Deborah, 1892; Driver, in Expositor, 1912, pp. 24 ff., 120 ff.

R\textsuperscript{22}'s hand is seen in the introduction, 4\textsuperscript{14}, which contains certain facts derived from the old narrative, and in the conclusion, 4\textsuperscript{23,24} 5\textsuperscript{31b}.

In the material employed by R\textsuperscript{22} we are fortunate in possessing not merely a prose-narrative of presumably the same date as the other lengthy narratives relating to the exploits of the Judges (ch. 4), but also a poetical description which is generally accepted as a contemporary document (ch. 5),\textsuperscript{*} and which must therefore be regarded as a peculiarly valuable picture of the condition of affairs during the period which followed the settlement in Canaan.

In both accounts the main facts are the same. Each opens with reference to a drastic oppression of Israel on the part of the Canaanites. Deborah, the 'mother in Israel' of the poem, is clearly the instigator of the effort to shake off the foreign yoke, just as Deborah the 'prophetess' is in the prose-narrative. In both Barak is leader of the Israelite troops against Sisera the leader of the Canaanites. In both, again, the battle and the rout of the Canaanites takes place in the plain of Megiddo, Sisera subsequently meets his death at the hand of a woman named Ja'el, and a period of pastoral prosperity follows upon Israel's victory.

There exist, however, a certain number of somewhat remarkable discrepancies between the two narratives, which we must proceed to notice. According to the prose-narrative, the principal oppressor of Israel was Jabin, king of Hašor in North Palestine, a city probably situated near the lake Ḥāleḥ (doubtfully identified with the waters of Merom), and about three and a half miles south-south-west of Kedesh of Naphtali. This narrative states that the captain of Jabin's army was Sisera 'who dwelt at Harosheth of the nations,' i.e. probably el-Ḥārījyyeh on the right bank of the lower Kishon, and north-west of Megiddo. The fact is remarkable, however, that no mention of Jabin occurs in the poem, in which Sisera only is named. It is clear, too, that Sisera is there regarded not merely as the captain of the Canaanite army and the viceregent of a higher power, but as himself of kingly rank. His mother, when she is pictured as anxiously

\textsuperscript{*} Cf. Wellh. Comp.\textsuperscript{3} p. 218, n.: 'In proof that the Song is a contemporary composition, we may cite in the first place 5, where the whole number of the fighting men of Israel is given as 40,000 (in the Pentateuch 600,000), and also the firmness of the passion 5\textsuperscript{26-27}, and the exultation over the disappointed expectation of the mother, 5\textsuperscript{28f}. 'Only some one actually concerned, who had experienced the effrontery of an insolent oppressor directed against himself, could express himself with this glowing hatred over a dead foe; not a poet living some centuries later' (Studer, p. 166). Such arguments as have been advanced against the contemporary character of the poem are insignificant: cf. Mo. pp. 129 f.; La. p. 114.
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awaiting his return after the battle, is attended by princesses (5:29); and, if the emendation which is adopted in the last clause of v. 30 may be regarded as correct, it is stated that he will bring back with him 'two dyed embroideries for the neck of the queen,' i.e. for his mother or wife. Kings of Canaan are represented as taking part in the battle (v. 19); but they only receive brief mention, and are obviously subordinate to Sisera, whose fate occupies nearly a third of the whole poem.

There is also a striking difference in the two narratives as to the tribal connexions of Deborah and Barak. According to the prose-narrative, Deborah dwells between Ramah and Bethel in the hill-country of Ephraim, far to the south of the scene of action; while Barak belongs to Kedesh of Naphtali, west-north-west of lake Huleh and not far from Haasar. In the poem, however, v. 15, though admittedly somewhat obscure, at any rate seems to indicate that both Deborah and Barak belonged to the tribe of Issachar, which, as occupying a region which extended southward from the plain of Megiddo (Josh. 19:17-23), was naturally a principal sufferer from the aggressions of the Canaanites.

Again, there is a difference as to the Israelite tribes which are said to have taken part in the battle. According to the prose-narrative, Barak is enjoined to take with him 10,000 men of the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun only (v. 6); but from the poem we gather that a grand muster of all the tribes was attempted, with the exception of Judah and Simeon in the south, which were probably at this time remote from the interests of the other tribes (cf. p. 47). Those which responded to the summons, and bore their part in the combat, were the tribes surrounding the great plain, viz. Ephraim with Benjamin, Machir (i.e. West Manasseh), Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali (5:14,15,18).

It is also supposed by some scholars that there is a slight difference as to the scene of the battle. In the prose-account Barak sweeps down from Mount Tabor to the north of the plain, and the battle takes place on the right bank of the Kishon (vv. 14-15). According to the poem, the scene is 'at Ta'anach by the waters of Megiddo' (v. 19), i.e., if regarded as a precise definition, on the left bank. This, however, if really a discrepancy, is a very minor point, and need not be taken seriously into account.

Lastly, a point which Wellh. (Comp. 3 p. 217) regards as 'die Hauptdifferenz' between the two narratives, and which has been made much of by a large number of scholars, is probably no discrepancy at all. According to the prose-narrative, when Sisera after his flight arrives at the tent of Heber the Kenite, Ja'el, Heber's wife, welcomes him with protestations of friendship, his request for a drink of water is met by the offer of curdled milk, and Ja'el allows him to lie down and sleep in the tent, undertaking herself to stand at the tent-door and put any chance pursuer off the track of the fugitive. As soon,
however, as Sišera is fast asleep, Ja‘el takes a tent-peg and mallet, and going softly to him so as not to wake him, hammers the peg through his temples so forcibly as to pin his head to the ground. Most modern critics think that we have in the poem a different description of the death of Sišera. Here it is supposed that Ja‘el is pictured as approaching him from behind as he is eagerly drinking, felling him with a blow from a mallet, and then beating his head to pieces. This view is based principally upon the line rendered in R.V. ‘at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay,’ where the three verbs would accurately describe Sišera’s coming down on his knees under the blow, falling forward on his face, and lying prone. It necessitates, however, a very forced explanation of the peg, נִשְׂרָה (a point rightly emphasized by Kue., La., and Kit., GvI. ii. 79 n1), making it to denote the wooden handle of ‘the workman’s mallet’ (if that be the meaning of the Heb. expression). The statement ‘She smote Sišera, crushed his head, shattered and struck through his temples’ (v.26; see note) agrees well with the prose-account as describing the effects of driving a wooden peg through her victim’s temples; whilst, had Sišera been struck down from behind, he would naturally have fallen on his face, in which case the smashing and piercing of his temples is not so easily explained. It may be added that the Heb. נִשְׂרָה scarcely admits of the rendering ‘at her feet.’ It properly means ‘between her feet’ (or ‘legs’; cf. the only other sense in which the expression is used, Deut. 28 57), and rather describes Ja‘el’s straddling over Sišera’s recumbent body in order to deliver the fatal blow than the idea that he fell prone ‘at (i.e. before) her feet.’ Probably the expression is intended to emphasize the indignity of his death. Thus it appears that it is unnecessary to find variation between the prose and poetical accounts as regards this event, beyond that which may naturally be referred to the licence of poetry.

Looking now at the prose-narrative alone, we cannot fail to notice that it contains serious internal discrepancies. Sišera, the captain of the host of Jabin, lives at a great distance from him (assuming that Ḥarosheth and Ḥašor are rightly identified), thirty-four miles in a direct line without taking account of the detours which are necessary in traversing a rugged and difficult country. Deborah, living between Ramah and Bethel (the former five miles, the latter ten miles, north of Jerusalem), sends to Baraḵ at Kedesh of Naphtali, more than ninety miles to the north. Baraḵ musters his troops at Kedesh in the heart of the enemy’s country, and must have marched them unmolested close past the gates of Ḥašor in order to reach Mount Tabor, thirty miles to the south. After the rout of the Canaanites, Baraḵ pursued the fugitives up to (PostalCodes) Ḥarosheth, twelve miles or more west-north-west. Sišera meanwhile flees north-north-east towards Ḥašor, thirty miles distant; but instead of seeking safety in
the fortified city of his sovereign Jabin, he prefers to find it in the
tent of a stranger, although this is quite close to Kedesh (v. 11), and
he must therefore have passed by Ḥasor in his flight. Here he
meets his death; and Barak, in spite of the delay which his pursuit
of Sišera’s army in a different direction might have been expected to
cause, seems all the time to have been close on his heels; for the
narrative apparently pictures him as arriving at Ja’el’s tent shortly
after the murder.

These difficulties for the most part disappear with recognition of
the fact that Jabin king of Ḥašor has really no place in our narrative,
but belongs to quite a different narrative which has been erroneously
interwoven with it. The shadowy figure of Jabin plays no real part
in the story. His position was plainly something of a puzzle to
R 82; for whereas the old narrative makes him ‘king of Ḥašor’
according to the theory of R 82 he was ‘the king of Canaan, who
reigned in Ḥašor’ (v. 2), i.e., apparently, a kind of superior monarch
who was overlord of the many petty kings of the Canaanite cities.
Yet we never hear elsewhere of Canaan as a political unit. Kings of
separate cities such as Jerusalem, Jericho, ‘Ai, etc., are constantly
mentioned, but never a king of Canaan.

We meet with Jabin king of Ḥašor in Josh. 11:1-9, where he appears
as head of a coalition of Canaanite kings in North Palestine which
was defeated by Joshua near the waters of Merom. This narrative
is derived in the main from JE (whether J or E is doubtful), but has
been amplified by R 0 in his usual manner (vv. 2 and 8b), in order to
intensify the magnitude of the coalition and the thoroughness
of Joshua’s conquest. It seems probable that the references to Jabin in
Judg. 4 are reminiscent of the victory recorded in Josh. 11. Possibly
the original form of this narrative may have made Zebulun and
Naphtali the chief actors in the defeat of Jabin, i.e. it may have
related a separate tribal movement akin to those which are
recorded in the J document in Judg. 1, and possibly originally
forming part of it. If this is so, a parallel may be found in the
account of the conquest of Adoni-šedek in Josh. 10:1ff. as compared
with that of Judg. 1:1ff. (cf. note on v. 6).

We have already noticed the discrepancy between the prose and
poetical narratives as to the homes of Deborah and Barak. It is not
unlikely that in ch. 4:5 we may have a gloss introduced by a late hand
confusing Deborah with another Deborah, Rebekah’s nurse, who is
recorded in Gen. 35:8 to have been buried under an oak below Bethel.
There was a city named Dābērath belonging to Issachar, Josh. 21:28,
1 Chr. 6:72 (M v. 57), one of the boundary-points between Issachar and
Zebulun, Josh. 19:12, and this is identified with the modern Debiiriyyeh
at the west foot of mount Tabor. Possibly there may have been a
connexion between the name of this city and the name of the proph­
etess. The fact that the name Kedesh (‘sanctuary’) was applied
to several different places has led some scholars to suppose that,
while Barak's city is rightly named Kedesh, an error has arisen as to the particular Kedesh in question. Thus Wellh., Reuss, Cooke think that the reference is properly to Kedesh of Issachar (Josh. 12:22, 1 Chr. 6:52), i.e. the modern Tell Abū Kudīs, two and a half miles south-east of Tell el-Mutesellīm (Megiddo), and about the same distance north of Ta'anach. Smith's objection (HG. p. 396 n.) that this Kedesh 'was too near the battle and too much under the hills of Manasseh for Sīsera to flee there' is not very weighty; but a consideration which appears to be fatal to this theory is the strong improbability that Barak could have ventured with impunity to muster a large force of poorly armed Israelites (ch. 5:8) within so short a distance of Ta'anach and Megiddo, two of the most important of the Canaanite fortified cities (ch. 1:27; cf. ch. 5:10), and could then have marched his army across the open plain to Tabor thirteen miles to the north-east; this too at a time when travel was beset with the utmost danger and difficulty even for the peaceful and inoffensive wayfarer (ch. 5:6). Conder (Tent Work, p. 69), mainly on the ground of a highly precarious identification of Bašannim with the modern Beṣṣūm (cf. note on ch. 4:11), suggests that 'the Kedesh of the narrative where Barak assembled his troops' is the modern Kādisī 'on the shore of the sea of Galilee, only twelve miles from Tabor'; and this view is favourably regarded by Smith (loc. cit.). But, taking into consideration the proximity of Kedesh of Naphtali to Hasor, the conclusion which most commends itself is that Kedesh properly belongs to the history of the Jabin-campaign which took place in the farther north (cf. Josh. 11:11 ff.), and is therefore unconnected with our narrative. Indeed, the character of Barak's force of mountaineers, and the fact that they 'deployed' upon mount Tabor (cf. note on ch. 4:8), make the supposition probable that this mountain (or possibly Daberath at its foot) was their first mustering place, and that they arrived at it in their tribal detachments, and (as mountaineers would naturally do) in open skirmishing order under cover of the night.

Supposing the view taken above to be the true explanation of the discrepancies between the prose and poetical narratives, the course of events appears to become reasonably clear. As Driver remarks, 'this view of the relation of Judg. 4 to Josh. 11 does not materially modify the picture which we form from Judg. 4 and 5 respecting Deborah and Barak, and their victory over Sīsera: it leaves the general representation untouched, and merely bids us disregard a few elements in ch. 4 which have properly no connexion with Sīsera.' There is no essential difference between the two accounts. The scene of action is laid in and about the plain of Megiddo. The Canaanites with their strong cities in and bordering on the plain (ch. 1:27) oppress the surrounding Israelite tribes. A deliverer *is

* خربة قديش (sic); cf. SWP. Name Lists, p. 128.
found in the tribe which, owing to its situation, had been the greatest sufferer. Possibly Barak had at one time been a captive in the hands of the Canaanites (cf. ch. 5:12 note), and therefore his call to action and readiness to obey the summons are the more easily to be understood.

As to the source from which the prose-narrative was derived—the indications of phraseology, so far as they go, seem to point to E. Thus we may notice v.4 נָבָיָה נֶשֶׁת, lit. ‘a woman, a prophetess’; cf. נָבָיָה שֵׁם ‘a man, a prophet’ in ch. 6:8: v.9, ‘for into the hand of a woman shall Yahweh sell Sisera’ (the phrase is generally characteristic of R², but is found in 1 Sam. 12:9 E² with which R²’s connexion is very close: cf. Introd. xii ff.): נוֹמֵל ‘and Yahweh discomfited’; cf. 1 Sam. 7:10, Ex. 14:24, Josh. 10:10 (all E), Ex. 23:27 (JE or E), Deut. 2:15. Cf. also the phrase, ‘and all the people that were with him’ with the same phrase in ch. 7:1a (apparently characteristic of the E narrator; cf. also 7:2a, 10, 8:4). It should further be noticed that 1 Sam. 12 (E²) presupposes a narrative of the oppression of Šišera (v.9), and also probably alludes to the deliverance effected by Barak (if we follow G, Z² in reading Barak in v.11 in place of the unknown Bedan). In v.11 the allusion to Ḥobab (J’s name) is doubtless a gloss derived from ch. 1:10.

The fragments of the Jabin-narrative may be derived from J (as noticed above); but it is at least as probable that the combination of reminiscences of this campaign with the account of the victory of Deborah and Barak was effected when the story was still in the oral stage—in which case the narrative as a whole must be assigned to E.* We may notice that in 1 Sam. 12:9 (E²) Šišera is already described as ‘captain of the host of Ḥasor’; but the assumption is open that these words may be a later gloss. Ps. 83:9 combines Jabin with Šišera, but is probably not earlier than the post-exilic period.†

The poetical narrative, which was probably at first preserved in written form in a collection of poems compiled in the northern kingdom, may be reasonably supposed to have been subsequently incorporated in E.

4. 1. ר"פ² And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, when Ehud was dead. 2. And

4. 1. when Ehud was dead. ר"פ²’s narrative connects immediately on to the end of the story of Ehud, 3:30. Cf. note on 3:31.

* An attempt at analysis has been made by Bruston, ‘Les deux Jéhovistes,’ Revue de Théol. et Philos. 1886, pp. 35 ff., but has not met with acceptance: cf. Bu. RS. 70, n.2.

† Similarly ‘Oreb and Ze’eb are combined with Zebah and Šalmunna in v.11, as in the present form of the Gideon-narrative. The Psalm is plausibly regarded by Cheyne as referring to the events narrated in 1 Macc. 5: cf. Origin of the Psalter, pp. 97 ff.
Yahweh sold them into the hand of Jabin the king of Canaan, who ruled in Haṣor; and the captain of his host was Siṣera, and he dwelt in Harosheth of the nations. 3. And the children of

2. Jabin the king of Canaan, etc. R² states his view that Jabin was not simply 'king of Haṣor,' as might be inferred from v. 17 (cf. Josh. 11 16), but 'king of Canaan,' i.e. overlord of the various city-kings of northern Canaan, whose royal city was Haṣor. This statement is intended to explain the perplexing relationship of Jabin to Siṣera: cf. introd. to the narrative, p. 81.

Haṣor. This city is named in Josh. 19 36 among the cities assigned to Naphtali, and immediately precedes Kedesh in the list. The name is very possibly preserved in the modern name of the valley Merğ ('meadow') el-Ḥaḍīreḥ, south-south-west of Kedesh on the northern side of the Wādy 'Auba which runs into the lake of Ḥûleh, and in Gebel ('hill') Ḥaḍīreḥ immediately to the east of the 'meadow.' There are no traces of an ancient city upon this hill, and it is therefore supposed that Haṣor may have been one of the ruined sites upon the hills still further east: cf. Buhl, Geogr. p. 236.

and the captain of his host, etc. The statement gives the narrator's view of the relationship of 'Siṣera' of the one narrative to 'Jabin' of the other.

Siṣera. The name has the appearance of being Hittite in origin. Cf., with the same termination, Sangara (noticed under ch. 3 31), and Tarṣula, the name of a king of Gurgum in northern Syria who was a contemporary of Tiglath-pilešer IV.: Rost, Tiglath-pilešer, p. 13, al.; KB. ii. p. 21.* The resemblance of the name to Bab. seseru, siserus, 'child or youth,' is rather striking (Delitzsch, Prolegomena, p. 199, Rem. 3), but may be merely accidental. The name Siṣera occurs again in Ezr. 2 53 = Neh. 7 66 in a list of Nèthìm (foreign Temple-slaves) who returned to the land of Judah after the Exile.

Harosheth of the nations. Probably el-Ḥaṭīṭyyeh, a large double mound on the northern bank of the Kishon, commanding the narrow passage between Carmel to the south and the hills of Galilee to the north, which connects the plain of Esdraelon with the plain of Acre: cf. Thomson, LB. pp. 436 f. Buhl's objection to this identification (Geogr. p. 214), on the ground that according to 4 13 the city cannot have been situated near the Kishon, hardly seems to carry weight; and the circumstances of Siṣera's rout as depicted in 5 21 are entirely in favour of such a site: cf. note ad loc. The name Harosheth is probably connected with Heb. hōreš (1 Sam. 23 16,18,19, 2 Chr. 27 6), Assyr.

* We cannot follow Mo. and Cooke in adding the Hittite names cited by Müller (AE. 332) from Egyptian sources which appear to end in -sira, Ḥ-tā-sī-ra, May-ra-sī-ra, etc., since we now know from the cuneiform tablets discovered at Boghaz Keui (cf. MDOG. Dec. 1907) that the name which appears in Egyptian as Ḥ-tā-sī-ra is really Ḫattušili, and May-ra-sī-ra Muršili.
Israel cried unto Yahweh: for he had nine hundred chariots of iron; and he oppressed the children of Israel with rigour twenty years.

4. And Deborah a prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth—she was 

ḥurus or gursu, 'wooded (?) mountain-ridge' (cf. Delitzsch, Prolegomena, p. 180)—an appropriate description of the wooded hills of Galilee below which el-Hārīṭiyeh is situated.*

The city was doubtless called Harosheth of the nations, as a Canaanite city which formed, as it were, the gateway into the maritime plain which remained in the possession of the Phoenicians (ch. 1 31,32). Cf. the name 'district of the nations' noticed in note on ch. 1 33.

3. chariots of iron. Cf. ch. 1 19 note.

twenty years. Approximately half a generation.

4. Deborah. The name means 'bee.' Mo. compares the Greek name Μήλασσα, which was applied to the priestesses of Delphi, and to those of Demeter, Artemis, and Cybele: cf. references in Liddell and Scott s.v. On the possible connexion of Deborah with the city of Daberath, cf. introd. to section, p. 81.

the wife of Lappidoth. The fact that Lappidoth means 'torches,' or possibly 'lightning-flashes' (cf. Ex. 20 18), while Barak is the ordinary term for 'lightning;' led Hilliger (Das Deborah-lied, Giessen, 1867) to make the precarious suggestion that Lappidoth and Barak are one and the same man, and that in the original form of the tradition Barak was the husband of Deborah. This view is favoured by Wellh. (Comp. § p. 218), Bu. (RS. p. 69), Cooke.

she was judging. The verb šāphah is here used (as commonly elsewhere in Heb.) in the sense in which we normally speak of 'judging,' i.e. (as explained in v. 5) of deciding cases between man and man. Since, however, R22 regularly uses the verb in the sense 'vindicate,' or 'save' from a foreign oppressor (cf. notes on 2 16, 3 10), Mo. believes that this must have been the original sense in this passage; and since the participle 乃是 (expressing continued action—'was judging') would be inappropriate in this sense, he proposes to vocalize as a perfect,乃是—'it was she that judged (i.e. saved) Israel at that time.' But if this sense had been intended, R22, who does not unnecessarily vary his phraseology, might naturally have

* The modern name Hārīṭiyeh, appears to mean 'ploughed or cultivated land,' the Heb. and Assy. word noticed above being apparently unknown in Arabic. This fact, however, is no obstacle to the explanation of the Heb. name which is given in the note, or to the identification with el-Hārīṭiyeh; since the substitution of a similarly sounding name for an old name of unknown meaning may very easily occur: cf. note on 'the rills of Megiddo,' ch. 5 19.
judging Israel at that time. 5. And she used to sit under the palm tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in the hill-country of Ephraim, and the children of Israel came up unto

been expected to have written יִרָנָה יְהֹウェָהוּ יָגָדְרֵהוּ, 'And Yahweh raised up a judge': cf. ch. 210, 39.16.

5. **she used to sit.** The verb יָגָדְרֵהוּ is used in the sense of presiding as judge. Cf. 1 Kgs. 218, 'who presided (lit. sat) with Naboth' (so v. 11); Isa. 286, 'for him that presides (sits) over the judgment'; Ps. 97 (Pr v. 8), 'Yahweh sitteth for ever' (cf. the parallel clause, 'He hath prepared his seat for the judgment'); Am. 63, 'the seat of violence' (i.e. of unjust judgment). R.V.'s rendering, 'she dwelt under the palm-tree' is therefore inadequate and misleading. The tree was doubtless a sacred tree under which the oracle of Yahweh might be expected to be ascertained. Such a tree is seen in the יְלֹנִּי 모ֹרֶה, 'terebinth of the oracle (tōra)-giver' near Shechem, Gen. 126, which is perhaps the same as the יְלֹנִּי מֵבֶּןְנָם, 'terebinth of the soothsayers' mentioned in Judg. 937.

**the palm-tree of Deborah.** Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, is stated in Gen. 3535E to have been buried under an oak (Heb. 'עַלְוָנִים) below Bethel; and hence the tree became known in later times as 'עַלְוָנִים בַּבַּקְחָהָה, 'the oak of weeping' (cf. 26 note). This tree, as Ewald points out (HI. iii. p. 21, n4), appears to be alluded to again in 1 Sam. 103 as 'the terebinth (Heb. יְלֹנִּי) of Tabor'; since it can scarcely be doubted that 'Tabor' (דָּבָר) is an error for 'Deborah' (דָּבָר). The context shows that the tree was on the way to Bethel and not far from Ramah; whereas Tabor lies more than fifty miles to the north. The difference between 'עַלְוָנִים and יְלֹנִּי is one of vowel-points merely.

We have already noticed that the allusion in our passage to 'the palm-tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel' seems to be based upon a late confusion between the two Deborahs (cf. introd. to section). Whether the palm-tree (Heb. תֹּםֵר) of Deborah can be the same as the famous tree of the two other passages is somewhat more doubtful. Evidence seems to show that, throughout the O.T., the words 'עַלְוָנִים, 'עַלְוָנִים are generally used to denote the oak (of various species), and יְלֹנִּי, יְלֹנִּי, the terebinth (cf. EB. 4975); but it is not impossible that these terms may have been used at times to describe other kinds of tall and conspicuous trees. In favour of such a possibility it may be noticed (1.) that the Aram. יִלָּנָה (the equivalent of Heb. יְלֹנִּי) denotes 'tree' in general; and (2.) that the name יְלֹנִּי (the plur. of יְלֹנִּי), which occurs as a place-name in the narrative of the wilderness-wanderings (Ex. 1537), is apparently so-called because there were seventy palm-trees there. Cf. Wellh., Prolegomena, p. 234 n.

**Ramah.** The modern er-Râm, five miles due north of Jerusalem.

**Bethel.** Cf. note on ch. 123.
4, 6. THE BOOK OF JUDGES

6. And she sent and called Barak the son of Abinoam from Kedesh of Naphtali, and said unto him, 'Hath not Yahweh the God of Israel commanded, “Go, and open out upon mount Tabor, and take with thee ten thousand men of the

6. Barak. Cf. note on Lappidoth, v. 4. The Punic Barcas, the surname of Hamilcar, has been compared; and also the Sabaean בֵּרַק and Palmyrene بِرَق. Cf. references in BDB, p. 140.

Kedesh of Naphtali. The modern Kadis, four miles west-northwest of the lake of Huleh, and about three miles north-east of Merg el-Ha'direh (cf. note on Ha'sor, v. 2).

open out. The Hebrew verb מָשַׂק means to draw out or extend, and is used both intransitively and transitively. The passages in which the verb is intransitive are Job 21 33, R.V., 'and all men shall draw after him,' where the idea seems to be that of a long-extended or never-ending line (cf. Shakespeare, Macbeth, iv. 1, 'What! will the line stretch out till the crack of doom?'); and the present passage and ch. 20 37, where the expression is used in a military sense. In the latter passage the meaning can scarcely be mistaken, for here the verb is used of the manner in which the ambush advanced against the city of Gibe'ah in order to capture it. Extension into column would be out of place as a fighting formation; therefore extension or opening out into line must be what is intended; i.e. into loose skirmishing order such as would be best adapted for the attack of light-armed mountain troops. The modern military term is deploy, from the French déployer = Latin displicare. The verb מָשַׂק in this sense has been conjecturally restored in ch. 5 14.

The same verb is used in its transitive sense in v. 7, 'And I will draw out unto thee, etc.' Here the sense may be 'cause to advance in a similar extended order;' or, more probably, 'draw forth' or 'attract.'

upon Mount Tabor. The rendering 'open out upon, etc.' preserves the ambiguity of the preposition א in the Hebrew; the sense being either 'advance in open order (so as to come) upon mount Tabor' (prep. of rest after verb of motion), i.e. mount Tabor is the objective of the movement described by the verb: or 'when upon mount Tabor, open out'; i.e. mount Tabor is the point from which this strategic movement preparatory to advancing into the vale is to commence.

Mount Tabor is doubtless the modern Gebel et-Tor ('mountain') on the north-east side of the plain of Esdraelon. Its altitude is only 1843 feet, and it rises 1312 feet above the plain; but it forms a very conspicuous object owing to its isolation and its peculiar domed shape which is noted by Jerome (OS., 156 23); 'est autem mons in medio Galilaeae campo mira rotunditate.' As Smith remarks HG. p. 394), 'It is not necessary to suppose that Barak arranged his
sons of Naphtali and of the sons of Zebulun? 7. And I will draw out unto thee unto the wādy Kishon Šisera, the captain of Jabin's host, with his chariots and his multitude, and I will give him unto thine hand.” 8. And Barak said unto her, 'If thou men high up Tabor; though Tabor, an immemorial fortress, was there to fall back upon in case of defeat. The headquarters of the muster were probably in the glen, at Tabor's foot, in the village Debu'riyyeh. 7. the wādy Kishon. The Hebrew term which is here represented by the Ar. wādy is nāhal. Both the Arabic and Hebrew terms denote a winter-stream or torrent (Gr χέραπτος), or the valley-bed of such a stream, which may vary from an insignificant depression to a precipitous ravine (such as is seen, e.g., in the wādy Kelt), which marks the action of water at a period when the rainfall of Palestine was much heavier than it is at present.

It is only the larger streams of this character (e.g. the Yarmūk, Jabboḵ, and Arnon) which constantly contain an abundant flow of water. Many of them fail in the summer-months, leaving the valley-bed dry, or nearly so; but in winter they may possess considerable volume, and are liable after storms or lengthy rains to swell suddenly to the dimensions of swift and dangerous torrents. Many wādys, again (e.g. the Kidron), though of considerable depth, are now quite dry, or only occasionally contain a little water. A.V., R.V., render nāhal variously by 'brook,' 'stream,' 'river,' 'flood,' 'valley.' The Ar. term wādy is here adopted as preserving the same ambiguity as is possessed by the Hebrew term. Cf. further, Addenda, p. xiii.

The character of the wādy Kishon is described by Thomson (LB. p. 435). Its higher reaches are fed by the winter-streams which descend from the hill-country to the south of the great plain; but the most important source is the perennial spring of Genin (En-Gannim), which, however, is insufficient to provide a constant flow during summer and autumn. 'I have crossed,' says Thomson, 'the bed of the Kishon (even after it enters the plain of Acre) in the early part of April, when it was quite dry. The truth is, that the strictly permanent Kishon is one of the shortest rivers in the world. You will find the source in the vast fountains called Sa'adiyeh, not more than three miles east of Haifa. They flow out from the very roots of Carmel, almost on a level with the sea, and the water is brackish. They form a deep, broad stream at once, which creeps sluggishly through an impracticable marsh to the sea; and it is this stream which the traveller crosses on the shore. Of course, it is largely swollen during the great rains of winter by the longer river from the interior.'
wilt go with me, I will go; but if thou wilt not go with me, I will
not go.' 9. And she said, 'I will go with thee: howbeit, glory
shall not accrue to thee upon the course which thou art taking;
for into the hand of a woman shall Yahweh sell Sisera.' So
Deborah arose, and went with Barak to Kedesh. 10. And Barak
summoned Zebulun and Naphtali to Kedesh; and there went
up after him ten thousand men: and Deborah went up with

8. 'If thou wilt go, etc.' 'The presence of the prophetess will not
only ensure to him divine guidance (v. 14), but give confidence to him
and his followers' (Mo.). G makes Barak add a reason for his
demand: δὴ οὐκ οἶδα τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἦ εὐδοκεί τὸν ἄγγελον Κύριος
μετ' ἐμοῦ.

The fact that this sentence is clearly an incorrect* translation of
whereon the Angel of Yahweh shall prosper me,' proves that the
translator must have had a Hebrew original before him; but Bu.,
Mo. (SBOT), No. are probably right in regarding this as an early
gloss, intended to obviate an unfavourable interpretation of Barak's
demand. W's paraphrase of v. 14b is very similar: ἢμέραν ἀλά
λα ἀρέσκειν καὶ ἀγγελόν μετ' ἐμοῦ 'Hath not the angel of Yahweh gone forth to make
[thy way] prosperous before thee?' The phrase, 'the Angel of
Yahweh' (a J phrase) is somewhat unexpected, if the narrative is
rightly assigned to E; and seems, moreover, to presuppose 5 23n,
where metrical reasons compel us to regard it as due to textual alteration.
The passage is accepted by Houbigant, Grätz, Stu., Frankenberg, La.

9. howbeit, glory, etc. In spite of Mo.'s contention that the context
betrays no sign of disapproval, it is difficult to escape the common
impression that the unpalatable information is produced by the
prophetess at this juncture in consequence of Barak's want of alacrity
in accepting the divine mandate. As La. paraphrases, 'You wish
for a woman's help, and it is a woman (though a different one) who
shall have the honour.'

to Kedesh. Upon the view that the Kedesh here referred to is not
Kedesh of Naphtali, but another Kedesh nearer to the scene of the
battle, cf. introd. to chapter, p. 82.

10. after him. Lit. 'at his feet,' i.e., as we might say, 'at his heel.'
So 5 15, 8 8, al.

* The translator reads ἐν (St. Absol.) and treats it as object of the verb,
making ἐν the subject; while regarding ἐν (accus. 'me') as the prep.
'with me.'
him. 11. Now Heber the Kenite had separated himself from Kain, GL from the sons of Hobab, Moses' father-in-law, E and had pitched his tent as far away as the terebinth of Bašānānim which is near Kedesh. 12. And they told Sīsera that Barak the son of Abino'am had gone up to Mount Tabor. 13. And Sīsera summoned all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people who were with him, from Harosheth of the nations unto the wādy Kishon. 14. And Deborah said unto Barak, 'Arise; for this is the day whereon Yahweh hath given Sīsera into thine hand: hath not Yahweh gone forth before

11. had separated himself from Kain. The statement explains how a member of a clan which normally inhabited the Negeb (cf. I 16) came to be found in northern Cana'an.


the terebinth of Bašānānim. Vocalizing אַלָל בַּשָּׁנִים, in place of אַלָל בַּשָּׁנִים 'א (cf. Josh. 19:33), R.V. 'the oak (margin. terebinth) in Za'anānim,' where ב is regarded as the preposition. If this had been intended, however, we should have expected בַּשָּׁנִים (with the article) 'the (well-known) terebinth';* not simply ב, which can only mean 'a terebinth.' The locality (otherwise unknown) is described in Josh. 19:33 as on the border of Naphtali; a fact which suggests, as Mo. remarks, that Heber the Kenite belonged originally to the story of Jabin.

Conder (SWP. Mem. i. pp. 365 f.; Tent Work, p. 69) identifies Bašānānim with the modern Beṣṣūm, four miles west of the Kādiš which is south-west of the sea of Galilee. There is not, however, any philo-

gical connexion between the names; and the proposed identification depends partly upon the view with regard to Kedesh which we have noticed in the introd. to the chapter (viz. that it is not Kedesh in Naphtali, but another Kedesh nearer to the scene of the battle), and partly upon the fact that A.V. renders 'ēlōn 'terebinth' erroneously as 'plain,' and there is a plain (Ar. sahel) called el-Āḥmā close to the south of Beṣṣūm.†

14. hath not Yahweh gone forth before thee? The scene gains

* Mo. compares הַר הָרִיס בְּרֵאשִׁים 'the tamarisk in Ramah,' 1 Sam. 22:6, 31:13, הַר הָרִיס בְּרֵאשִׁים 'the terebinth which is in 'Ophrah,' ch. 6:11, etc.
† Driver (Expositor, Jan. 1912, p. 32, n°) exposes the manner in which the extraordinary error which identifies 'the plain (l) of Za'anaim' with the plain called Sahel el-Āḥmā has penetrated into several modern maps.
15. And Yahweh discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his army, at the edge of the sword before Barak; and Sisera alighted from his chariot, and fled away on foot. 16. And Barak pursued after the chariots and after the army as far as Harosheth of the nations: and all Sisera's much in vividness if we may suppose (with Thomson, LB. p. 436) that Deborah, as she speaks, points to the gathering storm, which appears to have burst in the face of the foe at the commencement of the battle: cf. ch. 5 4, 5, 20, 21 (notes); Jos. Ant. v. v. 4. Yahweh's connexion with the phenomena of the storm, especially when He goes forth to battle before His people, is well marked in the O.T.: cf. Josh. 10 11, 1 Sam. 7 10, Ps. 18 9 ff., etc., and the present editor's discussion in JTS. ix. p. 326.

15. at the edge of the sword. The phrase בורא ידים (on which cf. note on 1 8) may possibly here be a corrupt dittography of the following בורא יד, 'before Barak'; but Mo. goes too far when he states that it 'appears incongruous with the verb' (דיחה, 'discomfited').

16. And Barak pursued, etc. The circumstances of the rout appear to have been as described by Thomson (LB. p. 436):—'The army of Sisera naturally sought to regain the strongly fortified Harosheth of the Gentiles, from which they had marched up to their camping-ground a short time before. This place is at the lower end of the narrow vale through which the Kishon passes out of Esdraelon into the plain of Acre, and this was their only practicable line of retreat. The victorious enemy was behind them; on their left were the hills of Samaria, in the hand of their enemies; on their right was the swollen river and the marshes of Thora; they had no alternative but to make for the narrow pass which led to Harosheth. The space, however, becomes more and more narrow, until within the pass it is only a few rods wide. There, horses, chariots, and men become mixed in horrible confusion, jostling and treading down one another; and the river, here swifter and deeper than above, runs zigzag from side to side of the vale, until, just before it reaches the castle of Harosheth, it dashes sheer up against the perpendicular base of

* In the other occurrences of the phrase, it is used with the following verbs:—הנה 'smite,' Num. 21 24; Deut. 13 18a, 20 13; Josh. 8 24a, 10 23, 29, 25, 33, 27, 28, 11 11, 12, 13, 19 47; Judg. 1 8, 25, 18 27, 20 7, 21 10; 1 Sam. 22 19; 2 Sam. 15 14; 2 Kings. 10 25; Jer. 21 7; Job 1 15, 17; ירה 'slay,' Gen. 34 26; שלח (חשלח) 'render prostrate,' Ex. 17 13; מינת 'ban' or 'utterly destroy,' Deut. 13 16b; Josh. 6 11; 1 Sam. 15 6; לוכד 'fall,' Josh. 8 24a, Judg. 4 16. It therefore appears not inappropriate after דיעה 'discomfit.'
army fell at the edge of the sword; there was not left so much as one. 17. But Sisera fled away on foot unto the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite: for there was peace between Jabin king of Hazor and the house of Heber the Kenite. 18. And Jael came out to meet Sisera, and said unto him, 'Turn in, my lord, turn in unto me; fear not.' So he turned in unto her into Carmel. There is no longer any possibility of avoiding it. Rank upon rank of the flying host plunge madly in, those behind crushing those before deeper and deeper into the tenacious mud. They stick fast, are overwhelmed, are swept away by thousands. Such are the conditions of this battle and battle-field that we can follow it out to the dire catastrophe.3 Doubtless the storm (cf. note on v. 14) was responsible for the sudden swelling of the Kishon, and the reduction of the plain surrounding it to a quagmire, in a manner which has frequently been observed by travellers. Cf. also Smith HG. p. 395; Ewing in DB. iii. p. 5a.

17. unto the tent of Jael. Sisera's refuge cannot have been greatly remote from the scene of the battle; especially since v. 22 represents Barak as not far behind in pursuit, though having previously accomplished the rout of the Canaanite army before Iharosheth. Cf. the discussion in introd. to the chapter, pp. 80 f.

18. Turn in. Or, perhaps, more correctly, 'Turn aside.' Jael persuades Sisera to desist in his flight, and take shelter in the tent, without his previously having asked admission.

a fly-net. The Heb. word, šmikha, is a αυτοκεφαλαῖον, and the meaning adopted is based upon philological considerations, and accords with the context.* A net to keep off the flies would be more essential for the rest and comfort of a hot and weary man than anything of the nature of a rug or coverlet. כָּלָהַתֹּתֹתֶפֶּאשׁ תֵּינָאֶפֶּאשׁ 'with her leathern covering' (a rendering commonly used elsewhere to translate נִטְנָיָה 'tent-curtain'; so סֵּבֶּא סֵּבֶּא | סִּבֶּא, לְ 'in pelle sua,' F 'per gia,' סֵּבֶּא | סֵּבֶּא 'with the coverlet,' כָּלָהַתֹּתֹתֶפֶּאשׁ id., Ar. بالفظيرة id.; A.V. 'mantle,' marg. 'rug or blanket,' R.V. 'rug.' All these appear to be guesses guided by the context. Grä.'s emendation לְכָּלָהַתֹּתֹתֶפֶּאשׁ, 'with a coverlet,' is unnecessary.

* An original biliteral שַּלֶּס, שַּלֶּס 'interweave,' 'intertwine,' appears both as the ל form and as the doubled שַּלֶּס, שַּלֶּס. There can be no doubt that the שַּלֶּס, שַּלֶּס, whence שֻבַּכָּה 'net-work' (as interwoven) represents the same root internally triliteralized by the labial ב which is akin to כ; cf. שֻבַּכָּה and שֻבַּכָּה, both meaning 'skirts,' from an original biliteral שַּלֶּס, שַּלֶּס, from שַּלֶּס, may exhibit the same root שַּלֶּס internally triliteralized by ב, which is also close akin to כ: cf., for the same internal triliteralization, Bab. namāru by the side of Heb. רַבּ, both meaning 'shine.'
the tent, and she covered him with a fly-net. 19. And he said unto her, 'Give me, I pray thee, a little water, for I am thirsty': and she opened her bottle of milk, and gave him to drink, and covered him. 20. And he said unto her, 'Stand!' at the door of the tent, and it shall be, if any man come and ask thee, and say, 'Is there any man here?' that thou shalt say, "No." 21. Then Ja'el the wife of Heber took a tent-peg, and took a hammer in her hand, and approached him softly, and struck the peg into his temple, and it went down into the ground; for he was fast asleep [and exhausted]: so he died. 22. And, behold,

19. a bottle of milk. The beverage is described in 5:26, in one clause as milk, in the other as hem'â 'curds,' i.e. the leben which is the choicest drink of the modern Bedawin, and is said to be most delicious and refreshing, but to possess a strongly soporific effect: cf. Conder, Tent Work, pp. 69 f.

20. Stand. Reading fem. יִפְרָן in place of masc. דּוּנְבּ. Ehr.'s proposal to point as Infin. Absol. יִפְרָן, used, as occasionally elsewhere, in place of the Imperative, is possible: cf. Davidson, § 88 b; G-K. § 113 bb.

21. Then Ja'el, etc. On this account of the death of Šisera, as compared with that which is given in the poem, 5:26, 27, cf. the discussion in introd. to chapter, pp. 79 f.

a tent-peg. The peg would be made of wood, and the hammer would be a heavy mallet, also of wood, as at the present day. 'Among the Bedawin, pitching the tent is woman's business, and so no doubt it was in ancient times; the mallet and pin were accustomed implements, and ready to hand' (Mo.).

for he was fast asleep. In place of this אֲלֵל renders כָּא אֲבֵד אַפְּרַקְרַקִיטֵנ ('made a convulsive movement') וְאִּנֶּא מִכָּנֹנְתֵּון (אֲלֵל פָּדְדֵנ) אֶבַּה. This seems to represent a paraphrastic attempt at interpretation of the somewhat uncommon בֵּית (אֲלֵל אֶפּאַכְּרַק) in the light of ch. 5:27.

and exhausted. Vocalizing יִתי or יִתְי, which, in spite of the prevalent accentuation* According to Kit., BH., 4 MSS. place the pause upon בֵּית, and connect יִתי with בֵּית. A.V. renders the sentence 'for he was fast asleep and weary. So he died,' and similarly R.V. marg. (with the variation 'in a deep sleep'): but it must be emphasized that, as יִתי is pointed in אֲלֵל, it cannot denote a state existing coincidently with that which is described by the participle בֵּית 'fast asleep'; but only some further resultant state, the 1 conse. having the force 'and so.'
as Barak was pursuing Sisera, Jael came out to meet him, and said to him, 'Come, and I will show thee the man whom thou art seeking.' And he came in unto her; and, behold, Sisera was fallen down dead, and the peg was in his temple. 23. So God subdued on that day Jabin the king of Canaan before the children of Israel. 24. And the hand of the children of Israel bore more and more severely upon Jabin the king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin the king of Canaan.

(connecting with the preceding rather than with the following), can only be understood (as by R.V. text) in connexion with what follows: 'so he swooned and died.' But to speak of a man whose head had been practically shattered by the tent-peg as swooning before death ensued, appears almost ludicrous.

23. So God subdued, etc. The concluding formula of R². In this passage only we get the active verb with subject God ('Elôhim a mark of the E school; but variants exist in כה: cf. Kit., BH.) in place of the passive, 'was (were) subdued,' ch. 3:20, 8:28, 11:32.

24. until they had destroyed, etc. It can scarcely be doubted that R² (like R¹ in Josh.) tends to exaggerate the far-reaching effects of the victory. So far as the old narrative is concerned, it does not even mention the capture of the city of Harosheth.


* The compilation of a list of nineteenth-century authorities upon the Song necessarily goes back to Schnurrer at the end of the eighteenth century; since this scholar's work is very outstanding, and has had considerable influence upon his successors. For earlier writers, cf. Justi, as noticed above, and Bachmann, pp. 298 f. Reuss, in his Geschichte der heil. Schrift. A. T., names a considerable number of additional nineteenth-century writers on the Song; but the present editor has not been able to find their works, either in the Bodleian Library, or in Dr. Pusey's library, which Dr. Darwell Stone, Principal of Pusey House, has kindly made accessible to him. The fact, however, that these writers are either not cited at all, or only very occasionally cited, by subsequent scholars, may perhaps justify the assumption that their contributions to the study of the Song are of no special importance.
philologico-criticus in Carmen Deborae, 1818 (very scholarly and thorough): K. W. Justi, National-Gesänge der Hebräer, ii., 1820, pp. 210-312 (he gives, pp. 117-225, a full list of earlier writers on the subject from the commencement of the eighteenth century; and his commentary offers a serviceable conspectus of their opinions): H. Ewald, Die Dichter des Alten Bundes (1839), neue Ausarb. 1866, pp. 178-190 (his translation often happily reproduces the original rhythm. Very brief notes): G. Boettger, Commentarius exegetico-criticus in Deborae canticum, in Käuffer's Biblische Studien, i. pp. 116-128, ii. pp. 81-100, iii. pp. 122-148 (down to v. 9), 1842-4 (he adds little or nothing to the work of earlier scholars); J. von Gumpach, Alttestamentliche Studien, 1852, pp. 1-138 (lengthy, but not very discriminating); J. G. Donaldson, Jashar, 1854, pp. 237-240, 261-289 (comments of no special value): E. Meier, Uebersetzung und Erklärung des Deborah-Liedes, 1859 (his comments are often suggestive): G. Hilliger, Das Deborah-Lied übersetzt und erklärt, 1867 (he makes no special contribution of his own): A. Müller, Das Lied der Deborah, eine philologische Studie, in Königberger Studien, 1887, pp. 1-21 (a protest against the attempt to extract a rendering from a corrupt text at all costs—having mainly in view the second edition of Bertheau's commentary on Judges, which appeared in 1883); M. Vernes, Le cantique de Débora, in RÉJ. xxiv. 1892, pp. 52-67, 225-255 (he regards the Song as a very late production—not earlier than the fourth or third century B.C.—based upon the prose-narrative in ch. 4): C. Niebuhr, Versuch einer Reconstellation des Deborahliedes, 1894 (highly fanciful*): H. Winckler, *AF. i. (1893-97), pp. 152 f., 291 f.; GL. ii., 1900, pp. 127-135 (many original, but not very convincing, emendations); P. Ruben, *JQR. x. (1898), pp. 541-558 (emendations based on very rash philologizing): K. L. Stephen, Das Deborah-Lied, 1900 (his original suggestions are not happy): A. Segond, Le cantique de Débora, 1900 (painstaking, but fails at crucial points): V. Zapletal, Das Deborah-Lied, 1905 (he deals somewhat arbitrarily with the text in order to produce a uniform scheme of three-beat stichoi; and his Hebrew forms and constructions are often very curious): Ed. Meyer, *IN. pp. 487-498.


* The poem, in its original form, is thrown back by Niebuhr into the fourteenth century B.C. Sisera becomes a king of Egypt—Sesu-ra, the (supposed) last representative of the Eighteenth Dynasty; who revived Amenaton’s cult of the Solar-disk, which had been abandoned for the old religion of Egypt under Sesu-Ra’s predecessors, Amen-tut-ânāh and Ay; and whose accession was signalized by a combined attempt of the kings of Canaan to throw off the Egyptian yoke (‘Sisera, king of Egypt’, chose new gods; then was there war at the gates of Egypt’). Sesu-Ra is supposed to have quelled the Canaanite opposition; but subsequently to have suffered defeat at the hands of the Hebrew tribes under Barak. It goes without saying that the text of the poem has to undergo somewhat violent treatment before this view of affairs can be extracted from it.
The historical circumstances presupposed by the Song, as compared with the prose-narrative of ch. 4, have already been discussed in the general introd. to 4:1-5:31. It remains to say something about the metrical form of the poem. As a preliminary, we may notice that, while v.1 and v.5:1b are obviously the work of editors, the former being due, in all probability, to RJE, and the latter to RE, v.2 also, which is usually regarded as the opening couplet of the poem, is more probably an ancient introduction, extracted, together with the poem itself, from the old song-book in which it was contained (cf. note ad loc.). The poem thus possesses two introductions of a different date in v.1 and v.2, and its true commencement is found in v.3.

The fact may now be regarded as well established that Hebrew poetry, besides such long-recognized characteristics as parallelism in thought, etc., possesses a definitely marked metrical or (perhaps more accurately) rhythmical system. Attempts which have been made to discover a strict form of scansion by feet may be said to have resulted in failure: investigation has rather proved that ancient Hebrew possessed no regularly quantitative system of metre, but rather a system in which so many ictus or rhythmical beats occur in each stichos, while the number of intervening unstressed syllables is governed merely by the possibilities of pronunciation.*

The existence of such a system in the poetry of an ancient Semitic

* This system is exactly illustrated in English by Coleridge's Christabel, on the rhythm of which the poet writes:—'I have only to add that the metre of Christabel is not, properly speaking, irregular, though it may seem so from its being founded on a new principle: namely, that of counting in each line the accents, and not the syllables. Though the latter may vary from seven to twelve, yet in each line the accents will be found to be only four. Nevertheless, this occasional variation in number of syllables is not introduced wantonly, or for the mere ends of convenience, but in correspondence with some transition, in the nature of the imagery or passion.' In illustration of this system, as worked out in the poem, we may quote

'They crossed the moat, and Christabel
Took the key that fitted well;
A little door she opened straight,
All in the middle of the gate;
The gate that was ironed within and without,
Where an army in battle array had passed out.
The lady sank, belike through pain,
And Christabel with might and main
Lifted her up, a weary weight,
Over the threshold of the gate:
Then the lady rose again,
And moved, as she were not in pain.'
language is well illustrated by the Babylonian epic poems, where the regular rhythmical form appears to consist in four beats to the line.* Thus, e.g., we may cite (Gilgameš-epic, xi. 9. 10):

\[\text{luptéka Gilgameš amát niširti}\]
\[\text{u pištša ša iláni kása luḫbüka}\]

'I will unfold to thee, Gilgameš, a word of secrecy,
And a decision of the gods will I tell thee—e'en thee.'

Or, with a fewer number of syllables to the line (\textit{id.} xi. 21. 22):

\[\text{kikkiš kikkiš īgar īgar}\]
\[\text{kikkišu šiméma īgaru ėissás}\]

'Reed-hut, reed-hut! wall, wall!
Reed-hut, listen! wall, attend!'

This four-beat measure is well recognizable in Hebrew, and is prominent in the Song of Deborah, about three-eighths of the poem being so composed. The rhythm, as it appears in the original, may be illustrated from \textit{v.}:\footnote{Cf. Zimmern, \textit{Ein vorläufiges Wort über babylonische Metrik}, in \textit{ZA. 1893}, pp. 121-124; \textit{Weiteres zur babylonischen Metrik}, in \textit{ZA. 1895}, pp. 1-20. In the latter article, the author publishes a neo-Babylonian text in which the stichoi are divided by three vertical lines into four parts. This division can, in his opinion, serve no other purpose than to indicate the four verse-members (feet); and thus we have an actual proof that the Babylonians consciously reckoned lines of four beats in one species of their poetry.}

\[\text{hārīm nāz'llá mipp'né Yahweh}\]
\[\text{mipp'né Yahweh máhē Yisraēl}\]

The measure appears to be especially characteristic of such examples of Hebrew poetry as may be supposed (upon other grounds) to be among the most ancient; and the influence of the Babylonian pattern may here be conjectured to have been operative, or even a more remote tradition common to both peoples. As illustrations from other early poems we may cite Ex. 15 1b:\footnote{The major part of this poem is so composed. Sievers (\textit{op. cit.} pp. 408 f.) contrives to fit nearly the whole of it to this measure.}

\[\text{'āšrā b'Yahweh ki gā'ō gā'ā}\]
\[\text{sūs wērokheḇhō rāmā bhayyām}\]

'I will sing to Yahweh, for he hath triumphed, hath triumphed;
The hórse and his rider hath he whêlmed in the sēa';

\[\text{* Cf. Zimmern, Ein vorläufiges Wort über babylonische Metrik, in ZA. 1893, pp. 121-124; Weiteres zur babylonischen Metrik, in ZA. 1895, pp. 1-20. In the latter article, the author publishes a neo-Babylonian text in which the stichoi are divided by three vertical lines into four parts. This division can, in his opinion, serve no other purpose than to indicate the four verse-members (feet); and thus we have an actual proof that the Babylonians consciously reckoned lines of four beats in one species of their poetry.}\]
and 2 Sam. 1:22 from David's lament over Saul and Jonathan, which is mainly composed in this measure:

\[
\text{middām kōlālm mehēlebh gibbōrim}
\]
\[
\text{kēšeth Yēhōnāthān lō nasāgh ḥābōr}
\]
\[
\text{wēreabh Sā'ūl lō ṭašābh rēkām}
\]

'From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the strong
The bow of Jonathan turned not back;
And the sword of Saul returned not void.'

Together with the four-beat measure we also find, in the Song of Deborah, a three-beat measure into which about five-eighths of the poem is cast. We may instance v.4:

\[
\text{Yahwēh bēšēthkā missēlīr}
\]
\[
\text{bēša'dēkhā missēdē'ēḥōm}
\]

This is the most frequent form of Hebrew measure, the Book of Job and a great number of the Psalms being written in it. Couplets of this form may account for the term 'hexameter' as used by Josephus.*

The three-beat measure appears, like the four-beat measure, to be of considerable antiquity. We find it, for instance (combined with an opening line of four beats), in the ancient 'Song of the Sword' which is ascribed to Lamech in Gen. 4:22 ff., and evidently celebrates the invention or acquisition of weapons of bronze and iron by a people in the nomadic stage:

* Jos. applies the term (Ant. iv. viii. 44) to the 'Song' (Deut. 3a) and 'Blessing' (Deut. 33) of Moses, in both of which the three-beat measure is well marked. He also states (Ant. ii. xvi. 4) that Ex. 15 is composed 'in hexameter verse,' a statement which is true only of a very minor portion of the poem (cf. v.v. 2.28c.16d), the greater part being composed, as we have already noticed, in the four-beat measure. David is said (Ant. vii. xii. 3) to have composed 'songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre: some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters.' Here the trimeter of course is the three-beat measure considered as a stichos and not as a couplet (hexameter); while the pentameter is the so-called Kīnā (elegiac) measure which is well exemplified, e.g. by Ps. 42-43; cf. v.8:

'Thirsteth my soul for Gōd,
For the Gōd of my life,
When shall I come and behold
The face of Gōd.'

The former measure is reckoned either as trimeter or hexameter because each three-beat stichos is complete in itself, and the two lines of the couplet are usually parallel in sense; whereas in the pentameter (3+2) the second line completes the sense of the first.
Occasionally we find couplets in the Song of Deborah composed of a four-beat line followed by a three-beat line (4 + 3); cf. vv. 4b, 15b-16b, 26b-27a. Instances of the reverse order (3 + 4) occur in vv. 6a, 9. Combination of these two forms of measure is found similarly in Ex. 15. Other metrical forms employed in Hebrew poetry do not come under consideration in the present connexion.

The fact that Hebrew vocalization, as known to us from מ, represents a somewhat artificial system of pronunciation which is due to the method of cantillation practised in the Synagogue from early times, does not invalidate the conclusions above illustrated as to the metrical form of Hebrew poetry; since there is no reason to suppose that the number and position of the accentual beats were essentially altered to suit the pronunciation of מ. We are not altogether without evidence as to the pronunciation of Hebrew as a spoken language, but can draw well-founded inferences, partly from comparative philology, and partly from evidence derived from the transliterations of Amorite and Hebrew words which are found in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions (Amorite proper names on Babylonian First Dynasty Tablets; ‘Canaanite glosses’ on the T.A. Tablets; Biblical names in Assyrian Annals), and of proper names and place-names in ג. Such evidence indicates that the main difference between the original and the traditional pronunciations consisted in the occurrence of short vowels in positions in which we now find either tone-long vowels or else vocal ש'wa. Such a couplet as that quoted above from the Song of Deborah, v. 5, was probably pronounced in some such form as

\[
\text{harrim nazalā nippanāy Yahwāh} \\
\text{nippanāy Yahwāh 'elāhāy Yisrāēl}
\]

This, however, does not, for our purposes, vary essentially from the pronunciation of מ. Cf. further, Additional note, p. 158.
The theory of Hebrew rhythm here exemplified is substantially that which has been expounded in detail by Sievers (op. cit.), and which is now very generally adapted by scholars.* Sievers gives (pp. 418 ff.) his view of the rhythmical form of the Song of Deborah, which agrees throughout with that which has been arrived at by the present writer (prior to consultation of Sievers' version), except in a few minor particulars which depend upon individual views as to the original form of certain passages. The translation which follows aims at reproducing the rhythm of the original, in so far as this can be done consistently with a strictly accurate translation. Here and there a faithful reproduction of the rhythm (which might have been

* Ball's rendering of the Song (published nearly thirty years ago) proceeds upon the assumption of a more strictly metrical method, his lines falling into regular iambic feet, with an occasional anapaest or trochee. Such a theory must now give way in favour of that which is adopted above; yet the writer's method deserves notice, if only as a tribute to his exceptional command of English style in his reproduction of what he conceives to be the metrical form of the original. We may cite, by way of illustration, vv. 55ff., the account of Sisera's murder:—

Maim sh'āl, ḥālāb nāthanā;
Basīf 'addīrīm ḥāqribā ḥem'āh:
Yadāh [samōl] layāathed tīshleḥēnān
Wīmināh lālmūth 'āmilīm;
Wahālāma Sīṣ'ra māqāqā roshō,
Umaḥaqā wahālāfa rāqqathō.

Bein rāglaihā kārā, nafāl, shakāb;
Bein rāglaihā kārā, nafāl:
Bāshēr kārā, shāmil mahāl nafāl shaddūd.

' He asked but water, milk she gave;
In lordly platter she presented curds.
Her left hand to the tent-pin soft she lays,
And to the workmen's maul her right;
Then smote she Sisera and brake his head;
She struck, and pierced withal his temples through.

' Betwixt her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay;
Betwixt her feet he bowed, he fell;
E'en where he bowed, he fell, slain violently.'

A similar system of syllable-reckoning is found in the Syriac metres, the invention of which is ascribed by tradition to Bardesanes (born 154 A.D.). Bickell counts syllables in the same way as Ball; but his feet (in contrast) are trochaic, and he takes great liberties with the Hebrew forms in order to fit them into his system. Thus vv. 24ff. run, according to this system, as follows:—

Tēborākh minnāšīm Jā'el,
Minnāšīm b'ōhl t'bōrakh!
Mājm saāl, chalāb natānā;
B'sēl -ddīr ḥiqr'ba chēm'a.
Jādāh, l'jāted tšlḥānānā;
Wīmināh lethāmot 'amēlim.
obtained through a paraphrase) has to give way in favour of a faithful rendering into English.

That the poem was intended to exhibit a kind of strophic arrangement is very probable. On examination of its contents, it appears to fall into the following divisions:—

(1) vv. 3-5. Introduction—Praise of Yahweh, who is pictured as setting forth from His earthly seat to the help of His people (9 stichoi).
(2) vv. 6-8. Israel’s oppression by the Canaanites prior to the rising of the tribes (11 stichoi).
(3) vv. 12-11. Summons to a retrospect of Yahweh’s ‘righteous acts’ in giving victory to His people (11 stichoi).
(4) vv. 13-16a. Muster of the clans—The patriotic tribes (9 stichoi).
(5) vv. 16b-18. Reproach of the recreant tribes, who are contrasted with Zebulon and Naphtali, whose bravery was most conspicuous (10 stichoi).
(6) vv. 19-21. The battle (9 stichoi).
(7) vv. 22-23. Flight of the foe (6 stichoi).
(8) vv. 24-27. Ja’el’s deed extolled—The fate of Si’sera (11 stichoi).
(9) vv. 28-30. The poet gloats over the anxiety and vain expectation of Si’sera’s mother (11 stichoi).

v. 31a. A concluding couplet (supposed by some to have been added to the poem in later times).

V’hal’ma Si’s’ra’, mách’qa ró’so,
V’mách’qa v’chál’fa ráqq’to,
Bén ragláha kára’, náfal,
Vé-shákhab ladrey,’
Bén ragláha kára’, náfal;
Báážér kára’, šam náfal šádud.

This typically German rhythm lends itself admirably to his translation:—

‘Jahel sei von Frau’n gepriesen,
Von den Frau’n im Zelte!
Statt des Wassers gab sie Milch ihm,
Rahm in mächt’ge Schale.
Ihre Hand griff nach dem Pflocke,
Und den Hammer fasste ihre Rechte.

‘Und sein Haupt zerschlug sie hämmernd,
Quetschte seine Schläfe.
Sisara fiel, stürzte nieder,
Lag zu ihren Füssen,
So vor ihr dahingestreckt,
Blieb er, wo er fiel, zerschmettert liegen.’

Marquart’s system likewise takes such liberties with the position of the *ictus* as would be capable (by the aid of emendation, where deemed necessary) of producing almost any desired result from any Hebrew poem to which it might be applied.
Here we notice that, out of the nine divisions or strophes into which the poem falls, four, viz. Nos. 2, 3, 8, and 9, are of exactly the same length, viz. eleven stichoi. Every strophe, except Nos. 5 and 7, contains a single line; and in Nos. 4, 6, 8, and 9 these single lines correspond with a break in subject, rounding off the strophe. Such a measure of uniformity suggests that, in its original form, the poem may have been more completely uniform. Thus, e.g., it seems probable that v. 12 in strophe 3 originally stood before an arrangement which brings the single stichos v. 11 to the end of the strophe. This gives a very natural order:—Deborah, Barak, the military commanders, 'the people' or rank and file of the fighting men, and then typical representatives of the community in time of peace—the sheikhs, the wayfarers, and the village-maidens. We must not, however, lay too great stress upon such an arrangement, since it seems fairly clear that it was not hard and fast throughout the poem. Few would doubt that strophe 1 stands substantially in its original form. In this case the strophe may be said to fall into two parts, 1a (v. 3) and 1b (v. 4-6); and it is 1a, and not 1b, that the poet has rounded off with the single stichos.

The variation in length of strophes 1, 4-7, and more especially the very marked comparative brevity of No. 7, suggests that the poem has undergone a certain amount of mutilation in transmission—a conclusion which is also rendered highly probable by the very corrupt condition of the text in the middle part of the poem (v. 8-16), which has been the despair of a multitude of commentators. It is perhaps needless to remark that the emendations adopted in the translation are not claimed as offering more than a reasonably possible solution of textual difficulties which are in some cases so considerable that they may well be regarded as beyond the reach of remedy.* When confronted by difficulties of such a character there are three courses which are open to the translator. He may endeavour to force a meaning out of as it stands, in defiance of the ordinary rules which govern Hebrew philology; he may abandon the passage as hopeless, and leave a lacuna in his translation; or he may seek, by aid of the ancient Versions, or (in default of such aid) by means of reasonable conjecture, so to emend the text that it may satisfy at once the demands of the Hebrew language and the requirements of the context. The third course has been adopted as most appropriate to a commentary of which the aim is the elucidation of the Biblical text by all the aids which modern research has placed within our reach.

* The very corrupt condition of portions of the poem may be taken as an indication that it was derived by E, not from oral tradition, but from an ancient written source which may already have been partially illegible when it was drawn upon by the historian. Cf. the similar phenomenon in David's lament over Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. 17ff., and Solomon's words at the dedication of the Temple, 1 Kgs. 8 12-13—poems which we know to have been extracted from an ancient song-book, viz. the Book of Jashar.
Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinom'am on that day, saying,

Bless ye Yahweh!

Attend, ye kings; give ear, ye rulers: I — to Yahweh I will sing,
Will make melody to Yahweh, the God of Israel.

Yahweh, in thy progress from Se'ir,
In thy march from the field of Edom,
Earth quaked, yea, heaven [rocked],
Yea, the clouds dropped water.

The mountains [shook] before Yahweh,

Before Yahweh, the God of Israel.

[From] the days of Shamgar ben·Anath,
[From] the days of old, caravans ceased.
And they that went along the ways used to walk [by]
crooked paths.

Villages ceased in Israel;
... ceased;
Till thou didst arise, Deborah,
Didst arise as a mother in Israel.

Armourers had they none;
Armed men failed from the city:
Was there seen a shield or a lance
Among forty thousand in Israel?

Awake, awake, Deborah!
Awake, awake, sing paean!
Rise up, Barak, and lead captive
Thy capt'ors, O son of Abinom'am!

Ye that volunteered among the people, bless ye Yahweh!

Let the riders on tawny she-asses [review it,]
And let the wayfarers [recall it to mind !?]

Hark to the maidens laughing' at the wells!
There they recount the righteous acts of Yahweh,
The righteous acts of his arm in Israel.[]
13. Then down to the gates gat the nobles; Yahweh's folk gat them down mid the heroes.
14. From Ephraim they spread out on the vale; 'After thee, Benjamin!' mid thy clansmen. From Machir came down the commanders, And from Zebulun men wielding the truncheon. 15. And thy princes, Issachar, were with Deborah; And Naphtali was leal to Barak: To the vale he was loosed at his heel. 

(Utterly rent) into factions was Reuben; Great were his searchings of heart.
16. Why sat'st thou still amid the folds, To hear the pastoral pipings? Gilead beyond the Jordan dwelt, And Dan abideth by the ships. Asher sat still by the shore of the seas, Dwelling beside his creeks.
17. Zebulun is the folk that scorned its life to the death, And Naphtali on the heights of the field.

19. On came the kings, they fought; Then fought the kings of Canaan; In Ta'anach, by the rills of Megiddo; The gain of money they took not.
20. From heaven fought the stars; From their highways they fought with Siyera. 21. The torrent Kishon swept them off; It faced them, the torrent Kishon. 'Bless thou, my soul, the might of Yahweh!'

22. Then loud beat the hoofs of the horses; Off galloped, off galloped his chargers.
23. Curse ye, curse ye Meroz! Curse ye, curse ye her towns-folk! For they came not to the help of Yahweh, To the help of Yahweh mid the heroes.
Most blessed of women be Ja'el, [ ]
Of tent-dwelling women most blessed! 

Water he asked; milk she gave;
In a lordly dish she proferred curds.

Her hand to the peg she put forth,
And her right to the maul of the workmen;
And she smote Si'sera—destroyed his head,
Shattered and pierced through his temples.

'Twixt her feet he bowed, he fell down, he lay prone;
'Twixt her feet he bowed, he fell down.
Where he bowed, there he fell down undone.

Out through the window she leaned and exclaimed,
The mother of Si'sera out through the lattice:
'Wherefore delayeth his car to come?
Wherefore tarrieth the clatter of his chariots?'

Her wisest princesses make answer,
Yea, she returneth her reply:

'Are they not finding—dividing the spoil?
A damsel—two damsels for every man:
A spoil of dyed stuffs for Si'sera,
A spoil of dyed stuffs embroidered;
Two dyed embroideries for the neck of the queen.'

So perish all thy foes, Yahweh:
But be thy friends like the sun going forth in his might.

And the land had rest forty years.

5, 1. Then sang Deborah. That the poem was actually composed by Deborah does not appear to be probable: cf. note on v. 27.

2. When, etc. The view which is taken in the translation given above is that this statement forms no part of the poem, but simply states the occasion on which it was composed, viz. when the Israelites consecrated themselves with unshorn locks (see below) to fight the battle of Yahweh, and made spontaneous offering of their service. The form of the sentence (Infinitive Construct with ה in a temporal clause) is exactly like that which is employed in stating the supposed occasions of several of the Psalms in the 'David' collection. So Ps. 3, 'When he fled from Absalom his son'; Ps. 34, 'When he changed his conduct before Abimelech, etc.'; Ps. 51, 'When Nathan
the prophet came unto him, etc.' (םזב בּוֹבֶל) ; cf. also Pss. 52, 54, 57, 59, 60, 63.*

Bar'khu Yahweh, 'Bless ye Yahweh!' may then be regarded as the title of the poem, indicating that it is a song of thanksgiving; just as in certain Psalms we find a prefixed HAL'LU YAH, 'Praise ye Yah!' which is not strictly part of the Psalm itself, but indicates its contents, viz. a song of praise: cf. Pss. 106, 111, 112, al. Title and note of occasion appear to have been taken over by the E writer from the old song-book (perhaps 'the Book of the wars of Yahweh,' Num. 21:14) in which the poem was contained. The ordinary view, which makes this verse the opening couplet of the poem, is opposed by its somewhat abrupt character, in contrast to v. 3 which forms a natural opening (cf. Ex. 15:1, 'I will sing to Yahweh, etc.') ; and also (and especially) by the difficulty of finding a suitable rendering which does justice to the Hebrew construction. It is very doubtful whether the rendering of R.V., For that, etc., bless ye Yahweh' (i.e. Thank Yahweh that such spontaneous service was rendered) can be justified, no parallel to the use of the Infinitive Construct with ב in such a sense seeming to exist. The only natural rendering of 'בּ בּוֹלָּל פָּנָי is that which makes it a temporal clause: 'When, etc., bless ye Yahweh'; i.e. when Israel offers spontaneous service, bless Yahweh as the true source of the noble impulse, just as He is the true giver of victory; and (implicitly) do not ascribe the movement to human merit (cf. ch. 7:2). The impulse described by the verb hithnaddébh, i.e. voluntary service in Yahweh's

* Since writing the above note, the present editor has discovered that a similar view was put forward by William Green, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1753 (The Song of Deborah, reduced to metre). Green treats v. 3 as a statement of the occasion of the poem, and renders vv. 1-3,

'Then sang Deborah and Barak
The son of Abinoam, on that day,
When they set Israel free, (and)
The people willingly offered themselves, saying, Bless ye Jehovah.'

His note on the passage runs as follows:—'The second Period contains the title and occasion of the Song, as may be seen by comparing it with the titles of the Psalms, many of which run as this does. See titles of the 3rd, 34th, 51st, and other Psalms. The Song plainly begins at Period the third.'

‡ We should expect לַעֲעַעַעַעַעַעַע on account of their trying Yahweh,' Am. 1:3 'on account of their threshing'), or לַעֲעַעַעַעַע, or לַעֲעַעַע, alone, with the finite verb (cf. Ex. 32:26 לַעֲעַעַעַעַע because they had made,' Ps. 144:12 'on the ground that' after לא; but he quotes no illustration of such a usage.
cause, is ascribed to the influence of Yahweh in 1 Chr. 29. It would be precarious, however, to argue from so late a passage to the passage with which we are dealing; and, in any case, such an explanation involves reading more into our verse than perhaps it may reasonably be supposed to contain. Mo. suggests that the pref. might here be rendered 'with':—"with long streaming locks in Israel, with free gifts of the people, praise ye Yahweh"—a rendering which, even if it be possible, does not commend itself as at all probable.

When long locks of hair were worn loose. Heb. biphroa' p'ra'oth. The construction is literally that of an impersonal active verb: 'When one let loose long locks, etc.'

Much discussion has taken place over the meaning of substantive and cognate verb. The grounds upon which the rendering given above is adopted are as follows. In Bab. pirtu (plur. pirētu, pirētu) means 'long hair' (of the head): cf. Gēgamel-epic I. col. ii. 36, where it is said of the wild man Engidu that 'his long hair is arranged like a woman's' (uppuṣ pirtu kīmā sinnisti; lit. 'he is arranged as to the long hair, etc.') The same subs. is seen in the Ar. far' 'long hair' of a woman, 'full or abundant hair' (Lane). In Heb. pēra' occurs in Num. 6 with reference to the Nazirite: R.V. 'All the days of his vow of separation no razor shall come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled in which he separateth himself to the Lord, he shall be holy, he shall let the locks (pēra') of the hair of his head grow long. Similarly, Ezek. 44:20: R.V. 'Neither shall they (the priests the sons of Šadoḵ) shave their heads, nor suffer their locks (pēra') to grow long; they shall only poll their heads.' In all these cases (Bab., Ar., and Heb.) the meaning of the substantives is undisputed.

A plur. form par'oth, Construct State of p'ra'oth in our passage with fem. termination (cf. Bab. pirētu, plur. pirētu), is found in Deut. 32:42; and the meaning has been held to be equally ambiguous in Deut. and Judg. In the passage of Deut. (where Yahweh is the speaker) Driver renders as follows:

'I will make mine arrows drunk with blood,
And my sword shall devour flesh,
With the blood of the slain and of the captives,
From the long-haired heads of the foe.'

The Heb. phrase in the last line is rōš par'ōth, lit. 'head of long locks.'

There is no dispute that the verb pēra' has the meaning let loose, unbind long hair in other passages: cf. Lev. 10:6, 21:10, 13:46, Num. 5:18. It is also used metaphorically in the sense of letting loose people by removing restraint from them, in Ex. 32:26 (twice). Syr. pēra' means 'to sprout;' and late Ar. far'āna is quoted in this sense* (cf. references in BDB. s.v. מָרָא נָ ה מ).

* The roots מָרָא and נָ ה מ 'sprout' may be ultimately connected.
This is the case for the rendering which has been adopted in the text with some confidence. As Black remarks (after W. Robertson Smith), 'The expression . . . refers to the ancient and widespread practice of vowing to keep the head unshorn until certain conditions had been fulfilled (cf. Acts 18 18). The priests [cf. the passage from Ezek. already cited] were prohibited from making such vows because they might interfere with the regular discharge of the priestly functions; but with warriors in primitive times the unshorn head was a usual mark of their consecration to the work which they had undertaken, and their locks remained untouched till they had achieved their enterprise or perished in the attempt (cf. Ps. 68 21). War among most primitive peoples is a sacred function, and this was specially the case in Israel where Jehovah was the God of Hosts.'

This interpretation, which was probably intended by Σ. ἐν τῷ ἀνακαλύψασθαι κεφαλάς (cf. Ἁπεκαλύφθη ἀποκάλυμμα), is also adopted by Cassel, Welth. (Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch. p. 97), Vernes, No., La., Cooke (Comm.), Gress., and, on Deut. 32 48 (according to Driver), by Schultens, Knobel, Keil, and by R.V. marg. 2.

The principal rival interpretation is 'For that (or when) the leaders led.' This appears in Κρα1, Θ., ἐν τῷ ἀρξασθαῖ ἀρχηγοῖς, and is adopted by R.V., Schnurrer, Herder (1780), Hollmann, Ges., Ros., Donaldson, Meier, Ewald, Hilliger, Bach., Reuss, Ber., Oet., Bu., Stephan, Kit., Zapletal, Kent, Smith, and apparently given the preference by Mo. on Judg.; and in Deut. by R.V. ('From the head of the leaders of the enemy'), Schultz, Kamphausen, Dillmann, Oet., Steuernagel. It depends upon the fact that in Ar. the verb farā'a has the sense overtop or surpass in height, and then become superior in eminence, nobility, etc.; and hence is derived the subs. far, noble or man of eminence (Lane).*

If this rendering is correct, it is at any rate remarkable that, where so many occasions for mentioning leaders or chieftains occur in the O.T., both in poetry and prose, this particular term should be found only in the two passages specified, and should in both of them be open to a considerable measure of ambiguity.

Other explanations may be dismissed in a few words. Kimchi, and several older modern commentators (Köhler, Herder (1825), etc.),

* There can be little doubt that this root is the same as that from which the subs. 'long hair' is derived, the common idea being that of luxuriant growth.

Cooke makes a mistake in attempting (with some of the older commentators) to connect the Aram. דוב<Event:1618:19> דוב(Event:1618:19) which is used in דוב Deut. 16 18 to translate the Heb. דוב(Event:1618:19) 'officers' (in subordinate position); since the sense here intended is vindices (from דוב(Event:1618:19) 'to avenge'), alongside of Heb. דוב(Event:1618:19) דוב(Event:1618:19) 'judges.' Cooke adds a reference to Ex. 20 5 in דוב(Event:1618:19); but this is quite off the point, דוב(Event:1618:19) here having the sense 'vindictive,' in the phrase, 'a jealous and vindictive God.'
following the rendering of שב, 'For the vengeance wherewith Israel was avenged,' explain 'For the vengeance (lit. vengeances) which was taken in Israel,' i.e. the avenging of their wrongs. Similarly, in Deut. 32:42 R.V. marg. offers the rendering, 'From the beginning of revenges upon the enemy.' But this sense of the verb סבל, though common in Aram., cannot be paralleled in Heb., in which נצקמ is the regular term for 'avenge.' Lastly, Le Clerc, Michaelis, Justi, Stu., von Gumpach, assuming the meaning of the root to be to loosen in a general sense, would render 'For the freedom (freedoms) which was wrought in Israel.' Such a sense, however, cannot be supported.

volunteered. The Heb. היתנדהב, which is used, as here, in 2 Chr. 17:16, Neh. 11:2, in the sense of offering one's self willingly to perform certain services, occurs in 1 Chr. 29 (passim), Ezr. 1:8, 2:66; 3:6† with the meaning offer freewill offerings (מדחבים) for the Temple. Cf. also, in Bib. Aram., Ezr. 7:13, 15, 16.

3. ye rulers. Heb. רוז'נמ, which is connected with an Ar. root meaning 'to be weighty, grave, firm in judgment,' is only employed in the O.T. in poetical or elevated diction. It is parallel to 'kings' (as here) in Hab. 1:10, Ps. 2:2, Prov. 8:15, 31:4, and to 'judges of the earth' in Isa. 40:23†. Cf. Bab. ursosunu (ruzzunu?), ursumu, 'mighty, dignified,' cited by Dyneley Prince, JBL., 1897, pp. 175 ff.; Langdon, ASL., 1912, pp. 144 f.

I— unto Yahweh I will sing. The first 'I' is a nominativus pendens. R.V., 'I, even I will sing, etc.,' is incorrect.

will make melody. Heb. שמן is used of playing an instrument (cf. Ps. 33:2b, 144:6b, 147:7b, al.), as well as of singing. Hence the rendering adopted is preferable to the more specific rendering of R.V., 'I will sing praise.'

4. Yahweh, when, etc. Yahweh is pictured as marching to the assistance of Israel from His ancient seat in the south (as rightly observed by Hollmann), which is placed by the poet in 'Se'ir' or 'the field of Edom.' That this seat can be no other than Sinai (of J and P) or Horab (of E and D), as is assumed by the author of the ancient gloss 'This is Sinai' in v. 6b, cannot be doubted. The old poem called 'the Blessing of Moses,' Deut. 33, is very explicit. It opens with the quatrains—

'Yahweh came from Sinai,
And beamed forth unto them from Se'ir;
He shone forth from mount Paran,
And came from Meribath-Kadesh.'

Here Sinai is grouped with Se'ir, i.e. the mountain-range of Edom which runs north and south, from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of 'Akaba; with a mountain (or mountain-range) belonging to Paran—perhaps Gebel Fârân, among the mountains to the south-east of
Kadesh; and with Meribah of Kadesh,* i.e. Kadesh-Barnea', which was close to the border of Edom: cf. Num. 20:10b, and note on 'from the Crag,' Judg. 1:36.

The evidence of the 'prayer' of Habakkuk is similar. This opens with the statement—

'God came from Teman,
And the holy one from mount Paran.'

Teman, which etymologically means 'the right hand side,' or South country, from the standpoint of Canaan, is the name applied to a district of Edom, as appears from Ezek. 25:13, Ob. 9.

If the site of Mount Sinai is to be sought among the mountains of Edom, not far from Kadesh—possibly in the Gebel el-Makrah group to the south-east of 'Ain Kudês (cf. Map V.), this is consonant with several other statements contained in the O.T. For instance, Moses comes to Mount Horeb when feeding the flock of his father-in-law, the priest of Midian (Ex. 3:1 E); and Midian appears to have been situated north-east of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba, in the neighbourhood of the hill-country of Se'ir.† Israel's first conflict with the 'Amalekites is at Rephidim close to Sinai (Ex. 17:5ff. E); and the 'Amalekites are mentioned elsewhere as inhabiting the region immediately south of the Negeb, in the neighbourhood of the Kenites and Sime'onites: cf. note on 'Amalek' ch. 3:12. The story of Moses striking the rock at Kadesh is given as the origin of the name Meribah in Num. 20:1-13 (JEP), and is closely parallel to the story of his striking the rock at Rephidim close to Sinai, Ex. 17:1-7 (JE), where the name Meribah is similarly given; and it is impossible to think otherwise than that the two narratives are duplicates of the same tradition. Cf. further Sayce, pp. HCM. 262-272.

The traditional site of Sinai is Gebel Mûsâ in the south of the peninsula of Sinai, more than 150 miles south of Kadesh ('Ain Kudês), and considerably over 100 miles from the southernmost district of Edom, and from the land of Midian. The only evidence

* גא reads שְׁלָשׁ לָבְכַּל הַיָּמִים, i.e. 'from ten thousands of holiness,' which is paraphrased by R.V., 'from the ten thousands of holy ones.'  ג, however, renders מִיָּמִי מֻרְפָּאֵו קָדָשָׁה, and it is clear that a place-name is required by the parallelism with the three preceding stichoi. This can be scarcely other than מֵימַי הַיָּמִים: cf. Deut. 32:21, Ezek. 47:19, 48:28; Ps. 106:52.

† The statement of Ex. 3:1 that Moses 'led his flock to the back of the wilderness' implies that the mountain of God lay to the west of Midian. The Mēδēva or Μαδαβα of Ptolemy (vi. 7), i.e. the Madyan of the Arabic geographers, lies east of the gulf of 'Aḳaba and south of the mountain-range of Se'ir; but the land of Midian may in all probability have extended further northwards along the eastern side of Se'ir. Thus a mountain west of Midian might be situated in Se'ir to the east of the 'Arabah: but the tradition which associates Sinai with Kadesh and Paran, seems rather to favour the district of Edom which lay to the west of the 'Arabah.
in the O.T., which may be said to tell in its favour, in so far as it is incompatible with the evidence given above associating Sinai with Kadesh, is the statement of Deut. 1:2 that 'it is eleven days from Horeb by way of the hill-country of Se'ir to Kadesh-Barnea'. It may be noticed also that P in Num. 33:16-36 places twenty stations between Sinai and Kadesh; but this is discounted by the fact that the old narrative JE knows nothing of these stations, and only mentions Tab'erah (Num. 11:3), Kibroth-hatta'avah (Num. 11:34), and Ḥašeroth (Num. 11:35), as intervening.*

The tradition which connects Sinai with Gebel Mūsā cannot be traced beyond the monastic period. It seems to have been in the fourth century A.D. that Christian communities began to settle in the Sinai peninsula, and monasteries were established in the neighbourhood of Gebel Mūsā, and also of Gebel Serbāl, in the west of the peninsula, which, in the opinion of many authorities, possesses the earlier claim to have been considered the traditional Sinai. Upon this question, cf. Driver, Exodus (Camb. Bib.), pp. 186 ff.

the field of Edom. The phrase בֵּית הָאָרֶץ (parallel to 'Seir,' a mountain-district: cf. preceding note) suggests an original connexion between Heb. sādēḥ, ordinarily rendered 'field,' and Bab. šadā, 'mountain.' §

An expansion in G's paraphrase of v. 5 shows that the translator must have supposed Sinai to be a very small mountain, and therefore could not have known the tradition identifying it with Gebel Mūsā or Gebel Serbāl. The passage runs, 'Mount Tabor, Mount Ḥermon, and Mount Carmel were in a fury one with another, and were saying one to another, the one of them, 'Upon me shall His Sheḳkini dwell; and me it becometh'; and another, 'Upon me shall His Sheḳkini dwell; and me it becometh.' He caused His Sheḳkini to dwell on Mount Sinai, which is weaker and smaller than all the mountains.'

§ Heb. יִשְׁבַּת = Bab. יָשָׁב 'be sated', יִשָּׁב = Iṣu 'sheep'. יִשָּׁב = Iṣaṭu 'rebel', יִשָּׁב = Iṣbu 'hoary', יִשָּׁב = Iṣṭu 'shoot' from יִשְׁבָּה 'grow', יִשָּׁב = Šamēlu 'left side', יִשָּׁב = Šāru 'hair' = Šārtu 'hairy skin', יִשָּׁב = Iṣakk = Iṣabu 'sack', יִשָּׁב = Šarāpu 'burn', יִשָּׁב = Iṣarru 'king', and in other cases in which the connexion is not so obvious. Cf. the way in which loan-words in Hebrew from Assyrian represent š by ּ; e.g. יִנָּר for Šargānu, etc.: cf. the present editor's note in JTS. xi. p. 440.
of the field,' parallel to 'the heights of the earth'; 2 Sam. 1:12, where we should perhaps read 'ye fields of death,' parallel to 'ye mountains of Gilboa'; Jer. 18:14, 'Shall the snow of Lebanon fail from the rock of the field?' In all these cases the more original meaning 'mountain' appears to be prominent. Cf. Barth, Etymologische Studien, pp. 65 ff.; Winckler, AF. i. p. 192; Peters, JBL., 1893, pp. 54 ff. The reason why sadhe came to denote more generally 'field,' i.e. open country, usually uncultivated pasture or hunting-ground, probably was that the usage sprang up in Palestine where this type of country is found in the hills as opposed to the vale ('emek), which doubtless was then, as it is now, appropriated for arable purposes. A parallel may be found in the fact that, for the Babylonians, the same Sumerian ideogram KUR stands both for sadu, 'mountain,' and matu (Aram. matha), 'country'; a fact which points the inference that for the original users of the ideogram their 'country' was a mountain-country.

Earth quaked. The reference is not to Yahweh's manifestation in storm and earthquake at the giving of the Law on Sinai or Horeb (Ex. 19:16 ff., Deut. 4:11-12, 5:22 ff.), as has been supposed by many scholars—a fact which would have no special significance in the present connexion, but to his appearance in these natural phenomena upon the occasion with which the poem deals. As we have already noticed (4:14 note), the fact that a thunder-storm burst in the face of the foes, and materially assisted in their discomfiture, may be inferred both from the poetical and prose-narratives. The statement that 'the earth quaked' need not be taken more literally than the companion-statement that 'the heaven rocked'; and may well be a poetical description of the apparent effect produced by the rolling peals of thunder.

rocked. Reading נָמַס with לֵשֵׁה שְׁפָךְ (cf. לֵשֵׁה שְׁפָךְ), שְׁפָךְ 'turbatum est,' Bu., Mo., Oort, No., in place of היה נָפָהמָה which means 'dropped' or 'dripped,' and is the word used in the following stichos—a fact which doubtless accounts for its erroneous occurrence in our passage. The Heb. root magh, suggested by the Versions above cited, is the same as the Ar. madga, which, as applied to the sea, means 'be in a state of commotion,' 'be agitated with waves,' 'be very tumultuous' (Lane). Marquart, Ehr. read מַגְּה 'were shaken.'

5. shook. Vocalizing צָלַת (as in Isa. 63:19, 64:2) with צָלַת שְׁפָךְ, צָלַת 'commoti sunt,' צָלַת שְׁפָךְ, צָלַת שְׁפָךְ, צָלַת שְׁפָךְ, Ar. צָלַת שְׁפָךְ, and most moderns, in place of צָלַת שְׁפָךְ 'flowed down,' which has the support of צָלַת שְׁפָךְ 'fluxerunt.'

* It is possible that צָלַת as vocalized by צָלַת may be intended as a weakened form of צָלַת; cf. צָלַת צָלַת צָלַת צָלַת in Gen. 11:67; G-K. § 67 dd.
5. 6.] THE BOOK OF JUDGES

Before Yahweh, etc. יִתְנָה תֹּא, i.e. if part of the original, 'Yon Sinai before Yahweh, etc.' The use of the pronoun יִתְנָה deportis can be paralleled (cf. BDB s.v. יִת 2); but, as Mo. remarks, 'would only be natural if Sinai were in sight.' The chief objection, however, to the originality of the words is the fact that they are metrically superfluous, since they make the stichos to contain five beats;* whereas, with their omission, the verse is perfectly balanced. It can hardly be doubted that יִתְנָה תֹּא is simply a scribe's marginal note which has crept into the text, and which is to be understood predicatively, 'This is Sinai' (cf. ס. routed תונ Sinai), i.e. 'This refers to Sinai,' viz. the mention of the mountains in the first stichos of v. 5. The inclusion of this gloss in the text must have happened fairly early, since it appears in the same position in all the Versions, and also in Ps. 68 8, which is copied from our passage.† This view is adopted by von Gumpach, Donaldson, Ball, Mo., Bu., Oort, No., La., Kit., Cooke, Gress. Winckler and Marquart read יִתְנָה תֹּא 'Sinai trembled,' and modify Yahweh's title in order otherwise to shorten the stichos (Winck. 'before Yahweh'—tautologous with parallel stichos; Marq. 'before him'—three beats only in the stichos). Kit., BH. proposes (after Grä.) to read יִתְנָה תֹּא for יִתְנָה 'Sinai quivered,' and to delete יִתְנָה.

6. In the days of Shamgar, etc. Cf. note on 331, where the fact is remarked that the name Shamgar is non-Israelite, and may very likely be Hittite in origin. We have also noticed (4 2 note) that Siisera may very possibly be a Hittite name; and these two inferences, taken together, lend colour to the theory, propounded by Marquart, and afterwards worked out by Mo. (JAOs., 1898, pp. 159 f.), that Shamgar may have been a foreign oppressor, and Siisera his immediate successor, if not his son: both being members of a Hittite dynasty ruling in Canaan, to which the Canaanite city-kings, at least in the vicinity of the great plain, were vassals.

From the days of old. יֵתְנָה יְדֵי יִתְנָה 'In the days of Ja'el'; but this can scarcely represent the original text. As Mo. appositely remarks, 'it is singular that the name of this Bedawi woman should be coupled with that of Shamgar. And how can the period before the rise of Deborah be called the days of Ja'el, when the deed which made her famous was only the last act in the deliverance which Deborah had already achieved? The best that can be said is that, although Shamgar and Ja'el, both of whom in different ways wrought deliverance for their people, were living, they did nothing to free Israel from the tyranny of the Canaanites until Deborah

* יִתְנָה תֹּא would count as one beat only.
† Ps. 68 is probably not earlier than the Maccabean period. Ball has made out a strong case for finding its occasion in the events narrated in 1 Macc. 50 ff., cir. B.C. 165: cf. JTS. xi. (1910) pp. 415 ff.
The difficulty is enhanced if Shamgar was not really an Israelite Judge, as supposed by the author of the gloss in 3:31, but (as is suggested by his name: cf. note) a foreign oppressor. Many commentators would escape the difficulty by excising the words ‘in the days of Ja’eł’ as a gloss suggested by vv.24ff. Here, however, we find ourselves upon the horns of a dilemma. If we excise no more than these words, with Geddes, Bickell, Cooke, Marquart, Bu., Mo. (Comm., but not SBOT.), No., we then have a stichos consisting of two beats only, תרזא עליה ‘caravans ceased’—which is scarcely possible. If, on the other hand, we also excise ‘the son of Anath’ from stichos a (with Kit.), and then read a b as a single stichos, ‘In the days of Shamgar caravans ceased’ (rhythmically correct), we are unable to point to the source whence ‘the son of Anath’ was derived by the late author of 3:31.

Assuming the correctness of the suggestion noticed above, that Shamgar was a foreign oppressor preceding Sisera, it is feasible to regard the of לעי as due to dittography of the final letter of ימי, and to find in לעי the first two letters of ימי ‘old time’ (so Ball, privately). Then, reading in both stichoi בם for בים (confusion of ב and מ is frequent; cf. examples cited by Driver, NHTS. p. lxvii.) we obtain the text adopted above. It may be objected to this that מימי לעי suggests too remote an antiquity. Yet cf. the expression תונ الثلاثاء ‘the desolations of old time,’ Isa. 58:12, 61:4, an expression covering a period of not more than fifty to seventy years. It would be natural for the poet, after the great victory, somewhat to exaggerate the duration of the oppression.

Suggested substitutions of another proper name for the name Ja’eł (e.g. ‘Ja’ir,’ Ewald, HI. ii. p. 365; ‘Othniel,’ Grä.) do not call for comment.

caravans. Vocalizing תדרא with most moderns, in place of תדרא, ‘ways’ or ‘paths’ of מ. * ‘OGRAPH (cf. Gen. 37:25; Isa. 21:13) is the active participle fem. sing. of ’arah ‘to journey,’ and is used collectively to denote a travelling company. The aggressions of the Canaanites put a stop to commercial intercourse in Israelite territory. תדראيف of מ, i.e. ‘the ways ceased,’ is interpreted by R.V. ‘the highways were unoccupied’; † but to make ‘ceased’ to mean ‘ceased

* The same change has to be made in Job 6:19, where ימי תדרא מ should be יי תדרא מ. Similarly, in Job 31:26 we must read הילא ‘for the wayfarer’ (ילא ‘a sojourner’) in place of הנלק מ, which can only mean ‘for the way.’

† R.V. marg. offers the rendering ‘the caravans ceased’; but it should be noted that this involves a tacit adoption of our emendation, and cannot be got out of מ as it stands.
5.1.1 THE BOOK OF JUDGES

to be used' is a forced expedient which cannot be justified. Such an idea would have been more naturally expressed by a different verb: cf. Isa. 33:8, 'The highways lie desolate (יתוֹלֵךְ מַעֲמָד יְהוָעָשֶׁה), the wayfaring man ceaseth.'

They that went, etc. Even the private wayfaring could only find safety by taking 'crooked,' i.e. devious and roundabout, paths.

crooked paths. Lit. 'crooked ones,' 'paths' being naturally inferred from the context. So in Ps. 125:5 מַעֲמָדִים יְהוָעָשֶׁה, 'their crooked (ways).'

The omission is favoured by Mo. (who quotes Briggs, Ley, Grimme), Bu., No., La., Cooke.

7. Villages. Reading יָרוֹד with four MSS. of ה', ס' יָרוֹד 'open (i.e. unwalled) places,' תָּרוֹד והָרֶה 'village-towns,' and many moderns. Præzöth (cf. Ezek. 38:11, Zech. 2:4 (ח), Est. 9:10) are the unwalled hamlets which the Israelites dwelling round about the plain of Esdraelon were compelled to inhabit owing to their failure to capture the fortified cities of the Canaanites: cf. ch. 1:27 ff. Such hamlets, being unprotected, were speedily swept out of existence by the foe; and we are left to infer that, as happened during other periods of oppression (cf. ch. 6:2, 1 Sam. 13:6), the Israelite inhabitants must have been driven to take refuge in the caves and fastnesses of the hills.

ירָד which occurs again in the suffix-form יַרְדֶה in v.11, has been explained as a collective 'peasantry,' 'rural population' (hence R.V. marg. 'villages'); but the coupling of the plur. verb נַהֲרָב, 'ceased' with the sing. collective subject is extraordinarily harsh, and can scarcely be justified.* Bu., who retains יַרְדֶה, feels constrained to alter the verb into the sing. לֲרָדָה (cf. Ge לֹמֵת וְפַלְפַל). תָּרוֹד in v.11 is likewise only susceptible of a very forced explanation: —'the righteous acts of (i.e. pertaining to) his peasantry,' i.e. 'his righteous acts towards the peasantry.' The rendering of חָיָה לְפָרְשָׁהוּ v.7, ו 'fortes' vv.7-11, Ber., La., and several of the older commentators,† R.V. text, 'rulers' (or 'judges') v.7, 'his rule' v.11, may be

* A parallel may perhaps be found in 1 Kgs. 5:3 (ח17), המִלְאָלָה הָאָרֶץ מַכְבָּה רַע 'the state of warfare (sing.) which surrounded (plur.) him,' which can only be explained upon the supposition that the writer, in speaking of warfare, had implicitly in his mind the foes (plur.) who were its cause, and so lapsed into the plur. verb. Cf. NHTK. ad loc.

† This interpretation is given by Rabbi Isaiah (in Buxtorf, Rabbinic Bible): רָדָה לֹא לָשׁוֹת לַשׁוֹת לָשׁוֹת מָשָׁלְהוּ הַשָּׁלֹה לְמָשָׁלְהוּ, 'and it is possible to interpret it in the sense of "rule," viz. that they ceased to have rule.'
compared with 'דבָּר in Hab. 3:14, where the meaning 'his chief men,' 'rulers,' or 'warriors' is given by ו, ד, ס, ח, and is agreeable to the context. Such an explanation is not without philological support* (as stated by Mo.); yet if the root דבָּר was really employed in Heb. in the sense 'decide' or 'judge,' it is somewhat strange that no clear occurrences of it are to be found.

... ceased. As ב stands, the word is connected with the preceding stichos: 'Villages ceased in Israel, they ceased'; and the Versions all presuppose the same text. Since in v.7b, however, we have a perfectly balanced distich, it seems obvious that v.7a must originally have formed a similar distich, the first stichos beginning, and the second ending, with 'ceased' (cf. the similar structural arrangement in the distichs vv.21a,21b); though what the subject of the second 'ceased' was we have no means of conjecturing.

Till thou didst arise. 'ןִּקְפָּל is doubtless intended by ב for 1st pers. sing., as rendered by ס, ח, A.V., R.V., 'until I arose.' The objection that, inasmuch as the poet addresses Deborah in v.12, it is scarcely possible that she can here be the speaker, is sufficiently answered in the words of Herder, who, writing of v.12, remarks, 'Just as Pindar so often arouses himself, his 'φιλοι ἰδρός, just as David so often summons heart and soul, when both are preparing themselves for the highest flights of their song; so Deborah wakes herself as she now commences the actual description of the battle, and as it were endeavours once more to fight the valiant fight.' A real objection to taking 'ןִּקְפָּל as the first pers. has, however, been advanced by Houb., viz. that, if this had been intended, we should have expected the 1st pers. pronoun, הר, instead of הר simply (cf. Dan. 10:7, 12:5): and it is perhaps preferable, therefore, to take the verb as the older form of the 2nd pers. fem. sing. (for 'ץָּפּ', cf. Jer. 2:9, where 'ץָּפּ' ('donec surrexit,' 'ץָּפּ' must be regarded as 2nd fem. sing. ; Mic. 4:13, 'ץָּפּ' G-K. § 44 h), as is done by most moderns. ס אֶלׁ אֵואֶס (', according to Swete, אֵואֶס), ל 'donec surrexit,' ס 'donec surgeret,' presuppose 'ץָּפּ', or possibly אֶלֶף. If this is original, we must suppose that it was altered into 'ץָּפּ (intended as the 1st pers. sing.) in ב under the influence of the heading in v.1, 'Then sang Deborah and Baraḵ' (so Wellh.).

* Ar. *farasa means to separate, divide, and then, apparently, decide: cf. Lane s.v. 2b. Bab. *parasu (with which cf. Heb. *parai, 'divide') means to decree, judge, give decision; and *pirṣu=decision. Sum. GAR.ZA, MAR.ZA=Bab. *parasu, i.e. a divine decree or institute in Temple-worship; cf. Br. 5647, 5836; Muss-Arnolt, Dict. p. 836 b. We thus have evidence that the sense divide, and thence decide, runs through the differently modified Semitic root *prṣ (pri), prṣ, prṣ.
8. Armourers, etc. Reading

The text of ה here offers perhaps the greatest crux in the poem. As it stands, it can only be rendered, 'One chooses (or shall choose) new gods (or God chooses new things); then battling (?) of gates.' The rendering of A.V., R.V., 'They chose new gods; then was war in the gates,' proceeds upon the assumption that the verb רבח is an impersonal Imperfect used pictorially of a past event, and that מלח is employed in place of the ordinary מלחמ in the sense 'war;' 'war of gates' being interpreted as 'war in the gates.' If מלח or מלח* is really intended to convey this sense, it is best to regard the form as an Infinitive Piel, used in place of a substantive, in accordance with the explanation of Schnurrer, 'tunc factum est ro oppugnare urbes (Israeliticas). The meaning then is that apostasy from Yahweh to the service of strange gods was punished by the siege of Israel's cities by the Canaanites; a thought which is akin to the pragmatism of רפ. It is true that the 'new gods' may be paralleled by Deut. 32 17, 'They sacrificed . . . to gods whom they knew not, to new ones that came up recently'; and the idea of choice of gods other than Yahweh is found in ch. 10 14 (E3). But, apart from the difficulty of construing the Hebrew in this sense, the stage depicted as 'war in the gates' hardly suits the condition of abject submission already described in vv. 6-7, or the statement as to the absence of weapons among the Israelites in v. 8b. Still less probable is the explanation of Ewald (and so Meier), who regards מלח as referring to judges, so called as God's representatives § ('heilige Richter'), and somewhat prosaic-

* The common reading is מלח, but thirty-six MSS. read מלח or מלח (Kit., BH.). We should expect the Infin. Piel to be מלח; but no other instance of the Piel of this verb exists.

‡ Possibly a scribe may have endeavoured to restore an illegible text under the influence of these two passages (Cooke, Mo.).

§ Cf. the present writer's Outlines of O.T. Theology, pp. 15 ff. The use of Elohim in the passages quoted from Ex. 216, 22 8-9 ('The Book of the Covenant'), is susceptible, however, of a different and probably preferable explanation, viz. the household-gods (Teraphim), which were possibly connected with the practice of ancestor-worship, and whose cultus appears to have existed among the Israelites in early times apart from any conception that the allegiance due to the national God Yahweh was thereby contravened. Laying these passages aside, the only certain instance of the employment of Elohim to denote judges is Ps. 82 6.
ally makes the passage state that the outbreak of hostilities was co­
incident with the appointment of new judges (Deborah and Barak).

The evidence of the Versions is somewhat conflicting. G⁹, T support substantially the text of Β, and the interpretation of it given by
A.V., R.V. G⁹ renders ἐξελίξαντο θεοὺς κανούς, ὅτε ἐπολέμησαν πόλεις ἀρχῶνων. Here ὅτε is probably a corruption of τὸτε (as in HP. 58), and πόλεις a corruption of πόλας. πόλας ἀρχῶνων is most likely to be
the result of a doublet (ὡς γὰρ γαρί ‘gates’; ὡς ἀρχέρ ‘princes’); the
second rendering coming into the text from the margin as ἀρχῶνας,
and then being altered to the genitive to make sense.* ἐπολέμησαν may be a rendering of μάθημα of ΜΑ, regarded as Infin. Constr. Piel;
or it may represent an original μάθημα (or ‘μάθημα regarded as an abbre­
viated plural); unless it be considered as a corruption of ἐπολέμησαν,
as is suggested by E, ‘et portas hostium ipse [Dominus] subvertit,' where
the translator had before him a text identical with Β, but

HP. cite four Codd. Arm. as reading ἀρχῶνας πόλεως.

† Kemink (as quoted by Donaldson) seeks to find the clue to the passage in
this conception; but emends ἔστιν into ἔστη —‘God makes choice of
women’ (Deborah and Jael).
'The barley-bread was spent,' upon the view that the ל of לָנָה has been omitted through haplography. The verb לָנָה is employed in this sense in I Sam. 9:7; and barley-bread is typical of the Israelite peasantry in the Midianite's dream, ch. 7:13, doubtless as forming their staple sustenance. In harmony with this suggestion, Bu. conjectures that stichos a may have run 'The sacrifices of God ceased,' i.e. through lack of the wherewithal to provide them. Apart, however, from the objection to the use of 'God' instead of 'Yahweh,' which we have already noticed, such a distich, though not at variance with what follows in the next distich, yet stands in no necessary connexion with it. Such a connexion has been sought by Lambert (RÉJ. xxx. p. 115) in his emendation of stichos b נֵלְחָנַה וְלֹפֶה יִרְאוֹס; according to which the sentence would run on into the following distich:—'Then unto five cities was there seen a shield, etc.' But such an overrunning between distich and distich is contrary to analogy. La., Schlögl, Kent, in following Lambert, reject stichos a altogether; and combine stichos b with the following distich in such a way as to form a single distich of the whole:—

'Then there was not seen a shield for five cities,
Or a lance among forty thousand in Israel.'

The emendation adopted above has been made at the suggestion of Dr. Ball, who observes that the only guide which we possess as to the original sense of the distich is found in the succeeding distich, 'Was there seen a shield, etc.' This immediately recalls the similar account of the drastic disarmament effected by the Philistines at the commencement of Saul's reign, as recorded in I Sam. 13:19-22, which relates that 'no armourer (or smith, שִׂמֶה) was found throughout all the land of Israel: for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears'; but all the Israelites were obliged to go down to the Philistines in order to sharpen their agricultural implements. 'So it came to pass in the day of battle that there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people that were with Saul and Jonathan: but with Saul and with Jonathan his son there was found.' The resemblance between שִׂמֶה 'new things' and שִׁימֶה 'armourers' is patent; שִׁימֶה may have arisen through transposition of the letters of שִׂמֶה, and שִׁימֶה from שִׁמֶה or שִׁמֶה. As a parallel clause we have the statement that 'Armed men failed from the city'—a natural result of the absence of armourers and the vigorous oppression exercised by the Canaanites. שִׁימֶה is the term employed of the armed warriors in the Midianite camp, ch. 7:11. Possibly שִׁים may have been written in abbreviated
form 'וּשָּׁהֲהוּ' (cf. footnote, p. 124); while the letters of may be supposed to have suffered transposition.

Marquart already has our 'וּשָּׁהֲהוּ';* but rearranges vv. 7a-8a in a manner which scarcely commends itself. Supposing v. 7b to be a later gloss, he follows v. 7a (as in ע) by the first two words of stichos a of v. 8a in the form 'וּבֵית אֲנָקָלִים': 'Village-life ceased in Israel; They fled into tents . . .' His next distich then runs, 'The barley-bread was spent; Armourers ceased in the land' ('וַתִּנְבִא עָצִים וְיִשָּׁרִים'). Here the first word is from v. 7a, the second from v. 8a, and the third supplied by conjecture. Other suggested emendations need not here be noticed.

Was there seen, etc. The Imperfect 'וְתָאָרַח' is frequentative—whenever and wherever one might look, this condition of affairs existed. The curious reading of עִלָּה (occurring with variations in other recensions of ע), 'וַתִּשֶּׁכֶּה נָאָנֵיָהוּ וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו רוּמָהָּו, has undoubtedly arisen from an original text 'וַתִּשֶּׁכֶּה וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו רוּמָהָּו,' reading 'וְתָאָרַח וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו רוּמָהָּו, reading 'וְתָאָרַח וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו רוּמָהָּו, reading 'וְתָאָרַח וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו רוּמָהָּו. 'Do I see,' for 'וְתָאָרַח וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו רוּמָהָּו, which may be original (so Marquart, Gress.). In its present form 'וְתָאָרַח seems to have undergone the following process. A scribe noted the variant 'וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו (the reading of ע) upon the margin of his MS. This was subsequently copied into the text; and since 'וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו was superfluous by the side of 'וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו, 'וַתִּשֶּׁכֶּה וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו was corrected into 'וַתִּשֶּׁכֶּה נָאָנֵיָהוּ, thus supplying a nominative to 'וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו; and, in accordance with this, 'וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו became 'וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו.

Among forty thousand. Hollmann comments upon the contrast between the number of able-bodied men in Israel as here given, and the large numbers of the Pentateuchal narrative: Ex. 12 37b, Num. 11 21 (J) 600,000; Num. 1 46 (P) 603,550. The modest assessment of our passage is, as he remarks, a strong argument for the contemporaneousness of the poem with the events which it celebrates. So Wellh., as already quoted (p. 78, footnote).

12. This verse is placed before vv. 9-11 for the reasons noted on p. 102.

Awake, awake, Deborah! On the supposed incompatibility of this address with Deborah's reputed authorship of the Song, cf. note on v. 7, 'Till thou didst arise.' The variation of accent—here 'וָאָרַח 'וָאָרַח, but in the next stichos 'וָאָרַח 'וָאָרַח—is a rhythmical device: cf. G-K. § 72 s.

Thy captors. Vocalizing 'וְנִפְרוּ יָהָּו, with ע, Michaelis, Wellh., Stade, Black, Bu., Kit., No., Marquart, Segond, La., Ehr., Smith, Cooke (Comm.), Gress.: cf. Isa. 14 2 וַתִּנְבִא עָצִים וְיִשָּׁרִים 'and they shall be captors to their captors.' ְפִּקְוָא הַיָּו, i.e. 'thy band of captives' rather than 'thy

* The same emendation was offered by von Gumpach in 1852.
captive' (R.V.), offers a sense which is perfectly legitimate, and can be paralleled elsewhere (cf. Num. 21, 2 Chr. 28, Ps. 68, 18); but misses the fine paradox which is gained by the easy emendation. It is by no means improbable that Barak, like Gideon (cf. ch. 8), may have had his own private wrongs to avenge as well as those of his people.

A number of interesting variants are offered in this verse by Cantor, Sh. Taking Cantor as typical, it runs εἴηγείρω, εἴηγείρω, Δεσβώρα, εἴηγείρω (ι ἔξηγείρω) μετὰ λαοῦ, εἴηγείρω, εἴηγείρω (ι adds λάλει) μετ' φόνης: εὐσεβών ἐξανάστασα Βαραχ (τ' ἐξαναστάτα σοῦ Β') καὶ εὐσεβῶν (κατασκέυασθα) Δεσβώρα τῶν Βαραχ, καὶ αἰχμαλώτητα αἰχμαλωσίαν σου, νῖος Δηβωνᾶ. Other noteworthy variants are the addition of σοῦ after μετὰ λαοῦ, and ἐν ἑστῶ in place of εὐσεβῶν. Here we must eliminate the doublet of stichos Β, εἴηγείρω, εἴηγείρω, λάλει μετ' φόνης, which represents insertion of the Hebrew tradition (cf. Cantor); and, since La. is probably right in regarding εὐσεβῶν, with variant ἐν ἑστῶ, and εὐσεβῶν as doublets of an original ἐν ἑστῶ σου in stichos Ζ, we can scarcely err in also excising καὶ εὐσεβῶν... Βαραχ, the addition of Δεσβώρα τῶν Βαραχ being an attempt to explain the corrupt εὐσεβῶν. Thus, the original Heb. which lies behind this recension of Cantor may have run as follows:

'Awake, awake, Deborah!
Arouse myriads among the people!
In thy strength arise, Barak!
Lead captive thy captive-band, son of Abino'am!'

So La., with the addition of μετ' φόνης, at the end of stichos Α. Mo. (SBOT.) reads ὑπέστη (ὑπέστη) for εἴηγείρω, and ἐπιγέρσα 'Take courage' in place of ὑπέστη.

It is a moot point whether such a text is superior to the Hebrew, as Mo., No., La., Zapletal, Cooke (Comm.) think. Mo. rests his argument mainly upon the fact that 'Here Deborah is not summoned to sing a song—whether of battle or of victory—but to arouse the myriads of her countrymen, which certainly agrees better with the words addressed to Barak.' This is true, if we suppose that the poet pictures himself as addressing the chief actors prior to the battle; but the obvious inference to be drawn from the Hebrew, as it stands, is that he is
rather addressing them as he voices his song, i.e. *subsequently to the victory*, calling upon Deborah to recount the main facts in poetic strain, and upon Barak to fight his battles o'er again. Nor is it any objection to this view that in such a case the verse should stand at the commencement of the poem (where it is placed by Niebuhr): cf. the words of Herder already cited under *v.* 7 note on 'Till thou didst arise.' A point which should not escape notice is that it is somewhat strange if the poet here alludes to 'myriads among the people,' even in hyperbole, when previously (*v.* 8) he has placed the whole available fighting strength of Israel at the moderate assessment of forty thousand. נָבָרַב may quite easily have arisen as a corruption of נָבְרָב, and לָעֵב (among the people) come in later in explanation of the 'myriads.' It thus appears that there is no sound ground for abandoning the lucid text of 3.

9. Come, ye commanders. Reading לָעֵב מָחָקָר, as privately suggested by Ball. לָעֵב מָחָקָר 'My heart is to the commanders,' *i.e.* (presumably) it *turns* or *goes out* towards them: cf. ב 'Cor meum diligit principes Israel.' The ellipse of the verb is illustrated by Schnurrer from Ps. 141: 8 'Alî elî yahweh únî 'Unto Thee, Yahweh, (are) mine eyes.' Such a use of 'heart,' as denoting sympathetic attraction, is perhaps not quite without parallel in Hebrew (cf. 2 Kgs. 15), though 'soul' (נפֶּהַש) is more usual in such a sense (cf. 1 Sam. 181, Gen. 34 3 8, al.): but the invitation, 'Bless ye Yahweh!' of stichos 6 favours the supposition that the commanders *are addressed* in stichos a; and the imperative לָעֵב forms a natural and appropriate opening to the invitation to thanksgiving.

commanders. מְמַהֲקִים are the imposers of הֻקָּקִים, 'statutes' or 'enactments.'


10. Let the riders, etc. Reading וְיַהַיָּת עָלָיו עַל-לָעֵב

As the verse stands in 3, it offends against parallelism and rhythm. The imperative וְיַהַיָּת (rendered by R.V. 'Tell of it') comes at the end of stichos c of a tristich referring to three classes of people previously mentioned; and the rhythmical form of the tristich is 3+2+3 beats. Moreover, stichos 6, יַהַיָּת עַל-לָעֵב, which affords the only instance of a two-beat stichos in the poem, cannot, as it stands, be explained with any approach to probability. The substantive madh, to which the plur. middin must be referred, is derived from a verb madhadh, 'to measure,' and denotes 'measure' (Jer. 13 15, lit. 'the portion of thy
measures'), or more usually 'garment,' as in ch. 3:16, so-called as lengthy or wide (cf. Ar. madda, 'to extend or stretch'). R.V. 'rich carpets,' however, has no more basis than the mere supposition that a word which usually means a spreading garment may also denote any spreading piece of woven material, and that such a rendering is suitable to the context. But even the appropriateness of this assumption may be questioned. The two other classes mentioned are travellers along the roads, which, in contrast to their former condition (v.6), may now be used with impunity. These classes appear to cover all the population—the wealthy magnate who rides, and the plain man who walks. Is it appropriate that between these two classes there should be interposed reference to a third class of persons who are vaguely defined as those who sit (presumably indoors) upon carpets? It is true that some have explained middin as 'saddlecloths' or 'housings,' thus making the clause a further description of the riders; but this is excluded by the fact that the verb yāšaḥ, 'sit,' is never used in Hebrew of riding an animal.

The Versions afford no help towards elucidation. ἐπὶ κρημνίου (so ἢ), ἔτσι σεδέτις in judicio, ἐπὶ κρημνίου (so ἢ), 'and are associated in order to preside over judgment;' read ἔτσι, which may mean 'strife,' but scarcely 'judicial procedure.' ἔτσι represents ἐπί by λαμπρύνων, 'covered chariots,' ἔτσι, 'in lecticis;' apparently a guess influenced by the context; * ἔτσι, 'and ye who sit at home'—a guess.

The emendation offered above proceeds upon the assumption that the strophe vv.19-11 contains an invitation to a retrospect of the past deliverance; as is evident from vv.11,12. If, then, the word יָשָׁ֣ב at the end of v.10 means 'review' sc. the past deliverance, whether in thought or in speech (see note below); and having regard to the fact that so much of the remainder of the verse as can be translated contains reference to two classes of persons which, as we have noticed, appear to include the whole population; it is reasonable to assume that the complete verse was originally a distich, in which the two classes are mentioned in parallel stichoi, and summoned to take part in the retrospect. In other words, we may expect to find in the obscure יָשָׁ֣ב a parallel to יָשָׂ֣ב ‘review.’ The resemblance to the phrase יָשָׂ֣ב יָשָׁ֣ב, ‘let them recall it to mind,’ is obvious; the only real difference—that between יָשָׂ֣ב and יָשָׁ֣ב—being accounted for by the fact that the resemblance between יָשָׂ֣ב and יָשָׁ֣ב is very close in the old character, and that between יָשָׂ֣ב and יָשָׁ֣ב not remote. יָשָׂ֣ב read as יָשָׁ֣ב may

* Or possibly reading יָשָׂ֣ב; cf. Isa. 66:20, Num. 7:3. ἐπὶ λαμπρύνων is the rendering of this word in the Isa. passage.
have been taken for דָּבָר, an abbreviated form of the plural (cf. footnote § below).

If we have in לַבּוֹד יַעֲלֶה, a jussive, 'let them recall,' etc., it is probable that in place of the imperative לַבּוֹד יַעֲלֶה we should likewise have a jussive form לַבּוֹד יַעֲלֶה 'let them review.' But if לַבּוֹד יַעֲלֶה belongs to stichos a and לַבּוֹד יַעֲלֶה to stichos b, the former contains five beats and the latter three beats. We may assume therefore that an erroneous transposition has taken place, the rectification of which gives us four beats in each stichos. That such errors of transposition have often occurred in copying MSS. cannot be doubted. The explanation is that a scribe erroneously copied the latter part of stichos b in place of the corresponding part of stichos a; and then, in order to avoid spoiling the appearance of his MS., transposed the omitted part of stichos a to stichos b. Such an erroneous transposition has clearly taken place in Ps. 35 6b, where v. 6a, 'Let them be as the chaff before the wind,' should be followed by v. 6b, 'And the Angel of Yahweh pursuing them'; and v. 6a, 'Let their way be dark and slippery;' by v. 6b, 'And the Angel of Yahweh pushing them down.'* Similarly, in v. 7 of the same Psalm, 'a pit' has been transposed from stichos b, where 'dug' now has no object, to stichos a, where 'they have hid' already has its proper object 'their net.' Cf. also the transposition which is rectified in Judg. 76, with note ad loc.

tawny she-asses. A.V., R.V., 'white asses.' The adjective פָּדְרֹת occurs only here in Heb., but comparison of the Ar. shows that it denotes light reddish-grey, or white flea-speckled with red (םעָט the colour, פָּדָר a she-ass so coloured). † Asses of this colour are rare and highly prized at the present day in the East; and their mention in this passage implies that their owners are persons of rank and means, travelling at their ease in a time of peace. The she-ass is preferred for riding purposes as more tractable than the entire male. §

* הָדֶר always means to push or thrust for the purpose of casting down: cf. BDB. s.v.  R.V.'s rendering, 'driving them on,' is intended to give a suitable meaning, as the half-verse now stands (clearly 'chaff before the wind' cannot be 'pushed down'); but is quite unwarranted by the usage of the verb elsewhere.

† Lette (quoted by Hollmann) cites Firuzabadius: סַהֲרָע אֲבִילוֹת וָאָטְלוֹנָו פִּיֶּה. 'סַהֲרָע is used of a camel or she-ass in which there is white and red.'

§ The reading of אתָּבִי כָּלָנוּ תְּלֵמְעֵלְס is interesting as seeming to prove that must have stood in the Heb. MS. used by the translator in the abbreviated form פָּדְרֹת יַעֲלֶה, which was read as פָּדְרֹת יַעֲלֶה and then interpreted as פָּדְרֹת יַעֲלֶה. Similar abbreviations of plural terminations are presupposed in v. 8b (תַּמְשִי הָלְא), v. 10 (לֹא, מִדְרִית), v. 11 (מְצַלְמוֹ, מְלַחְמָו) and then treated as shortened plur. (מדָר), v. 12 (לֹא, מִדְרִית). On the use of abbreviation in Heb. MSS., cf. Ginsburg, Intro. to Mass.-Crit. Bible, ch. v.
review it. The verb הושע may mean to talk about anything or to any one, as in Ps. 69 12 (13 Ἡ), 'They that sit in the gate talk about me'; Job 12 8, 'Speak to the earth, and it shall instruct thee'; or to muse or meditate upon some topic, as in Ps. 77 6 (7 Ε), 'I will muse with my heart'; Ps. 119 78, 'I will muse upon thy precepts'; al. Hence in our passage the verb may mean 'think about it' (Σ λο»μινινι), and the rendering 'review it' is adopted as applicable either to thought or speech, and therefore equally ambiguous.

The Heh. leaves the object of the verb to be understood from the context, both here and in the corresponding expression in the parallel stichos; but English idiom obliges us to supply it as 'it.' Obviously it is the recent deliverance, which is defined in v. 11 under the term 'the righteous acts of Yahweh.' There is not the slightest ground for doubting the originality of the verb הושע, as has been done by some scholars.

recall it to mind. Lit. 'bring it back to (or upon) heart,' the heart being regarded by the Hebrews as the seat of the intellectual or reflective faculty. The same expression, with ב, 'upon,' as here, occurs in Isa. 46 8; but is more frequent with ב, 'unto': * cf. Deut. 4 30 1, 1 Kgs. 8 47, Isa. 44 19, Lam. 3 21.

11. Hark . . . wells! Reading

As יפ stands, יפ ומכ תמצות can only be explained upon the most improbable assumptions. The difficulty is twofold. In the first place, it seems impossible to assign a satisfactory sense to יפ. The suggestions which have been put forward may be grouped as follows: יפ has been explained as denoting (1) Separation; 'Away from or Far from' (cf. for this usage, BDB. s.v. 1 b); (2) Substitution; 'Instead of' (as though for יבּות; this is an explanation which is of very doubtful justification, יבּות being commonly used in such a sense); (3) Comparison; 'More than' (BDB. 6); (4) Origin; 'By reason of' (BDB. 2 o); (5) Partition; 'Something of' (BDB. 3).

Secondly, we have no clue to the meaning of יפ ומכ תמצות, which can only be conjectured. † The rendering of A.V., R.V., 'archers,' is that which is adopted by Kimchi and Levi ben-Gershon, and by Luther,
It appears to go back to the interpretation of יַֽעַֽשְׁנִי לְעִירֵי מְחַשְׁבִּי, ‘those who shoot arrows,’ which, though occurring in v. 8 (or as a gloss to v. 8; cf. note to Praetorius’ edit.), is doubtless based upon our passage, and interprets as a denominative from יָֽעַשְׁנִי ‘arrow.’ Adopting this explanation, the rendering least open to objection is that of R.V., ‘Far from the noise of the archers.’ Justi renders somewhat similarly, ‘Instead of the noise of the archers’; and, in favour of this, Hollmann cites Gen. 49:21—23—a passage which seems similarly to refer to the disturbance of pastoral peace by the attacks of hostile archers (there described as יֵֽעַשְׁנִי יְֽהָֽוֶֽי, lit. ‘owners of arrows’). Hollmann rightly objects, however, to the use of יֵֽעַשְׁנִי in place of יֵֽעַשְׁנִי.

Other interpretations of יֵֽעַשְׁנִי base themselves upon the root-sense of the verb יֵֽעַשְׁנִי, which is that of dividing. Among these, the most widely adopted is ‘those who divide the spoil’ (Schnurrer, Köhler, Hollmann, Hilliger, Stu., von Gumpach, Bach., Bickell, Kent). All that can be said in favour of this interpretation has been said by Hollmann, who compares the Ar. verb הָֽעָֽשְׁנִי, which means in Conj. III., ‘share a portion with some one else, give to some one else’; Conj. IV., ‘give (to some one else) one’s portion’; and the substantive הָֽעָֽשְׁנִי, ‘portion.’ As parallels for such a sense, Hollmann cites Isa. 9:8, פָּרֹֽשַׁי (‘as men exult when they divide spoil’; already cited by Ges.), Isa. 30:28, פָּרֹֽשַׁי; Ps. 68:12, פָּרֹֽשַׁי; and giving פָּרֹֽשַׁי a comparative meaning, he renders ‘prae jubilo sortientium ... ibidem canant laudes Dei.’ An obvious objection (noted by Meier) is that the crucial word יֵֽעַשְׁנִי ‘spoil’ has to be supplied by conjecture, and that the ordinary term for ‘dividing’ spoil (occurring with object יֵֽעַשְׁנִי in all the passages cited by Hollmann, and also in v. 30 of the Song) is פָּרֹֽשַׁי.

Some commentators, again (Menaḥem quoted by Rashi, Boettger, La.), have been attracted by the use of the verb in Prov. 30:27—R.V. ‘The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands’ (יֵֽעַשְׁנִי, lit. ‘dividing [themselves] into companies or swarms,’ BDB.). Thus יֵֽעַשְׁנִי is thought to mean ‘those who range themselves’ in battle-array, or ‘divide’ the army into companies. Whatever sense, however, is attached to יֵֽעַשְׁנִי in this connexion, it remains an enigma why these military operations should be carried out at the places of drawing water.

From this point of view, the explanation of Ros., ‘those who divide (the flocks) at the watering places,’ is more comprehensible. Vernes, who also adopts this explanation, paraphrases the verse, “Chantez par-dessus la voix des distributeurs aux aubes,” c’est-à-dire: chantez
The Book of Judges

de tous vos poumons, plus fort encore que ne crient ceux qui distribuent et font ranger les troupeaux près des auge ou ils vont s'abreuver à la tombée du jour.' Having thus expressed his idea of the meaning of the passage, Vernes refers to the rivalry existing between shepherds in watering their flocks, which leads to frequent disputes. But such a comparison of the singing of the praise of Yahweh with the angry shouts of rival shepherds is altogether grotesque.

Herder thinks that מַפְלוֹת מַלְאָכִים may have the sense, 'those who apportion,' sc. water to their flocks; and having rendered לְיָשָׁה in the preceding verse 'denkt auf ein Lied,' he gives to ל a partitive sense, and makes the clause resumptive of לְיָשָׁה:—'Ein Lied zum Gesange der Hirten die zwischen den Schöpfebrunnen Wasser den Heerden theilten aus.' A similar connexion with לְיָשָׁה (already suggested by סַכֵּ֑יִם וְפָ֖֗וֹנְיָּ֑ים, לְיָשָׁה וְפָוֹנְיָּ֑ים, לְיָשָׁה וְפָ֑וֹנְיָּ֔ים, לְיָשָׁה וְפָוֹנְיָּ֑ים, לְיָשָׁה וְפָ֑וֹנְיָּ֔ים, L, Ar. as noticed below) is sought by Meier, who quotes, as a parallel to such a partitive usage of ל, Ps. 137:3, 'Sing us one of the songs (לְיָשָׁה) of Zion.'* Such an overrunning from the one distich to the other is, however, in the highest degree improbable: and, moreover, since the words, 'There they recount, etc.,' in στοιχεῖον 2 cf ν. 11 can only refer to what goes on at the places of drawing water, the gist of the passage (according to this interpretation) is that the classes of people mentioned in ν. 10 are summoned to relate (לְיָשָׁה) how another class of people are relating (לְיָשָׁה), etc.—a very awkward and unpoetical conception.

Lastly, as probably based on the idea of division inherent in the verb יְלַלָּה, we may notice the rendering of סַכֵּ֑יִם, סַכֵּ֑יִם וְפָ֖וֹנְיָּ֑ים, i.e., apparently, 'singers' or 'players' (cf. the use of the verb elsewhere in סַכֵּ֑יִם: 2 Sam. 6:14-16, 1 Chr. 25:3-5, Ezek. 23:48)—an interpretation which suggests that יְלַלָּה may have had the sense of marking the intervals of the musical scale: cf. the use of the Lat. dividere by Horace, Odes I. xv. 15, 'Imbelli cithara carmina divides'; and the 'septem discrimina vocum' of Virgil, Aen. vi. 646, i.e. probably the seven notes of the scale. So also Shakespeare, I. Henry the Fourth, iii. 1:

'ditties highly penn'd,
Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower,
With ravishing division, to her lute.'

Romeo and Juliet, iii. 5:

'Some say the lark makes sweet division;
This doth not so, for she divideth us.'

Ewald, who adopts the rendering 'singers' upon the authority of

* Meier does not, however, agree with Herder as to the meaning of מַפְלוֹת מַלְאָכִים; but he revocalizes the form as מַפְלוֹת מַלְאָכִים (a supposed derivative of מַפְלוֹת מַלְאָכִים), and renders 'Feindezierschmetttrr.'
offers a very improbable explanation of the ground-sense of the verb, *those who keep time or order,* and hence *rhythm*; quoting in support of his view אמות of Prov. 30:27, which has already been noticed above: cf. HI. ii. p. 355 n1; DAB. i. p. 180.

The other Versions were evidently very puzzled by the stichos. Ws rendering, ‘ubi collisi sunt currus, et hostium suffocatus est exercitus,’ is obscure. $^9$ (connecting with רוח) renders דמות_chunk, ‘Meditate upon the words of the researchers, who are among the learned’; and this appears in Ar. as ‘Consider some of the words of those who investigate the books of the learned.’ Here the idea of *dividing* which is proper to יסוהי appears to be understood as referring to *investigation* (as in Heb. יִשָּׁה); and ‘the places of drawing water’ seem to be metaphorically explained as the founts of knowledge. The paraphrase of כ clearly understands the verse to mean that the scenes of former hostile outrages are now consecrated to the praises of Yahweh; but the rendering is too vague and diffuse to admit of detailed elucidation.*

This survey of the interpretation of the stichos may serve to show that every artifice has been employed by scholars, ancient and modern, to extract a suitable meaning from כ, and that the best suggestions possess only the slightest of claims to serious consideration. It is probable, therefore, that the text has suffered corruption. The emendation offered above is based upon the acute suggestion of Bu. (adopted by Marquart) מְזוּעָתֵי מַעְנָה מִלָּה ‘Hark! the merry-makers.’

Here the change in the verbal form is but slight; and the rejection before מִלָּה has the support of עֲבָדָה אִשָּׁה (עֲבָדָה אִשָּׁה) פַּרְסָס, *i.e.* apparently מַעְנָה מִלָּה, מַלּוֹן, *properly* ‘a sound of . . . !’ is then employed as in Gen. 4:10, Isa. 13:4, 40:9, 52:5; Jer. 4:15, 10:22, 25:36, 50:26; Cant. 2:5, 5:2: cf. G-K. § 146 b.

The reason why we have adopted the fem. form מְזוּעָתֵי, ‘laughing maidens,’ in preference to the masc., is because it appears more natural to find the *girls* of the village (חֹזֶבֶת עַבּות), ‘the maidens who draw water’; cf. Gen. 24:10 at the *naFabbim,* ‘places of drawing water,’ than representatives of the male portion of the community (unless it be supposed that the מְזוּעָתֵי are the shepherds, *Mazikin*).

* It has not been deemed necessary to discuss the Rabbinic interpretation of מְזוּעָתֵי advocated by Schultens (as quoted by Ros., etc.), which, regarding the word as a denominative from יִשָּׁה, explains it as meaning ‘those who cast lots with arrows’; nor the suggestion (also current in Rabbinic circles) which surmises a connexion with מְזוּאָה ‘gravel,’ in the sense ‘gravel-treaders.’
watering their flocks). A fem. form is as likely as a masc., if it may be supposed that the plur. was written in abbreviated form נֵבָּם (cf. footnote § p. 124); and the fact that the masc. plur. verbal form נְתַהְיָה, 'they recount,' follows in the next clause, does not militate against such a supposition, since there are many cases in which the masc. form of the 3rd plur. Imperfect is employed in preference to the fem. with reference to a fem. subject preceding (cf. the cases collected in G-K. § 145 u). Other suggested emendations need not be noticed.

at the wells. Lit. 'between or among the places of drawing water.' The subs. maš'abbim is a διαπεραρχή, but there is no ground for doubting its genuineness; since it is a regularly formed derivative from the verb ἕσσαβ, 'draw water,' which is of frequent occurrence. For נָּבָם, usually 'between,' in the more general sense 'among,' cf. Hos. 15, Ezek. 19, 31, Cant. 2.

they recount. The verb tinnā, which occurs again in a similar sense in ch. 11 (to commemorate the daughter of Jephthah) is doubtless the same as the Syr. tannū, which corresponds to the Ar. tanno, 'celebrate'; the root-idea being 'do a second time.' The normal Heb. equivalent of the Syr. and Ar. should be śinnā; and a Heb. šānā (the Kal or simple stem-form) does occur several times in the sense 'repeat,' as the regular equivalent of the Ar. and Aram. verb. The form tinnā must therefore be regarded as a pronounced Aramaism; but is not on that account necessarily to be condemned, since it is reasonable to suppose that the North Israelite dialect was to some extent tinged by Aramaic influence. Cf. further Additional note, p. 171.

the righteous acts of Yahweh. The acts by which Yahweh manifests His covenant-faithfulness—in this case by vindicating His people against the national foe. The meaning of the expression is best illustrated by its occurrence in 1 Sam. 12, with the description of Yahweh's dealings with Israel which follows, in substance corresponding with the pragmatism of Re. Cf. also the use of the same phrase in Mic. 6.

his arm. Reading יְנֵרָא as suggested privately by Ball, in place of יְנֵרָא, the difficulties of which have already been noticed under v. note on 'Villages.' The phrase the arm of Yahweh, as descriptive of His might exhibited in the deliverance of His people, is familiar in the O.T. Cf. Ex. 15, 'By the greatness of thine arm they [Israel's
foes] are as still as a stone’; the characteristic phrase of Deut., ‘with a mighty hand and with a stretched out arm’; Isa. 51:9, ‘Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of Yahweh’; al.

At the end of the verse א reads an additional stichos, ע ידנים יתע תוייחו ‘Then down to the gates gat the people of Yahweh.’ This clearly belongs to the description of the tribal muster, which commences with v.13; and the similarity of the stichos to stichos a of that verse, which, as it stands, is obviously somewhat corrupt, proves it to be a marginal variation which has been subsequently copied into the text. We observe similar variants of a single stichos in v.v.15b,16.

12. For the notes on this verse, cf. pp. 120 f.

13. Then down . . . heroes. Reading

ע ידנים יתע תוייחו

It is not clear what א intends by the vocalization of the twice repeated רד. Jewish interpreters explain the form as apocopated Imperfect Pi’el of רד ‘to have dominion’ (from full form רד), the Pi’el, which does not occur elsewhere in Heb., being employed causatively, ‘cause to have dominion.’* That this was intended by א seems very probable, since we may thus explain the awkward and ungrammatical connexion of ע with נ with, as due to the necessity of making נ the subject of the verb in stichos b, just as He must have been assumed to be in stichos a:—

‘Then may He cause a remnant to have dominion over the nobles—the people;
‘May Yahweh cause me to have dominion over the heroes.’

Or possibly it may have been supposed that the apocopated form has the sense of a full Imperfect: ‘Then He shall cause, etc.’

The awkwardness and improbability of this need not be laboured. It may suffice to remark that, since v.v.14,15 describe the advance of the tribes in ordinary narrative-form, employing Perfect tenses, we naturally expect to find the same method adopted in the present passage. This is a consideration which sufficiently refutes the alternative explanation of רד as Imperative Kal of רד ‘go down’

* We should expect רד (apocopated Imperf. Hiphil) in such a sense (cf. Isa. 41:2)—a form which is here adopted by von Gumpach.
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(in place of the normal Imperative יְּרֵאשָׁלִים), as adopted, e.g. by Hollmann, who regards the verse as the words of Deborah prior to the battle:—

'Tunc ego: "Descendite residui nobilium populi, Jehova descende mihi cum heroibus."' A further difficulty is found in the use of the word יְּרֵאשָׁלִים 'remnant,' a term ordinarily applied to a survivor (or survivors) after a defeat in battle; but here, it must be supposed, employed to denote Israel's exiguous forces, implicitly contrasted with what they might have been but for the long-continued aggressions of the Canaanites.

It need not be doubted that the true text of the verse is indicated by v. 11c, which we have already noted as a marginal variation to v. 13. This variation appears, in fact, to represent the combination of two originally separate marginal notes; viz. יָרֵאשָׁלִים as a variant of יְּרֵאשָׁלִים and יהוה יִשְׁרֵי הַיָּהִים 'the people of Yahweh,' a variant of the separated יהוה יִשְׁרֵי הַיָּהִים which is found in 20 MSS. of מִשָּׁל. מ, though agreeing with מ in reading יָרֵאשָׁלִים, supports the vocalization of יְּרֵאשָׁלִים as a Perfect, and the view that יָרֵאשָׁלִים 'went down,' as יְּרֵאשָׁלִים employed in v. 14, refers to Israel's downward onset from mount Tabor (cf. ch. 4 13b), the meaning must be the same in the present passage; and 'to the gates' can therefore only refer to the gates of the foe—it was down to the very gates of such Canaanite cities as Ta'anach and Megiddo (cf. v. 19) that the Israelites advanced in their first spirited onslaught. If this interpretation be held to be improbable, it is difficult to see how the text can otherwise be explained.

Other conjectural emendations of stichos a have been made. Thus Mo. (followed by Bu., No., Gress.) thinks that יָרֵאשָׁלִים represents an original יְּרֵאשָׁלִים, and, supplying מ before כָּרַת, he obtains the sense, 'Then Israel went down like the noble.' Kit., in BH., offers the

τότε κατέβη κατάλημμα τοῖς ἱσχυροῖς

λάος Κυρίου κατέβη αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς κραταιοῖς.

The restoration of the verse as given above is, as regards stichos b, generally adopted by moderns, and is scarcely open to doubt. Stichos a may perhaps be held to be open to criticism as regards the sense which it yields. Since the verb יָרֵאשָׁלִים 'went down,' as employed in v. 14, refers to Israel's downward onset from mount Tabor (cf. ch. 4 13b), the meaning must be the same in the present passage; and 'to the gates' can therefore only refer to the gates of the foe—it was down to the very gates of such Canaanite cities as Ta'anach and Megiddo (cf. v. 19) that the Israelites advanced in their first spirited onslaught. If this interpretation be held to be improbable, it is difficult to see how the text can otherwise be explained.
suggestion. 'Then let a remnant dominate those who dominated them.'

14. From Ephraim ... vale. Reading

The phrase, as it stands, is incredibly concise. The literal rendering is 'From Ephraim their root in 'Amalek'; which is explained, by inferring the necessary verb from v.13, 'From Ephraim came down those whose root is in 'Amalek.' The explanation of 'their root in 'Amalek' is also a grave stumbling-block. The Bedawi people called 'Amalek in the O.T. appear elsewhere as inhabiting the desert-region south of the Negeb (cf. note on ch. 3 §); and it is to this region that Saul marches in order to carry out his commission to destroy 'Amalek, as recorded in 1 Sam. 15. In the present passage we seem to be told that the 'root' of the tribe of Ephraim (or a portion of it), which inhabited central Palestine, was 'in 'Amalek,' i.e. we must infer that they dwelt in the midst of the 'Amalekites. Yet elsewhere, in enumerations of the foreign races inhabiting Canaan, we find no allusion to the 'Amalekites; though, in view of the bitter hostility which existed between Israel and them (cf. Ex. 17 15-16 E; 1 Sam. 15 §), it is scarcely possible that they should have been unmentioned if they had inhabited Canaan in any considerable numbers. It is true that they are pictured in ch. 6 §, 7 12 as invading the land together with the Midianites and 'children of the East'; but here they appear in their normal character as roving nomads, making periodical forays at the time when the Israelites' crops were ready for reaping, and bringing their camels and tents with them, as Bedawi tribes would naturally do. The only passage which can be adduced as possibly supporting the allusion to 'Amalek in our passage, is the reference in ch. 12 16 to Pirathon (probably the modern Far'ata) as situated 'in the land of Ephraim, in the hill of the 'Amalekite.' How this locality obtained its name is unknown to us. It may have been so named as the scene of an encounter with Amalekite clans which had entered Canaan upon such a foray as is described in the story of Gideon. But even on the supposition that it was so named as the settled abode of 'Amalekites, the very nature of the reference compels us to regard it as a very limited district in comparison with the whole territory occupied by Ephraim; and though, upon this view, it might be possible to speak of 'Amalek as having his root in Ephraim, the converse statement, as we find it in Η, seems to be out of the question.

In face of this difficulty, we may obtain help from Στ., Θ., which, in place of ἀντίκεισθαι 'their root in 'Amalek,' read ἐτιμωρήσατο (ἐτιμωρήσατο) αὐτοῦ ἐν κοιλάδι, i.e. κοιλάδι ἐν κοιλάδι, ἐτιμωρήσατο
abrous being doubtless a somewhat free rendering of the verbal form 'rooted them out,'* which is rendered more literally by ג"ט ע"פלו[{א}ב Reeves abrous. Here פְּלַגְנִים 'in the vale,' affords excellent sense (cf. v.16); and though we can scarcely accept דַּעְטֵשָׁנֵי, it can hardly be doubted that the translator is right in assuming that a verbal form is here needed.† דִּשְׁרַי may easily have arisen as a corruption of דִּשְׁרַי 'they spread out or deployed,' the verb which is actually used of the skirmishing advance of the Israelite tribes upon this occasion in ch. 4:8 (cf. note). Winckler (followed by Marquart, Bu., No., Kit., Zapletal) proposes דִּשְׁרַי 'they travelled or passed along;' from the root דִּשְׁרַי, which is well known in Assyr. as סָדֶר and in Ar. as סָדָר, but only occurs once in Heb., viz. Isa. 57:9, and there very doubtfully.§ La.'s suggestion דִּשְׁרַי 'captains'—'From Ephraim (there were) captains in the vale'—is opposed by the facts that it fails to supply the desiderated verb; and that דִּשְׁרַי, so far as can be judged by the occurrences of the term, appear to have been a class of officers connected with chariots (cf. NHTK. p. 139), of which the Israelites possessed none at this period.

'After thee, Benjamin!' The words יַעֲרוֹר בֵּנְיָמִין are viewed with suspicion by many recent commentators; but, as it seems, without just cause. They occur again in Hos. 5:8, where the prophet is describing the hasty preparations for battle, in face of the Assyrian invasion:—

'Blow the horn in Gibe'ah,  
The trumpet in Ramah;  
Raise the battle-cry, Beth-aven,  
"After thee, Benjamin!"

Here the sense which we attach to the verb יַעֲרוֹר 'Raise the battle-cry,' is that which it possesses in Josh. 6:4,10,16,20, 1 Sam. 17:20,23, Isa. 42:13, 2 Chr. 13:16; cf. Judg. 15:14; and the natural inference is that the words 'After thee, Benjamin!' which immediately follow, represent the old Benjaminite battle-cry; both in Hosea', and also,

* It can scarcely represent יִכְכָּב (sic for יִכְכָּב), as La. supposes.
† דִּשְׁרַי is similarly treated as a verbal form by יָפֵל, 'delevit eos in Amalec'; and apparently by the paraphrase of ג"ט, 'From the house of Ephraim arose Joshua' the son of Nun at the first—he made war with the house of 'Amalek; after him arose king Saul of the house of Benjamin—he destroyed the house of 'Amalek.'
§ Cheyne, Marti, Box emend יָכָב ('And thou didst anoint thyself to (the god) Melek with oil,' in place of יָכָב 'And thou didst journey.')
by inference, in the Song of Deborah. So G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, on Hos. 5:8. If this be so, the meaning may be, ‘Benjamin (the tribe) takes the lead; let others follow!’ or, ‘After thee, Benjamin (the eponymous ancestor), we (the tribesmen) follow!’ For רַבִּית ‘after’ used of following a leader in battle, cf. ch. 4:14, 1 Sam. 11:7. As the battle-cry stands in the Song, the precise sense may be ‘(The cry) “After thee, Benjamin!” (was) among thy clansmen’; or, ‘Those from Ephraim spread themselves in the vale “after thee, Benjamin,”’ i.e. the Benjaminites headed the Ephraimites, as their war-cry would have them do.

Many scholars (Hollmann, Köhler, Justi, Ros., Stu., Kit., Ber.) explain בְּרֵית רַבִּית ‘After thee (Ephraim) came Benjamin’; but, apart from the improbability that the same expression should occur here and in Hosea in different senses, it is unlikely that the poet should address the tribe mentioned in the previous stichos (and there alluded to in the 3rd pers.), and not the tribe with which the present stichos deals.

In place of רַבִּית רַבִּית, כָּלַע לְו יְו.offer the reading אָדוֹלְפּוּא שוֹע (connected with כָּוָ֫לָע in the preceding line), i.e. רַבִּית ‘Thy brother, Benjamin, among thy (Ephraim’s) clansmen.’ This is adopted by Bu., No., La., Kent, Cooke (Comm.), but is in no way preferable to רַבִּית.

* thy clansmen. רַבִּית רַבִּית. The plur. form regularly denotes ‘kinsmen’; as e.g. in the phrase ‘he was gathered to his kinsmen’ (וַיַּעַמְדוּ בְּקִנּוֹי), Gen. 25:8, al. Upon the view that רַבִּית רַבִּית (for רַבִּית רַבִּית) is a mark of Aram. influence, cf. *Additional note*, pp. 171 ff.

*Machir.* Mentioned in Josh. 17:2 R as the first-born son of Manasseh, and in Num. 26:20 P as the only son—a description which implies that Machir was the predominant clan of the tribe of Manasseh. Both passages associate Machir with the land of Gile’ad east of Jordan; in Josh. he is ‘the father of Gile’ad’ (אֵלֵ֑יְנָה, i.e. clearly the district, and not a person), and is termed ‘a man of war,’ possessing ‘the Gile’ad and the Bashan’; in Num. the fact that Machir inhabited this region is expressed by the statement that he ‘begat Gile’ad.’ In the same passage of Num. (v. 30:ft.) six grandsons (sons of Gile’ad) are assigned to Machir, of whom at any rate Shechem and I’ezzer, i.e. Abi’ezer (cf. Josh. 17:2 R†) pertained to the territory of the western division of Manasseh. In Josh. 17:2 R we find that the

* Bu. supposes that רַבִּית רַבִּית came to be altered into רַבִּית רַבִּית owing to the influence of Hos. 5:8. Winckler and Marquart reject רַבִּית רַבִּית altogether (as a gloss from Hos.), much to the detriment of the poetry.

† Vocalized דֵּשָׁנֶה, whereas the city is always דּּ֫שָׁנֶה; but the identity of the two cannot be doubted.
six *grandsons* of Machir, according to P in Num., are set down as his younger *brothers*.

Supposing that this late evidence were all the information which we possessed with regard to Machir, we should naturally infer that this predominant section of Manasseh settled first in Gile'ad, and that it was only subsequently that some of its clans made their way into central Cana'an west of Jordan. If, however, the reconstruction of the original J narrative of the tribal settlement in Cana'an, which we have adopted from Bu., is substantially correct, and Num. 32.30.41.42 forms the sequel of Josh. 17.16ff., which certainly belongs to this narrative; then Manasseh first of all effected a settlement in the hill-country *west* of Jordan, and it was only subsequently to this that the clan of Machir, together with Ja'ir and Nobah, finding their west Jordanic territory too exiguous, pushed their way to the east of Jordan and made settlements there (cf. Additional note, pp. 49 ff.).

In our passage in the Song, it can hardly be doubted that Machir refers to *west* Manasseh. If this is not the case, there is no other allusion to this part of Manasseh; and supposing that a tribe so intimately associated with the scene of battle had refused its aid, it would certainly have been bitterly censured in the Song. On the other hand, Gile'ad east of Jordan *is* mentioned, independently of Machir, and is censured for holding aloof (v. 17); the reference probably being to the tribe of Gad, which inhabited the southern portion of Gile'ad. We seem therefore to have choice of two hypotheses: either the term 'Machir' is used in the Song, by poetic licence, of Manasseh as a whole, and here refers to west Manasseh to the exclusion of Machir in Gile'ad; or, the Manassite settlements at this period were *west of Jordan only*; and the migration of Manassite clans (Machir, Ja'ir, Nobah) to the east of Jordan, which the J document already referred to supposes to have been carried out under the direction of Joshua', really only took place *later than the victory of Deborah*. This latter hypothesis seems to be preferable; since we have already noticed (p. 45) that the J document, as we know it, adopts the view that the whole tribal settlement of the Israelites took place under the direction of Joshua'.

Ultimately Machir was closely, and probably exclusively, associated with the east of Jordan. According to the genealogy of 1 Chr. 7.14-16,* Machir is the son of Manasseh by an Aramaean concubine; and Machir's son Gile'ad takes a wife named Ma'acah, *i.e.* the Aramaean clan of the Mā'acathites, which, together with the Geshurites, the children of Israel were unable to expel from Gile'ad (Josh. 13.13 J). This means, without a doubt, that ultimately the Machir-section of Manasseh became closely fused by intermarriage with the Arameans.

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* The text of this passage, as it stands in Π, is somewhat confused and corrupt; but the solution is fairly transparent: cf. Curtis, *ICC. ad. loc.*
who remained dwelling in the territory east of Jordan; cf. the way in which the genealogy of 1 Chr. 2 includes North Arabian clans, such as Jerahme’el, among the descendants of Judah.

the commanders. Heb. w'krm, as in v.9 (note).

men wieldling. The Heb. verb n'skhm is here satisfactorily explained from Ar. masaka, ‘to grasp and hold,’ which is in like manner construed with the prep. b, cf. Ges., Thes. s.v. 2. The explanation favoured by Mo., La., Smith, ‘drawing the truncheon’ (cf. for constr. with b, 1 Kgs. 22:34, and a man drew a bow’) is hardly so natural; and still less so the interpretation of Ges. (doubtfully), Cooke, No., Kit., ‘marching along with the truncheon,’ in supposed accordance with the use of n'sak noticed under ch. 4.

the truncheon. Vocalizing מַכָּה and omitting רֶפֶן. Heb. s’kh here denotes the wand of office—a term which, in two other poetical passages (Gen. 49:10, Num. 21:18), has for its parallel w'krm (the word which, in the plur., is rendered ‘commanders’ in the parallel stichos), in the sense commander’s staff.

After s’kh י“‘ adds s’ph‘r—‘the truncheon of the muster-master’ (lit. enumerator)—an addition which is correct as regards sense, but spoils the rhythm by the introduction of one beat too many; and must therefore be regarded as a gloss.

15. And thy princes, Issachar. Reading שִׁישָׁר: cf. ל ‘Principals tui, Issachar.’ Such a direct address to the tribes imparts vigour and life to the description of the muster; cf. vv. 14a, 16”. מֶּרֶב ‘And my princes in Issachar,’ is an awkward expression, and can scarcely be original. The force of ‘my princes’ is obscure; since it is unlikely that the poet, who elsewhere sinks his individuality, intends thus to identify himself specially with the tribe of Issachar. Ew., Ros., in defence of מ, treat Deborah as speaking; but in this case the words ‘with Deborah’ which follow are superfluous; since it is impossible that the prophetess should, in one breath, allude to herself both in the first and third persons. Ges. and Hollmann follow Kimchi in taking מ, as a poetical plur. form for the ordinary מָרֶב; but the existence of such forms is more than doubtful, the cases cited being otherwise explicable (cf. G-K. § 87 g). מ, καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ εἰς ἰσαχαρ, seems to presuppose the vocalization שִׁישָׁר בִּאְרֶב, a variant which is found in some Heb. MSS. teste Ginsburg. Such a use of the Construct State before the prep. b may be illustrated by בִּאְרֶב ‘Ye mountains in Gilboa,’ 2 Sam. 1:21; שִׁישָׁרָיו בֶּקְעִר ‘joy in harvest,’ Isa. 9:2: cf. G-K. § 130 a. This reading, which is favoured by Rabbi Tanchum, has been adopted by the majority of
with Deborah. Bu. reads יָע in place of יָע of פִּ and Incident, 'the people (i.e. clansmen) of Deborah,' comparing the use of יָע in ד. So Marquart.

Naphtali is here conjecturally restored in place of Issachar. That Naphtali, 'le nom le plus essentiel de cette histoire' (Reuss: cf. ד. 18), should be altogether unmentioned in the strophe which describes the heroic response of the patriotic tribes, appears highly improbable; and it is equally unlikely that the poet should have been guilty of the prosaic inelegancy which is occasioned by the repeated mention of Issachar in the parallel stichoi. If the statement of the prose-narrative that Barak belonged to Kedesh of Naphtali is part of the original story, and not due merely to the combination of the Jabin-tradition (cf. p. 82), the mention of Naphtali in connexion with Barak is what we should expect. The substitution of Naphtali for Issachar is also favoured by Stu., A. Müller, Mo. (SBOT), D. H. Müller, No., Driver, Kent, Cooke (Comm.), Gress.

ֶ in the sense 'steadfast,' and so 'reliable' or 'honest,' is found several times in Heb.: cf. especially Gen. 42:11,10,31,33,34, where Joseph's brethren say 'we be honest'; Prov. 15:7, 'The heart of a fool is not reliable' (יָּשַׁר: || 'The lips of the wise disperse knowledge'); and the expression ֶ יָּשַׁר יָּשַׁר 'things which were not right,' 2 Kgs. 17:9. The adj. ֶ is also very frequent in Assyrian in the sense 'reliable' or 'faithful,' and in Syr. ֶ has the
meaning 'steadfast,' 'just.' On this interpretation of יִבְּשָׁן we obtain, with no more serious alteration of the text than the addition of ב before מב, the sense 'leal to Barak' as an excellent parallel to 'with Deborah' in stichos a.

The view that יִבְּשָׁן is the substantive which elsewhere in the O.T. has the meaning 'base' or 'pedestal,' here used metaphorically in the sense 'support' or 'reliance,' is as old as the Jewish commentators*; and has been adopted by many of the earlier modern commentators (Köhler, Herder, Hollmann, Justi, Stu., etc.). Schnurrer likewise regards יִבְּשָׁן as a substantive; but connects it with the Ar. verb kanna, 'to cover or protect' (cf. Heb. gânán), and so explains in the sense 'bodyguard' or 'escort.' This root, however, is not otherwise known in Heb. (Ps. 80:16 is scarcely an instance).

The explanation of יִבְּשָׁן as the adverb 'so' or 'thus' appears to be impossible, as מַכָּה now stands. R.V. renders 'As was Issachar, so was Barak'; but this meaning cannot be extracted from the Heb. without the addition of ב before רבך; and even so it is, as Mo. remarks, 'difficult to imagine a worse anticlimax.' Scarcely less feeble is the sense which is gained by No. through the insertion of בּ before רבך: 'and Naphtali was similarly with Barak.' Ge⁸ omits רבך; and connecting רבך ב with the following stichos, offers the rendering ἀντίς Barak εἰς κοιλάσιν αὐτοῦ τεῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Following this suggestion, von Gumpach, Grä., Grimm combine the stichoi and read β, β, β, β, β, β, β, β, β, β. Since, however, it is difficult to believe that יִבְּשָׁן has here any other meaning than 'at his heel' (cf. 4:10 note), we may in this consideration find evidence for the view that the expression refers back to the mention of Barak in the preceding stichos, as in מַכָּה.

Ge⁴, Ge⁵, omitting all traces of stichos ב, represent stichos כ by έκπατερεῖς πέζους αὐτοῦ εἰς τῆν κοιλάσιν, i.e. יָשֶׁר בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ. On the supposition that this is original, the active verb and the suffix of the object demand a subject, which might be found in בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ. Or it is conceivable that the letters בּ בּ בּ בּ בּ מָכָה might conceal an original יִבְּשָׁן; and stichos ב would then run, 'And Naphtali despatched his footmen to the vale.' Such a

* Cf. the statement of R. Tanchum (apud Schnurrer); 'Some think that יִבְּשָׁן signifies those upon whom Barak relied, and whom he had as his followers; from that meaning of the word יִבְּשָׁן which is found in Ex. 30:18 יִבְּשָׁן אֲלֵמָו ['a laver and its base'].
stichos, however, does not offer so good a parallel to stichos α as that which we have adopted with but little alteration of Ψ; and we may reasonably doubt a reconstruction which involves the annihilation of the single stichos at the close of the strophe which appears elsewhere to be characteristic of the poem (cf. p. 102).

he was loosed. The subject of the verb is the tribe mentioned in the preceding stichos, which we have assumed to be Naphtali, Baraḳ's own contingent. The verb הִלֵּלָה (used similarly in the active, of releasing a bird, Gen. 8:7, Deut. 22:7, or beast, Ex. 22:4, Lev. 16:22; or pent up waters, Job 12:15) vividly describes the sudden onrush of the tribe at the moment when Baraḳ's word of command unleashed it, as it were, from restraint.

at his heel. Lit. 'at his feet': cf. 4:10 note.

Utterly rest into factions, etc. Reading

טִמְרַד וְנֶחֱרָד לְקַלְקַלְתּוּת רָאוּבֵן

וליִּים תָּקִים אֵל

Ψ offers an isolated four-beat stichos, which may be rendered 'In the clans (or districts) of Re'uben great were the resolves of heart.' As this stands, Heb. פָּלַקְגוֹת, lit. 'sections,' may be compared with the use of פָּלַקְגוֹת in 2 Chr. 35:5 of the 'divisions' of the priestly families for the purpose of Temple-service. So Ψ renders פָּלַקְגוֹת 'in the family.' The cognate Bab. pulug[gu] and pulukku denote a 'division' or 'district' of a country; Phoenician נֶלַפ id. This seems to be the meaning intended by Γη in v.15 εἰς τὰς μετέπεις (v.16 εἰς διαπέρεσιν; 'Α. id., Γ v.16 εἰς τὰς διαπέρεσιν are ambiguous), η

א. Ar. תְּמֵּסָה. R.V.'s rendering of פָּלַקְגוֹת by 'water-courses' depends on the use of the term in Job. 20:17, and the meaning of the cognate פָּלַקְגִים, 'canals' (lit. 'cuttings'), which is found in Isa. 30:25, Ps. 1:3, al. This meaning, however, is not so likely in the present connexion as that given above. פָּלַקְגִים (which occurs again in this uncontracted form in Isa. 10:1; cf. פָּלַקְגִים for פָּלַקְגוֹת v.14), from an assumed sing. פָּלַק (Ar. הִלָּקֶק) = the normal פָּלַק 'statute,' i.e. 'action prescribed,' must here be taken to mean actions prescribed for oneself, i.e. resolves (so BDB.). Such a usage of the term is, however, unparalleled elsewhere. The stichos recurs in v.16c, where it is clearly a marginal note offering two variations, which has crept into the text. One of these variations is פָּלַק 'searchings' or 'questionings,' in place of פָּלַק; and this is probably correct, and has been
adopted above. 'Searchings of heart' must be taken to mean, not (as we might use the phrase) anxious self-questionings, but the ascertaining of the views of others, or, as we should express it, interchanges of opinion. The trait of indecision and ineffectuality is noted as characteristic of Re'uben in Gen. 49:4a. The other variation, though it appears, as the text stands, to be less natural than לְמִלְתּוּת, it is possible to explain ב in the sense 'at'; cf. מַעֲרָה, 'at the shore of the seas,' in v. 116a.

It may be regarded as certain that this single stichos cannot originally have stood by itself without a parallel, at the commencement of the strophe which deals with the tribes which failed to respond to the summons to arms: and if it was composed, as we now find it, as a four-beat stichos, we must suppose that a similar corresponding stichos, which originally preceded it, has wholly disappeared from the poem. The possibility that the stichos represents the remains of two parallel stichoi cannot, however, be overlooked: and since the characteristic rhythm of the other couplets of the strophe is clearly 4 + 3 beats, it may be inferred that this measure was also employed in the opening couplet. לְמִלְתּוּת (or מַעֲרָה) forms a single beat; but, if we add a suffix to ב, we obtain two beats— الإمְלָלָה, lit. 'the searchings of his heart,' i.e. 'his searchings of heart.' Thus it is reasonable to suppose that מַעֲרָה הבֵּית may represent the three-beat stichos ב; and, if this is so, we have the last two beats of stichos א in לְמִלְתּוּת ראובן. Now, 'Great were his questionings of heart' suggests, as a parallel, divisions of counsel in regard to the summons to arms on the part of the clansmen of Re'uben; and this is just the sense which may properly be attached to הָעָלַת into divisions, i.e. into divergent opinions, or into parties giving opposed counsels, or, as we should say, factions (so renders 'diviso contra se Ruben'); cf. Syr. pulgā, 'division,' which may mean hesitation, and also σχισμα.

What is desiderated, therefore, to supply the first part of the stichos is some verb meaning was divided or was rent asunder; and this may very likely have been בָּלָה, which may well have been emphasized by a preceding Infinitive Absolute בָּלָה. The emphatic בָּלָה supplies a suitable parallel to מַעֲרָה in stichos ב; both statements laying stress upon the extent of Re'uben's fruitless discussions and differences of opinion. The use of the prep. ב 'into,' after a verb expressing division can be abundantly illustrated (cf. בָּגִים 'divide into,' Gen. 32:8; בָּגִים 'cut up into,' Judg. 19:20; בָּגִים 'rend into,' 2 Kgs. 2:12; בָּגִים 'smite into,' Isa. 11:10). מַעֲרָה may therefore be regarded as the more original reading; and לְמִלְתּוּת may
be thought to be a correction—as more naturally expressing the sense 'in' or 'among,' which seems to be required by 。

16. the folds. Heb. mišpethāyim. The meaning assigned to the word is purely conjectural. It suits the context here (cf. the stichos following), and in the one other occurrence, Gen. 49:14, where the tribe of Issachar is compared to ‘an ass of strength (lit. bone) lying down amid the mišpethāyim. And he saw rest that it was good, and the land that it was pleasant, etc.’ In Ps. 68:14 (apparently based upon our passage) a cognate term is used:—‘Will ye lie (or When ye lie) among the šphattāyim?’ Both forms are duals, and may refer to some kind of double pen, with an inner and outer enclosure: Roediger in Ges., Thes. 1471, compares Gḏhērōthāyim, used as a proper name in Josh. 15:30, and meaning ‘two fences,’ or ‘double fence.’ Gḏhērōth is a term employed of sheep-folds (cf. Num. 32:18,20; 1 Sam. 24:4, al.) constructed for permanent use out of solid material (cf. Num. 32:10, ‘We will build sheep-folds’); and it is possible, as Roediger suggests, that mišpethāyim may have been the name applied to temporary folds made of hurdles. This explanation of the term, which is as old as David Kimchi, is adopted by the majority of moderns. The rival interpretation is ‘ash-heaps,’ such as are found in close proximity to modern Palestinian villages. This is based on the fact that there is a subs. ‘ăšpōth, meaning ‘ash-heap,’ or ‘refuse-heap,’ occurring in 1 Sam. 2:8, Ps. 113:7, Lam. 4:5, al., which is supposed to be cognate. The advocates of this interpretation do not seem, however, to have explained the connexion of the village ash-heap with pastoral amenity and the tending of flocks; nor the use of the dual, which appears, upon this view, to be quite anomalous. Were there, regularly, two ash-heaps to each village or encampment?

The Versions were puzzled by mišpethāyim, and seem to have guessed at its meaning. כנני τῆς δισομίας; אֶלֶּה transliterates τῶν μοσφαθαμ (μοσφαθαμ); ל. τῶν κλῆρων (so א in Gen. 49:14, Ps. 68:14; א in the latter passage ‘inter medios clericis’); ל. τῶν μέταχρων; א ‘inter duos terminos’; מ a חסנה חסנה ‘between the foot-paths’ (so in Gen.); Ar. מנים התריח ‘between the boundaries’ (similarly in Gen.).

the pastoral pipings. Heb. šrēkōth ṣāḥārim, lit. ‘the hissings or whistlings of (i.e. for) the flocks.’ In Latin sibila, ‘hissings’ or ‘whistlings’ is used similarly of piping to flocks upon a mouth-organ of reeds: so Ovid, Met. xiii. 784 f.:

‘Sumptaque arundinibus compacta est fistula centum;
Senserunt toti pastoria sibila montes.’

Cf. also ‘sibila cannae,’ Statius, Thebais vi. 338. The Latin term is
also employed by Columella, *De Re Rust.*, ii. cap. 3, of whistling to oxen to induce them to drink more freely after work:—'Quem [cibum] cum absumpserint, ad aquam duci oportet, sibiloque allectari, quo libentius bibant.' Cf. the way in which whistling or music will cause cows which are difficult milkers to yield their milk more freely (a fact noted e.g. by Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, ch. 17).

These parallels suggest that Heb. urities here refers to playing to flocks upon a mouth-organ or pipe—probably the 'ughabh, which is explained by כ "abbâbh, כ 'organon,' as a reed-pipe—the purpose being to conduce, in one way or another, to their physical well-being by the charm of the shrill music ('ughabh probably gains its name from its sensuous effect: cf. the meaning of the root in Heb. and Ar.). Thus the indolent Re'ubenite is pictured as charmed into inaction by the music of the shepherd's pipe.

The Heb. root does not occur elsewhere in connexion with flocks; but the verb śârâk is used in Isa. 526, 718, Zech. 103, of the employment of hissing or whistling, as a signal. Hence some have thought that the reference in our passage is to whistling (not piping) in order to call the flocks together. But why should the sound of such shepherd's calls be represented as keeping Re'uben at home?

Heb. urities bears striking resemblance to the Greek συρπγδσσ, which has been supposed by Lagarde and Lewy (cf. references in BDB.) to be derived from the same Semitic root śrk; but it is more likely that both words are independently onomatopoetic from the sound which they describe. Cf. the English word shriek.

17. Gil'e ad. The reference appears to be to the tribe of Gad, and not to East Manasseh (cf. note on 'Machir,' v. 14). The history of Jephtha (1017-127) shows us Gil'e adites, who presumably were Gadites, inhabiting the southern portion of Gil'e ad, in proximity to the land of 'Ammon. On the use of the term 'Gil'e ad,' cf. ch. 1017 note. Gad is read in place of Gil'e ad by ס, Ar., Goth., and a few codd. of ש; while Ar. interprets Gil'e ad as referring to Re'uben.

And Dan abideth by the ships. Omitting נב before the verb with two Heb. MSS., ש, ת, Ar., and with ס as it now stands.* ס, which has the support of ש, offers a fine and vigorous line with its rhetorical query, 'And Dan—wherefore abideth he by the ships?' But elsewhere throughout the strophe the scheme of rhythm in the couplets appears to be 4+3 beats; and, if we adopt the reading of ס, we have here, exceptionally, a stichos δ containing four beats instead of three, which is improbable.

* ס reads נב ס ט ד 'And Dan to the harbour draws ships'; but the resemblance of ס י ס to the harbour to ס י י 'wherefore?' suggests that this latter may have been the original reading, and that the alteration may have been induced by the context.
The reference to Dan in connexion with ships may be taken to indicate that clans of this tribe had already made their migration to the extreme north of Canaan, as related in ch. 18, Josh. 19:17; since, if the tribe was still dwelling only in the south, it is difficult to understand how they can have become seafarers (cf. note on ch. 1:34).

Even the supposition that the Danites carried on trading by sea from their northern home (though supported, as Mo. notes, by the following couplet with regard to Asher) is not without its difficulties; since ch. 18:7-28, informs us that Laish, which they conquered, was isolated, not merely from Aram on the east, but from Sidon on the west; though it is true that 18:7 at the same time compares the habit of life of the people of Laish with that of the Sidonians. It is reasonable, however, to suppose that the Danites, living on friendly terms with the Phoenicians, may shortly after their settlement have entered into close relationship with them, and taken service on board their ships (so Stu.). It was probably the protection extended by the Phoenicians to the tribes of Asher and Dan (in return, we may infer, for service rendered) which made these tribes unconcerned to throw in their lot with the central Israelite tribes, and respond to the summons to battle. Bu., who formerly (RS. p. 16) proposed to emend מים, 'ships' into מים, 'his pastures,' now (Comm.) adopts the view which we have advocated, and retains the reading of מים.

Asher sat still, etc. Cf. note on ch. 1:39, 'the Asherites dwelt, etc.'

his creeks. Heb. miphrēṣāw, which only occurs here in Heb., is elucidated by its philological connexion with Ar. furdah, 'a gap or breach in the bank of a river, by which ships or boats ascend'; firāḏ, 'the mouth of a river' (Lane). The verb farāḏa means 'to make a notch or incision.' It is possible to explain the possessive suffix of miphrēṣāw as 'its creeks,' referring to 'the shore of the seas' in the preceding stichos (so Mo.).

18. that scorned its life, etc. The expression is unique, and must be regarded with suspicion. The verb hērēḇ elsewhere properly denotes verbal taunting or reproach (cf. BDB.: properly, 'to say sharp things about'; connected with Aram. harēḇ, 'sharpen'); though it is true that there are passages in which it is used metaphorically of insulting God by injustice to the poor (Prov. 14:33, 17:5), or idolatry (Isa. 65:7). This latter usage, however, hardly supports the conception implied in 'insulting' one's own life by exposing it to risk of death. The Ar. parallels cited by Ros. are not very apposite ('We count our lives of light value (lanurqīšu) in the day of battle,' Hamasa, p. 47, ed. Freytag; tahkwana nafsāhu, 'he held his life of light worth'); since the expressions there used, so far from appearing forced and strange, are familiar all the world over.

Phrases used elsewhere in O.T. of risking one's life are 'he cast his life in front' (רַחַם; ch. 9:17; 'I placed my life in
19. the kings of Canaan. i.e. the petty chieftains of the fortified Canaanite cities such as Ta'anach and Megiddo, who appear as a rule to have been mutually independent (cf. the condition of affairs in earlier times as gathered from the T.A. Letters; *Introd.* pp. lxx ff.); but are here united for action under the leadership of Sisera, who was, presumably, the king of Harosheth. Cf. the alliance among the Amorite city-kings of the south against Joshua, as related in Josh. 10.
The use of the term 'king of Canaan' as applied to Jabin in ch. 4 19. is different; in that it pictures him as overlord of northern Canaan as a whole—a conception which gains no support from the older narrative. Cf. note ad loc.

In Ta'anach, etc. On the sites of these cities cf. ch. 1 27 note.

The rills of Megiddo. Lit. 'the waters of M.' The reference doubtless is to the numerous small tributaries of the Kishon which flow down from the hills to the south-east of Megiddo. The modern Ar. name for the Kishon is Nahir el-Mu'atta', i.e. 'River of the ford or shallow.' While there is no philological connexion between Megiddo and Mu'atta', we are probably right in inferring that the modern name was bestowed owing to its assonance with the old city-name of unknown meaning. So Smith, HG. p. 387, n 1. A similar phenomenon is noted as regards the Heb. name Harosheth compared with the modern Ar. el-Harittiyeh (ch. 4 2 note).

The gain of money they took not. Most commentators interpret this statement as meaning that they were baulked in their expectation of spoil. So Mo.: 'it was a most unprofitable campaign for them; a sarcastic meiosis. The gains of war were in the ancient world one of the principal causes of war; cf. Ex. 15 9.' This explanation is described by La., not unjustly, as 'pensée très banale et qui devance le cours des événements'; and it may be added that, if the reference is to hoped-for spoil, the description of this spoil as 'money' or 'silver' simply is not very natural: contrast v. 30. La. himself adopts the explanation offered by Rashi and Levi ben-Gershon, that the kings did not fight for payment like mercenaries, but with the whole-heartedness of men who are protecting their own interests. This is more probably correct. A third explanation, which is not impossible, is given by Kimchi, viz. that they did not accept money as ransom from the Israelites who fell into their hands, but slew them without quarter—the statement thus emphasizing the fierceness of the combat. Cf. the way in which Trojan combatants, when vanquished, are pictured as offering the Greeks a price for the sparing of their lives. Thus, in Iliad, vi. 46 ff., Adrestus addresses Menelaus:

\[
\text{Τάξιδι τοῦ Μεγίδρος ἢ τὸν ἤλεγχον καταβαίνει ἢ ἀποφεύγει ἢ περίπλεφθη καταβαίνει, χαλκὸς τε χρυσὸς τε πολύβιτος τε σιδήρῳ τόν κείν τοι χαρίσατο πατήρ ἀπερείπτε ἄπωνα, εἰ κεν ἐμεῖς ἥμαν πεπυθοῦν ἐπὶ νησιν Ἀχαιῶν.}
\]

Il. x. 378 ff., xi. 131 ff. are similar.

Several commentators follow Tanchum in understanding ḫeṣa' in the sense 'fragment,' or, as we should say, 'bit' of money (cf. Ar. bat'a, Aram. bissu'a); primitive money taking the form of uncoined ingots, the value of which was tested by weight. Since, however,
there is no parallel for such a meaning elsewhere in the Heb. of the O.T., in which בֵּשָּׁה occurs with frequency in the sense ‘gain made by violence, unjust gain, profit’ (BDB.), it seems preferable to acquiesce in the ordinary meaning, which is quite suitable to the context.

20. From heaven fought the stars, etc. The break between the stichoi is obviously to be placed upon מִצְלָמָן, which gives 3 + 3 beats to the distich; and not, as by R.V., ‘They fought from heaven, The stars in their courses fought, etc.’; since this offends against rhythm by offering 2 + 4 beats.

From their highways. Winckler proposes to emend מִצְלָמָן into מִצְלָמַת, ‘from their stations.’ The term proposed, מָזָּלוֹת (cf. 2 Kgs. 23:6), is elucidated from Bab., in which מַנָּזָע denotes a ‘place of standing,’ from מָנָּזָע ‘to stand’; and a fem. form מָזָּלָת ( = מַנָּזָע) is found, e.g. in iii. R. 59, 35a: ‘The gods in heaven in their mansions (מַנָּזָלָיִת) set me.’ These heavenly mansions or stations are identified by Delitzsch (Prolegomena, p. 54) with the zodiacal stations; while Jensen (Kosmologie, pp. 347 f.) thinks that they denoted rather the stations of certain fixed stars and planets, lists of which are found in the Bab. inscriptions. In Ar. מַנָּזיל denotes a ‘lodging place’ or ‘mansion’; and the plur. al-manāzil is used of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon. Thus the occurrence of מִצְלָמַת in our passage would be appropriate to the context; and it is possible that the reading of מִצְלָמָן may represent the easy substitution of a common term for the more unusual word: but since מִצְלָמַת of מִצְלָמָן yields a good sense, the alteration is unnecessary.

21. The torrent Kishon, etc. Cf. Thomson’s description of the probable circumstances of the rout, as cited under ch. 4:16. A description of the Kishon is given under ch. 4:7.

swept them off. The Heb. verb garaph does not occur elsewhere; but the meaning which it bears is elucidated by the usage of the Ar. verb garafa. Thus Ar. says גַּרְפֶּהוּ הִתָּבְאוּ, ‘the torrents swept it away’; גַּרְפֶּה הַנָּאָס כַּגַּרְפֶּה הַסְּבֵל, ‘it swept away men like the sweeping away of a torrent’ (Lane). The sense attached to Aram. graph (here employed by א"ר) is similar. א"ר εἰςοὐρευ ἀβρόος, א"ל εἰςβαλεν ἀβρόος, א"ר ‘traxit cadavera eorum,’ render with approximate accuracy. א"ר, more freely, מַכְבָּרָן ‘shattered them.’
It faced them, the torrent Kishon. Reading as 'a torrent of encounters,' which means to be in front and also to confront in a hostile sense (cf. the Ar. 'aṣdama, 'cause to advance against the enemy').

The substantival form kāḏūmim only occurs in our passage; and, in accordance with the sense of the root, the main explanations of naḥal kāḏūmim are two: (1) 'torrent of antiquity' (lit. of ancient times) is adopted by θ' χευάριν στρατίων (perhaps 'men of old time'), T ('the torrent at which signs and mighty acts were wrought for Israel from ancient times'), Kimchi ('the torrent that was there from ancient times'), R.V. ('that ancient river'), Michaelis, Justi, Boettger, Bach., Reuss, Oet., Vernes, etc.; (2) 'torrent of (hostile) encounters,' suggested by Abulwalid, and adopted by Schnurrer, Köhler, Hollmann, Ros., von Gumpwald, Donaldson, Ber., Kit., etc.

Why the Kishon, rather than any other stream, should be spoken of as an ancient torrent is not clear. The only obvious explanation is that in the mind of the poet it had a long history behind it; and this explanation is also demanded by the rival rendering ' torrent of encounters,' which would seem to imply that many historical battles had taken place in the neighbourhood of the Kishon. At the present day such a title as 'torrent of battles' would be appropriate to the Kishon; since we know that, as a matter of fact, the vale of Esdraelon is the historical battle-field of Palestine: cf. Smith, HG. pp. 391 ff. But the inference that the Hebrew poet knew of traditions of ancient battles in this locality, such as that of Tūtmosi III. against the prince of Kadesh and his allies (cf. Introd. p. lxvii), appears somewhat precarious.

Other explanations of naḥal kāḏūmim have been offered. Thus Meier, Cooke, Grimme, Driver render 'the onrushing torrent,' and, similarly, Smith, Segond, 'the torrent of spates.' It is doubtful, however, whether such a sense can be maintained. The verb kāda' in Ar. may mean 'to advance;' and 'to be bold in attack;' but always with the implied idea of going in front of (leading), or coming in front of (meeting), some one else; and the transference of this idea to an onrushing stream is somewhat remote. Still less probable is the

* Similarly, meḏāhōr, 'behind' = 'on the west,' Isa. 912, Rab. 11; yāmin, 'the right' = 'the south,' Ps. 8912, Rab 19, al.
sense, 'winding (i.e. self-confronting) torrent,' adopted by Herder. The fact (noted by Mo.) is, however, worthy of observation that in Ar. kadêm (identical with our form) means a man who is first in attacking the foe, and so, brave, courageous. Thus the Heb. phrase would mean 'the torrent of heroes;' if, as might be the case, the word was employed in Heb. in the Ar. sense.*

The Versions not already noticed are not helpful: Ἐ 'Cadumim'; ספ (with ש erroneously for ש), Ar. id.; ספ, Θ. καθημεύ; ספ καθημεύ; 'A. καυσώνων (connecting with א', 'east wind').

The emendation adopted above follows the private suggestion of Ball; and has been independently adopted, as regards ת:ל, by Ehr.* It assumes that it is natural to find in the stichos a verbal parallel to ת:ל of stichos α; and that the first occurrence of יֵֽוֶֽהְנָֽךְ is an erroneous insertion, made to explain the substantive רומָּסָּר, when this latter had taken the place of the verbal form נַֽרְאָֽסָּר. The form of the distich, with its identical term and inverted order in the parallel stichoi, may be compared with v. 24.

It is true that the sense obtained through the emendation involves something of a hysteron-proteron; since, strictly speaking, the torrent 'came in front of' the Canaanites in their flight before it 'swept them away' in their attempt to cross it: yet we have no right to demand an accurately logical sequence from the poet; and it is legitimate to explain the second verb as to some extent explanatory of the first—the torrent swept them away because it confronted them in their flight.

The numerous other emendations which have been offered need not be noticed.

Bless thou, my soul, the might of Yahweh! Reading יְבַרְרִי יָנֵּשׁ, תַּחַת יָדְךָ is barely intelligible. The Imperfect יֹֽהְנָֽךְ has been taken as a pictorial description of past events (R.V. marg. 'thou hast trodden down'; properly, 'thou tredest down': cf. the use of the Imperf. in Ex. 15:6 מַעֲלָה יְתַחַ֣ת: 'The deeps cover them')—where the tense, in describing a past event, emphasizes 'the process introducing it and preliminary to its complete execution': Driver, Tenses, § 27a); or as a Jussive in place of the Imper. (so R.V. text 'March on'). יִֽתְנַח is taken either as the direct

* On nouns of this form used in Heb. in an active sense, cf. G-K. § 84. It is worth while to remark that, in miphrâh v. 17, gârâph v. 21, we have instances of words of which the meaning would be obscure, were it not for the clear elucidation offered by Ar.

‡ So also (since the writing of the above note) Gressmann in Die Anfänge Israels, p. 186. Rothstein adopts the same verbal form in the plur.; but emends the remainder of the line beyond recognition—קַדְּמָה מִן מִרְבָּבָת. 'The waters confronted their chariots.'
accusative (R.V. marg.), and explained as abstract ‘strength’ for concrete ‘the strong’ (so V ‘Conculca anima mea robustos’); or as an adverbial accusative ‘with strength’ (R.V. text, תְּפֵלָה: cf. G-K. § 118q). Upon either interpretation we have, if not ‘simple bathos’ (Mo.), at any rate a very weak conclusion to the strophe; and, as Mo. rightly remarks, ‘most inappropriate as the conclusion of vv. 20–21, which tell how heaven and earth conspired to destroy Sisera.’ On the other hand, the sense offered by the stichos as restored above, viz. an ejaculation of thanksgiving to Yahweh as the controller of the powers of nature which assisted Israel, is very suitable to the context; and may be compared with Ex. 15:6, where, after allusion to the overwhelming of the Egyptian hosts by the Red Sea (as the Canaanites were overwhelmed by the Kishon), the poet exclaims—

‘Thy right hand, O Yahweh, is glorious in power;
Thy right hand, O Yahweh, dasheth in pieces the enemy.’

The use of the Jussive (וְהָדַרְךָ) in place of the Imperative is scarcely to be termed ‘rare’ (Mo., referring to מָכַה); cf. ch. 7:16, Hos. 14:8, וֶיֶלַע (אָשֶׁר Juss. coupled with the Imperat. וה); Ps. 51:8, 9:2, 10 (Juss. three times, alongside of the Imperat. four times in the two following verses); Ps. 71:2a (Juss. twice; parallel to Imperat. twice in v. 20); 71:20–21. It is possible, however, that the Imperative may have been originally written: cf. הָדָרְךָ in Ps. 103:1–2.

The corruption of הָדַרְךָ into הָדַרְךָ is likely; ב and נ being very similar in the old character. הָדַרְךָ may have been written ‘ như, and the ‘ subsequently omitted through accident. That הָדַרְךָ was sometimes thus abbreviated into ‘ is proved by Jer. 6:11, where הָדַרְךָ of נ is read as ‘ by א; and by Judg. 19:16, where הָדַרְךָ is clearly an error for יִרְדְּךָ. Cf. Driver, NHTS. p. lxxxix. 2.

Mo.’s suggestion, combining part of the preceding stichos, מְלָא הָדַרְךָ (similarly La.) is condemned, if by nothing else, by the monstrosity שֶׁנַּיֵּשׁ. The emendation of Ruben (adopted by Cheyne, JQR. x. p. 566; EB. 2652) is an example of how not to use the Assyry. dictionary.

22. loud beat. Lit. ‘hammered’ (sc. the ground). Cf. the English expressions, ‘the hammer of countless hoofs’; ‘to hammer along the road,’ used of pushing a horse to a fast pace on the hard road. R.V. and most moderns render ‘did stamp.’ The Versions treat מְלָא either as passive (אָמַּת מְלָא, אָמַּת מְלָא, θ. αμάκτα απόκτησαν, תָּמָא מְלָא מְמָאָה) ‘were drawn off,’ i.e. possibly pulled or broken off) or

* The fem. subst. מְמָאָה occurs some forty-nine times in the O.T. in the plural with the fem. termination, and never with the masc. termination; the form מְמָאָה in Ezek. 13:29 being clearly an error for מְמָאָה ‘free.’
intransitive (ח 'ceciderunt,' ב' דועש, Ar. סעט—all meaning 'fell,' or, as we should say 'stumbled'; cf. the rendering of ב'). Similarly, Kimchi explains that the form is 'a stative; as though he said, the horses' hoofs were battered ח through excessive galloping in the battle.' The same view is taken by other Jewish interpreters, and is adopted by A.V., 'Then were the horsehoofs broken, etc.' Mo., who favours this interpretation, vocalizes the verb as a passive ח (Pu'al not elsewhere found). Against it, we may remark that horses' hoofs are not very likely to be injured by excessive galloping,* more especially on a plain which must have been largely in the condition of a swamp owing to the heavy rain-storm (cf. ch. 4 14 note); and further, if the poet meant that they were broken or bruised, he would scarcely have expressed this by stating that they were hammered through themselves striking the ground.

Probably a passive sense is given to ח by the Versions and early interpreters owing to the prep. ח 'from' or 'through' of the succeeding stichos as it stands in ח, which seems to denote the source of the action denoted by ח. Cf., however, the note following.

Smith, who adopts the vocalization as a passive ח, renders as an active 'thudded'; but this term, which commonly denotes the dull, dead fall of a heavy body, is not very happy.

the horses. Reading plur. מָכֵסָה with Bu., Kit. BH., Gress., by taking over the מ from the commencement of the following stichos. Cf. כ, ב'.

off galloped, off galloped. Reading ח וה职业技术 as suggested by Kit., BH. Cf. ב' וֹסְעַה וֹסְעַֽו. The verb ח occurs again of a galloping horse in Nah. 3 2. ח reads ח ה职业技术 ח 'through the galloping, galloping' (Suspended Construct State: cf. Gen. 14 10). It seems likely, however, that the ח belonging to ח at the end of the preceding stichos came erroneously to be prefixed to ח, and this was then treated as ח, i.e. as an abbreviated plur. substantive (on the use of such abbreviations, cf. footnote ח, p. 124). Adopting our emendation, the couplet offers two stichoi parallel in sense, and it may be noticed that such parallelism (either synonymous or climactic: cf. Additional note, p. 169) is characteristic of the poem;

* The modern Syrian horse has particularly good legs and feet, and is usually shod with plates; but in ancient times horses appear to have gone unshod. Isa. 5 28 refers to the hardness of the hoofs of the Assyrian horses ('like flint'), as a proof of their power to resist wear and tear; but whether this implies that trouble was common with the feet of ordinary horses is doubtful.
whereas the synthetic form of parallelism, which is offered by ב in this distich, is comparatively rare (cf. vv. 16a, 16b).

The repeated дахар дахар is intended to represent the threefold beat of a horse’s gallop; and does so most accurately with the main иктus on the third beat; as in the final movement of the overture to Rossini’s Guillaume Tell. Virgil represents the gallop by the familiar dactylic line, Aen. viii. 596,

‘Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum’;

and this dactylic rhythm is adopted by Charles Kingsley in My Hunting Song:

‘Hark to them, ride to them, beauties! as on they go,
   Leaping and sweeping away in the vale below’;

but the dactylic measure is not quite so true as the anapaestic. In Ps. 68:11-12 we find the measure אָדַעְתָּם אָדַעְתָּם; יִדְדָהוּ ה יִדְדָהוּ ה, ‘Kings of hosts are running, are running,’ which is again intended to represent the sound of a cavalcade galloping away in the distance. This reminds us of the rhythm of Browning’s How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix:

‘I sprang to the stirrup, and Joris, and he;
   I galloped, Dirck galloped, we galloped all three.’

his chargers. Heb. ’abtraw, lit. ‘his strong ones.’ The term is used elsewhere of horses in Jer. 8:16, 47:3, 50:11. Horses at this period were employed in chariots, and not (so far as we know) for riding purposes; but since the functions of chariots in warfare were akin to those of cavalry in later times, the rendering ‘chargers’ may be held to be justified.

23. Curse ye, curse ye Meroz! Reading מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה וְאַשְׁרָי in place of מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה מֵאֶרֶץ יִוְחָא ‘Curse ye Meroz!’ said the Angel of Yahweh,’ which is plainly unrhythmical (five beats). Such an allusion to the Angel of Yahweh in this ancient poem is also somewhat unexpected (cf. ch. 21 note, end). Probably מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה became corrupted into מַלְאָךְ אָבָר ‘he said’; and the natural query ‘Who said?’ was answered by supplying a subject—‘the Angel of Yahweh.’

Meroz is only mentioned here, and the site is unidentified. The modern Muraśšas, four miles north of Bēṣān, which is doubtfully advocated by Buhl (Geogr. p. 217) after Guérin, is not philologically connected with the Heb. name; and conjectures that Meroz is the corruption of some better known name (cf. the suggestions cited by Mo. SBOT.) are necessarily futile, since we have no guide as to the
locality of the city. It is highly probable that the curse took practical effect, and the city with its inhabitants was destroyed by the Israelites, and never subsequently rebuilt. Cf. the fate of Penuel (ch. 8:8,9,17) and Jabesh of Gile'ad (ch. 21:8-13) in similar circumstances.

*For they came not to the help of Yahweh.* Possibly Meroz was situated somewhere upon the line of the enemy's flight; and, like Succoth and Penuel on the occasion of Gide'on's rout of the Midianites closed its gates when it might have aided by cutting off the fugitives, or by supplying the pursuers with much needed refreshment.

...mid the heroes. Heb. bag-gibbôrim as in v.13. So R.V. marg. 'among the mighty;' R.V. text 'against the mighty' is less probable.

24. Most blessed of women be Ja'el. יִשְׂרָאֵל's addition of 'the wife of Heber the Kenite,' which spoils the balance of the couplet, is a prosaic gloss derived from ch. 4:17.

tent-dwelling women. Lit. 'women in the tent.' Cf. the phrase 'the tent-dwellers' applied to the Bedawin on the farther east of Jordan in ch. 8:11. Mo. compares the Ar. expression 'aḥi-lwabar, 'the people of the hair-cloth tents.'

25. A lordly dish. Lit. 'a dish of (i.e. fit for) nobles.' Heb. šĕphel occurs once again in ch. 6:38 to denote the dish or basin into which Gid'eon wrung the dew from the fleece. The word is used in the cognate languages in a similar sense. Cheyne's emendation (EB. 2313) 'a bowl of bronze' (דָּו deduced from Bab. urud) is uncalled-for.

curds. Cf. ch. 4:19 note.

26. Her hand to the peg, etc. Against the view that this description of Šisera's death is essentially different from that of ch. 4:21ff., cf. pp. 79 f. Cooke's contention (Comm.) that 'according to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry her hand and her right hand mean the same thing; and so should nail and workmen's hammer,' cannot be substantiated. Cf. Prov. 3:16:

'Length of days is in her right hand;
In her left-hand are riches and honour.'

So also Cant. 2:6, 8:3. The only difference in our passage is that the poet has chosen to use yădāh 'her hand' instead of š'mōlāh 'her left hand.' גִּב, ל, י, Ar. explain correctly as 'her left hand.'

She stretched forth. Heb. בְּנָה, apparently a plur. form, but probably intended for a sing.*

* The view that in this and a few other cases we have the remains of an emphatic form of the Imperfect, akin to the Ar. modus energicus 1, yaktulanna
the maul of the workmen. Heb. halmúth ‘ámélím. The expression has caused difficulty. The term halmúth, from hálam ‘to hammer,’ should represent the implement described under the term makkebheth in ch. 4:41, i.e. a hammer or heavy wooden mallet; but elsewhere in Heb. substantives ending in -úth are secondary formations denoting abstract qualities*; cf. G-K. §86 k. The real existence of a concrete derivative from hálam is, however, a reasonable assumption; and possibly the true form of the subst. should be halمام. The Heb. verb ‘ámal, from which ‘ámélím is derived, commonly means to toil (i.e. to labour, with the accessory idea of weariness or painful endeavour); and all its occurrences are, with possibly one exception (see below), very late. The subst. ‘ámál, which occurs both in early and late literature, usually denotes, in its earlier occurrences, trouble; and the sense toil or labour is only found in the later literature, especially Ecclesiastes. The subst. ‘ámél (of which our form is the plur.) means a labourer in Prov. 16:28, and is coupled with the cognate verb:—‘The appetite of the labourer laboureth for him.’ This passage occurs in the central section of Prov., which many scholars regard as pre-exilic; though a considerable body of opinion views the whole book as the product of post-exilic times. The word occurs twice in Job in the sense sufferer; and, in an adjectival sense, toiling, five times in Ecclesiastes†. Hence the occurrence of ‘ámélím in our passage is commonly regarded with grave suspicion. Mo. remarks, ‘‘does not mean artisans (smiths, carpenters), but men who are worn out, or wear themselves out, with toil and hardships; “hammer of hard-working (or weary) men” is a singular metonymy for a heavy hammer!’

Such a statement overlooks the fact that the cognate languages prove that the root can be used in the general sense of work, apart from the connotations noticed above. Thus Ar. ‘amila means ‘to

for the ordinary yakhtulu, is rejected by G-K. §47 k; yet seems, at least in our passage, to be by no means improbable. Cf. the Phoenician form יקָלְעָה, occurring in the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmun’azar king of Sidon (CIS. I. i. no. 3, ll. 5 f.)—‘and let him not superimpose upon this resting-place the chamber of a second resting-place.’ יקָלַעַת, which recurs in ll. 7.21, may be compared with the Ar. modus energicus ד. yakhtulan. Cooke (NSI. pp. 34 f.) treats יקָלַעָה as a suffix-form ‘carry me’; an explanation which involves a highly forced and unnatural treatment of the context.

If יקָלַעָה be not an energetic form, the alternative is to vocalize it as a suffix-form יָקָלַעַת, and to treat דָּרְיָה as an accusativus pendens:—‘her hand, to the peg she stretched it forth.’

* The forms are mostly late. A complete list of them is given by König, Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache, ii. 1, pp. 205 f.
work or make; 'amal 'work or occupation,' 'amil 'artisan'; Aram. 'amal 'to labour'; Bab. nimelu* 'the produce of work,' i.e. 'gain or possession.' There is no difficulty, therefore, in supposing that 'amelim may denote 'workmen' generally, without the connotation of toil or weariness.

The meaning of the phrase is correctly elucidated by ספ לְנָמוּל 'to the carpenter's mallet,' Ar. id, נְמוּל דַּגְרָן 'to the mallet of the smiths,' סא 'ad fabrorum malleos' (treating חַבִּיר as a plur.). סב, 'A. els σφόναν κοσμιώντων interpret בֵּלֵי יָע in accordance with customary Heb. usage. סכ els ἀποτομᾶς κατακοπῶν (κατακοπῶν) misunderstands.

she smote. Lit. 'hammered.'

destroyed. Heb. mahakah, which only occurs here in the O.T., is explained from New Heb. and Aram. 'wipe out or erase,' Ar. mahakah 'utterly destroy, annihilate.'

pierced through. The Heb. verb halaflh commonly means to pass on, or pass away; but is here used transitively 'passed (i.e. pierced) through.' This usage is substantiated by Job 20:24, 'The bow of bronze pierces him through' (תָּקִים פֹּה), where 'bow' is used metonymically for the arrow which is shot from it. Mo. explains 'demolishes,' lit. 'causes to pass away,' quoting Isa. 24:6 פֹּה נֶשֶׁר in support of the causative usage. This, however, probably means 'they have passed by (i.e. overstepped) the ordinance' (cf. || תֵּבְרוֹת תֵּבְרָו 'they have transgressed the laws') and not 'they have abolished' it.

27. 'Twixt her foot, etc. The passage is discussed on p. 80.

undone. Driver's rendering. Heb. nah'udh means lit. 'treated with violence.'

28. and exclaimed. Heb. יִבֵּבֵה. The verb yibbebh, which only occurs here in O.T., is explained from Aram., in which yabbévah means 'blow the trumpet,' and also 'raise a shout'; being used in this latter sense by ספ to translate Heb. יִבֵּבֵה in ch. 7:21, 1 Sam. 4:6, 17:20; Ps. 47:2, 66:1; al. In New Heb. the verb means 'to lament' over a corpse. Thus סא renders 'et ululabat,' ספ לְמֹשָׂח, Ar. גלִּבָּה. סכ, however, renders כָּלָה כְּסָנָה, לְמֹשָׂח, יִבְּבָה, גלִּבָּה, etc., תִּשְׁכֹּש, יִבְּבָה, נִמְדָּה.

* With nimelu with preformative n from נָמֵל, cf. nimēku from סָמָך, nimedu from סָמָך.
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'and looked attentively'; i.e., apparently, apparently, apparently, apparently, apparently, apparently, apparently, apparently. This latter verb is adopted by Klostermann, Marquart, No., La., Zapletal, and is favoured by Bu. and Cooke (Comm.).

the lattice. Heb. hā-'ēšnābh. The precise meaning of the term is uncertain. It occurs again in Prov. 7(1) hallōn ‘window,’ as in our passage; and in Ecclus. 42:11, where it is mentioned as a means of gazing on the street. The conventional rendering, which we have adopted, is that which is given by ἔνε, ἑνκ, ἱκανοστη, (so, in Prov., ἔνε ‘cancellos’). Εὐκακ, apparently ‘wood-work,’ perhaps has the same meaning. ἔνε, however, renders ekvōs τοῦ τοξικοῦ ‘through the loop-hole;’ while ἔνε ‘de coenaculo,’ ἔνε look of an upper chamber or colonnade (κακάρε).

tarrieth. On the Heb. form ὄννα (for ὄνα or ὄνα), cf. G-K. § 64 h.

the clatter. Heb. pa'āme, lit. ‘strokes,’ here no doubt refers to the hoof-beats of the chariot-horses.

29. Her wisest princesses. As Mo. remarks, ‘there is a fine irony in the allusion to the wisdom of these ladies, whose prognostications were so wide of the truth.’

make answer. Reading plur. ὄννα in place of ὄννα ‘answereth her’ (sing. with suffix), which is impossible after the plur. ἱκανος. An equally possible alternative is to emend ἱκανος for ἱκανος ‘The wisest one of her princesses answereth her.’ So ἔνε ‘Una sapientior ceteris uxoribus ejus;’ ἔνε Ar. id.

Yea, she returneth her reply. She tries to quiet her anxiety by making herself the most reassuring answer. ἔνε adds ἱκανος ‘to herself,’ which destroys the balance of the couplet by adding a fourth beat to the stichos.

30. A damsel, two damsels. Heb. rāham (which elsewhere in O.T. means ‘womb’) occurs in plur. with the meaning ‘girl-slaves’ in the inscription of the Moabite stone, l. 17.

for every man. Lit. ‘for the head of a man;’ i.e., as we might say, ‘per head.’

of dyed stuffs embroidered. Lit. ‘of dyed stuffs, embroidery,’ the two substantives being in apposition.

Two dyed embroideries. Lit. ‘a dyed piece of two embroideries.’ This may be understood as the dual of what would be in the sing. ‘a
dyed piece of embroidery' (דֵּקָה), the dual termination of the second (genitival) subst. sufficing to throw the whole compound expression into the dual. Cf. sing. דֵּקָה 'a father's house or family,' plur. דֵּקָה 'families': G-K. § 124 r. R.V.'s rendering, 'of divers colours of embroidery on both sides' (the explanation of Kimchi and Levi ben-Gershon), can hardly be correct.

The manner in which the terms meaning 'dyed stuff' and 'embroidery' are repeated and combined in the three final stichoi of the strophe is somewhat strange; and various alterations and omissions have been proposed. We need only notice the reconstruction suggested by Bu., which reduces the three stichoi to two, each containing three beats:

'Spoil of a piece or two of dyed stuff for Šišera;
Spoil of a piece or two of embroidery for my neck.'

Here דֵּקָה and קְפָה are brought into exact analogy with דֵּקָה 'a damsel or two.' It may be questioned, however, whether this rearrangement is not too precise and formal to represent the original. קְפָה, as it stands, is susceptible of the rendering which we have given in the text; and in its repetition, which may be paralleled by v. 27, it exhibits affinity to the climactic parallelism which is so marked elsewhere in the Song (cf. Additional note, pp. 169 f.). It may be intended to represent the way in which the women's thoughts run on in prospect of the spoil. Cf. the passage from Virgil, Aen. xi. 782, cited by Ros. and others:

'Femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore.'

for the neck of the queen. Reading יִשְׂנֵי 'queen' (cf. Ps. 45 9, מִשְׂנֵי, Neh. 2 6), after the suggestion of Ewald, in place of מִשְׂנֵי 'spoil.' So Ber., Wellh., Stade, Oet., Oort, Schlögl, Kit., Driver, etc. The reading of מִשְׂנֵי can only mean 'for the neck of the spoil,' which fails to yield sense; since it is impossible to follow Michaelis, Schnurrer, Ros., and several of the older commentators in explaining 'the spoil' as referring to the beasts of burden captured from the foe, which are to be led in triumph decked with the dyed raiment, etc.; nor is it likely that Justi is right in suggesting (after Mendelssohn) that 'the spoil' refers to the captured damsels previously mentioned. Levi ben Gershon explains as מִשְׂנֵי בּוּלִי 'owners of spoil'; and similarly Hollmann supposes an ellipse of מִשְׂנֵי before מִשְׂנֵי—'man of spoil'.
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(cf. A.V. "meet for the necks of them that take the spoil"): but such an ellipse is impossible. It would be easier to follow W. Green (1753) in vocalizing as an active participle 'spoiler'; as is suggested by the rendering א"'ן הָיָהוּ יְהֹשֵׁעׁ בָּאָשׁו (Ar. id.). Kimchi explains 'for the necks of the spoil' as equivalent to 'on the head of the spoil,' the sense intended being that 'the garments are placed on the head of the spoil to give them to the captain of the host.' He thus seems to regard 'the spoil' as referring to the captives generally; an explanation which is without analogy. R.V., 'on the necks of the spoil,' apparently assumes that the passage means that the garments are on the necks of the spoil (captives or slain?) before they become a booty; but the explanation of י as 'on' ('belonging to') is very harsh and improbable.

א"'ן תָּבַרְחָלָו אֵינוֹ ולפּ רָמַחַלְךָו אִינוֹ בָּאָשׁו; ל. 'circa cervices ejus spolia'; וּבּ חַוְא צֹרֵא מִבּ שְׁנַיִוּ עַל רוֹחָא; i.e. יֵשֵׁב תְלִיתוֹו (יטלקית) 'for his (i.e. Sisera's) neck as a spoil'; and this is adopted by Meier, Hilliger, Stu. א"'ן רַמֲחַלְךָו אֵינוֹ ולפּ רָמַחַלְךָו אִינוֹ עָלַם עָלַם: so No., La., Kent. The original of א, 'supellex varia ad ornanda colla congeritur,' is not clear.

Further, Donaldson, Reuss, Grä., Smith, etc., read יֵשֵׁב תְלִיתוֹו 'a spoil for my neck'; while Bu., Cooke adopt the reading יֵשֵׁב תְלִיתוֹו 'for my neck' simply.

31. So perish, etc. The couplet is regarded by Meier, Winter (ZATW. ix. 223 ff.), Bu., etc., as an addition, in the style of the Psalms, made to the poem in later times. It cannot be doubted, however, that it forms a most effective conclusion. As Mo. remarks, the single word 'So' brings the whole course of events before our eyes again, culminating in Sisera's 'death by a woman's hand, disgrace worse than death; the anguish and dismay of those who loved him,' which the poet, with consummate art, leaves to the imagination of the reader. It is true that the idea embodied in the phrase 'thy friends' (lit. 'those that love thee') first comes into prominence at a later age (Ex. 20:6; Hosea, and Deuteronomy); but it by no means follows that it was wholly unhithought of in much earlier times.

thy friends. Reading יֵשֵׁב תְלִיתוֹו with א, א"'ן, in place of יֵשֵׁב תְלִיתוֹו 'his friends.'

An echo of the couplet is probably to be found in the first three verses of Ps. 68, which later on (vv. 7,8,13) shows traces of the influence of the poem.
A more detailed presentation of the rhythmical scheme of the Song of Deborah, and the extent to which this scheme is reproduced in our English rendering, may be of interest, as illustrating the method of early Hebrew poetical composition. As we have already remarked (p. 96), ancient Hebrew poetry, like English poetry, possesses no regularly quantitative system of metre; but is characterized by the occurrence of so many ictus or rhythmical beats to the line, the intervening unstressed syllables being governed by the possibilities of pronunciation rather than by any strict rule. It is feasible, however, both in Hebrew and English, to divide the stichoi into 'feet,' with a view to a more accurate observation of the correspondence which may be obtained between the original and its translation; and an attempt has been made to do this in the comparison which is offered below.

Such a division of the Hebrew original into 'feet' also serves to illustrate the position of the ictus and its relationship to the accompanying unstressed syllables. It may be noticed that the Song contains, in all, 298 'feet.' Of these, by far the most frequent concatenation of stressed and unstressed syllables is \( \overline{\text{anapaest}} \), i.e. the anapaest,* this 'foot' occurring 115 times. Closely similar to this is the 'foot' which contains an additional syllable as a weak (unstressed) ending, i.e. \( \overline{\text{anapaest}} \), and this is found 13 times. Further, we find, with an additional unstressed syllable before the ictus, \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \), 77 times; and, with a weak ending, \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \), twice. Rarely, four unstressed syllables precede the ictus; \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \), 4 times; but there is no instance of such a 'foot' with an additional syllable as a weak ending. Next to the 'anapaest,' the most frequent 'foot' is the 'iambus,' \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \), this occurring 77 times; and, corresponding to this with a weak ending, \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \), 25 times. Not infrequently, a word of a single syllable may bear the ictus, unaccompanied by any unstressed syllable; \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \), 12 times. Such an ictus may be followed by a weak ending, \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \), 19 times.†

It thus appears that, out of the 298 'feet' in the poem, 192, or nearly two-thirds, are either \( \overline{\text{anapaest}} \) or \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \) in form; and it will be found that this proportionate relationship of stressed to unstressed

* The term 'anapaest' is used loosely to denote two unstressed syllables followed by the stress, and not necessarily two short syllables followed by a long; since it is possible in Hebrew for an unstressed syllable to be long by nature.

† In this analysis, Furtive Pathak is not reckoned as a weak ending. Thus madda is reckoned as \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \), not as \( \overline{\text{iambus}} \).
syllables is (speaking generally) characteristic of other examples of Hebrew poetry. The reason why an anapaestic or iambic 'foot,' with such variations as we have noted, is characteristic of Hebrew rhythm, depends upon the fact that the Hebrew tonic syllable is always either the ultimate or penultimate syllable of a word, the accented ultimate being by far the most frequent (in the Song 239 instances, as against 59 instances of the accented penultimate); while the throwing of the accent farther back than the penultimate syllable is wholly unknown. It is thus impossible to find a dactylic 'foot,' \( \underline{\text{\textit{\textbf{\textcircled{a}}}}} \underline{\text{\textit{\textcircled{e}}}} \); while the trochaic 'foot,' \( \underline{\text{\textit{\textcircled{e}}}} \underline{\text{\textit{\textcircled{a}}}} \), is, as we have seen, comparatively uncommon. In English, on the contrary, the accented penultimate or antepenultimate syllable greatly prevails over the accented ultimate; and a dactylic or trochaic measure is therefore natural, and indeed, at times, unavoidable. The comparative prevalence of dactylic or trochaic 'feet' in our English rendering of the Song will be found to be the feature which most markedly militates against close approximation to the Hebrew original. Fortunately, however, the English language is rich in weighty monosyllables; and the use of these enables us largely to reproduce the effect of the Hebrew rhythm by bringing the \textit{ictus} down to the final syllable of the 'foot.'*

The fact is familiar to students that the system of Hebrew vocalization, as known to us from 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤃, represents the artificial product of the synagogue-system of cantillation; and only preserves the original pronunciation of living Hebrew in a very modified form. We are able, however, partly by the help of comparative philology, and partly by the aids to which reference has been made on p. 99, to infer with a fair approximation to certainty what the spoken pronunciation of the language must have been like; and an attempt has been made to reproduce this pronunciation in the transliteration of the Hebrew original. It should be remarked that this transliteration only claims substantial accuracy in so far as it substitutes full short vowels in open syllables for the tone-long vowels and vocal \( \text{שוהא} \) of 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤃; but the evidence at our disposal is not sufficient to enable us to dogmatize as to the \textit{precise vocalization} of many word-forms at the period represented by the Song; and many of the forms which are

* The conclusions here adopted assume that the practice of spoken Hebrew, as regards the position of the tone, is substantially preserved in 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤃. We must not, however, overlook the possibility that the synagogue-system of cantillation may to some extent have affected the \textit{position} of the tone-syllable, tending to throw it forward to the end of the word; and it is conceivable that, when Hebrew was a spoken language, the practice with regard to the tone conformed to that of Arabic, viz. that the accent was thrown forward till it met a long syllable, and if no long syllable occurred in the word, the accent rested on the first syllable. Such a system would to some extent modify our conclusions as to the different types of 'feet' represented in the Song; and, leading as it would to a multiplication of 'feet' of the form \( \underline{\text{\textit{\textcircled{a}}}} \underline{\text{\textit{\textcircled{e}}}} \) and even \( \underline{\text{\textit{\textcircled{e}}}} \underline{\text{\textit{\textcircled{a}}}} \underline{\text{\textit{\textcircled{e}}}} \), would result in a closer approximation of the Hebrew rhythm to the English rendering.
given must be regarded as only approximately accurate (cf. the philological remarks which are added at the close of this note).

It is, however, the relationship of the unstressed syllables to the *ictus*-bearing syllable, and not the precise quality of the vowels of such syllables, which is of importance to us in our presentation of the rhythmical form of the Song; the latter question, though of supreme importance to philology, being only of subordinate interest as regards our present subject.

Lastly, it may be observed that the short vowels which take the place of tone-long vowels and vocal *šīwa* in our transliteration, though represented as full vowels, may very likely have been pronounced in some cases with extreme brevity (as in Arabic), and in others very possibly slurred together in utterance. The effect of such a slurring would be to diminish the number of unstressed syllables (making e.g. sound as  ), but would in no way essentially alter the character of the rhythm.

It will be noticed that, in the four-beat stichoi, we have placed a double line of division, halving the stichos. This indicates the caesura, which is characteristic of this form of rhythm; and which ordinarily marks a break in sense, sometimes considerable, as in vv. 3a.4b, where the first half of the stichos is parallel to the second; but at other times very slight, and amounting to little more than the taking of breath at the half-way point. Stichoi also occur occasionally in which the caesura is purely formal, *sense* requiring a connexion rather than a break. So in v. 10a (caesura between subst. and adj.), vv. 17aa.31b (between Constr. St. and its following genitive).

Lest it should be thought that the fact that the caesura is purely formal in v. 10a, where we have re-arranged the text, is an argument against the arrangement, it may be remarked that the occurrence of such formal caesuras can be substantiated elsewhere. Thus we have Ps. 45 2b:

> 'My tongue is the pen of a ready writer.'

---

3. šumu’d | malakhìm | ha’zînu | rōzinîm
   'anôkhî | l’Yahwâh | ‘anôkhî | ‘asîra
‘azanimèr | l’Yahwâh | ‘elâhî | Yisrîél

4. Yahwâh | baṣîthikhâh | misSèťr
   baṣadîkhâ | misadhê | ‘Adhôm
‘âras | ra’dâśa | gam-śamêm | namôghâ
   gam-‘ahîn | naṭaphû | máyîm

5. harrîm | nazalû | mippandî | Yawhâh
   mippandî | Yawhâh | ‘elâhî | Yisrîél
3.  Attend, | ye kings ; || give ear, | ye rulers :  
I— | to Yahwéh || I | will sing,  
Will make melody | to Yahwéh, || the Gód | of Ísrail.  
4.  Yahwéh, | in thy progress | from Se’ir,  
In thy march | from the field | of Edôm,  
Eârth | quâked, || yea, heâven | rôcked,  
Yea, the clouds | drôpped | wâter.  
5.  The mountains | shoôk || before | Yahwéh,  
Before | Yahwéh, || the Gód | of Ísrail,
6. 

miyyamáy | Šamgár | ben-‘Andáth
miyyamáy | ’olám | ḫadhalá | ʿowąbóth
whólíkháy | nathíbhóth | yélakhá | ʿakálkálóth

7. ḫadhalá | ʿarázóth | bYisrá‘el

8. ḫáshará | ʿahám | ḫárrásám
‘ázalá | ḫamuším | mér
maghén | ’im-yírrá‘é | warúmák
bárba‘ím | ʿálaph | bYisrá‘el

9. ʿári | ʿári | Dábhórá
‘ári | ʿári | dabhari-štr
kám | Barák | wašabhé
šóbáyka | bén | ʿAbhinú‘am
lakhú | muḥókákhy | Yisrá‘el

10. rókhíbháy | ’athónóth | saḥóróth | yásíkú
whólíkháy | ’al-dárákh | yásíbhú | ’al-lébh
kúl | muṣákákóst | bén | mašábbim
šám | yutánnú | saḥákóth | Yákwhá
saḥákóth | zuřó | bYisrá‘el

11. ʿáz-yarádhú | lašárí‘ím | ʿaddírítm
‘ám-Yákwhá | yarádh-ló | baggábhórítm

12. minní-Ephré | mašákú | ba‘émèk
‘ákáráyka | Bínýamín | ba‘a‘áma máyka
minní-Makhír | yarádhú | muḥókákótím
uniz-Zabalún | mošíkkítm | bašébht

13. wašaráyka | Yissákhrá | ’im-Dábhórá

14. waNaphtáá | kén | laBhárák
ba‘émèk | ʿullá | baraghílw

15. naphróth | naphróth | lephálaggón | Re‘ubbón

gadhotím | kekeráy | lóbó

16. lámma | yašábhta | bén | hammášpatém
lašámó | saríkót | ʿadártm

17. Galádh | ba‘ébher | hayYárdén | šákhn
wáDhám | yaghíd | ’oniyóth
’Ašér | yašábh | lajóph | yammém
wád | naphrásdw | yásín

18. Zabalúán | ’am-karáph | naphší | lamúth
wáNaphtátí | ’al-marómay | sadhé

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6. From the days | of Shamgár | ben-'Anáth,
From the days | of old, || caravans | ceased
And they that went | along the ways | used to walk | by crooked paths.

7. Villages | ceased | in Israel;
Till thou | didst arise | Deborah,
Didst arise | as a mother | in Israel.

8. Armourers | had they | none;
Armed men | failed from the city:
Was there seen | a shield | or a lance Among | forty thousand | in Israel?

9. Come, ye commanders | of Israel!
Ye that volunteered | among the people, | bless ye | Yahweh!

10. Let the riders | on tawny || she-asses | review it,
And let | the wayfarers | recall it | to mind!

11. Hark | to the maidens | laughing at | the wells!
Theré | they recount | the righteous acts | of Yahweh,
The righteous acts | of his arm | in Israel.

12. Awake, | awake, | Deborah!
Awake, | awake, | sing paean!
Rise | Barak, | and lead captive
Thy captors, | O son | of Abinö’am!

13. Then down | to the gates | gat the nobles;
Yahweh’s folk | gat them down | mid the heroes.

14. From Ephraim | they spread out | on the vale;
‘After thee, | Benjamin!’ | mid thy clansmen.
From Machir | came down | the commanders,
And from Zebulun | men wielding | the truncheons.

15. And thy princes, | Issachar, | were with Deborah;
And Naphtali | was leal | to Barak:
To the vale | he was loosed | at his heel.

16. Why sat’st thou still | amid the folds,
To hear | the pastoral | pippings?

17. Gilead | beyond | the Jordan | dwelt,
And Dan | abideth | by the ships.
Asher | sat still | by the shore | of the seas,
Dwelling | beside | his creeks.

18. Zebulun | is the folk | that scorned its life | to the death,
And Naphtali | on the heights | of the field.
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19. bd'z | malakhím | nakhánū
   *az-nalhamú | malakháy | Kand'an
   baTa'nakh | al-máy | Magiddó
   básá | kásaph | lo-lákháhú
   min-šámém | nálhamú | hakkékhálhím
   minnasillothám | nálhamú | 'im-Síšará

   náhal | Kíšón | garaphám
   kaddámám | náhal | Kíšón
   Tubarrakhî | napšt | 'áz | Yahwáh

20. min-Jámm | nálftamí | hákkiJkhabím
   mimmaHllothdm | nálftamí | 'ím-Sísard

21. ndftal | Gzf&n | garaphpí
   {addamdm | ndftal | Gzf&n
   Tubarrakhf | naphft | 'oz
   'az-halamí | 'a{<ibhdy | sustmdaharii
   dharii | 'ábbirdw

22. 'az-halamú | 'a{<ibhdy | suším
   daharú | daharú | 'ábbiráw
   'úrrú | Méróz | 'áró
   'úrrú | 'árór | yöshháhýya
   ké-tó-bá'u | la'ezráth | Yahwáh
   la'ezráth | Yahwáh | baggábbórím

23. tuburrákkh | minnašim | Ya'él
   minnašim | batáhul | tuburrakkh

24. máyim | šá'l | halább | nathána
   bašéphel | 'addírin | ha'áríba | hémá
   yadháh | layathlík | tašhalátna
   wyamináh | lhalmát | 'aníltim
   whalamá | Síšará | makhád | rótó
   umáhásá | wáhalaíphá | rakhátó

25. beyn-rághlíyha | kará | napšt | šakháb
   beyn-raghlyuha | kará | napšt
   bašér | kará | šam-naphšt | šadhúdih

26. ba'ádéh | hašallón | naškaphá | sattuyabbábh
   'ém | Síšará | ba'ádah | ha'ezsnábh
   maddów | bóséš | rakhabá | labó
   maddów | 'ahharú | pa'amáy | markhabóthów

27. hakhámáth | sarrótháyha | ta'náyná
   'apkhí | latíbh | 'amaríyyha

28. haló | yamšúú | yužallaqú | šádl
   ráhám | rahmathém | laróš | gábar*
   šádl | saβha'ím | laSíšará
   šádl | saβha'ím | rikmá
   sába' | rikmathém | lasawwardy | źeghál

29. ken | yobhadhí | kol-oyabhkyka | Yahwáh
   wóhabháyka | kašéth | haššámaš | baggábúrathó

30. *

Possibly this couplet should be regarded as consisting of trimeters rather than tetrameters:—

   haló, yamšúú | yužallaqú | šádl
   ráhám | rahmathém | laróš-gábar.
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19. 

On came | the kings | they fought; 
Then fought | the kings | of Canaan; 
In Ta'anach | by the rills | of Megiddo; 
The gain | of money | they took not.

20. 

From heaven | fought | the stars; 
From their highways | they fought | with Sisera.

21. 

The torrent | Kishon | swept them off; 
It faced them, | the torrent | Kishon.

Bless thou, | my soul, | the might | of Yahweh!

22. 

Then loud beat | the hoofs | of the horses; 
Off galloped, | off galloped | his chargers.

23. 

Curse ye, | curse ye | Meroz! 
Curse ye, | curse ye | her townsfolk!

For they came not | to the help | of Yahweh, 
To the help | of Yahweh | mid the heroes.

24. 

Most blessed | of women | be Jael, 
Of tent-dwelling | women | most blessed!

25. 

Water | he asked; | milk | she gave; 
In a lordly | dish | she proffered | curds.

26. 

Her hand | to the pég | she put forth, 
And her right | to the maul | of the workmen; 
And she smote | Sisera | destroyed his head 
Shattered and pierced through his temples.

27. 

'Twixt her feet | he bowed, | he fell down, | he lay prone; 
'Twixt her feet | he bowed, | he fell down.

Where | he bowed, | there he fell down | undone.

28. 

Out | through the window | she glanced | and exclaimed, 
The mother | of Sisera | out | through the lattice: 
'Wherefore | delayed | his car | to come? 
Wherefore | tarried | the clatter | of his chariots?'

29. 

Her wisest | princesses | make answer, 
Yea, she | returned | her reply:

30. 

'Are they not | finding | dividing | the spoil? 
A damsel— | two damsels | for every | man: 
A spoil | of dyed stuffs | for Sisera, 
A spoil | of dyed stuffs | embroidered; 
Two dyed | embroideries | for the neck | of the queen.'

31. 

So perish | all | thy foes | Yahweh: 
But be thy friends | like the sun | going forth | in his strength.
The following notes are offered in explanation of the Heb. forms adopted in the transliteration.

3. ūni’d, for (Paint. 3 similar points to such a form: cf. Bab. kutulû; and Ar. ukhtulû, where the need for the prothetic vowel was the direct result of the slurring away of the first short u vowel. That Heb. k'utûl was once pronounced kufitt may also be inferred from Origen's translit. of δύναμις, Ps. 35.1 by lóous (o in translit. answering to ӯ).

malakhîm, with two d's in open syllables, for (Paint. So throughout the poem, parazêth, hakhambêth, etc.

hâzinû; or possibly hâ'zanû. The origin of the i of the Hiph'il is obscure.

rozi'nîm. The ӯ of the Act. Particip. (from an original ܚ; cf. Ar. kâtil) was of early development in Heb.: cf. the T.A., 'glosses'[*] zûkîni = דע, ūbil = בק, where the ӯ is the nearest approach to the representation of ӯ in cuneiform script.

'ânokhi; perhaps originally accented 'anôkhi. Cf. לַנְפִּ in the Moabite stone and Phoenician inscriptions.

6. lYahwâh. It is here assumed that, before the weak letter י, the short vowel of the preposition is merged by crasis with the following short vowel. Cf. T.A. bâdiu = base (gloss on Bab. ina kâtîšu). A similar crasis is assumed before the weak מ in wâhîliky, etc. Whether such a crasis took place before י is perhaps more doubtful. A possible instance is to be seen in the Precative Particle י, if this really stands for יני 'supplication'; and, similarly, the name תֵּ נִ תַּ הַ מ is usually regarded as a contraction of תֵּ נִ תַּ הַ מ (cf. Syr.

* The so-called 'Cana'anite glosses' in the T.A. Letters (which might preferably be termed 'Amorite,' as relics of the language of Amurru: cf. Introd. pp. ix f.) are words and phrases in the language which is the prototype of Hebrew, occurring in the letters which were written in the cuneiform script and in the Babylonian language by the petty kings and governors of Canaanite cities to their suzerain, the king of Egypt. We may infer that the scribes who were responsible for the writing of these letters were themselves Canaanites, to whom the Babylonian was a foreign language, acquired (as evidence shows) not always very perfectly. Thus, they often employ a Canaanite word as an explanation or gloss of the equivalent term in Babylonian which precedes it in the letter; or even occasionally substitute a Canaanite term for the Babylonian, for which they were probably at a loss. These 'glosses' are of great value, not only as forming the earliest relics of the Hebrew language which are known to us, but also because (inasmuch as they are written syllabically in the cuneiform script) they embody the vocalization as well as the consonants of the forms. A complete list of the T.A. glosses will be found in Böhl, Die Sprache der Amarna-briefe, pp. 80 ff.; cf. also KAT., pp. 651 ff.
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The crasis is of regular occurrence in Bab., where e.g. bēlu stands for the West Semitic bēl, bēlā.

'azammmēr. The last vowel probably ַ or ַ. The ַ of the Piel in פִּ is a late and artificial development. So late as the time of Origen this vowel is regularly represented in translit. by e and not by η (contrast the Act. Particip. Kal, where η always appears: e.g. Νουηη).

'elāḥādē, for פִּ "loāē. For ַ in place of ַ, cf. Ar. ilēā, Syr. 'elāhā. That ַ was originally the diphthong ay is clear from comparative philology.

4. bāšēthikā, bāšā'dikhā. The connective vowel before the suffix is given as t, the Genitive case-ending after the preposition, as in Bab. and Ar.

missadē. That ַ was originally ַ might be conjectured from the sporadic occurrence of the latter form in פִּ as a poetical archaism. The early existence of the more familiar form is, however, witnessed by the T.A. štēt = ַ as a gloss to the Bab. ַgari.


'tāras, for פִּ'ēres. It must be regarded as an open question whether the segholate nouns were pronounced at this period with a helping vowel after the second consonant (as in פִּ, and in the form which we have adopted), or in the monosyllabic form (e.g. 'ārēs) which is assumed to be the original (cf. Ar. 'ārdē, the philological equivalent of ַ). Origen uniformly represents this type of noun as monosyllabic: e.g. ַ = ַ, ַ = ַ, etc.; the only exceptions being formed by words which have a guttural as second or third radical; e.g. ַ = ַ, peye = ַ, etc. On the other hand, the much earlier evidence of ג exhibits a uniform representation of the helping vowel; e.g. ַ = ַ, ַ = ַ, etc. Among the T.A. glosses we find ַ = ַ, ַ = ַ, segholate forms with case-ending, just like Ar. 'ārdē. Taking, however, a Hebrew proper name of the classical period such as ַ (meaning, apparently, 'Yahu is strength, or my strength'), where the first element ַ must be assumed to be a segholate noun of the form ַ (for the normal ַ; cf. fem. ַ by the side of ַ), we find that the helping vowel after the ַ which appears in the ג translit. is confirmed by the Assy. translit. in Sennacherib's inscription,* where the name is spelt out as ַ(ַ-ַ-ַ-ַ-ַ) or ַ(ַ-ַ-ַ-ַ-ַ). In face of this conflict of evidence, it appears preferable to retain the helping vowel in

* The Taylor Cylinder, col. ii. 1. 71; col. iii. ll. 11, 29; cf. KB. ii. pp. 92, 94.
segholate forms,* vocalizing, as Gr suggests, form 1 as in 'ārāṣ; form 2 as in sēphēl, v. 26; form 3 as in 'ūhul, v. 21 (cf. Gr forms Barad, Εξεπ, Zopho).

raʾāʾa. The pausal form is retained, here and elsewhere (nakhāmā, lakāhā, v. 19; nathāna, v. 25), as probably characteristic of the original pronunciation. Origen recognizes such pausal forms in his transliterations; e.g. ιαδίθνηπου = בֵּרִי. The existence of the pausal accent in Bab., as indicated by the doubling of the succeeding consonant, also seems to be clear; cf. Delitzsch, Assy. Gramm. § 53 c. In Ar. the pause introduces certain formal modifications.

šāmēm, in place of šāmāyim. For the dual termination -ēm, cf. Phoenician Ⱬšmš.

nataphā, in place of nātaphā, as in Ar.; and so in similar verbal forms throughout the song. Possibly such a form may sometimes have been pronounced nataphā: cf. T.A. gloss maḥṣu for maḥṣu (מַחְשֵׁה). The Bab. Permansive form is similar.

māyim; or possibly mēm: cf. T.A. gloss mīma, mēma (spelt out mī-ma and mī-e-ma). Moabitic, however, represents the ' in מ, a fact which perhaps indicates a pronunciation such as we have adopted (i.e. the pronunciation of מ).  

5. harrīm, for hārīm. Similarly, ' is doubled in yirrāʾē, v. 8, barrakkāhā, v. 9, etc. It cannot be doubted that ancient Heb. found no more difficulty about the pronunciation of double ' than does Bab. and Ar. Cf. the T.A. gloss harri = א with Genitive case-ending; and the Gr transliterations 'Αμορράος = בִּירא pronounced 'Amurri (native of the land of Amurru); Xappav = חפ, cf. Bab. Χαρράνυ.

7. 'ēm; or possibly 'imm (Origen, έμ). Similarly, maghēn, v. 8, may have been pronounced maghinn, 'āz, v. 21, 'uss (Origen, ές), etc.

9 ff. mukākāy, mukāhākōth, yutanā. The short preformative vowel of the Pāl is represented by u, as in Ar. Cf. the T.A. gloss yukabid = יקבּאָד.


13. baggábbōm; or possibly baggábbām as in Ar.: but it is probable that original ā had already in most, if not in all, cases become ō; as it certainly had in the case of the Act. Particip. Қāl: cf. note on rōzinām, v. 4. The original a of the sharpened first syllable of the subst. was probably not yet thinned to ṭ, as in מתי.

* It is, as a matter of fact, difficult to conceive that a form like 'arāf can ever have been pronounced without a helping vowel under the r, supposing this r to have been trilled; and, in the same way, sēphēl cannot be pronounced as a true monosyllable, but naturally becomes sēphēl.
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Many instances may be drawn from ג showing that the thinning of an original a in a toneless closed syllable into i is a late development: cf. מָנוּא = מָנִי, מָשִׂים = מָשֵׁים, תָּלִּו = תָּלוּ, etc.

15. naphrōdh naphrādh. On the analogy of the fact noticed in the preceding note with regard to substantives, it may be assumed that the original a of the preformative of Niph'al was unthinned to i (so nāthamād, v. 19; nāskaphā, v. 26; cf. the T.A. glosses nāṣapū, [nā]aṣapṭi); and the same inference may be drawn with regard to the preformative vowel of the Perf. Hiph'il (ḥakrīḇa, v. 25), and the sharpened first syllable of the Perf. Pi'el (ḥarrāph, v. 18; kaddāmām, v. 21; ḥaḥard, v. 28). In the case of the preformative vowel of the Imperf. Īl we have evidence from the T.A. glosses that the original a of the preformative was, at that period, preserved as in Ar., yāṣābur standing for רְבִּּוּ. Hence, in v. 17 we vocalize yāṣān for יְבִּּוּ of יָבִּּוּ, and in v. 30 yāmṣūd for יָמַּוְּוָד.

26. tašlahanna, vocalized upon the analogy of the Ar. modus energicus I. Cf. footnote, p. 152.

raśā. That an original ra's (as presupposed by the Ar. ra's) had already developed into raš in Heb. is proved by the T.A. gloss ruṣunu "our head," where the u of the syllable ru represents ə.

THE CLIMACTIC PARALLELISM OF THE SONG
OF DEBORAH.

The purpose of this note is to call attention to a characteristic of the Song which is somewhat infrequent in Hebrew poetry, viz. the recurrence of a form of parallelism which has been not inaptly termed Climactic. In this form, stichos b of a distich does not offer a more or less complete echo of stichos a in different words (Synonymous parallelism); nor, on the other hand, is it merely formally parallel to stichos a, while in matter it offers an advance in thought (Synthetic parallelism). Instances of such forms of parallelism are to be found in the Song; but do not call for special comment.* In Climactic parallelism, however, stichos b is partially parallel to stichos a, but adds something further which completes the sense of the distich, thus forming, as it were, a climax. In the following examples this principle is carried out to a varying extent, in a manner which adds to the vigour and movement of the poetry. In order that the method may be the more clearly observed, the stichoim are divided into sections upon the basis of parallel and non-parallel parts; and the

parallel parts are placed one beneath the other, while the non-parallel sections stand separately. It may thus be observed that the non-parallel portion of stichos 6 is intended to round off and complete the whole distich.

5. The mountains shook | before Yahweh,
   Before Yahweh, | the God of Israel.

6. From the days of Shamgar ben-'Anath
   From the days of old, | caravans ceased.

7b. Till thou didst arise, | Deborah,
    Didst arise | as a mother in Israel.

9. Come, | ye commanders of Israel,
   Ye that volunteered among the people, | bless ye Y.

11. There they recount | the righteous acts of Y,
   The righteous acts of his arm | in Israel.

12a. Awake, awake, | Deborah;
    Awake, awake | sing paean!

12b. Rise up, Barak, | and lead captive
    O son of Abino'am, | thy captors!

18. Z. is the folk | that scorned its life to the death,
   And N. | on the heights of the field.

19a. On came the kings, | they fought
    the kings | Then fought | of Cana'an.

20. From heaven fought | the stars
   From their highways they fought | with Šisera.

23. For they came not | to the help of Y.
   To the help of Y. | mid the heroes.

28. Out through the window | leaned and exclaimed
   out through the lattice | the mother
   of Š.

30. A spoil of dyed stuffs | for Šisera,
    A spoil of dyed stuffs | embroidery,
    Dyed stuff | for the neck of the queen | two embroideries.

Cf. also v. 27, where the single word יָדַע 'undone' in stichos c forms the climax to the description of Šisera's death and humiliation.

Driver (LOT 9 p. 363) remarks that 'this kind of rhythm is all but peculiar to the most elevated poetry'; and quotes, as instances occurring elsewhere, Ps. 29, 92, 93, 94, 96, 113. 'There is
something analogous to it, though much less forcible and distinct, in
some of the "Songs of Ascents" (Ps. 121-134), where a somewhat
emphatic word is repeated from one verse (or line) in the next, as
Ps. 121:2 (help); v. 5b.4; v. 1b.5a; v. 7.8; 122:2b.3a, etc.3

Observation of this structural device cannot fail to suggest that the
emendations and excisions proposed by some scholars, merely for the
sake of removing repetitions, should be received with the utmost
cautions. Thus, e.g. when Rothstein emends לָלָלִים in v. 10:6 into
בְּאֵש at [and] they set the battle in array; on the ground that ‘das
natürliche rhythmische Empfinden sträubt sich dagegen, in beiden
Halbversen das gleiche Verb zu lesen,' he is proceeding upon
an assumption which belies the most salient characteristic in the
parallelism of the Song.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE SONG OF DEBORAH.

In considering the language of the Song, one broad general prin­
ciple has first to be laid down; viz. that, since Hebrew literature,
as known to us from the O.T., is extremely exiguous, the Hebrew
vocabulary which we possess doubtless represents only a somewhat
limited part of the vocabulary which must have been in regular, if
not in common, use in the written and spoken language. This is a
consideration which is substantiated by the large number of
אַשָּׁרָה which occur throughout the O.T.; and its importance is
enhanced when it is applied to one of the very few monuments of the
earliest period of the literature which happen to have survived. In
discussing the text of the Song, we have noticed a number of words,
the meaning of which can only be elucidated by recourse to the
evidence supplied by the cognate languages. Thus, 'לָלָלִים 'grasp,'
v. 14, לָלָלִים v. 17, לָלָלִים v. 21, לָלָלִים v. 26, and possibly לָלָלִים v. 21, are
explained from the Arabic; לָלָלִים v. 15 possibly from Babylonian and
Phoenician usage, but more probably from Aramaic; לָלָלִים v. 26 in
a sense common to Arabic, Aramaic, and Babylonian, but not to
early Hebrew as otherwise known to us; לָלָלִים v. 26 from Aramaic and
New Hebrew; and לָלָלִים v. 30 from Moabitic. לָלָלִים v. 11 is eluci­
dated only by our knowledge of the meaning of the verb in Hebrew;
while the signification of לָלָלִים v. 16 can only be vaguely guessed.
These facts do not, of course, imply that e.g. the list of words which
are explained from the Arabic are to be regarded as Arabisms, i.e. that
their use in the Song is due to the influence of Arabic; but simply that
Hebrew and Arabic being from a common stock, and our knowledge
of the Arabic vocabulary being much more extensive than our know­
ledge of the Hebrew, Arabic helps us to explain some of the otherwise
unknown Hebrew words, which may have been, and very likely were,
in common daily use at the early period represented by the Song.
Further, the fact urged by Vernes, in his argument for the late date of the Song, that a number of the words employed in it occur elsewhere, mainly or exclusively, in the third division of the Hebrew Canon—the *Kethubhim*, is really destitute of significance as bearing upon the date. Hebrew poetry, like the poetry of other languages, has its choice words and expressions which are not commonly employed in prose; the great bulk of the Hebrew poetry known to us in the O.T. is contained in the *Kethubhim* (Pss., Job, Cant., Lam.); and at least two-thirds of the words cited by Vernes in proof of his thesis are cited because they occur in these poetical books.*

There are, however, a few forms in the Song which are to be regarded as dialectical. Of those which have frequently been cited by scholars in time past, the termination ח in יִנ ת v. 10, and the supposed Absol. plur. termination י in יִנ ת v. 10, have disappeared under our criticism of the text; but there remain the Relative י v. 7 for the ordinary יַּעַל v. 7, if rightly regarded as 2nd fem. sing., for the normal יַעִינ v. 14 (cf. Neh. 9:22-24) with dissimilated ד, for יִנ ת; and, most remarkable of all, יַעִינ v. 11, where comparison of the cognate forms in Arabic and Aramaic, and the actual occurrence of the normal form in Hebrew (יַעִינ ד to do a second time), lead us to expect יַעִינ. It should be observed that the Song is not the only example of pre-exilic literature in which these forms occur. The Relative י is found again in ch. 6:17, 7:18, 8:28, in 2 Kgs. 6:11 (if the text is sound), and throughout Cant. (which, however, may be post-exilic). Instances of forms resembling יַעִינ for יַעִינ have been quoted in note ad loc. from Mic. 4:13, Jer. 2:20. Forms from verbs י doubled exhibiting dissimilation, like יַעִינ, are seen in יַעִינ Isa. 10:1 (as in the variant for יַעִינ in the Song, v. 10); יַעִינ Num. 23:7, J.E., al., Jer. 17:3, יַעִינ Deut. 8:9; יַעִינ Jer. 6:4. יַעִינ is substantiated by יַעִינ in ch. 11:40 (if original; cf. note).

The claim that these forms are proofs of the late date of the

* Most of the remainder occur in the prophets, who also naturally at times employ terms which would not be used in plain prose. In citation of his references to various books, Vernes frequently does not state all the facts, or states them incorrectly. Thus יַעִינ, which is assigned to Pss. and Ezek., occurs also in the pre-exilic prophets Am. 9:1, Nah. 1:5, Jer. 4:24, 8:16, 10:10, 50:46, 51:28; יַעִינ, assigned to Pss., Prov., Chron., is, needless to say, very frequent also in the earliest literature; יַעִינ, assigned to Chron., Neh., Pss. (where it does not occur), is only found again in Judg. 6:38 E; and so on.
Song (Vernes), and the assertion that they are late alterations of the text, (Rothstein), are, therefore, equally unwarranted; and scholars generally recognize the fact that the Hebrew of northern Canaan must have exhibited certain dialectical peculiarities—as indeed is seen to be the case in the lengthy narratives in Kings which must have emanated from the prophetic schools of the Northern Kingdom: cf. NHTK, pp. 208 f.

Many scholars, however, while admitting the existence of such dialectical forms, express their doubts as to the possibility of so marked an Aramaism as יִבְעָר in an early poem, and are inclined to regard it as a textual corruption; and it is somewhat surprising to find so learned and judicious a scholar as Mo. asserting roundly that 'as equivalent of Heb. יִבְעָר the word is not conceivable in old Hebrew.'

Such a statement appears to imply a preconceived conclusion as to the sharp differentiation between early Hebrew and early Aramaic which, in default of evidence, we are scarcely justified in drawing. Indeed, it may be claimed that such evidence as we do possess as to the relationship between the two languages at a later period (and therefore, a fortiori, at this period) tends all in the other direction; i.e. it is more likely that, if we possessed ample evidence as to the character of the Hebrew or Canaanite, and the Aramaic, which were spoken at this period, we should find that both languages existed in dialectical forms exhibiting so many common characteristics that we should (at any rate in some examples) find it difficult, if not impossible, to draw a distinction between the two, and to say, 'This is Hebrew (Canaanite), and this Aramaic.'

The discoveries of recent years have given us some insight into the character of the language spoken, at about the eighth century B.C., by some of the small Aramaean states which lay to the north of Israel. Thus, we have the Hadad-inscription of Panammu, king of Ya'di in northern Syria, dating from about the middle of the eighth century B.C., and the two inscriptions of his son Bar-rekub (towards the end of the same century), who seems to have been king of Sam'al as well as of Ya'di (unless the two places are to be regarded as identical). These were discovered near Zengirly in the years 1889-91.‡ Next, an inscription of Zakir, king of Hamath and La'ash, cir. 800 B.C. or a little earlier, was discovered in 1903 by Pognon, and published by him in 1907.§ And, most recently, an

* The fact is well recognized that Hebrew is 'the language of Canaan' (cf. Isa. 19:10); and that Phoenician, Moabite, etc., are examples of the same language, with dialectical variations.


§ Pognon, Inscriptions Sémithiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie, et de la région de Mossoul, 1907, pp. 156-178; cf. also Driver in Expositor, June 1908, pp. 481-490; Lidsbarski, Ephemeris, iii. pp. 1-11.
inscription of Kalumu, an earlier king of Ya’di of the latter half of the
ninth century B.C., has also been discovered in the neighbourhood of
Zengirly.*

The language of the inscriptions of Panammu and Bar-rekub, kings of Ya’di during the eighth century B.C., is clearly Aramaic of a
kind, though distinguished by certain marked characteristics which
connect it with Hebrew (Cana’anite) rather than with later Aramaic.
Into these characteristics we cannot here enter in detail; but it
may be noticed that, in the three ordinary equations, Ar. =Aram.
\begin{align*}
\text{Ar.} & = \text{Aram.} \\
\text{Ar.} & = \text{Heb.} \\
\text{Ar.} & = \text{Heb.}
\end{align*}
it is to Hebrew and not to Aramaic that the Zengirly dialect conforms.
The use of where Aramaic ordinarily employs (e.g. \(r\) for \(b\),
\(\alpha\) for \(\lambda\)) is, we may observe, the converse of the employment of
the form \(\alpha\nu\) in the Hebrew of the Song, where we should expect
\(\nu\alpha\).

Turning, however, to the inscription of Kalumu, who may have
preceded Panammu as king of Ya’di by nearly a century,§ we find
that his language is Cana’anite throughout, closely resembling Phoe­
nician as known to us from inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. and
later, though marked by a few Aramaisms such as the use of \(\nu\\) ‘son’
in place of \(\nu\).

The language of Zakir’s inscription associates itself most closely
with Aramaic, though offering points of contact with Cana’anite
similar to those which are found in the inscriptions of Panammu and
Bar-rekub; and in addition so remarkable a Hebraism as the use of
the Imperfect with \(l\) consecutive, a construction which is elsewhere
only found in Biblical Hebrew and in the inscription of Mesha’, king
of Moab.

These facts—and more especially the remarkable alteration in the

* First edited by F. von Luschan in \textit{Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli, 1911}; cf.
also E. Littmann, ‘Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu,’ in \textit{Sitzungsberichte der
phönizische Inschrift aus Sindschirli,’ in \textit{Ephemeris für Semit. Epigraphik, iii.
pp. 218-238} (he gives a list of other writers on the inscription, p. 220 n.).
Kalumu is mentioned in the shorter inscription of Bar-rekub, in a passage
which, prior to the discovery of his inscription, was not unnaturally unintelligible
to editors. Bar-rekub says (ll. 15 ff.), ‘And a good house my fathers, the kings
of Sam’al, did not possess; they had only the house of Kalumu, and it was
their winter-house and their summer-house: so I built this house.’

‡ Cf. further on the dialect of these inscriptions, Cooke, \textit{NSI.} pp. 184 f.

§ Kalumu’s father, \(\text{Hayân the son of Gabar, paid tribute to Shalmaneser III.
in B.C. 854}\) (cf. \textit{KB.} i. pp. 170 f.); and seems to have been succeeded by his son
Sha’il, before the accession of Kalumu. Bar-rekub states that his father
Panammu, as well as himself, was a contemporary of Tiglath-Pileser, who
reigned from 745-727 B.C.
language used by the kings of Ya'di in the course of a century or so—are sufficient to make us surmise that, if the characteristics of so-called Aramaic in the 8th and 9th centuries B.C. were such as we have noticed; in the 12th century B.C. (i.e. at about the period of the Song of Deborah) Aramaic may scarcely as yet have been differentiated from Hebrew as a separate language, but the two may have appeared as somewhat closely related dialectical forms of the one language which was known to the Assyrians as ‘the tongue of Amurru.’

Before, therefore, we pass an opinion as to the possibility or impossibility of ‘Aramaisms’ in the Song of Deborah, we have to take account of the following facts:—

(1) Evidence shows that even so much as three hundred years later than the date of the Song, the ‘Aramaic’ spoken by states in northern Syria was more nearly related to Canaanite or Hebrew than was the Aramaic of later times.

(2) The northern, or, more accurately, central, Palestinian Hebrew of some three hundred years later, albeit that we know it as the literary language of the prophetic schools (1 Kgs. 17—2 Kgs. 10), offers certain dialectical peculiarities akin to Aramaic.

(3) The Song is probably the only existing instance of a piece of literature belonging to this early period which emanates from the extreme north of Palestine, and was perhaps composed by a member of a tribe (Issachar?) which may have been in Canaan without a break from its earliest settlement in the west; and had not, like the Joseph tribes, undergone the segregation from external Semitic influences involved in the sojourn in Egypt (cf. Introd. pp. cvi ff.).

(4) In any case, the northern tribes of Israel dwelt in close association (cf. ch. 1:30ff.) with the Canaanites of the north, who may have been considerably influenced linguistically by their Aramaean neighbours, just as these latter were doubtless influenced by them.

(5) There were Aramaean clans closely contiguous to Israel not only on the north, but east of Jordan—the Geshurites and Ma‘acathites—clans which ultimately became united to East Manasseh by intermarriage (cf. note on ‘Machir’ 5:14 at end). Some of these clans may already have used the later Aram. n for Heb.  in cases in which the Ar. equivalent is , and may have passed on some of their terms as loan-words to the Israelites.

(6) Judg. 12:6 is actual proof that there existed dialectical peculiarities among the Israelites in regard to the pronunciation of the sibilant (sibboleth for shibboleth).
Bearing these facts in mind, we may recognize the existence of 'Aramaisms' in the Song as a natural phenomenon, and may well pause before we condemn a form such as יָ֣ם as impossible in a very early example of northern Israelite literature.


The narrative of the oppression of Midian and the deliverance effected by Gide'on is highly composite throughout. In no other section of Judges is the existence of two documents bearing the characteristics of J and E more clearly evident, and the criteria for determining the main lines of analysis are fairly decisive; though in details there remains considerable scope for difference of opinion.

61-6. Here RE's, whose regular introductory formulae occur in *vv. 1-6*, opens the narrative with a statement of facts derived from his old sources. We notice certain similarities to the narrative of J in 1 Sam. 13:6, to which *ch. 7:12* (‘like the sand which is upon the sea-shore for multitude’) is also related. The fact, however, that there is some duplication of statement (cf. *v. 3*: there would come up Midian' with *v. 5*: ‘For they and their cattle used to come up’; *v. 4*: ‘And they encamped against them, and destroyed the produce of the land’ with *v. 5*: ‘with their tents, . . . and they came into the land to destroy it’), and the somewhat curious combination of tenses in the Heb.,* suggest that elements from more than one source have been combined; and these it is useless to attempt to unravel.++

* After יָלְעָה . . . יָתָרָה . . . יָכְבָרָה in *v. 3* we should expect יָלְעָה . . . יָתָרָה in *v. 2*; in *v. 4b*, more especially as these statements are continued by יָלְעָה יָכְבָרָה . . . יָתָרָה in *v. 4b*. The frequentative construction continues the narrative in *v. 5a* יָכְבָרָה . . . יָתָרָה, and this is followed in *v. 6b* by an imperfect with a consecutive נַשַׁלָּב , ‘and they came into the land, etc.’, which, as summarizing in brief the result of these repeated raids, might stand in the same narrative in continuation of preceding frequentatives; but at the same time is just as likely to have been taken from another narrative which spoke of a single invasion, or viewed the repeated invasions as a single fact (cf. יָכְבָרָה . . . יָתָרָה, *v. 4*).

++ It is possible (cf. Bu. *RS*. p. 107) that the narrative may contain later glosses. Thus יָכְבָרָה יָתָרָה ‘and the caves’ may be explanatory of יָכְבָרָה יָתָרָה ‘the crevices,’ or erroneous dittography of it. In *v. 3b* it is not unlikely that the text originally ran יָכְבָרָה יָתָרָה יָלְעָה ‘then would come up Midian against them’ simply, and that later insertion of יָכְבָרָה יָתָרָה necessitated the
6:7-10. The retrospect of Israel's past history and the polemic against their idolatry are in the style of the later strata of E which closely approximates to the style of R\(^{52}\), and, indeed, appears to have formed its model (cf. Introd. pp. xli ff.). We may compare generally Josh. 24, I Sam. 10:17-19, 12. Cf. especially the phraseology of vv.6b,6a with I Sam. 10:18. The phrases 'bring up or bring out from Egypt,' 'from the house of bondmen,' 'oppressors,' 'Yahweh your God,' 'Amorite' used as a general designation of the inhabitants of Canaan, are characteristic of the school of Hosea; cf. Introd. p. xlv. Possibly v.7 may be due to R\(^{52}\); cf. v.7a with v.6b: still, the phrase, 'cried unto Yahweh,' is originally due to E\(^2\); cf. I Sam. 12:10, Josh. 24:7. Moreover, the expression יִטְמוּת 'on account of' in v.7b is characteristic of E: cf. CH.E I 111.*

6:11-24. This section clearly stands in no original relationship to the foregoing. Contrast, in v.13, Gideon's unconsciousness of any apparent cause for Israel's misfortunes, with the unnamed prophet's denunciation of Israel's idolatry as the crying cause of these misfortunes. The narrative generally has close affinities with ch. 13 and Gen. 18:1 ff., which belong to J. Special J phrases are 'the Angel of Yahweh,' vv.11,12,21,22 ('the Angel of God') in v.20 is probably an accidental variation: cf. note ad loc.); 'If now I have found grace in thy sight,' v.17; 'Oh, my lord' (יִתְמָה יְבָל), v.15: cf. CH.J 4, 31a, 56b.

It is probable (as supposed by Bu., Mo., etc.) that this narrative may have undergone some later modifications and additions, the main purpose of which was to imply that the divine character of Gideon's visitor was evident from the first, and was at once recognized by Gideon: cf. notes on the text. The precise extent of these secondary additions being highly debatable, no attempt has been made to indicate them in the text. Winckler's theory that two distinct narratives are here combined throughout does not commend itself.

6:25-32 is clearly distinct in source from the foregoing. In 6:24 Gideon builds an altar to Yahweh, which is still, when the narrator writes, to be seen in Ophrah of the Abi'ezrites, and was, we may certainly infer, the only altar to Yahweh there. In v.26, however, he

awkward resumption יִטְמוּת. Adoption of this conclusion does not, however, oblige us to suppose that the similar detailed description of the foe in v.23a,7b\(^a\) is likewise due to later interpolation; though it is possible that this may be so.

* Stade (GY' I. p. 182) remarks that the introduction of anonymous persons, such as the prophet of this section, into the narrative, is always a mark of late date. This consideration has weight as regards the lateness of the narrative in comparison with the earlier parts of E; but by no means compels us to regard the section as later than E\(^2\), in face of the evidence connecting it with E\(^2\) which is noticed above.
is commanded to build an altar to Yahweh in place of the Ba’al-altar, as though no other Yahweh-altar existed in the place, though (if vv. 25 ff. are really the sequel of 6:11-24) he had only just previously built such an altar to Yahweh. Since 6:11-24 belongs to J, we may infer, therefore, that 6:22-23 comes from E; and with this agrees the polemic against Baal-worship which characterizes it, and which perhaps justifies us in regarding the section as belonging to the same stratum of E as 6:7-11, i.e. E². In addition to the phrase ‘Yahweh thy God’ in v. 26 (cf. v. 10), Bu. notes as an E phrase, ‘rose up early in the morning’ (יהוה ראה בּאֶל כָּל הָעָרָה,v. 28). The name Jerubba’al, which first appears here, seems to belong to E: notice 7:1, 8:20, 9:1.2.5.16.19.24.67, 1 Sam. 12.11. RŒ² combines Jerubba’al Gideon on 8:35a: cf. RŒ’s gloss, ‘that is, Gideon’ in 7:1a.

6:33, describing the incursion of Midian, etc., as in v. 3b (cf. footnote), 7:12a, belongs in all probability to E: cf. note on 7:1. J’s narrative, in 6:11-24, presupposes that the Midianites are already on the spot, and ravaging the country, at the time of Gideon’s commission.

6:34, describing Gideon’s muster of his small force from the clan of Abiezer only, is to be assigned to J; while

6:35, which pictures the muster of a large force from all Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, presupposes the narrative of 7:27 (on which see below), and must therefore, in its present form, be assigned to E². It seems likely, however, that the verse is composite (cf. the repeated הָלַא תְּלָהוּ וְתָרָהוּ ‘and he sent messengers’); and that the first half, which speaks of a muster from the tribe of Manasseh, belongs to the original narrative of E, which may have been closely akin to J in assuming that Gideon drew his force from purely local sources. The אֶלֶה אלֶה ‘it also’ (the tribe of Manasseh) is RŒ’s link with the preceding v. 34.

6:36-40, which gives an account of a request by Gideon for a sign of God’s favour, can scarcely belong to the narrative 6:11-24 which contains the account of the Theophany. This latter also narrates the request for and the granting of a sign (vv.17 ff.); and in face of this the second sign appears less marvellous and also superfluous. Probably it belongs to a narrative in which the call of Gideon was related as taking place in a different manner, perhaps through the medium of a vision. Since 6:11-24 belongs to J, we shall scarcely err in assigning 6:36-40 to E, especially in view of the fact that throughout it uses ‘God’ (יהוה ראה בּאֶל כָּל הָעָרָה,v. 39, ייְהוֹמ וֶ אֶל כָּל הָעָרָה) and not ‘Yahweh.’ It may be observed, however, that Gideon’s words in v. 30a bear close resemblance to the words of Abraham in Gen. 18:30-32, usually assigned to J.*

* According to Bu. (RS. p. 111) the words are probably a gloss derived from this passage. La. remarks that the words ‘and I will speak only this once’ are more appropriate to the Genesis-passage where the conversation is prolonged.
71 appears to belong to E. Notice the connexion with 6:33. The invaders arrive and make their encampment as specified; Gideon then musters his force, and they make their encampment: it then remains to notice the relative positions of the two camps. ‘The vale’ of 7:1b is ‘the vale of Jezreel’ of 6:33.

7:27. Looking at the account of the muster (6:35), and the methods employed to reduce the large force from 32,000 to 10,000, and finally to 300, and reading it in the light of the narrative which follows, we can scarcely fail to trace indications of discrepancy. Thus, in 7:23 we are informed that, on the flight of the Midianites, ‘the men of Israel were called to arms from Naphtali, and from Asher, and from all Manasseh,’ and joined in the pursuit. Yet these are the very tribes which, according to 6:35, had already been mustered by Gideon, and the great bulk of whose representatives must, according to 7:27, have been dismissed, and scarcely have had time even to reach their homes. It should be noticed, again, that in 8:2, where Gideon contrasts the achievement of his own small force with that of the Ephraimites, he speaks of his force as ‘Abiezer.’ It is of course possible that under this title he may be simply referring to himself as representative of the clan; yet the allusion can scarcely fail to convey the impression that his army as a whole was composed largely if not solely of Abiezerites. Reading this in connexion with 6:34 which narrates the muster of the clan, the theory becomes plausible that the original narrative may have made Gideon draw his force from his own clan only; and that this may account for the smallness of its numbers, until reinforced, when the pursuit was taking place, by accessions from the other clans of Manasseh, as well as from the other tribes mentioned (cf., however, note on 7:23). Thus, the passages which narrate the first muster from Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali (6:35), and the reduction of the large force to a very small one, must, upon this view, be supposed to belong to another and a later narrative.

We have assigned 6:36 partly to the original E (the muster of Manasseh), and partly to E2 (the muster of the other tribes mentioned). The latter half of this verse, as narrating the muster of a large force from several tribes, is obviously intended to pave the way for the narrative of 7:27, which is to be assigned in like manner to E2. That the narrative of E2 has been fitted into, and is to some extent dependent upon, the older E, may be inferred from the echo of the phrase of v.1, ‘all the people that were with him,’ in v.2, ‘the people that are with thee.’

7:8. The first part of this verse (down to ‘their trumpets’) is obviously intended to explain how Gideon came to have so many trumpets and pitchers (if the emendation adopted in the text be accepted) as are presupposed by 7:16; and since, in the narrative of the night-attack, there is good reason to believe that the trumpets
belong to one account and the pitchers to the other, this portion of 7\(^8\) must be regarded as due to the redactor of the two main narratives, *i.e.* R\(^10\). The rest of the verse is to be assigned to E\(^2\); the latter half being resumptive of the narrative of the older E which was broken at 7\(^10\) by insertion of the later intervening narrative.

7\(^9\)–14. The older narrative of E, resumed, as we have noticed, in 7\(^8\), is here continued. The relative positions of the two camps having been defined, the Midianite camp as below that of Gide' on in the vale, the way is paved for the narration of Yahweh's command, 'Go down into the camp, etc.' * Cf. 6\(^26\) for the introductory formula of v.\(^9\), 'And it came to pass the same night, etc.'

7\(^15\)–22. The account of the night-attack is very involved, and it is impossible to regard it as a unity. Bu. remarks, 'To carry a burning torch in a pitcher turned upside down over it requires two hands; thus there is no hand left for the trumpet, or vice-versa. In the same way, it is impossible at once to blow a horn and to raise the battle-cry' (Comm. p. 60). These objections to the integrity of the narrative are to some extent answered by La. ; † yet the fact remains that throughout the narrative there occur repetitions which can only be accounted for by the supposition that two parallel accounts have been closely interwoven. Thus v.\(^17a\) is repeated by v.\(^17b\); v.\(^19b\) by v.\(^22a\); v.\(^21b\) gives an account of the effects of the night-alarm which differs from that which is given by v.\(^22a\); and v.\(^22b\) can scarcely be anything else than the combination of two variant accounts of the line of flight. Probably, therefore, the view is correct which regards the pitchers and torches as belonging to one account, and the trumpets to the other. The ruse connected with the pitchers and torches has about it an air of originality and verisimilitude, and Gide' on's small force (according to J's account) would be more likely to find pitchers or

* The obvious transition from 7\(^18\), as noticed above, seems to be the only safe argument upon which this section is assigned to E. Bu. (Comm.), who takes the same view as to the source of the narrative, adduces as evidence the night-scene, the dream, and its interpretation; though rightly remarking (against Winckler) that the use of ha-\(\elloh\)im 'God' (not Yahweh) in the mouth of a Midianite in v.\(^14\) is destitute of significance as a criterion. Such evidence, however, is not very weighty. A night-scene from J immediately follows in one of the narratives of the night-attack; and though it is true that E in the Hexateuch seems to display a fondness for the narration of revelations vouchsafed in nightly visions, this fact by no means renders improbable the occurrence of a like incident in J. The section is assigned to J by Mo., though the majority of scholars appear to be of the opinion of Bu.

† La. suggests that, if the pitcher had a hole in it, the torch could be passed through the hole and held by the hand underneath the pitcher; and moreover, even if both hands were needed for this operation, the trumpet might at the same time be suspended from a bandolier. When the pitcher is broken, one hand is surely sufficient to carry the torch, and it is then that the trumpet is blown. Further, it goes without saying that it is possible to desist from blowing the trumpet in order to raise the battle-cry (p. 136).
jars ready to their hand than a sufficient supply of trumpets (the statement of v. 8 must be regarded as the work of RJE): hence we shall probably be right in assigning the pitchers and torches to J, and the trumpets (perhaps under the influence of Josh. 6:12 ff.) to the later narrative of E. We may then make the following allocation. To J belong v. 16 with the exception of ‘trumpets and’ inserted by RJE in joining the two narratives (notice as a J phrase ‘three bands,’ lit. ‘heads’ דביר, as in ch. 9:34,37, 1 Sam. 11:1, 13:17 ff., all probably J). v. 17a, v. 20 (from ‘and they brake,’ etc.) with the modification which is due to the insight of Bu. (substituting בחר for בחרות, and omitting בְּרֵית after יָאוֹר; cf. v. 18a), ‘and in their right hand the sword; and they cried, “For Yahweh and for Gide'on!”’ This is directly continued by v. 21; and, possibly with some small intervening omission, by v. 22b which recounts the direction of the enemy’s flight. To E must be assigned v. 15 (continuing the previous E narrative), v. 17b, which is continued by v. 18 down to ‘all the camp,’ v. 19 down to ‘the trumpets,’ and v. 22 down to ‘Beth-shittah,’ which relates in due sequence how all the three hundred took up the trumpet-call of Gide'on’s band (read תורת תורת בָּדָר בָּדָר לְשׁוֹנָהוֹ, and the effect which the demonstration had upon the foe. All that remains over appears to be the work of RJE in joining and harmonizing the two narratives. Thus, mention of the trumpets had to be inserted in v. 16 and in v. 20 (‘the trumpets to blow,’ leading to the alteration of J’s account above noticed); and mention of the battle-cry and the breaking of the pitchers from J needed to come into vv. 18,19, which are otherwise derived from E; just as mention of the trumpet-blowing by the three bands had to be duplicated from E’s account in v. 22a, and inserted at the beginning of v. 20, which is derived from J. If this scheme be adopted, it will be found that the two accounts run parallel, and are each nearly continuous, as may be seen from the connected narrative of each which is given in the notes ad loc. This view of the combination of J and E assumes, as we have already noticed, that the statement of v. 8, which (if the emendation adopted in the text be correct) mentions both pitchers and trumpets, is the work of RJE.

7-23. This mention of the call to arms of the neighbouring Israelite tribes is inconsistent with E’s narrative in 6:35, 7:27; since according to this narrative these are the tribes whose representatives had been summoned in the first place, and then, for the most part, dismissed (cf. under 7:27). This objection does not hold against assigning the verse to J; though, as a matter of historical fact, it may be doubted whether Gide'on, who seems to have planned his attack in the first instance with the aid of his own clan of Abi’ezer only, would have been able, in the course of a hurried pursuit towards the south-east,
to have summoned the tribes of Naphtali and Asher who dwelt to the north of the scene of action. Possibly, therefore, the verse may be a later gloss, or may have originally mentioned only 'all Manasseh.'

7 24-8 3. The difficulty noticed under the preceding verse does not apply to the summoning of Ephraim which is here narrated; since the position occupied by this tribe would enable them to intercept the fugitives in time, as is related. The source of the narrative seems to be indicated by Gide'on's allusion in 8 2 to his achievement as 'the vintage of Abi'ezzer,' from which we are justified in assuming that we have the sequel of the account which pictures the rout of Midian as, in its inception, the unaided work of the clan of Abi'ezzer; i.e. the account of J.* It is clear, however, that 7 25 is, in part at least, the work of RJE; the statement that the heads of 'Oreb and Ze'eb were brought to Gide'on beyond the Jordan being obviously an attempt to harmonize the narrative with 8 4ff. which comes from a different source. Probably the statement 'and they pursued Midian' is also due to the same hand, with allusion to 8 4ff. According to J's narrative, the task of Ephraim seems to have been simply to hold the fords; and there is no indication that the pursuit was pushed across the Jordan. On the other hand, v. 25b, 'and the heads of 'Oreb and Ze'eb they brought unto Gide'on,' appears to belong to J; more especially if the opening of 8 1, 'said unto him' (with back-reference to Gide'on's name in 7 25b) is in its original form.

8 4·11. The impression which 8 1·3 leaves upon us is that the rout of Midian is completed and pursuit at an end. The capture and execution of 'Oreb and Ze'eb may be said to constitute the chief honours of the victory. A lull in the proceedings of victorious Israel affords occasion for the recriminations of the Ephraimites. Yet in 8 4ff. we find Gide'on crossing Jordan, and in hot pursuit of two Midianite kings, Zebah and Šalmunna', previously unnamed. And not only so, but his chance of success appears so remote to the men of Succoth and Penuel, upon whom he calls for refreshment for his weary force, that they meet his request with a taunting refusal (v. 6). The conclusion is irresistible that the narrative of 8 4-21 belongs to a different account from that of 7 24-8 3, and that Zebah and Šalmunna' in the one account take the place of 'Oreb and Ze'eb in the other. If 7 24-8 3 is rightly assigned to J, the assumption is that 8 4-21 belongs to E; and in favour of this conclusion there may be cited the incredibly large numbers in v. 10, which accord with the narrative of 7 27 where Gide'on's large force is reduced to 300 in order that his victory may partake of a miraculous character. † As a mark of E's

* L. recognizes that this section belongs to J, but other scholars very strangely assign it to E.
† It is not unlikely that the older narrative of E has been amplified by E2 in this section also, though evidence decisive of such amplification is lacking. Cf., however, the E section vv. 22-27 which follows.
narrative we may notice the phrasing of v. 4, 'And the three hundred men that were with him,' compared with 7:10-20. The mention in v. 21 of 'the crescents that were upon the necks of their camels' is a point of connexion with v. 20, which belongs to a section which undoubtedly comes from E.

As we read this section, we can scarcely fail to notice that it presupposes the prior narration of incidents which have disappeared altogether from the Gideon-narrative as known to us. Gideon's inquiry of the Midianite kings as to the fate of his brethren (v. 18) demands that some account of their murder must originally have existed in this narrative, and supplies a new motive for Gideon's taking action against the Midianites, viz. the prosecution of the blood-feud which naturally devolved upon him. Such a motive, however, is by no means inconsistent with his rôle as the divinely appointed deliverer of Israel. Similar personal considerations enter into the actions of Samson which are ascribed to him as 'Judge' or vindicator of Israel; and may possibly have also influenced Barak, if, as seems likely, he was at one time a captive in the hands of the Canaanites (cf. 5:12, note). We have already noticed (cf. under 6:36-40) that in E the account of Gideon's call is missing, that which is derived from J (6:11-24) having taken its place. Probably E's account of the call was closely combined with the account of the personal outrage which is presupposed by 8:18 ff. This is a further point which connects our narrative with E rather than J; since, if it belonged to the latter, we might reasonably expect to find some reference to the family-feud in J's account of Gideon's call in 6:11-24; and Gideon would scarcely have professed to regard himself as the man least suited for the task entrusted to him (v. 15). It may be added that the obviously sincere description of Gideon's kingly bearing given by the Midianite kings in 8:22-27 is hardly consonant with his position as we gather it from J's narrative in 6:11-24.

8:22-27. This section seems clearly to exhibit the hand of E2 in vv. 22,23,27a-b. In v. 23, the fact that 'the men of Israel' (i.e. the tribes as a whole; cf. note ad loc.) join in requesting Gideon to become their king, invests his victory with a wider importance than it seems to have possessed in either of the older accounts. Cf., as a mark of E2, the use of the verb יָנָה 'thou hast saved us.' In v. 23, the idea that the appointment of a human ruler is inconsistent with the true conception of the Theocracy, is characteristic: cf. 1 Sam. 8:6,7.

* The view put forward in this passage, that Israel's request for a king amounts to a definite rejection of Yahweh's kingship—'They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not be king over them'—stands in striking contrast to the standpoint of the parallel and older narrative from J, where Yahweh Himself grants a king as a mark of favour and pity: cf. 9:10, where Samuel is instructed with regard to Saul, 'Thou shalt anoint him to be leader over my people Israel, and he shall save my people out of the hand of the Philistines: for I have looked upon my people, because their cry is come unto me.'
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10:10, 12:17 (all E²); and passages in Hosea in which the appointment of a king appears to be regarded as a wilful act, closely bound up with Israel's defection from Yahweh—Hos. 8:10, 10:4, 13:10f. As a matter of fact, Gideon's sons do seem to have become hereditary sheikhs of Shechem, by virtue of the office transmitted by their father: cf. ch. 9:7, where the verb māšā, 'rule,' is the same as is employed in 8:23, 'I will not rule over you, etc.' The polemic against the Ephod in v. 27, with the special term employed to describe defection from Yahweh, yōnî 'and they went a whoring,' is also characteristic of E²: cf. Introd. p. xlv.

There is no reason, however, to doubt that the main part of vv. 22–27 belongs to an older narrative: and since the verses which we assign to E² are based upon this older narrative, the inference is clear that the latter must be assigned to the older stratum of E. The connexion between v. 26b and v. 21b has already been remarked.

8:28. The concluding summary of R⁺, couched in his usual style and phraseology.

6.1. R⁺⁺ (JE) And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh: and Yahweh gave them into the hand of Midian seven years. 2. And the hand of Midian pre-

6.1. Midian. On the situation of the land of Midian, as lying to the east or north-east of the gulf of Akaba, in the northern part of the modern Hijaz, cf. footnote, p. 110. The nomadic Arabian clans of Midian were regarded by the Israelites as related to themselves, though somewhat remotely. Midian is reckoned in Gen. 25:1–6 J as one of the sons of Abraham by his second wife, or concubine (v. 6, 1 Chr. 1:32), Kezura; just as Ishma'el is also Abraham's son by the concubine Hagar. The Midianites of our narrative are classed as Ishma'elite tradesmen; just similarly, in the story of Joseph and his brethren, Gen. 37:25-28, while the J narrative relates that Joseph was sold, at Judah's suggestion, to Ishma'elite traders, the E narrative makes him to have been kidnapped by passing Midianites. It thus appears that some amount of vagueness existed in the minds of Israelite historians in their definition of these Arab tribes: and with this inference agrees the fact that, whereas the land of Midian which formed the home of Moses during his exile from Egypt lay far to the south of Canaan (cf. also 1 Kgs. 11:18), Gen. 25:6 describes Abraham as sending away the sons of the concubines (including Midian) 'eastward, into the land of the east'; and similarly, one of the Bala'am-
vailed against Israel: because of Midian the children of Israel made themselves the crevices which are in the mountains, and the caves, and the strongholds. 3. Now it used to be that, when Israel had sown, there would come up Midian, and 'Amalek, and the children of the East; they would come up against them. 4. And they encamped against them, and destroyed the produce of the land as far as Gaza; and they would leave no means of sustenance in Israel, neither sheep, nor ox, nor ass. 5. For they narratives embodied in Num. 22-24 (JE) pictures 'elders of Midian' as forming the retinue of Balaã¼:, king of Moab (22 4.7; cf. also the late narrative of P in Num. 31.12). See further, on this point, Skinner, Genesis (ICC.), p. 349.

2. because of Midian, etc. The limestone-hills of Palestine are full of caves of various shapes and sizes, which are partly natural and partly artificial. The writer of our narrative traces the origin of these caves to the Israelite refugees, for whom they formed welcome hiding-places. Cf. 1 Sam. 13.6 J.

crevices. Heb. minhārōth, a ἀπολεγόμενον, is explained from the Ar. minhara or minhar, lit. a place hollowed out by water.

3. Now it used to be, etc. The Heb. tenses employed in vv.3-5 for the most part denote recurrence; but there are some exceptions which probably point to a combination of two originally separate narratives. Cf. footnote * p. 176.

there would come up Midian, etc. The Arab tribes from the east of Jordan commit similar depredations upon the peasant-proprietors west of Jordan at the present day, pitching their tents in the Wady of Jezre'el and the Wady Šerrār a little further north, as is described in our narrative, 7.12. Cf. Thomson, LB. pp. 447 f.

and 'Amalek, and the children of the East. Possibly a later insertion in the narrative: cf. footnote † p. 176. On 'Amalek, cf. ch. 3.12 note. The expression 'children of the East' is used again in 1 Kgs. 4.20 Υ 5.10 (cited for their proverbial wisdom), Isa. 11.14, Jer. 49.28 (|| Kedar), Ezek. 25.4, Job 1.3, as a general description of the Arab tribes to the east of Jordan, extending as far as the Euphrates; but in Gen. 29.1 E 'the land of the children of the East' is applied to the district of N. Mesopotamia in which Ḥaran was situated.

4. as far as Gaza. I.e., as far as the south-western extremity of the Philistine territory. According to this statement, the Midianite incursions must have extended over the greater part of Palestine. The remainder of the narrative, however, appears to confine them to central Palestine; and Gide'ôn's exertions rid the country of them at one blow. Possibly, therefore, the reference may be due to a later editor, who was thinking of incursions of Arab tribes from the south ('Amalekites?); and it may have been this hand which was responsible
and their cattle used to come up, with their tents, and they would come in like locusts for multitude; and both they and their camels were without number: and they came into the land to destroy it. 6. And Israel was brought very low by reason of Midian; and the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh.

7. E2 And when the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh by reason of Midian, 8. Yahweh sent a prophet unto the children of Israel: and he said to them, ‘Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, “I brought you up from Egypt, and I brought you forth from the house of bondmen, 9. and I rescued you from the hand of Egypt, and from the hand of all your oppressors; and I drove them out from before you, and gave you your land. 10. And I said to you, ‘I am Yahweh your God; ye shall not fear the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye are dwelling’: but ye have not hearkened to my voice.”’

11. J And the Angel of Yahweh came, and sat under the [for the allusion to ‘‘Amalek and the children of the East,’ in addition to Midian, in the earlier part of the verse.

5. with their tents. Lit. ‘and their tents.’ In the verbal form which follows, ‘and would come in,’ we adopt the reading of וְאַרְבָּא נַאֲבָא, which would govern הָלוֹא הִלָּאָה לְנָאָב, which would govern מַאֲכָלָה לְנָאָב, and their tents they would bring in, etc.’ Since this reading, however, seems to make the following ‘like locusts for multitude’ refer to the tents and not to the Midianites (as in 7 12), it must be regarded as inferior to that which is adopted above. It is possible, however, that Kt. may indicate the קָלוֹא נַאֲב, ‘they used to come in,’ the asyndeton being due to careless piecing together of the parallel narratives.

8. a prophet. Lit. ‘a man, a prophet’ or ‘a prophet-man.’ Cf. ‘a prophetess-woman,’ ch. 4 4.

I brought you up, etc. It is characteristic of E2 to base admonition and rebuke upon a retrospect of God’s mercies as vouchsafed to Israel in their past history. Cf. Josh. 24 10ff., Judg. 10 11ff., 1 Sam. 2 27-28, 10 14ff., 12 17ff. This method is further developed in Deuteronomy; probably owing to the influence of the school of thought represented by E2. Cf. Introd. p. xiv.


* 1 Sam. 2 27-30 is commonly regarded as later than E2, though without adequate reason.
terebinth which was in 'Ophrah, which belonged to Joash the Abiezrite; and Gideon his son was beating out wheat in the wine-press, to save it from Midian. 12. And the Angel of Yahweh appeared unto him, and said unto him, 'Yahweh is with thee, thou mighty man of valour.' 13. And Gideon said unto him, 'Oh, my lord, if Yahweh is with us, why, then, hath

the terebinth. Heb. hā-ṣēlā; possibly 'the (sacred) tree,' without specification of its species: cf. note on 'the palm-tree of Deborah,' ch. 4.5. The terebinth or turpentine-tree (Pistacia terebinthus, L.) is frequent in Palestine, where it often grows to a large size; and, since it usually stands in isolation, it forms a prominent landmark. Many of these trees are regarded as objects of veneration at the present day. Cf. Tristram, Nat. Hist. pp. 400 f.

'Ophrah. The site is unknown. It may be inferred from ch. 9.13 that it was not far from Shechem. Neither Far'atā, six miles west-south-west of Shechem (SWP. Mem. ii. p. 162), nor Far'ah as preserved in the name of the wādy to the east of Shechem (Bu.), are philosophically probable; the former name accurately corresponding to the Biblical Pir'athon. The designation 'Ophrah of the Abi'ezrites' (v.24, 8.32) is perhaps intended to distinguish the city from the Benjaminite 'Ophrah mentioned in Josh. 18.23 P (so Kimchi).

which belonged, etc. The reference is to the terebinth, and not to the city of 'Ophrah.

the Abi'ezrite. Abiezer is named in Josh. 17.2 as a clan of Manasseh—a fact which also appears from v.15 of our narrative. The clan is referred to the Machir-division of Manasseh in Num. 26.30 P, 1 Chr. 7.18: cf. note on 'Machir,' ch. 5.14.

was beating, etc. The Heb. ḫāḇaḥ 'beat out' (with a stick) is similarly used of threshing grain in a small quantity in Ru. 2.17. The ancient wine-press (Heb. gath) was a trough hewn out of the solid rock, in which the grapes were trodden by the foot; the expressed juice flowing down a channel into another trough at a slightly lower level, the wine-vat (Heb. yēḳebḥ). The use of a wine-press in a sheltered situation for the beating out of wheat was less likely to attract the attention of marauding Midianites than the ordinary process of threshing with a wain drawn by oxen (or an ox and an ass), upon a threshing-floor in an exposed situation open to the wind.

13. If Yahweh is with us. Heb. דְּבַע 'יְהוָה יְהוָה—lit. 'And is Y. with us'—imparts a touch of sarcasm to Gideon's response which it is difficult adequately to reproduce in English. Cf. 1 Kgs. 2.22, 'Why, pray, askest thou Abishag the Shunammite for Adonijah?' (הַעַל, lit. 'And why?'); 2 Kgs. 7.19, 'Pray, if Yahweh were to make windows in heaven, could this thing
all this happened to us? and where are all his wondrous works which our fathers recounted to us, saying, “Did not Yahweh bring us up from Egypt?” But now Yahweh hath cast us off, and given us into the hand of Midian.” 14. And Yahweh turned unto him, and said, ‘Go in this thy strength, and save Israel from the hand of Midian: have not I sent thee?’ 15. And he said unto him, ‘Oh, my lord, whereby can I save Israel? come to pass?’ (נָצָה, lit. ‘And lo’). Other instances are cited in 

which our fathers recounted to us. Cf., for the phrase, Ps. 44 1 (וְיָדָה), 78 3. The injunction is laid upon Israelite fathers to recount to their children the facts of the deliverance from Egypt in Ex. 12 § 27, 13 § 14,16 (וְיָדָה), Deut. 6 § 20ff. It is possible that Gideon’s speech, as it stood originally in J, may have been expanded by a later hand in v. 13b.

14. Yahweh. כְּהַנָל. עֹנְבֵּל קַיוָּט. Cf. v. 16 note. have not I sent thee? Since these words embody a direct commission from Yahweh, it is supposed by many scholars that Gideon must at once have recognized that he was being addressed by Yahweh or His Angel; and that the passage is therefore inconsistent with v. 22, where it is stated that it was only after the miracle of v. 21 that Gideon recognized who his visitor was. The whole section, vv. 11–24, having clearly undergone some amount of re-editing (cf. notes following), it is quite likely that this passage may be due to the later hand; as also the words ‘I will be with thee’ in v. 16, which recall Ex. 3 § 12 E. While, however, the narrative assumes that Yahweh, in order to appear visibly to Gideon, clothes Himself in human form, it does not necessarily follow from this that He should dissemble His presence by couching His commission in the form in which it would be delivered by an intermediary, such as a prophet (‘Hath not Yahweh sent thee?’). On the other hand, even though Yahweh should give His commission directly, as He is represented as doing, here and in v. 16, by the narrative as it now stands, it would obviously require something more surprising than this direct commission (viz. the portent of v. 21) to convince Gideon that he was actually the spectator of a Theophany.

While, therefore, we may suspect conflation of the narrative in the passages under discussion, it is a mistake to speak dogmatically and to say that they cannot originally have stood alongside of v. 22.

15. my lord. Vocalizing יִנָּה, in place of יִנָּה of פֶּנֶנ, i.e. ‘my (divine) Lord.’ The vocalization of פֶּנֶנ is intended to indicate that Gideon by this time recognized that his visitor was Yahweh Himself; but it is clear from v. 22 that this was not the case until the occurrence of the events narrated in v. 21. The form which we have adopted is
behold my family is the weakest in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house.' 16. And Yahweh said unto him, 'I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite Midian as one man.'

the ordinary title of respect (like our 'sir'), and is so vocalized by א in v. 13.

behold, my family, etc. Mo. compares 1 Sam. 9:21; and remarks that 'the protestation is, no more than that of Saul, to be taken too literally. Both the following narratives imply that the hero's family was one of rank and influence in the clan.' The word rendered family properly means 'thousand' (Heb. 'ôleph); and occurs in connexion with tribal organization in 1 Sam. 10:18 ('by your tribes and by your thousands'), the following vv. 20,21 showing it to be synonymous with mišpāhā, the ordinary term for a clan or family within the tribe. Cf. also the use of the word in Mic. 5:2 ('the thousands of Judah,' among which Bethlehem is a small 'thousand' or 'clan').

the weakest. Heb. יַּנֵּן, which R.V. renders 'the poorest.' The adj., however, suggests not merely poverty, but also paucity of numbers and lack of influence in the affairs of the tribe as a whole.

16. And Yahweh ... 'I will be with thee.' מֵעָבֵאת יְנַפְּס פִּנְדָס אֶלְּתָו o ἀγγέλος Κυρίου, Κύριος εὐστα μετά σοῦ. If this had originally stood in the Heb. text, it is very unlikely that it would have been altered into the reading of Π; and we should rather regard the readings of Ε, here and in v. 14, as due to the harmonizing tendency which is elsewhere frequently manifested in this Version. Ε ἢ agrees with Π in the present passage. As we have already remarked (ch. 2:1 note), it is not unlikely that the original narrative spoke throughout of Yahweh Himself as appearing to Gideon and holding intercourse with him; and that the introduction of 'the Angel' represents an early attempt to modify the text which has not been thoroughly carried out in Π.

'I will be with thee.' Cf. note on 'have not I sent thee?' v. 14. The precise words יַּנֵּן יְנַפְּס יֵדֶר יְנַפְּס Yb are found in Ex. 3:12, E's narrative of the Theophany to Moses at Mount Horeb: cf. also Josh. 1:6 Rb. In each of these passages, the writers, in using the verbal form 'ehyeh 'I will be,' probably have in view the significance of the name Yahweh as denoting progressive revelation, as is explained in Ex. 3:14 in the formula 'ehyeh 'ašer 'ehyeh 'I will be (or become) what I will be.' While, however, the latter formula refers to the revelation as a whole, as it is to be unfolded throughout the history of the chosen people, and the course of this revelation is intentionally left undefined,* in the former expression we have a particular phase of the

* Cf. the similar phrase 'I will have mercy upon whom I will have mercy,' Ex. 33:19 J, which implies that God refuses to define beforehand a course of action which will be determined by his sovereign will. Similarly, 'ehyeh 'ašer...
17. And he said unto him, 'Prithee, if I have found grace in thy sight, make me a sign that thou art speaking with me.

18. Depart not hence, prithee, until I come unto thee, and revelation clearly stated—Yahweh promises that He will be with each of three chosen servants, Moses, Joshua, and Gideon.

R.V. renders 'Surely I will be with thee' (so in Ex. 3:12, 'Certainly, etc.'); but it is preferable to regard the יְהִי as simply introducing the direct narration, like ὅρον recitationum in Greek. Such a use of יְהִי is frequent: cf. examples collected in NHTK. p. 6; BDB. s.v. 1b.

as one man. For the expression, cf. ch. 20:18,11, Num. 14:5, 1 Sam. 11:7, 2 Sam. 19:14, Ps 16, Ezr. 3:1, Neh. 8:11.

17. Prithee, if I have found, etc. Here 'prithee' represents the Heb. precative particle נא, which comes in the protasis of the sentence after the conjunction 'if' and is rendered 'now' by A.V., R.V.—'If now I have found grace, etc.' Such a rendering, however, can scarcely be held adequately to represent the precative force of the particle*; and the rendering 'prithee' has therefore been adopted, the fuller 'I pray thee,' sometimes employed as a rendering by A.V., R.V., (cf. v. 39, 8:5, al.) being less suitable as making too much of the monosyllabic particle. It is obvious that, so far as the particle expresses entreaty, it properly refers to the request which is formulated in the apodosis; but its use at the commencement of the protasis is probably intended to place the speaker in the attitude of a suppliant from the moment that he opens his mouth.

make me a sign that thou, etc. As the narrative stands, the request seems to indicate Gideon's dawning consciousness that his visitor is a supernatural being, and his inability (owing to his uncertainty) to 'ehyeh implies that God is absolutely self-determined, and that what He will be is to be revealed at His own good pleasure. Cf. the present editor's criticism of Dr. Davidson's interpretation of the two phrases (Theology of the O.T., p. 56), in JTS. vi. p. 466.

* For the use of 'now' in the rendering of A.V., R.V., cf. the illustrations collected in the Oxford New Eng. Dict., vi. s.v. ii. 9, where the adverb is used 'In sentences expressing a command or request, with the purely temporal sense weakened or effaced': e.g. Shakespeare, Love's Labour's Lost, ii. i. 124, 'Now faire befall your maske'; Tempest, iii. i. 15, 'Alas, now pray you worke not so hard ... pray now rest yourselfe.' The usage is similar in modern colloquial speech, in such a form of request as 'Now, don't forget!'  

† In v. 39 A.V., R.V. the rendering 'I pray thee' stands side by side with the rendering 'now'—'Let me prove, I pray thee, but this once with the fleece; let it now be dry only upon the fleece.' In 7:3 A.V., R.V. נא is rendered 'Go to,' as in Isa. 5:6, Jer. 18:11 (on the use of this obsolete expression, cf. DB. ii. 194a); apparently because the rendering 'I pray thee' was felt to be unsuitable in the mouth of Yahweh. There is no reason, however, why 'prithee' should not be employed in these passages also as the conventional introduction of a request (or a command couched as such), which is what נא amounts to in Heb.
bring my present, and set it before thee.' And he said, 'I will abide until thou returnest.'

19. And Gideon went in, and made ready a kid of the goats, and unleavened cakes of an ephah of express himself clearly through fear of giving offence. He desires confirmation of his surmise, but does not quite know how to phrase his request, or what kind of sign to expect, because he is not yet clear as to the character of the stranger.

In what follows, however, in v. 18 there is no reference to a sign, the sign of v. 21 being clearly unexpected by Gideon; and the act of grace which is asked of the stranger is to stay while a meal is prepared for him, the conversion of which into a sacrifice does not seem to be anticipated. It is likely, therefore, that, as Mo., Bu., etc., think, v. 17b may be an editorial addition,* and that originally v. 17a was directly connected with v. 18a—an arrangement which would make the passage closely parallel to Gen. 18:3, J, 'Prithee, if I have found grace in thy sight, prithee pass not away from thy servant.'

18. my present. The Heb. minhā frequently denotes a gift voluntarily offered (cf. note on 'tribute,' ch. 3:16); but it is somewhat strange to find it applied to hospitality offered in the form of a meal. It is possible, therefore, that the term is intended to denote (sacrificial) offering (so εἰδὴν δοῦναι, E 'sacrificium'), and that its employment is due to editorial alteration in view of the fact that the meal actually did become a sacrifice: cf. note preceding. Bu. conjectures that, in place of 'and bring my minhā,' the original narrative may have used the words 'and bring unto thee a morsel of bread': cf. Gen 18:6.

19. made ready, etc. If we regard this description as referring to the preparation of an ordinary meal, we must suppose that the cakes are unleavened as necessarily prepared in haste; and that the broth is probably the liquid in which the meat was boiled (Kimchi), which, as containing much of its nutritiousness, would not be wasted. Böhme, however, finds in the ingredients of the meal the three forms of sacrificial offering—flesh-offering, meal-offering, and drink-offering,—and therefore regards v. 18b ('the flesh ... pot') and v. 20 as a later addition to the narrative, inserted for the purpose of giving to the meal the character of a religious offering. This view is also favoured by Bu. Against it, Mo. remarks, 'if the object was to convert Gideon's hospitality into a sacrifice, it would have been done unmistakably. In no ritual that we know was meat presented in a basket (as unleavened cakes were) or a libation made of broth. It is conceivable that such rites existed in this early time; but not that such a description proceeds from a later edition. I find in the words, how-

* The unusual relative particle ς, as in 8:26, is thought to mark the passage as a gloss.
meal: the flesh he put in a basket, and the broth he put in a pot; and he brought it out unto him under the terebinth, and presented it. 20. And the Angel of God said unto him, ‘Take the flesh and the unleavened cakes, and set them on yonder crag, and pour out the broth’: and he did so. 21. And the Angel of Yahweh stretched forth the end of the staff which was in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes; and fire went up from the rock, and devoured the flesh and the ever, no certain evidence of a sacrificial intention; even וְיָבֹא [‘and presented it’] is properly used of bringing food to one, putting it within his reach (Gen. 27:25). The question must be held to be doubtful; cf. note following.

an ephah. A dry measure, corresponding to the liquid measure called bath, each containing the tenth part of a hōmer: cf. Ezek. 45:11. Its content was probably about a bushel. Such a quantity of flour—weighing some 45 lb., and sufficient to make about twenty-three of our ordinary loaves—is hugely in excess of the needs of the occasion; and possibly this consideration should be held to weigh in favour of the opinion that the writer has in view a religious offering rather than an ordinary meal prepared for a single individual.

20. The Angel of God. The expression is that which is commonly employed by E (cf. ch. 2:1 note); J’s phrase, which is elsewhere employed throughout this narrative, being ‘the Angel of Yahweh’ (so here דַּיָגָה, יִת, יָש). Probably the present variation is merely due to transcriptional accident (Mo.), and does not indicate a difference of source.

‘Take the flesh, etc.’ This ritual as here prescribed can scarcely fail to suggest to us the ancient rock-altar with cup-marks on its surface for receiving libations, such as have been discovered in the excavations of various ancient sites in Palestine: cf. Driver, Schweich Lectures, pp. 66 f.; Vincent, Canaan, pp. 94 ff.; TB. ii. pp. 2 f. Possibly, therefore, the origin of the legend should be traced to the fact that such a rock-altar existed at Ophrah in later times, and that its consecration as such was popularly ascribed to the occasion here related. If this is so, however, why are we told in v. 24 that Gide‘on subsequently built an altar to Yahweh on the site? Perhaps we should find in these facts (as Wellh. thinks) an indication of the composite character of the narrative.

21. stretched forth...in his hand. We may note the verbal similarity to 1 Sam. 14:27—also J.

and fire went up, etc. The supernatural fire is a token of the Divine acceptance of the offering as well as of the power of the Deity: cf. 1 Kgs. 18:30ff., Lev. 9:24, 2 Chr. 7:1. In the similar narrative of ch. 13:18, 20 it seems that Manoah kindles his sacrifice in the ordinary way.
unleavened cakes: and the Angel of Yahweh departed from his sight. 22. And Gide' on perceived that he was the Angel of Yahweh; and Gide'on said, 'Alas, Lord Yahweh! forasmuch as I have seen the Angel of Yahweh face to face.' 23. And Yahweh said to him, 'Peace be to thee; fear not. Thou shalt not die.' 24. So Gide'on built there an altar to Yahweh, and called it Yahweh shálôm. Unto this day it is still in 'Ophrah of the Ab'ezrites.

From the rock. The fact that 'the crag' (ḥas-sēlād) of v. 20 is here called 'the rock' (ḥas-sār) is noted by several commentators; but it scarcely seems necessary to infer diversity of source from this small variation.

And the Angel of Yahweh departed, etc. Cf. ch. 13:20, where the Angel ascends in the flame from the altar, and disappears.

22. And Gide'on perceived, etc. Here we have a clear indication that it is only after the portent related in v. 21 that Gide'on recognizes the supernatural character of his guest. Cf. note on 'my lord,' v. 15.

'Alas, etc.' For the idea that no human being can see God and survive, unless through an exceptional manifestation of the Divine favour, cf. ch. 13:20f., Gen. 16:13 J, 32:20 E, Ex. 24:8-11 J, 33:18-23 J. E in Ex. 20:19 extends the danger of death to the hearing of the voice of God: cf. Deut. 4:33, 5:25-26. We may notice also the words of Isa'iah in Isa. 6:6. On the other hand, Ex. 33:11 E states that 'Yahweh used to speak unto Moses face to face (פָּנֵיו בְּפָנָיו, as in our passage), as a man speaketh unto his friend.'

23. And Yahweh said, etc. It is rather strange to find Yahweh again speaking after the departure of His visible representative (v. 21b); and there is no indication that the voice is to be understood as coming from heaven, as inferred by Kimchi and Levi ben-Gershon. It seems likely, therefore, that vv. 22-21 may be due to a later hand, in explanation of the name of the altar, Yahweh shálôm. Cf. the inference already drawn, in the note on 'Take the flesh, etc.' v. 20, as to vv. 20, 21 in relation to vv. 22-24.

24. Yahweh shálôm. The meaning is 'Yahweh is peace,' i.e. 'is peaceful' or 'well-disposed.' For this use of šálôm (substantive in place of adjective), cf. Ps. 120:7,

'I am peace; but when I speak,
They are for war.'

* In this passage we ought probably to follow Wellh. in emending Hagar's words, לְהוֹדֵל אֶל חָדְשֵׁהּ יָאָדוּתָהוּ אֱלֹהֵי יָדֵיָהוּ רָחָז יַעֲקֹבָּהְוָא 'Have I actually seen God and lived after my vision?'
25. And it came to pass the same night, that Yahweh said to him, 'Take ten men of thy servants, and a bull of seven years old. And it came to pass the same night.' Cf., for the exact phrase, ch. 7, 2 Sam. 7, 2 Kgs. 19. 'The same night,' if the expression is an integral part of the source (E; cf. the same phrase in v. 40 E), probably refers to the night following the day on which the unnamed prophet uttered his denunciation (vv. 7-10). It is possible, however, that the phrase may be the redactional formula of R, and may refer to the Theophany which immediately precedes in the narrative as it at present stands.

'Ten men... years old.' The text of J is here incomprehensible, and can only be naturally rendered 'the bull of the ox which belongeth to thy father, and the second bull of seven years old.' Only one bull, however, is mentioned in vv. 26-28; and apart from the difficulty involved in the expression 'the bull of the ox,'* it is impossible to divine why Gideon should be ordered to take this first mentioned animal, seeing that it is not utilized in any way in the narrative which follows. R.V. (in agreement with Ew., Stu., Ke., etc.) explains the conjunction 'and' in the sense 'even,' thus making the reference to be to one animal only; but it is more than doubtful whether such a rendering is legitimate.†

Clearly the text of J must have suffered corruption; but the Versions seem to have had practically the same text before them, and thus afford us little or no help.

E, τὸν μόσχον τὸν ταῖρον δὲ έστιν τῷ πατρί σου καὶ μόσχον δεύτερον ἐπταρεῖ, agrees in all respects with J. The only important variations offered by KA are τὸν μόσχον τὸν στεντὸν in place of τὸν μόσχον τὸν ταῖρον, and the omission of καὶ before the second μόσχον. This at any rate yields an intelligible sense; 'the second bull of seven years old' being taken as a further definition of 'thy father's fatted bull,' and the reference thus being to one animal only; though why the

* A somewhat similar collocation is seen in Ps. 69, 2 Sam. 2, 10 'more than an ox-bull.' Here, however, parallelism and rhythm compel us to divide the stichoi at ἡμίν, and, probably, to read ἢμπ in place of ἢμπ:

'And it shall please Yahweh more than an ox;
<More than a bull that hath horns and parted hoofs."

† A few cases can be cited in which the conjunction ' appears to have such an explicative force; but they are rare, and in most cases the text is open to suspicion. Cf. 1 Sam. 17, 'and he put them into the shepherd's bag which he had, even into the scrip' (ברג לברג); 1 Sam. 28, 'and they buried him in Ramah, even in his city' (ברג לברג). See further BDB. s.v. 1, 1 b; G-K. § 154, n. 1b.
years old, and pull down the altar of Ba'\textsc{al} which belongeth to thy father, and cut down the Ashera which is by it. 26. And

animal in question should be described as 'the second,' with assumed reference to an unnamed 'first' bull, remains obscure. It should be noticed, however, that $\text{\textit{tov} \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}$ simply represents the rendering of $\text{\textsc{Gt}}$ in v. 28, \textit{i.e.} $\text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}} \text{\textit{n\textsc{os}h\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$, 'the second bull' read as $\text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}} \text{\textit{n\textsc{os}h\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$, 'the fatted bull.' It seems obvious, therefore, that the text of $\text{\textsc{Gt}}$ has suffered correction after v. 28, and that we have no real elucidation of $\text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}} \text{\textit{n\textsc{os}h\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$, 'the bull of the ox.' Some MSS. of $\text{\textsc{G}}$ represent $\text{\textit{n\textsc{os}h\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$ by $\text{\textit{kai} \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{e\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}}}\text{\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$ with omission of $\text{\textit{e\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}}}\text{\textsc{n}}$; and this word is marked with an asterisk in $\text{\textsc{Sb}}$.

$\text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{n\textsc{os}h\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$, 'the bull of thy father,' omitting either $\text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{n\textsc{os}h\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$ or $\text{\textit{n\textsc{os}h\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$; or possibly rendering the difficult compound expression by a single term, just as is done by R.V., 'thy father's bullock,' cutting the difficulty. $\text{\textsc{G}}$ simply represents the text of $\text{\textsc{P}}$.

In face of this difficulty, the most satisfactory course seems to be to follow Kue. (in Doorn., p. 70 n.) and to restore the text after v. 27, $\text{\textit{d\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}w}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{n\textsc{os}h\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$, omitting 'the second' as an insertion made subsequently to the textual corruption which introduced apparent mention of two bulls: cf. for this latter point, the evidence from the Versions above cited. Gide\textsc{on} is commanded to take ten men of his servants, and in v. 27 it is stated, with no more than the necessary variation in wording, that he took them. Such detailed repetition is characteristic of Heb. story-telling, as of Babylonian; and is a feature which, so far from appearing tautologous, adds a certain vivid picturesqueness to the narrative. It will be sufficient here to compare ch. 7 10b. 11b: "Go down, thou and Purah thy lad, unto the camp"... So he went down, he and Purah his lad, etc.'

Kue.'s emendation is favoured by Bu., Oort, Mo. (\textit{Comm.}), Kit., Gress.; but Mo. (\textit{SBOT.}), La. prefer to read simply $\text{\textit{n\textsc{os}h\textsc{n}}} \text{\textit{p\textsc{fr}}} \text{\textit{r\textsc{ov}}} \text{\textit{tov \mu\text{\textasciitilde}sx\text{\textsc{o}v} \text{\textit{tov} s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textsc{e}p\textsc{tv}}}\text{\textsc{i}v}}$ 'Take the fatted bull.'

\textit{the Ashera.} The 'a\textsc{h}e\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde} (plur. usually 'a\textsc{h}e\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}m) in two late passages, 2 Chr. 19 3, 33 3 'a\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}h; Judg. 3 7 probably a textual error for 'a\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}h; cf. note ad loc.) was an idolatrous object, the precise character of which is very doubtful. The most lucid reference is Deut. 16 21, where it is enjoined, 'Thou shalt not plant an Ashera—any kind of tree (or wood) beside the altar of Yahweh.' We thus gather that the Ashera was a wooden object (cf. v. 28 of the present context), possibly a tree-trunk or pole, which was 'planted,' or, as 2 Chr. 33 10 has it, 'set on end' in the ground beside an altar (cf. the present passage). This inference is borne out by the various
verbs which are employed to describe the destruction of the Ashera, e.g. it might be 'cut down' (v. 26, 2 Kgs. 18.4, 23.14), 'chopped down' (Deut. 7.6, 2 Chr. 14.2, 31.1), 'plucked up' (Mic. 5.14, 3 Chr. 31), 'pulled down' (2 Chr. 34.7), or 'burnt' (Deut. 12.3, 2 Kgs. 23.15). It is commonly supposed, upon this evidence, that the Ashera was a symbol of, or substitute for, the sacred tree which was regarded by the early Semites as the abode of a deity; much as the mašeḇḥā or standing stone preserved the idea that the deity was accustomed to inhabit stones or rocks. Upon the unsatisfactory character of this inference, cf. Mo. in EB. 331.

There are passages in the O.T. in which Ashera seems to be used as the name of a Canaanite goddess. Thus, in 2 Kgs. 21.7 mention is made of 'the graven image of the Ashera' placed by Manasseh in the Temple. 2 Kgs. 23.7 perhaps speaks of women weaving 'shrines' (bāṭṭām, lit. 'houses') for the Ashera; and the Ba'āl and the Ashera are coupled together as the objects of idolatrous worship: 1 Kgs. 18.10, 2 Kgs. 23.4.

We find the name Āsirtu or Āsratu in Babylonian as the name of a goddess, who was doubtless of Amorite origin. In an inscription dedicated to Āsratum on behalf of Ḫammurabi, in which this king is specially designated as king of Amurru (the west land), the goddess appears as 'bride of the king of heaven' (kallat šar šamē), and as 'mistress of sexual vigour and rejoicing' (bēlīt kūžbi u ʿūšī): cf. Hommel, Aufsätze und Abhandlungen, ii. p. 211. The name Abd-Āsirta = 'servant of Ashera' is borne by the chieftain of Amurru who figures prominently in the T.A. Letters (cf. Introd., p. lxix ff.); and the name (ilu) Āsratum-ummi = '(the goddess) Āsratum is my mother' is found three times as a feminine name on contract-tablets of the First Babylonian dynasty: cf. Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie Babyloniennne, p. 16. Special interest attaches to a passage in one of the Bab. tablets discovered at Ta' anach, which runs, 'If the finger (= omen) of Āširat point, then let one mark and follow': cf. Rogers, CP. p. 282; T.B. i. p. 128. The S. Arabian goddess Ājrat is doubtless the same as Ashera, and appears, according to Hommel, to have been consort of the moon-god (cf. op. cit. pp. 207 ff.). In an Aram. inscription from the N. Arabian Tema her name is Āṣīra (Cooke, NSI. pp. 195 ff.; La., ÉR.S.² pp. 122, 502 f.).

The relation of the Ashera-cult to Yahweh-worship, and the connexion of the Ashera as a wooden symbol (pole or tree-trunk) with the goddess of this name are very obscure questions; but the following theory may be advanced. Evidence goes to prove that the God Yahweh was known and worshipped by the 'Amorite' immigrants into W. Syria (Amurru), whose original home was probably S. Arabia, and who founded the First Dynasty at Babylon (cf. Additional note, p. 243). The presumption is at any rate very strong that Yahweh was
identified with the moon-god Sin, whose predominance at this period is attested by the preponderance of proper names compounded with Sin in the First Dynasty tablets (cf. Additional note, p. 249). But, as we have just observed, Atirat seems to have been the consort of the moon-god in S. Arabia; and the same conclusion may be drawn as to Ašratum from her title 'bride of the king of heaven' in the inscription of Hammurabi above quoted. Quite possibly, therefore, Ashera may have been worshipped among the Amorites inhabiting Canaan as the consort of Yahweh; and this fact would account both for the setting up of her symbol beside the altar of Yahweh, and also for the bitter hostility with which her cult was regarded by the prophets as exponents of the true (Mosaic) Yahwism.

The use of the normal expression הָרְשִׁיתא 'the Ashera' in O.T. is strange as applied to a goddess; but the explanation probably is that it was employed to designate the symbol of the goddess (the pole or tree-trunk), which was perhaps not usually carved to represent her features; though this may occasionally have been the case (cf. 'the graven image of the Ashera,' 2 Kgs. 21:7, noticed above), as with the stone pillars of Hathor at Serabit (cf. Petrie, Researches in Sinai, plates 95, 101, 102, 103, 111), and the totem-poles of certain savage tribes at the present day. Possibly the 'horrible object (Heb. miph- léset) for an Ashera' erected by the queen-mother in the reign of Asa (1 Kgs. 15:13) was a pole carved with certain features which were more than usually revolting to the exponents of the purer form of Yahwism.

Whether the Amorite הָרְשִׁיתא 'Ashera stood in any connexion with the originally Babylonian הָרְשִׁיתא 'Ashtart (Ištar), or was quite distinct from her, is a question which cannot at present be settled. The two names are unconnected. The name Ashera probably designates the goddess as the giver of good fortune: cf. the sense attaching to the root הָרְשִׁיתא in Heb. In this connexion it is worth while to recall the passage above cited from the Ta'anach tablet, where the finger of Ashera points the way to the right or prosperous course.

There can be little doubt that, as has often been remarked, the tribal name Asher was originally connected with the deity of good fortune (a masc. form of Ashera?), just as the name Gad is derived from a similar deity. Indeed, it seems highly probable that, just as the latter name is explained by רָבְבִי 'with (the help of) Gad!' in Gen. 30:11, so the somewhat strange expression רָבְבִי 'in my good luck!' (i.e. by somewhat forced inference, 'I am in luck!'), Gen. 30:18,

* The reason why no example of an Ashera has been unearthed in excavation, whereas the occurrence of маз'ех'бб, or standing stones, has proved very frequent, doubtless is that the former was always made of wood, which necessarily perishes in the damp climate of Palestine.

† Haupt's attempt to connect the two names (JAOS. xxviii. pp. 112 ff.) does not commend itself. Cf. the criticisms of Barton (JAOS. xxxi. pp. 355 ff.).
build an altar to Yahweh thy God upon the top of this stronghold in due form, and take the bull [], and offer it up as a burnt offering with the wood of the Ashera which thou shalt cut down.'

27. So Gide'on took ten men of his servants, and did as Yahweh had spoken unto him; and, because he feared his father's household and the men of the city, so that he could not do it by day, he did it by night. 28. And the men of the city rose up early in the morning, and, behold, the altar of Ba'al was broken down, and the Ashera which was by it was cut down, and the bull [] was offered up upon the altar which had been built. 29. And they said one to another, 'Who hath done this thing?' And when they had enquired and searched, they said, 'Gide'on the

is an intentional alteration of an original הֵ֥סֵּה with (the help of) Ashera!*: cf. Ball ad loc., SBOT. p. 84. This passage, then, would suggest that part of the 'good fortune' brought by Ashera was connected with success in child-bearing; a characteristic which connects the goddess, at least in function, with Ištar under the aspect of Mylitta, i.e. muallidat: cf. p. 59 note.‡

26. this stronghold. The Heb. mā'ōz (from the root 'āz 'to take or seek refuge') seems here to denote a natural fastness, i.e. an inaccessible crag, rather than a fortification. Cf. sīr mā'ōz, 'rock of fastness,' Isa. 17 10, Ps. 31 3. in due form. Heb. bam-ma'arakhā, i.e., apparently, lit. 'in the (proper) arrangement.' The verb 'āraḵ, from which the substantive is derived, when used in a sacrificial connexion, may mean to arrange the logs of wood upon an altar (Gen. 22 9), or the portions of the sacrificial victim upon the wood (Lev. 1 8, 12 6). The altar-pyre thus

* Or possibly חֵן 'With (the help of) Asher!' i.e. the masc. form of Ashera.

Hommel (op. cit. p. 209) is inclined to think that traces may be found in O.T. of Asher as a surname of Yahweh in several old poetical passages, especially in Deut. 33 29, which he renders,

'[Yahweh] is the shield of thine help,
And Asher the sword of thine excellency.'

Such an explanation certainly relieves the difficulty of יְהֹוָה בְּרַחְבִּי יֵּשַׁלְךָ, where יֵשַׁלָךָ, as vocalized in מ, is taken for the relative pronoun; R.V. 'And that is the sword, etc.'—a very awkward and unpoetical construction.

‡ The view that the name Ashera is connected with Bab. dāštu 'temple,' perhaps so called as a 'place of favour,' and that the Ashera was simply a pole which marked the precincts of such a sanctuary, does not seem to be probable. If this was the only significance which the Ashera possessed, why should it have excited so much animosity upon the part of the adherents of the purer form of Yahwism?
son of Joash hath done this thing.' 30. And the men of the city said unto Joash, 'Bring forth thy son, that he may die; because he hath broken down the altar of Ba'al, and because he hath cut down the Ashera which was by it.' 31. And Joash arranged is termed ma'arakha in Ecclus. 50 12ff, where, in speaking of Simon the son of Onias, the writer says:

'When he received the pieces from the hand of his brethren, While himself standing by the pyres; Round about him a crown of sons, Like cedar-plants in Lebanon; And they encompassed him like poplars of the wady, All the sons of Aaron in their glory, With the fire-offerings of Yahweh in their hand, Before all the assembly of Israel; Until he finished serving the altar, And setting in order the pyres of the Most High.

Here the first phrase italicized is 'עָלִי מִשְׁרָבָה, and the second

In Num. 23 4, 'The seven altars have I arranged,' the verb may be used as in the cases noticed above, of setting in order the altar-pyres; but it is possible that it refers to the arranging of the stones of the altars, i.e. to the building of them.

In our passage, the context forbids us to interpret ma'arakha of the altar or pyre as duly arranged; but it is natural and legitimate to understand the word as denoting the act of arrangement (whether of the altar-stones or the pyre), as prescribed by custom.

The explanation of bam-ma'arakha here adopted is that which is offered by L 'in ordinatione,' ס" הָּלֵד מִשְׁרָבָה 'in order'; and is probably intended by בֶּן יֵצֶר נָפַרָדְךָ. F paraphrases 'super quem ante sacrificium posuisti'—a rendering which seems to accord with the view put forward by Kimchi, who, having explained the ma'oz as the crag upon which Gideon offered the flesh and the unleavened cakes, then goes on to interpret ma'arakha as the level place on the top of the crag upon which it was possible to arrange the stones of the altar. Levi ben-Gershom explains similarly.

take the bull. Omitting יִשְׁנֵי 'the second'; here and in v. 28, as a later gloss. Cf. note preceding.

30. 'Bring forth, etc.' The voluntary surrender of Gideon by his father would have obviated the blood-feud which must have been entailed if the townsmen had slain him without such consent (Mo., Cooke). Mo. quotes a parallel from the life of Mohammed:—'So the Qoreish at Mecca tried to persuade Mohammed's uncle, Abū Talib, to withdraw from him his protection, that they might kill the
said to all who stood by him, 'Will ye contend for Ba' al? or will ye save him? Whosoever will contend for him shall be put to death at morning: if he be a god, let him contend for himself, because he hath broken down his altar.' 32. So they called him pestilent agitator without incurring the vengeance of his family' (Ibn Hisham, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 167-169).

31. 'Will ye, etc.' The pronoun is very emphatic in the original, the contrast being between the assumed power of the god as contrasted with his would-be avengers. Mo. appositely cites 'deorum injuriae dis curae,' Tacitus, Annals i. 73.

Whosoever . . . at morning. These words interrupt the connexion between the first and last parts of the verse (cf. note preceding); and are probably, as Bu. thinks, the insertion of a zealot for Yahweh who, not satisfied with so mild a method of procedure as is suggested by Joash (the leaving of the god to take care of himself if he can), puts into his mouth the statement that the service of a false god deserves the death-penalty (cf. Deut. 13).

at morning. I.e., we may infer, the morning of the next day. The outrage perpetrated upon Ba' al's altar was discovered in the early morning (v. 28), but the investigations implied by v. 29 must have taken some time; and it was possibly not until the evening that the deed was brought home to Gide'on.

The phrase commonly means 'until the morning' (ch. 19 25, Ex. 16 23, 24, 29, al.); but since this sense is here unsuitable, we must take the force of the prep. לָע to be at (lit. up to) the time indicated—much as we speak of arriving up to time in the sense at the fixed time. Cf., in a spatial connexion, the use of the prep. לָא 'unto' where we should expect 'at'; 1 Kgs. 6 18, 2 Kgs. 10 14, Ezek. 31 7, 47 7 (cf. note in NHTK, on 1 Kgs. 6 18). This explanation of לָע seems more probable than the view that it should be taken in the sense 'while the morning (lasts)'; cf. רָע התפימה whilst they delayed,' ch. 3 26.

If, however, such passages as ch. 16 2, יָרַע דֹּאָר הַבְּקָר, 1 Sam. 1 22 רָע יַרְדָּא דֶּנֶךְ, really imply an ellipse of some such word as 'wait,' and should be rendered 'Till the morning dawns!' 'Till the lad be weaned!' (cf. note on the former passage); it would be possible in the present passage to treat לָע דֹּאָר הַבְּקָר similarly as an independent sentence, placing a break on יָמִים preceding:—'Whosoever will contend for him shall be put to death. (Wait) till the morning! If he be a god, etc.' i.e. if Ba' al is really a god, he will at any rate have taken action to avenge himself by the next morning; therefore it is reasonable to ask for a suspense of judgment until that time.
Jerubba'el on that day, saying, 'Let Ba'al contend with him, because he hath broken down his altar.'

32. Jerubba'el. The meaning, as explained by the narrator, is 'Let Ba'al contend,' an Imperf. יְרוֹב (Jussive יְרֹב) being employed for the normal יָרוֹב (Jussive יָרוֹב), which would yield the form יְרִיב Jeribba'el. Why, in face of the explicit statement of v. 32, Mo. should say that 'by an ingenious etymology the name is made to signify, Adversary of Ba'al,' is not clear.

It is probable that, while the meaning of the name may really be 'Let Ba'al contend,' or 'Ba'al contends,' Ba'al is here, as often elsewhere (see below), a title of Yahweh; and the original purpose of the name was to place the bearer of it under the guardianship of the Deity:— 'Let Ba'al contend;' sc. for the bearer of the name, i.e. be his advocate. Such a meaning appears to attach to the name Meribba'el (1 Chr. 8:34, 9:40), which is compounded with the participial form of the verb:—'Ba'al is an advocate,' sc. of his nominee; and, similarly, we have the name Jeho-yarib, i.e. 'Yahweh contendeth,' 1 Chr. 9:10, al. Cf. passages in which the verb ribh is used of Yahweh’s taking sides on behalf of His servants, or pleading their cause: so in 1 Sam. 25:30, David, on hearing of the death of Nabal, says, 'Blessed be Yahweh, who hath pleaded the cause of my reproach (הָעָלָה הָאָדָם יְהֹוָה) from the hand of Nabal'; Mic. 7:1, 'Till He (Yahweh) shall plead my cause' (יִרְבּ יְהֹוָה); Jer. 50:34, 'Their Avenger is strong; Yahweh Šebha'othen His name; He shall surely plead their cause' (יִרְבּ יְהֹוָה שֵׁבַע אֲדֹנָיו תָּם).

Wellh. (TBS. p. 31) suggests that the name should properly be יַרְבִּיב Jeruba'el, which is supposed to mean 'Founded by Ba'al,' or 'Foundation of Ba'al' (the first element from the root יָרִיב: for form, cf. יְרוּם Penuel, 'Face of God'); and with this he compares יְרוֹב Jeruel, 2 Chr. 20:16; יְרוֹב Jeriel, 1 Chr. 7:2. This suggestion has been favoured by several scholars (Mo., Bu., No., etc), but is in no way superior to the explanation adopted above.†

That the title Ba'al, i.e. 'Master' or 'Owner,' was actually applied to Yahweh in early times cannot be doubted. Thus we have the name Esh-ba'al or Ish-ba'al, i.e. 'man of Ba'al,' a son of Saul, who always appears as a loyal worshipper of Yahweh (1 Chr. 8:33, 9:28); Merib-ba'al, son of Jonathan, noticed above; Ba'al-yadha', i.e. 'Ba'al knows or takes notice' (sc. of the bearer of the name; 1 Chr. 14:7), a

* Cf., for this form, Prov. 30 Kt., and Infin. Constr. בֹּרָ בָּאָל Judg. 22 32. Kt.
† As a matter of fact, the sense to be attached to the element יָרִיב in Yeru'el is highly uncertain.
33. And all Midian and 'Amalek and the children of the East assembled themselves together; and they passed over, and encamped in the vale of Jezre'el. 34. And the spirit of Yahweh name borne by one of David's heroes; Ba'al-hanan, i.e. 'Ba'al is gracious' (1 Chr. 27:28), one of David's officers; and—most striking instance of all—Ba'al-ya, i.e. 'Ya or Yahweh is Ba'al' (1 Chr. 12:6, יָא), one of David's heroes. These names, where they occur in Sam., have been disguised by a later hand in order to remove the reference to Ba'al which was (wrongly) taken to refer to a false god. Thus we find, in Ish-bôsheth for Esh-ba'al, Mephibôsheth for Meribba'al, the substitution of bôsketh = 'shame' or 'shameful thing'; cf. Hos. 9:10, Jer. 3:24, 11:13, where allusions to the Ba'al have been similarly disguised. Ba'al-yadha' appears in 2 Sam. 5:16 as El-yadha', i.e. 'God takes notice.' Hos. 2:16, יָא, is a passage which witnesses to such an application of the title Ba'al to Yahweh; and also to a dislike of it on the part of the prophets of the higher form of Yahwism, which was doubtless ultimately instrumental in bringing about a discontinuance of the usage:—'And it shall be in that day, saith Yahweh, that thou shalt call me יָא (my husband); and shalt call me no more ba'ali (my Ba'al or Master). For I will take away the names of the Ba'als out of her mouth, and they shall no more be mentioned by their name.' The reason why the name Jerubba'al was not similarly disguised by later scribes doubtless was because it is essential to the point of the narrative, which is polemical to idolatry. In 2 Sam. 11:21, however, we find the altered form Jerub-bêsheth. Cf. further the present editor's Outlines of O.T. Theology, pp. 27 ff.

33. And all Midian, etc. Cf. v. 3 note. passed over. i.e. crossed the Jordan.

the vale of Jezre'el. The name of Jezre'el is preserved in the modern Zer'în, situated upon an outlying spur of the Gilboa-range overlooking the plain (for the termination -în for -îl, cf. footnote p. 21). According to Macalister, however, the modern site cannot actually represent the ancient city, since the strata do not exhibit an antiquity so remote as O.T. times (cf. PEF. Qy. St. 1909, p. 175).

'The vale (עֵמֶק) of Jezre'el' here denotes (as is clear from ch. 7:8b,12) the part of the great plain immediately to the north of Gilboa, where it begins to narrow down before its descent into the Jordan valley. There are two other occurrences of the term in O.T.: Josh. 17:16 J, where the children of Joseph state that the Canaanites inhabiting the vale of Jezre'el are too strong for them, owing to their possession of iron chariots; and Hos. 1:5, where the vale is mentioned as a battle-field: 'I will break the bow of Israel in the vale of Jezre'el.' In these passages 'the vale of Jezre'el' seems to mean the whole extent of the modern Merg ibn 'Amir, just as 'the great plain
clothed itself in Gide'on, and he blew a trumpet; and Abi'ezer
was called to arms after him. 35. E And he sent messengers
of Esdraelon * does in Judith 18; cf. also 39, 40, 7. The valley
of Megiddo (bik'ath Megiddo) is a different designation for the same
plain in 2 Chr. 3522, Zech. 1211.‡

34. clothed itself in Gide'on. The same striking phrase occurs in
1 Chr. 1218, 20, 2 Chr. 2420. The meaning seems to be that the divine
spirit took complete possession of Gide'on, so that he became, as it were,
its incarnation, and was thus employed as its instrument. For the different
terms used in this book to describe the access of the spirit of Yahweh upon a 'Judge,' cf.
h.e. 310 note.

and Abi'ezer. Gide'on's own clan, 'the weakest in Manasseh'
(v. 15), musters the three hundred who form his sole force, according
to the earlier and more authentic tradition preserved in J: cf. p. 179.

was called to arms. Heb. מִיָּקַע. The passive (Niph'al) form of
the verb פָּנַי or פָּנִי, meaning 'to cry out or call,' always denotes a
summons to battle or armed resistance; the original reference of
the verb probably being to the loud, excited shout of a messenger
who has little time to spare. R.V.'s rendering, 'was gathered to­
gether,' is weak and inexpressive.

35. And he sent messengers, etc. On the summoning of the tribes

* Esdraelon, the Graecized form of Jezre'el, is written Ἑσδραηλῶν, Ἑσδρηλῶν,
Ἐσρηλῶν, with other variants which are doubtless due to textual corruption. Cf.
the full list in EB. 1391, n1.
‡ Smith (HG. pp. 384 ff.) would restrict the O.T. usage of 'the vale of Jezre'el'
to the south-eastern portion of the plain denoted in our passage (see above); while
supposing that the whole wide open plain was properly termed bik'ã, as in the
phrase bik'ath Megiddo. This view is based upon the assumption that, while
bik'ã (which he renders 'Plain or Opening') may denote a broad open valley
surrounded by hills, 'emek (rendered 'Vale or Deepening') is 'never applied to
any extensive plain away from hills, but always to wide avenues running up into
a mountainous country like the Vale of Elah, the Vale of Hebron, and the Vale
of Aijalon.' Such a conclusion as regards 'emek (though quoted with approval
by many scholars, e.g. Cooke here; Gray on Num. 1426, ICC.; Driver in DB.
v. 846a) can scarcely be maintained. In ch. 119 (cf. note) 'emek denotes the
whole of the maritime plain to the west of the hill-country of Judah; and the
usage in 184 is similar, and can scarcely be restricted to the vale of Sorek or the
vale of Aijalon. In the Song of Deborah, ch. 5150 (and v. 119 as emended),
'emek denotes the widest and most open part of the great plain, through which
the Kishon flows. The words of the servants of the king of Aram, 1 Kgs. 2028,
'Their gods are gods of hills; therefore were they stronger than we: but let us
fight against them in the plain (Heb. bām-mēšôr, lit. 'upon the level ground.');
surely we shall be stronger than they' (cf. also v. 29), are paraphrased by the
man of God (v. 38), 'Because the Aramaeans said 'A god of hills is Yahweh,
and not a god of vales'1 (צְמָחִים). Here it would be absurd to say that the
reference is to the valleys running up into the hills, and not to the low-lying and
level country generally. Similarly, the 'emek in which the horses are pictured as
throughout all Manasseh, and they also were called to arms after him; and he sent messengers throughout Asher and Zebulun and Naphtali, and they came up to meet them.

36. And Gideon said unto God, ‘If thou art about to save Israel by my hand, as thou hast spoken, behold, I am setting a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor: if there be dew upon the fleece alone, and it be dry upon all the ground, then I shall know that thou wilt save Israel by my hand, as thou hast spoken.’

37. And it was so: he rose up on the morrow, and wrung the fleece, and squeezed the dew out of the fleece, a bowlful of water.

38. And Gideon said unto God, ‘Let not thine anger be kindled against me, and I will speak only this once: let me make proof, prithee, but this once with the fleece; let it, prithee, be dry upon the fleece alone, and upon all the ground let there be dew.’

39. And God did so that night: for it was dry upon the fleece alone, and upon all the ground there was dew.

36. ‘If thou art about to save, etc.’ The emphasis on the ‘art’ (i.e. ‘really art, etc.’) is expressed in Heb. by the use of the substantival form שָׁבָט with the Participle used as a ‘Futurum instans.’ Cf. Gen. 24:42 מְשֵׁר אֶל הָאָרֶץ ‘Prithee, if thou art indeed about to prosper my way, etc.’ Where such emphasis is absent, the Participle alone suffices: cf. ch. 11:9 מַעַרְבִּים אֲחָלָה ‘If ye are going to bring me back.’

37. a fleece of wool. Heb. gizzath has-sémer denotes a shorn fleece; therefore Cooke’s suggestion that it was ‘perhaps his sheep-skin cloak with the wool on it’ is excluded.


let me make proof, etc. The threshing-floor, in all probability a flat rocky hill-top or prominence, would not collect much dew, and what little there was would soon evaporate; whereas the fleece would naturally collect and hold the moisture. It thus occurs to Gideon (after his first test) that the phenomenon may after all be nothing in the nature of a portent. The reversed condition of things—a dry fleece upon the wet rock—will be much more unexpected; and therefore more reliable as a sign of supernatural intervention.

pawing the ground, as they stand drawn up in line of battle (Job 39:21) is clearly to be regarded as an open plain, like the great Merq ibn ‘Amir.

While, therefore, it may be true that ‘ĕmeq (lit. ‘depression’) ‘is a highlander’s word for a valley as he looks down upon it,’ the further conclusion that the term is ‘never applied to any extensive plain away from hills, but always to wide avenues running up into a mountainous country,’ is, as the facts quoted above go to show, entirely unwarranted.
7. 1. And Jerubba'el (RJE that is, Gide'on), E and all the people who were with him, rose up early in the morning, and encamped beside the spring of Harod: and the camp of Midian was to the north of him, beneath the hill of the Oracle-giver in the vale.

7. 1. Jerubba’el (that is, Gide’on). The original narrative, E, here employs the name Jerubba’el; while the insertion of the hero’s other name is due to the redactor of J and E. Cf. p. 178.

The spring of Harod. Assuming that the description of the position of the two forces is from the same source as 6:33 E, which describes the encampment of Midian in the vale of Jezre’el (or that, if 7:18b is from J, both narratives describe the same scene of action), then we must look for the spring of Harod upon the southern edge of the vale, and somewhat above it. These conditions are satisfied by the ‘Ain Gâllâd, which Rob. (BR.3 ii. p. 323) describes as ‘a very large fountain, flowing out from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock, which here forms the base of Gilboa’. The water is excellent; and issuing from crevices in the rocks, it spreads out at once into a fine limpid pool, forty or fifty feet in diameter... From the reservoir, a stream sufficient to turn a mill flows eastwards down the valley.’ Smith states that the spring ‘bursts some fifteen feet broad and two deep from the very foot of Gilboa’, and mainly out of it, but fed also by the other two springs, flows [in] a stream considerable enough to work six or seven mills. The deep bed and soft banks of this stream constitute a formidable ditch in front of the position on Gilboa, and render it possible for the defenders of the latter to hold the spring at their feet in face of an enemy on the plain’ (HG. pp. 397 f.). The name Hârâdh is susceptible of the interpretation ‘trembling’; and there is thus no doubt a play upon the meaning in the narrative which follows: cf. v.3, ‘Whosoever is fearful and trembling (hârâdh).’

was to the north... in the vale. Reading יִהְיֶהוּ הָלֹא מַמְפּוֹרָה מַמְפּוֹרָה בְּבֵית בָּעֵמָן The text of ב cannot be original, it being impossible to attach any sense to מַמְפּוֹרָה. R.V. text, ‘by the hill of Moreh’ is an unjustifiable perversion of the sense of יִהְיֶהוּ ‘from’; nor does the gratuitous addition of ‘onwards’ by R.V. marg.—‘from the hill of Moreh onwards in the valley’ commend itself as at all probable. The emendation adopted supposes simply that מַמְפּוֹרָה is a scribe’s error for מַמְפּוֹרָה; and the reason for its adoption is connected with the probable site of ‘the hill of the Oracle-giver,’ on which see below.

Bu. emends יִהְיֶהוּ ‘was beneath him, north of the hill of the oracle-giver in the vale’ (so Kit., No.). Mo., who supposes that combination with יִהְיֶהוּ is responsible for the
2. And Yahweh said unto Gide'on, 'The people who are with thee are too many for me to give Midian into their hand; lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying “My hand hath disorder of the passage, prefers to read

‘was north of the hill of the oracle-giver in the vale.’ This sense is given by B (with omission of כֵּסָאֹן), 'Erant autem castra Madian in valle ad Septentrimonalem plagam collis excelsi’; and by S (with retention of בַּגְּדָד) כֵּסָאֹן יִנְּשְׁבֶּה. E, T offer the same text as K.  

'The hill of the Oracle-giver' is generally supposed to be the Gebel Neby Dal'i or Little Hermon, to the north of mount Gilboa across the vale of Jezre'el. If this location is correct, the name may be connected with the fact that 'En-dor, which in the time of Saul was the seat of a witch or woman with a familiar spirit (I Sam. 28?), lies in close proximity to the north of Neby Dahy. Assuming the correctness of the reading either of Bu. or Mo. (as noticed above), an objection to this identification may be found in the fact that we have already been informed in 6:30 that the Midianites were encamped in the vale of Jezre'el, i.e. if the ordinary assumption is correct (cf. note ad loc.), in the Nahr Gâlûd to the south of Gebel Neby Dahy; whereas the present passage would place the encampment to the north of the hill, perhaps not far from Nain or 'En-dor. This difficulty is not much helped by Mo.'s alternative emendation of our passage (followed by Cooke), which substitutes נָבִי נָבֵי for נָבִי נָבֵי and omits נָבִי נָבֵי, thus obtaining the reading, 'was on his north, on the hill of the oracle-giver'; since it is clear from vv. 8b,12 that the Midianites were not encamped upon a hill, but below the Israelites in the vale. The desiderated sense (making the reference to be to Neby Dahy and placing the encampment of Midian in the Nahr Gâlûd) can only be obtained by the emendation offered in our text. Adopting this conclusion, the positions of Gide'on and the Midianites exactly correspond to those of the two hosts in I Sam. 28—Saul's army on Gilboa', and the Philistines at Shunem close under Neby Dahy.  

If, however, the present passage comes from J, it is conceivable, as Mo. points out, that the author of this narrative may have placed the scene of action, not in the vale of Jezre'el, but somewhere in the near neighbourhood of 'Ophrah, i.e. not far from Shechem. The name Moreh is elsewhere found only in the neighbourhood of Shechem (Gen. 12, Deut. 11:29, ‘the terebinth or sacred tree or trees of Moreh’); though this is a point which does not carry great weight, since there were doubtless such 'oracle-givers' in other localities. It is, however,

* Ham-mîrî = 'the giver of tîrî,' i.e. decision or counsel purporting to be dictated by divine or supernatural agency.
wrought deliverance for me." 3. Now, therefore, prithee proclaim in the ears of the people, saying, "Whosoever is fearful and trembling, let him return, and decamp from mount [Galud]."

worthy of note that the introductory narrative of J presupposes (6 11) that marauding Midianites were in very close proximity to 'Ophrah (to which, all the same, they may have come up from their main encampment in the vale of Jezer'el); and that in ch. 7 22 two different accounts of the line of flight appear to be combined, one of which may have been down the Wady Far'ah from the neighbourhood of Shechem—though, in our ignorance of the localities mentioned, this cannot be affirmed. Cf. note ad loc.

3. 'Whosoever is fearful, etc.' For the terms of the proclamation, cf. Deut. 20 8.

and decamp from mount Galud. Reading יְזַרְפּוּר מָאָרָה גַּלְעָד. The difficulty connected with יְזַרְפּוּר מָאָרָה גַּלְעָד is twofold.

In the first place, if יְזַרְפּוּר is original, it stands alone in Heb. as used in the present connexion; and scholars have exhausted their ingenuity in attempting to assign the verb a suitable meaning under some one of the different roots יַזְרָפֵי which are known in Semitic. R.V. text, 'and depart,' seems to be guided by the rendering of Г καὶ ἐκχωρεῖτο. R.V. marg. 'go round about' follows the explanation of Abulwalid, Tanchum, Kimchi (second alternative), etc., who connect the verb with the subst. יְזַרְפּוּר מָאָרָה גַּלְעָד 'chaplet' or 'fillet' (Isa. 28 5), upon the incorrect* assumption that this is so-called as going round the head. A.V., 'depart early,' goes back to Rashi, Kimchi (first alternative), and Levi ben-Gershon, who, connecting with the Aram.  săphrá 'morning,' explain the verb as meaning 'to depart in the early morning.' The only really philological explanation is that offered by Siegfried and Stade (Hebr. Worterbuch, s.v.), who make the verb the equivalent of the Ar. ṣafara, which may mean 'to go quickly, spring, leap in running' (Lane). This is plausible, and has been adopted in our rendering 'decamp'; since the context seems to offer scope for an unusual word—perhaps a colloquialism which was calculated to cast ridicule upon the cowards (like our 'cut and run'). Failing this explanation, it is possible that יְזַרְפּוּר may be a corruption of יְזַרְפּוּר יִבְרָעֵל 'and pass on' (Grä.): cf. Г καὶ ἐκχωρεῖτο, Ἐ 'et recesserunt.'

Secondly, the reference to 'mount Gile'ad' as the spot upon which Gide'ón's army was stationed is quite inexplicable. The name יְזַרְפּוּר 'the Gile'ad' is elsewhere confined to the well-known district east of

* The root-meaning of יְזַרְפּוּר is seen in the Ar. ṣafara = 'to plait or braid.'
† is given as a synonym of by the Arabic lexicographists.
And there returned of the people twenty and two thousand, and ten thousand were left.

4. And Yahweh said unto Gide'on, 'The people are still

Jordan; and though it is perhaps too bold to say that the same name could not have been applied to a mountain on the western side of the river, yet such a coincidence in nomenclature is at any rate highly improbable. Le Clerc suggests the substitution of 'from mount Gilboa'; but against this Stu. (who quotes Dathe) and Mo. argue with some reason that, since Gide'on's army was actually encamped upon Gilboa, the naming of the mountain by Gide'on in his command to depart would be extremely superfluous. Michaelis, by vocalizing מַהְרָלִים 'quickly' (cf. ch. 2.17-23) instead of מַהְרֶה, and understanding מַהְרָלִים as an accusative of direction, seeks to obtain the meaning of 'flee quickly to Gile'ad, i.e. escape across the Jordan: but this is directly opposed by vv. 7-8 (Mo.), where it is stated that the people were sent back to their own homes.

In face of these difficulties, Mo. proposes to conclude Gide'on's proclamation with מַהְרֵב, and to emend the words under discussion מַהְרָלִים. The passage thus runs "Whosoever is fearful and trembling, let him return." So Gide'on tested them.' In support of מַהְרֵב Mo. compares v. 4b, 'Bring them down unto the water, that I may test them' (אֹזַר אָמַר) for thee there." This suggestion is adopted by Bu. (Comm.), No., La., Kit., Kent, Gress. Ingenious and attractive as it is, however, it can hardly be accepted as satisfactory. For, firstly, if the name of Gide'on had originally stood in the sentence, it is incredible that it should have become so illegible as to be mistaken for 'Mount Gile'ad'; and, secondly, though the verb נָאֻד 'test' is appropriate to the method adopted in vv. 4b, where the men are selected and segregated in accordance with their different methods of drinking, the effect produced by Gide'on's proclamation can scarcely be termed a 'testing' in the same sense, and it is very doubtful whether the verb נָאֻד could be applied to it.

The close resemblance between מַהְרָלִים 'the Gile'ad' and the modern Ar. name of the spring of Ḥarod, 'Ain Gâlûd, together with the stream which is fed by it—the Nahr Gâlûd—can scarcely escape

* It may be noticed that Rabbi Isaiah states that נָאֻד is a metathesis of נָאָד (i.e. apparently, the Niph'al נָאָד 'and so be tested'), just as we get the alternative forms נָאָד כֹּבֶשׁ. The view that the verb is a metathesis appears to explain the rendering of מַהְרֵב.
many: bring them down unto the water, that I may test them for thee there: and it shall be, of whomsoever I shall say unto thee, "This one shall go with thee," the same shall go with thee, and all of whom I shall say unto thee, "This one shall not go with thee," the same shall not go." 5. So he brought the people down to the water: and Yahweh said unto Gideon, 'Everyone who lappeth of the water with his tongue, as the dog lappeth, thou shalt set him apart; and everyone who bendeth down upon notice; and suggests that Galud may be an ancient name, and may have been applied, not only to the spring and stream, but also to the mountain-spur from which the spring issues. If this is so, however, it is natural to inquire into the etymology of the name. According to Smith (HG. pp. 397 f. n2), Boha-ed-Din (Vit. Saladin. ch. xxiv.) gives the name as 'Ain el-Galût or 'well of Goliath,' with whose slaughter by David the Jerusalem Itinerary connects Jer'sel. This is obviously mere guess-work, and cannot be regarded as a serious explanation.

Now it is worthy of notice that in Bab. the verb galddu means 'to be afraid';* and, in default of other explanation of the Ar. Galud, it is by no means improbable that this preserves an old Heb. or Amorite name, the root-meaning of which was identical with the Babylonian. Thus 'Ain Galud may have some such meaning as 'the Coward's Spring'; and 'the Spring of Jarod or Trembling' may have been a variant name with similar meaning. It is not too bold to assume that the mountain-spur from which the spring issues may also have borne the name 'the Coward's Mount,' and that the story may have been woven round this name; an archaic and possibly obsolete root being explained by the learned writer in the sentence פָּרָפָה יִרָאִים 'Whoso is fearful and afraid.' If this is so, it supplies adequate reason for the mention of the name of the mountain, viz. the play upon the meaning of Galud in the terms of the proclamation.

4. that I may test them. Heb. רעהוּ may be rendered as by Mo., 'and let me separate them.' The verb paraph is used of the smelting process which separates the fine metals from the dross.

5. At the end of the verse, וְיִשָּׂרֶב 'thou shalt set him apart,' is supplied upon the authority of Gαλατις, Σκραφή μεταστάσεις αὑτον κατ' αὑτόν. So Σ. Cf. also the rendering of F, 'qui autem curvatis genibus biberint, in altera parte erunt.' The words are necessary to complete the sense of the final sentence, the 'likewise' of R.V., inserted before

* The cognate galatu has a similar meaning.
his knees to drink 'thou shalt set him apart.' 6. And the number of those that lapped [] was three hundred men; but all the rest of the people bent down upon their knees to drink water, 'putting their hand to their mouth.'

'every one that boweth down, etc.,' being unwarranted by the Heb. text.

6. And the number of those that lapped, etc. J?? makes 'putting their hand to their mouth' to refer to 'those that lapped'; but since the lapping is stated in the previous verse to have been 'as the dog lappeth,' it is clear that the words are out of place, since the dog laps by putting his tongue to the stream. The words are not found in G??, L, which read instead פֶּתֶל, 'with their tongue'; and this may be original: cf. v. 6. Bu. (RS. p. 112, n3) was the first to point out that the words 'putting their hand, etc.' are out of place in J??, and should properly apply to those 'who bowed down upon their knees to drink.' He referred them to the end of v. 6; but Mo. is more probably right in placing them at the end of v. 6. Very possibly the statement was not part of the original narrative, but a later gloss, written upon the margin of a MS., which crept into J?? in the wrong place.

Stade illustrates the posture adopted by those who lapped water from the spring by a quotation from K. v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, p. 73. Here the writer remarks, 'It was a comic sight to see how the rising generation and their sisters drank from the Kulisehu: their mouth in the water; supported upon both hands; one leg in the air; not unlike young monkeys' (ZATW., 1896, p. 186). On the other hand, the description given by Moody Stuart (PEF. Qy. St., 1895, p. 345) of the man whom he observed drinking in Madeira, though he terms the method 'lapping' (misled by the misplacement in v. 6 which has just been noticed), really illustrates the method of those who knelt down and scooped up the water in the palm of the hand: --'One afternoon, in riding leisurely out of Funchal, there came toward the town a man in the light garb of a courier from the mountains running at the top of his speed; as he approached me he stopped to quench his thirst at a fountain, in a way that at once suggested the lapping of Gideon's men, and I drew up my pony to observe his action more exactly, but he was already away as on the wings of the wind, leaving me to wonder and admire. With one knee bent before him, and the other limb stretched out in the same attitude as he ran, and with his face upward toward heaven, he threw the water apparently with his fingers in a continuous stream through his open lips, without bringing his hand nearer his mouth than perhaps a foot and a half, and so satisfied his thirst in a few moments.' Cf. further, Addenda, pp. xiv ff.
7. And Yahweh said unto Gide'on, 'By the three hundred men who lapped I will deliver you, and will give Midian into thy hand; but let all the people go, every man unto his place.'

7. By the three hundred ... I will deliver you. The grounds upon which the three hundred were retained and the great bulk of the host rejected, have formed a puzzle for interpreters since the time of Josephus. It would be a fruitless task to tabulate the different suggestions which have been offered; but, speaking generally, it may be said that the majority of explanations are vitiated (a) by the misplacement in v. 6, which has led to a misapprehension of the two forms of drinking; and (b) by the presupposition that those chosen must have adopted a method which marked them out as more ready and alert, and therefore more suitable for Gide'on's undertaking.*

Granted, however, that the two forms of drinking are correctly explained in the preceding note, it is obvious that (in so far as the test was a test of attitude) the main part of the army who knelt to drink, and raised the water in their hands, were the better suited for the enterprise, as adopting a method in the practice of which they were the less likely to be taken by surprise by a lurking foe than

* A striking exception, as regards this latter point, is offered by Josephus, who explains that those who were chosen were marked out by their conduct as the greatest cowards, whom it would have been natural to reject: 'And so, in order that they might learn that the matter was one for His assistance, He advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those who bent down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage, but to esteem all those who drank hastily and tumultuously to be cowards and in dread of the enemy. And when Gide'on had done as God suggested to him, there were found three hundred men who took water in their hands with fear in an agitated manner; and God bade him take these men and attack the enemy' (Ant. V. vi. 3). This explanation, in so far as it assumes that God made what was, from the human point of view, an unexpected choice, is in harmony with the explanation which is offered above.

The way in which the two factors (a and b) noted above have operated in concert in leading an interpreter astray is illustrated by the explanation offered by Smith (HG. pp. 398 f.): 'Those Israelites therefore who bowed themselves down on their knees, drinking headlong, did not appreciate their position or the foe; whereas those who merely crouched, lapping up the water with one hand, while they held their weapons in the other and kept their face to the enemy, were aware of their danger, and had hearts ready against all surprise. The test in fact was a test of attitude, which, after all, both in physical and moral warfare, has proved of greater value than strength or skill—attitude towards the foe and appreciation of his presence. In this case it was particularly suitable. What Gide'on had in view was a night march and the sudden surprise of a great host. . . . Soldiers who behaved at the water as did the three hundred, showed just the common sense and vigilance to render such tactics successful. It will be obvious at once that this explanation exactly reverses the methods employed by the three hundred and the main body of the army, as stated in the narrative. Those 'who bowed themselves down on their knees' were not 'drinking headlong'; whereas 'those who merely crouched' obviously could not lap 'as the dog lappeth.'
8. R\textsuperscript{EN} And they took the pitchers\textsuperscript{1} of the people in their hand, and their trumpets; \textsuperscript{E}\textsuperscript{2} and all the men of Israel he sent every man to his home, but the three hundred men he retained. And the camp of Midian was beneath him in the vale.

those who rested on their hands or lay prone upon the ground so as to lap like a dog by placing their mouths to the water. But if we take into account the fact that the whole narrative is obviously intended to emphasize the lesson that victory results from Divine assistance and not from the numbers or tactics of the human instruments employed (cf. v.\textsuperscript{2}), it seems likely that the lapping method, which, from the purely human point of view, might seem to amount to criminal carelessness in presence of the enemy, may have been taken by the narrator as exhibiting trust in the protection and assistance of Yahweh, as opposed to the anxious alertness of those who believed that their hope of success depended upon themselves. If this is so, a commentary on the narrative may be found in 1 Sam. 16\textsuperscript{7}: man looks at the outward appearance of fitness; but God looks at the heart.

8. \textit{And they took the pitchers of the people.} Reading \textsuperscript{9} after Mo. \textsuperscript{1} is rendered by R.V., 'So the people took victuals.' If this meaning were intended, however, we should expect \textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{3} \textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{5} \textsuperscript{6} \textsuperscript{7}. \textsuperscript{8} \textsuperscript{9} \textsuperscript{10} \textsuperscript{11} \textsuperscript{12}. \textsuperscript{13} \textsuperscript{14} \textsuperscript{15} \textsuperscript{16}. \textsuperscript{17} \textsuperscript{18} \textsuperscript{19} \textsuperscript{20}. 

\textit{i.e.} the three hundred took the victuals of the nine thousand, seven hundred, who were returning home. It is obvious, however, that Gide\'on's little force, which was bent upon a hasty night-attack upon the Midianite camp, would not encumber itself with so large a quantity of useless provisions; and it need not be doubted that Mo.'s suggestion, \textit{pitchers} for \textit{in\textsuperscript{2}}, is correct. The statement is due to R\textsuperscript{ER}, who explains how Gide\'on's army came to have a sufficient number of pitchers (J) and trumpets (E) for the ruse which is to be described in vv.\textsuperscript{10ff.}. Bu. suggests the further emendations \textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{3} \textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{5} \textsuperscript{6} \textsuperscript{7} \textsuperscript{8} \textsuperscript{9} \textsuperscript{10} \textsuperscript{11} \textsuperscript{12} \textsuperscript{13} \textsuperscript{14} \textsuperscript{15} \textsuperscript{16} \textsuperscript{17} \textsuperscript{18} \textsuperscript{19} \textsuperscript{20}. 'And he (Gide\'on) took' for \textsuperscript{1}, in agreement with the sing. \textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{3} \textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{5} \textsuperscript{6} \textsuperscript{7} \textsuperscript{8} \textsuperscript{9} \textsuperscript{10} \textsuperscript{11} \textsuperscript{12} \textsuperscript{13} \textsuperscript{14} \textsuperscript{15} \textsuperscript{16} \textsuperscript{17} \textsuperscript{18} \textsuperscript{19} \textsuperscript{20}. which follows; and \textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{3} \textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{5} \textsuperscript{6} \textsuperscript{7} \textsuperscript{8} \textsuperscript{9} \textsuperscript{10} \textsuperscript{11} \textsuperscript{12} \textsuperscript{13} \textsuperscript{14} \textsuperscript{15} \textsuperscript{16} \textsuperscript{17} \textsuperscript{18} \textsuperscript{19} \textsuperscript{20}. \textit{to his home.} Lit. 'to his tents.' Cf. ch. 19\textsuperscript{9} note.

\textit{and the camp of Midian, etc.} Resumptive of v.\textsuperscript{16}, after the insertion of the narrative relating the reduction of Gide\'on's army. Cf. p. 180.

* The order \textit{verb, object, subject}, though rare, is occasionally found: cf. cases cited by Driver, \textit{Tenses}, \textsuperscript{1} before the indefinite object), cannot be original.
9. And it came to pass the same night that Yahweh said unto him, 'Arise, go down against the camp; for I have given it into thine hand. 10. But, if thou fearest to go down, go down, thou and Purah thy lad, unto the camp. 11. and hear what they say; and afterward thine hands shall be strengthened, and thou shalt go down against the camp.' So he went down, he and Purah his lad, unto the outskirts of the armed men who were in the camp. 12. And Midian and 'Amalek and all the children of the East were lying along in the vale like locusts for multitude; and their camels were without number, like the sand which is upon the sea-shore for multitude. 13. And when Gide'on came, behold a man was recounting a dream to his comrade: and he said, 'Behold, I dreamed a dream, and, behold, a cake of barley-bread was rolling into the camp of Midian; and when it came to a tent, it smote it so that it fell, and it

10. But, if thou fearest, etc. Ros. appositely compares the passage from Iliad x. 220 ff. in which Diomedes, in offering to go down to the enemy's camp, says that he will do so with more confidence and boldness if he can have a companion:—

Νέστορ, ἔμ· ὄτρώνει κραδή καὶ θυμῶς ἀγηνωρ
ἄνδρῶν δυσμενῶν δύνα στρατὸν ἑγγὺς ἐόντα,
Τρώων· ἄλλοι· εἰ τέ· μοι ἀνήρ ἄμ· ἐποιοῦ καὶ ἄλλος·
μᾶλλον θάλπωρ· καὶ θαρσαλεύτερον ἔσται.

11. thine hands shall be strengthened. I.e. 'thou shalt gain courage and confidence': cf. 2 Sam. 21, 16; 21, al.

the armed men. Heb. ha-ḥomāšîm occurs again in Ex. 13 E, Josh. 14, 4 D (Num. 32 17 E, F), and has been restored in ch. 5 a. The root-meaning of the word is obscure; but Ar. ḫamis 'army' is possibly connected: cf. BDB s.v. Whether the term ḫomāšîm refers to the Midianite warriors as a whole, or only to a special class among them, is not clear. Mo. thinks it 'natural to imagine that in such a raid a part of the invaders, better armed and perhaps better disciplined than the rest, lay along the front of the camp to cover it from attack.'

13. a cake. The Heb. term, ʾāšlāl Kl., or ʾāšlāl Korê, only occurs here, and the precise meaning is uncertain; but the context demands a flat circular cake or round loaf.

was rolling. The Participle mithḥappēkh describes the action as the speaker sees it going on.

when it came to a tent. Heb. idiom says 'the tent,' i.e. the particular tent which actually appeared to be knocked down, and so is
14. And his comrade answered and said, 'This is nothing else than the men of Israel: God hath given into their hand Midian and all the camp.'

15. And when Gideon heard the telling of the dream, and its elucidation, he bowed himself down; and he returned unto the camp of Israel, and said, 'Arise! for Yahweh hath given into the men of Israel: God hath given into their hand Midian and all the camp.'

14. the men of Israel. בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'the sword of Gideon on the son of Joash, a man of Israel'; and so all the Versions. It is unlikely, however, that the original narrator would picture the Midianite as knowing the name of the Israelite leader (Mo.); and elsewhere the expression נַכֵּה הָאֵת בֶּן יוֹכֶשׁ is regularly used in a collective sense, and not of a particular Israelite. The cake of barley-bread clearly represents the Israelite peasantry as a whole, just as the tent denotes the Midianites collectively.

15. its elucidation. Heb. śibhrā, only here. We may compare Bab. šabrā, fem. šabrātu, 'seer' or 'interpreter,' which seems to be formed from šubrā 'to cause to see,' the Shaph'el (Causative) modification of barā 'to see,' whence bārū 'seer.'* So Haupt, SBOT: ad loc. Cf. further, Addenda, p. xvi.

16-22. The reasons for the detailed analysis of these verses, which divides the narrative between J, E, and R⁴, have been fully set forth in the introd. pp. 180 f. We here give the narratives of J and E in parallel columns, in order that it may be seen how far each narrative forms an independent whole. Naturally, in the piecing together of

* Kimchi explains נַכֵּה הָאֵת from the ordinary Heb. verb לְשׁוֹשׁ 'break' as, literally, 'its breaking,'—'for the dream is like a thing which is sealed and closed up, and the interpretation breaks it and reveals it.' This explanation is adopted by several modern commentators who are unaware of the Bab. parallel,
your hand the camp of Midian.' 16. J And he divided the three hundred men into three bands; and placed in the hand of all of them trumpetets and \( \text{RJE} \) empty pitchers, and torches inside the pitchers.

Two narratives which are nearly parallel throughout, some portions of each may be expected to have been omitted; but it is remarkable how very nearly each narrative, as reconstructed, appears to run continuously, without a break of any importance.

17b And behold, when I come into the extremity of the camp, it shall be that, as I do, so shall ye do. 18 When I blow the trumpet, even I and all that are with me, then shall ye also blow the trumpets round about all the camp.' 19a And Gideon and the hundred men that were with him came into the outskirts of the camp at the beginning of the middle watch; they had only just stationed the guards; 19ba and they brake the pitchers, they blew the trumpets.

20 And they brake the pitchers, and held fast the torches in their left hand, and in their right hand the sword; and they cried, 'For Yahweh, and for Gideon!' 21 And they stood every man in his place round about the camp: and all the camp awoke, and gave a shout, and fled toward Sheredah, as far as the edge of Abelmeholah, by Tabbath.

16. trumpets. Heb. žophárōth, properly 'horns.' The žophar seems to have been the curved horn of a cow or ram; while the ḫodśrā was a long straight trumpet made of metal. Cf. illustrations of both in Driver, Amos (Camb. Bib.), p. 145.

RJE has already indicated his view in v.8a as to the source of so large a number of trumpets and pitchers.

pitchers. Heb. kaddim, earthenware-jars used as water-pitchers (Gen. 24:14ff., 1 Kgs. 18:34, Eccles. 12:8), and also for containing meal.
the pitchers. 17. And he said unto them, 'Ye shall see what I do, and shall do likewise: E and behold, when I come into the outskirts of the camp, it shall be that, as I do, so shall ye do. 18. When I blow the trumpet, even I and all that are with me, then shall ye also blow the trumpets round about all the camp; and ye shall say, "For Yahweh and for Gide'on!"'

19. E And Gide'on and the hundred men that were with him came into the outskirts of the camp at the beginning of the middle watch: they had only just stationed the guards; and

(1 Kgs. 17 12 ff). It is possible that each man may have had his jar with him as a receptacle for provisions.

torches inside the pitchers. The pitcher would serve to hide the glowing end of the torch from observation, and at the same time to preserve it from the wind. Lane (Modern Egyptians, p. 120) quotes a practice which was in vogue among the police at Cairo about the time at which he wrote (5th edit. 1860), which throws remarkable light on our passage:—'The Zábit, or Ághà of the police, used frequently to go about the metropolis at night, often accompanied by the executioner and the "sheâlegee," or bearer of a kind of torch called "sheâleh," which is still in use. This torch burns, soon after it is lighted, without a flame, except when it is waved through the air, when it suddenly blazes forth: it therefore answers the same purpose as our dark lantern. The burning end is sometimes concealed in a small pot or jar, or covered with something else, when not required to give light.'

17. Ye shall see what I do. Lit. 'Ye shall see from me,' i.e., as we might say, 'Ye shall take your time from me.'

18. 'For Yahweh and for Gide'on!' Nine Codd. (de Rossi) of L, some MSS. of C (cf. Kit., BH), Z, T read 'A sword for Yahweh, etc.'—doubtless a harmonistic addition in agreement with v. 20 as it stands in P.

19. the outskirts of the camp. He reserves for himself and his own contingent the most hazardous task of working across the open plain to the far side of the Midianite encampment (under Neby Dahy? cf. note on v. 1). The object of the whole stratagem was, of course, to make the Midianites believe that their camp was surrounded on all sides by an overwhelming hostile force.

the middle watch. The passage implies that the night was commonly divided into three watches. These watches were probably each of about four hours' duration, throughout the dark hours; and the middle watch would therefore have commenced about 10 P.M. 'The morning-watch' is mentioned in Ex. 14 21 J, 1 Sam 11 11. In Roman times the Jews seem to have adopted the Roman system of
they blew the trumpets, \textit{RJE} and dashed in pieces the pitchers that were in their hand. 20. And the three bands blew the trumpets; \textit{J} and they brake the pitchers; and they held fast the torches in their left hand, and in their right hand \textit{RJE} the trumpets to blow; \textit{J} and they cried \textit{RJE} 'A sword \textit{J} for Yahweh and for Gide'on!' 21. And they stood every man in his place round about the camp: and all the camp ['awoke'], and gave a four watches; cf. Matt. 14\textsuperscript{25} = Mark 6\textsuperscript{48}, 'In the fourth watch of the night he came unto them, walking upon the sea.' This fourfold division is referred to by our Lord in Mark 13\textsuperscript{36}—\textit{δύση, μεσονυκτίου, ἀλεξτροφωνίας, προί}. The Talmud (Berachoth 3b) discusses the question whether the night should properly be divided into three watches, on the authority of our passage, or into four.

\textbf{20. and in their right hand, etc.} The passage has clearly been adapted by \textit{RJE} in his endeavour to combine the pitchers of \textit{J} with the trumpets of \textit{E}. If, according to \textit{J}, the men held the pitchers in their left hand, it was natural for \textit{RJE} (on the assumption that the two narratives are complementary) to assign the trumpets to the right hand. This he has done without regard to the fact that idiom requires \textit{τὸν ὄντιν} after \textit{ἡμῖν}, and not the accusative \textit{τὸν ὄντιν}. But granted the inference that the trumpets do not belong to \textit{J}'s account at all, and taking note of the fact that the battle-cry of v.\textsuperscript{18b} is simply 'For Yahweh, etc.', and not 'A sword for Yahweh, etc.,' as in the present verse, Bu.'s suggestion seems very plausible that the word בִּרְכָּי 'a sword' really gives us the clue to the true form of \textit{J}'s original narrative, which may have read בִּרְכָּי in place of בִּרְכָּי 'and in their right hand the sword.' This emendation could not be adopted in our text without essentially modifying the composite narrative of \textit{RJE}; but has been embodied in the narrative of \textit{J} as given above in parallelism to that of \textit{E} (p. 215).

'\textit{A sword for Yahweh, etc.' Originally, 'For Yahweh and for Gide'on!' as in v.\textsuperscript{18}. The present form of the battle-cry in this verse results from \textit{RJE}\textsubscript{\textit{S}}'s attempt to combine the narratives of \textit{J} and \textit{E}. Cf. the preceding note.

\textbf{21. all the camp awoke.} Reading \textit{συνευχομένων}, as suggested by Mo., in place of \textit{συνευχομένων} 'all the camp ran.' The verb \textit{πέρασε} is not elsewhere used in the sense 'run away'; and is in any case superfluous beside \textit{πέρασε} 'and fled' (the regular verb in such a connexion) at the end of the verse. The order of \textit{πέρασε}—ran, shouted, fled—is very strange, and can barely be explained by the supposition that 'ran' means 'rushed.
shout, and fled. 22. E And the three hundred blew the trumpets; and Yahweh set every man's sword against his comrade [] throughout all the camp; and the host fled as far as

hither and thither—for which there is no justification. On the other hand, if we adopt Mo.'s emendation, the description of the awakening, followed by a wild cry of alarm and precipitate flight, is very effective. So No., La., Cooke.

and gave a shout and fled. The shout is rightly explained by Kimchi as a cry of panic. אַּבֵּרֵךְ, kai ἐσθομανν appears to understand יִנָּשָׁה in the sense 'gave the signal,' or, as we should say, 'sounded the retreat.' So Rashi יִנָּשָׁה 'an alarm (outcry) for breaking camp and flight.' In rendering 'and fled,' we follow רַקְבָּה. Adopting Kt. רַכָּבָה (Hiph'il), we should have to understand this verb and the preceding in the sense 'and they [the Israelites] raised the battle-cry, and put [them] to flight.' Cf. R.V. The Hiph'il of רַכָּב, without expression of object, as here, is used in ch. 6:11 in a different sense ('to save [it] from Midian'); but in the present passage omission of the object is not very natural. For רַכָּב רַכָּב in the sense 'raised the battle-cry' cf. note on 'After thee, Benjamin,' ch. 5:14.

22. And the three hundred blew the trumpets. Reading יִנָּשָׁה with V, 'Et nihilominus insistebant trecenti viri buccinis personantes.' וַיִּנָּשָׁה, can only mean 'And they blew the three hundred trumpets'—though here again (cf. v. 20 note) we note the use of the Accusative after בּוּכְכָּֽנִים, in place of the customary ב: cf. vv. 19b, 20a. This ב is supplied in the rendering of G, kai ἐσθομανν ἐν ταῖς τραχυκαῖς κερατίναις, which would seem to suggest ἐν ταῖς τραχυκαῖς κερατίναις; but may very possibly point to a text ἐν ταῖς τραχυκαῖς κερατίναις, in which ἐν ταῖς τραχυκαῖς κερατίναις was really intended as the subject of the verb, in accordance with our emendation.

and Yahweh set, etc. This verse, as contrasted with v. 21b, offers perhaps the most obvious mark of divergency between the two narratives. The camp having fled in a panic (v. 21b), it is clear that the same narrative cannot have gone on to state that the Midianites began to fight friend in mistake for foe throughout all the camp; and we are not justified in explaining (with Cooke) that they 'tried to fly;' and then, 'believing themselves to be completely surrounded,' turned their arms against one another prior to the flight becoming general.

throughout all the camp. Reading רַכָּב, with omission of the conjunction l, as in G, L, S. The l is probably to be explained
Beth-shiṭṭah J toward Šerēfḏālah, as far as the edge of Abel-meholah,

(with Mo.) as due to dittography of the last letter of the preceding word בָּשֵׁתָה. A.V. renders ‘even throughout all the host’; but such an explicative use of 1 is highly questionable: cf. ch. 6:26 footnote †. R.V. ‘and against all the host’ requires no refutation.

The Heb. term maḥaḥānē (from the verb hānā ‘encamp’) is used both to denote the camp of an armed host, and also the same body of soldiers in action, which we should designate a host or army. Thus it is impossible to employ a single uniform rendering for the term; ‘camp’ being in some connexions the more suitable rendering, and in others ‘host.’ Cf. the similar usage of the Greek ἀπορρίσδον.

as far as Beth-shiṭṭah, etc. None of the places mentioned can be identified with any certainty. Rob. (BR. 3 ii. p. 356, n 3) was the first to suggest identification of Beth-shiṭṭah with the modern Šaṭṭā, which lies on the north side of the Nahr Ġālūd in the line of flight towards the fords of the Jordan. An objection to this, however, may be found in the fact that (supposing the Midianites to have been encamped south of ed-Dahy in the neighbourhood of Shunem) Šaṭṭā is barely seven miles south-east of Shunem, and the nearest fords of the Jordan (east of Bēsān), for which the Midianites may have been making, are some eight miles further east-south-east: whereas the preposition יָבָּא can scarcely denote in the direction of Beth-shiṭṭah (which would suit Šaṭṭā), but must rather mean up to, i.e. (as rendered above) as far as, as though Beth-shiṭṭah were in some degree the destination of the Midianite host—as it might be considered if it were at or near a ford of the Jordan; or as far as the fugitives got before they were intercepted by the Ephraimites (v. 26). The name Beth-shiṭṭah means Place of Acacias; and since the acacia is common in the Jordan valley (cf. the name Šiṭṭim ‘Acacias’ east of Jordan opposite Jericho, Josh. 2:1, al., and the modern Ġōr es-Šēsābān ‘Vale of the Acacias’ in the same locality), there are many sites, east or west of Jordan, to which such a name may have been applied in ancient times.

We read תַּּוּ to with 20 MSS. of ℅, in place of the common reading תַּּוּ to ‘toward Šerērah.’ This further description of the line of flight ‘toward Šerēdah, as far as etc.,’ can scarcely have originally stood beside as far as Beth-shiṭṭah; and is probably to be assigned to the other source. Šerēdah, which is mentioned in 2 Chr. 4:17 in connexion with Šuccoth east of Jordan (i.e. probably opposite to it on the western side of the river), is the same as Šarēthān in the parallel passage, 1 Kgs. 7:46. A Šarēthān is named in 1 Kgs. 4:12, which speaks of all Beth-she‘ān which is in proximity to Šarēthān, beneath Jezer‘ēl—a position which would suit the line of flight of the Midianite host down the Nahr Ġālūd, as we gather it from our narrative. In Josh. 3:16, however, the city of Adam, the name of which is probably preserved in the modern ford ed-Dāmiyy-
yeh, is said to be 'beside Šarēthan'; and ed-Dāmiyyeh is some twenty-seven miles to the south of Beth-she'ān—a position which suits the allusion to Šerēdah, 2 Chr. 4:7 = Šarēthan, 1 Kgs. 7:46; since evidence seems to indicate that Succoth must have been close to the Jabbok, perhaps a little to the south of it in the Jordan valley: cf. Driver, Jacob's Route from Haran to Shechem, in Expos. Times, xiii. pp. 457-460; more briefly in Genesis, Westm. Comm., pp. 300-302. Indeed, it is likely, as Mo. suggests, that 1 Kgs. 7:46 originally mentioned the ford ed-Dāmiyyeh; the obscure בֵּין הֶאֱדֹרָת (R.V. 'in the clay ground') being probably a corruption of בֵּין אַדֹרָת 'at the crossing of Adamah.'

It is questionable whether the Šerēdah of 1 Kgs. 11:28, which was the native city of the Ephraimite Jerobo'am, can be the same as the site above discussed. ֶָּרְדַּה states in 1 Kgs. 11:43, 12:26 (according to the numeration of Swete's edition), that Jerobo'am's city was וַתֵּרְדוּ בְּאָרָם; whereas the Šerēdah-Šarēthan of the other passages must certainly have been in or near the Jordan valley. Van de Velde's proposed identification of Šarēthan with Karn Šarṭābeh (the ס puta of the Mishna)—on a spur of the hill-country which runs into the Jordan valley south of the Wādy Fa'ārāh and due west of ed-Dāmiyyeh, forming a prominent landmark—though unsuitable so far as identification of the ancient and modern names is concerned, yet suits geographically all allusions to Šarēdah-Šarēthan, except that in 1 Kgs. 4:12; cf. Cheyne in EB. 5383.

Abel-meholah (the native city of Elisha, 1 Kgs. 19:16) is mentioned in 1 Kgs. 4:18 as marking one limit of an overseer's district, the other limit being Beth-she'ān. It was evidently south of Beth-she'ān; and is identified by Eusebius (O.S. 227:56) with Βηθμαιλά, ten miles from Scythopolis (Beth-she'ān). This is conjectured by Conder (SWP. Mem. ii. p. 231) to be the modern 'Ain el-Helweh in the Wādy el-Māliḥ, which is about that distance south of Bēsān.

There is, needless to say, no philological connexion between Helweh and Meholah (as Conder seems to suppose *); the 'Ain el-Helweh, 'spring of sweet water,' being so called in contrast to the generality of the springs in the Wādy el-Māliḥ, 'wādy of the salt water,' which are salt or brackish.† The only argument which can really be advanced in favour of this site is the very slender one that it suits the distance from Beth-she'ān as given by Eusebius. But here the resemblance between מαιל and Māliḥ creates a suspicion that Eusebius may have fallen into error; and that the only ground for his identification was the supposition that some site called Bēth-Māliḥ in his day, in the Wādy el-Māliḥ, preserved the old name Meholah.

No theory as to the site of Abel-meholah deserves consideration unless it does justice to the striking expression 'the edge (lit. 'lip,' * His words are, 'Ain Helweh, the name of which contains the proper radicals [of Abel Meholah].'
of Abel-meholah," which is employed in our passage.* This expression is used elsewhere geographically of the shore (lip) of the sea, the bank (lip) of a river, and the edge (lip) of a wády. It is this latter usage which here concerns us. It occurs in Deut. 2:36, 4:48; Josh. 12:2, 13:9-16; Ezek. 47:6-7. All these occurrences, except those in Ezek., refer to the site of "Aro'er, which is upon the edge (lip) of the wády Arnon," i.e. the modern 'Ará'îr, which is described by Tristram (Moab, p. 129) as a desolate heap of ruins, on the northern edge of the precipitous ravine.† Such a 'lip,' overhanging a wády, appears then to be what our writer has in mind in speaking of 'the lip of Abel-meholah.' Conder, in advocating the site 'Ain el-Ḥelweh, makes no mention of any such lip or edge in its vicinity; and this question, which does not seem to have entered into his consideration, should form a subject for future topographical investigation, if this site is to be maintained.

Another theory as to the site of Abel-meholah may be put forward as not unworthy of consideration. We have observed above that 1 Kgs. 4:12 mentions both Šarēthan (Šerēdah) and Abel-meholah; and we have also seen that the statement in this passage that Beth-she'an was 'in proximity to Šarēthan' causes great difficulty; since other allusions to Šerēdah-Šarēthan seem to place it much further south, in the vicinity of the ford ed-Dâmiyyeh. The supposition that the words 'which is in proximity to Šarēthan' (ךלארש הנורח ינפל) have been accidentally transposed, and should properly follow 'Abel-meholah,'§ has the double merit of dissociating Šarēthan from

* The importance of the investigation of this expression was first pointed out to the present writer by Dr. Driver, who, however, advanced no theory as to the site of Abel-meholah.

† The ravine and its northern edge (in contrast to the southern) are thus described by Tristram. 'The ravine of the Arnon does not show till we are close upon it. . . . The rolling slopes come close down to the precipitous descent, the plain being perfectly level on either side, breaking away in limestone precipices to a great depth. No idea of the rift can be formed till the very edge is reached. As far as we could calculate, the width is about three miles from crest to crest; the depth by our barometers 2150 feet from the south side, which runs for some distance nearly 200 feet higher than the northern edge. . . . We were much struck by the contrast between the two sides, and this impression was confirmed when, next day, we viewed the southern from the northern edge. The protrusion of the basaltic dyke has been subsequent to the formation of the wády, and the continued detaching of its fragments has made the slope less precipitous, giving a variety to the colouring and the vegetation, wanting on the other side. The northern bank, on the contrary, looked an almost unbroken precipice of marly limestone, faintly tinged with the green hue of a very sparse vegetation, and occasionally protruding cliffs and needles, shining pink in the sunbeams' (op. cit. pp. 125 f.).

§ Notice that Beth-she'an is already defined as 'beneath Jezer'el.' It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the words 'in proximity to Šarēthan,' instead of being a second definition of the position of Beth-she'an, should refer to Abel-meholah, the position of which is otherwise unspecified.
Beth-she'an, and bringing it into connexion with Abel-meholah, as in Judg. 7

The verse then runs, 'Ba'ana the son of Ahilud: Ta'anach and Megiddo, and all Beth-she'an beneath Jezre'el; from Beth-she'an to Abel-meholah which is in proximity to Sar'eth; as far as the other side of Jokme'am.'

Now we have already noticed, in speaking of the site of Seredah-Sar'ethan, that identification with the modern Karn-Sar'tabeh would suit all Biblical allusions except that of 1 Kgs. 4:12 as now stands, where it is brought into connexion with Beth-she'an. This difficulty, as we have seen, is removed, if by our transposition we bring it into connexion with Abel-meholah, as in Judg. 7.

Rob. (BR3, iii. p. 317), in speaking of the view of the northern Gôr (Jordan valley) from a point east of Jordan near Kefr Abil, above the Wady Yâbis, mentions the opening of the Wady Far'ah between the ridge of Karn-Sar'tabeh to the south, and 'the opposite lower bluff el-Makhrûd' to the north. This el-Makhrûd is the el-Mafrûk of the SWP. Great Map and Name List: cf. Map III. in this commentary. The term bluff seems exactly to answer to what the O.T. writers mean by a lip or edge above a wady.

Looking again at 1 Kgs. 4, which describes the respective spheres of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers, we notice that, in v.8, the hill-country of Ephraim is assigned to Ben-Hur. All immediately north of this, bounded on the south by the line along which the territory of Manasseh marched with that of Ephraim, seems to have fallen within the sphere of Ba'ana the son of Ahilud, whose sphere of action (v.12) immediately concerns us.

Now P's account of the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh in Josh. 16, 17 is admittedly obscure: but at any rate it seems clear that the eastern part* of this boundary was practically marked by the great Wady Far'ah, which forms an important dividing factor (notice the allusions in 16 to Ta'anath-Shiloh and Janoah—perhaps the modern Ta'na and Yânûn; and the mention in 17 of 'Michmethath which is in front of Shechem'). Ba'ana's district, then, seems to have embraced the hill-country bounded on the north by the plain of Esdraelon (Ta'anach and Megiddo: cf. ch. 1 note), eastward to and including Beth-she'an where the vale falls to the Jordan valley 'below Jezre'el'; and then southward to Abel-meholah, the 'lip' of which, if it corresponded to the south-eastern limit of Manasseh, must have been the 'bluff' of el-Mafrûk.

If then, the 'lip' of Abel-meholah is el-Mafrûk (the city itself perhaps lying above this 'lip' to the north, on some part of the headland Ras 'Umm el-Harrâbeh), while Seredah-Sar'ethan is Karn-Sar'tabeh—the northern and southern ramparts of the Wady Far'ah, where it opens out into the Jordan valley; we then perceive why the

* On the western part of the boundary between the two tribes, cf. notes on 'Manasseh' and 'Ephraim,' ch. 1 note, 29.
edge of Abel-meholah should be mentioned together with Şerêdah in the narrative of the flight of the Midianites: and also why (if our transposition is correct) Abel-meholah should be described as 'in proximity to' (םָּמְאָה 'beside') Sarêthan in 1 Kgs. 4 19.

The site of Tabbath cannot be conjectured.

It now remains to inquire whether any inference can be drawn from this verse as to the line of flight which is presupposed. It is clear that the Biblical indications noticed above as to the positions of the places mentioned may furnish some guide upon this point, even though the actual sites defy identification.

We have seen that, according to E, the field of action is laid in the vale of Jezre'el; with Gide'ôn's army upon a spur of Mount Gilboa' to the south, and the Midianites encamped in the vale—probably below Neby Da'hy (cf. 6 33, 7 1 notes). As regards J this is not so clear; the conjecture being open that this narrative may have laid the scene of the night-attack near 'Ophrah (close to Shechem), and pictured the flight as taking place down the Wady Far'ah towards the ford ed-Dâmiyyeh (cf. the last paragraph to note on v.1, 'was to the north . . . in the vale'). Laying aside the allusions to Beth-Shitrah and Tabbath (about which we know nothing), we have such information as we have gleaned with regard to Şerêdah and Abel-meholah to guide our inquiry.

The allusion to Şerêdah-Şarêthan in 1 Kgs. 4 12, as יֹהַֽי stands, suits the vale of Jezre'el and excludes the Wady Far'ah. On the other hand, 2 Chr. 4 17 = 1 Kgs. 7 46, Josh. 3 16, and 1 Kgs. 4 12 according to our re-arrangement, imply proximity to ed-Dâmiyyeh, and so may seem to favour the Wady Far'ah as the scene of flight. That ed-Dâmiyyeh was, as a matter of fact, used as a crossing by Midian (at least according to J) is almost necessarily to be inferred from ch. 7 24ff., where the Ephraimites are invited by Gide'ôn to hold the fords of the Jordan against Midian: since it is clear that Ephraim could scarcely have been summoned to hold a position north of this point; and, had the Midianites been making for the fords due east of Beth-she'an, such a summons would be out of the question, since the foe would have gained and crossed them before Gide'ôn's messenger had even reached the Ephraimite territory.

There remains, however, the possibility that E, like J, may have represented the Midianites as making for the ford ed-Dâmiyyeh; i.e. as turning southwards down the Jordan valley from the Nahr Ġälûd, and so leaving the fords east of Beth-she'an unattempted, either through their haste or through ignorance of them. It is significant that E in ch. 8 4ff. seems to picture Gide'ôn as arriving at Šuccoth and Penuel * directly he has crossed the Jordan; and the inference there-

* Reference has been made earlier in this note to the site of Šuccoth. With regard to Penuel, Driver's conclusion is:—'A site, S. of the Jabbok near where
fore is that he crossed at ed-Dāmiyyeh, after which he struck eastward "in the direction of the track of the tent-dwellers," east of Jogbehah (Agbēḥāt)—a further fact which lends colour to the same conclusion.

The question then is—supposing the sites of Șerēdah and the 'lip' of Abel-mēḥolah to have been as we have conjectured (the former at Kārn-Šaṭṭabeh, and the latter at el-Mājrūk), does the form in which these sites are referred to give us any clue as to whether the line of flight was down the Wādy Far'ah from 'Ophrah, or down the Jordan valley from the Nahr Ġālūd—in either case with the ford ed-Dāmiyyeh as the goal?

It is probably significant that ܕ_locale is used with Șerēdah, while the preposition ܕ_is employed in the reference to the 'lip' of Abel-mēḥolah; i.e. while the line of flight was in the direction of Șerēdah, it was actually up to or as far as the 'lip' of Abel-mēḥolah that the fugitives reached.* Here is a point which seems to favour the view that this narrative pictures the flight as down the Jordan valley from the Nahr Ġālūd; since this would involve taking the direction of Kārn-Šaṭṭabeh, but at the same time turning off some miles short of it at el-Mājrūk in order to make for the ford ed-Dāmiyyeh.† On the other hand, had the course of the fugitives been down the Wādy Far'ah, it is difficult to see why the distinction should be drawn in the form of reference to the two localities.

Evidence is insufficient to guide us to a decision as to whether the description which we have been considering belongs to J or E. In any case, however, we are probably justified in concluding that the

the Ghōr route crosses the route from es-Salt to the ford ed-Dāmiyyeh, though it can only be assigned conjecturally, would satisfy the conditions of the Biblical narrative." Cf. references cited, and Genesis (Westm. Comm.), p. 296.

* The same distinction in usage between ܕ_locale and the prep. ܕ_is to be observed in Gen. 10:29 J, where it is stated that 'the border of the Canaanite was from Šidon as thou goest in the direction of Gerar (חֵרְגוֹר), as far as Gaza (גַּזָּה); as thou goest in the direction of Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and ᪁ב פים ('ב נִיְם), as far as Lēsha' (לַשָּׁה)." Gerar is some distance south-east of Gaza; so if Gaza marks the south-west point of the Canaanite territory, the distinction indicated by the use of ܕ_locale with Gerar—further on beyond the boundary—is perfectly correct. The whole definition is, however, somewhat strange; and, as Skinner remarks (ICC. ad loc. p. 217), 'would only be intelligible if Gerar were a better known locality than Gaza.' Hence some scholars think that ܕ_locale is a later gloss. With regard to the places which are named on the south-east we can draw no conclusions, since we are ignorant of their precise positions.

† It is actually at el-Mājrūk that the road down the Jordan valley from the north intersects the road which, coming from the hill-country to the west, enters the Wādy Far'ah and runs down to the ford ed-Dāmiyyeh: cf. Map 111; S.W.P. Great Map, sheet xv; Smith, HG. Plate v. The name el-Mājrūk signifies 'the perforated,' i.e. a rock-cutting through which a road passes.
The men of Israel were called to arms from Naphtali and from Asher, and J from all Manasseh, and they pursued after Midian. Gide'on sent messengers throughout all the hill-country of Ephraim, saying, ‘Come down to meet Midian, and take the fords of the Jordan against them’: so all the men of Ephraim were called to arms, and took the fords of the Jordan. And they took the two princes of Midian, ‘Oreb and Ze’eb; and they slew ‘Oreb at variation between the two narratives, as regards topography, was by no means so great as some scholars have assumed.

Variation between the two narratives, as regards topography, was by no means so great as some scholars have assumed.

23. were called to arms. Cf. ch. 6:4 note.
from Naphtali and Asher. Upon the summoning of these tribes, cf. p. 181.

24. the fords of the Jordan. Reading аתתאפיאת יָּהָר, as in ch. 3:28, 12:6, in place of נַגּוֹן יֶדֶּר אוֹרֶב יַגִּיא יַגִּיא יַגִּיא יַגִּיא, ‘the waters as far as Beth-barah, and the Jordan,’ the meaning of which has proved a puzzle to commentators. No such site as Beth-barah is known; and Mo.’s suggestion that ‘the waters’ are the perennial stream of the Wady Far’ah, between which and the Jordan ‘the Midianites would be in a cul de sac,’ is vitiated by the fact that the lower part of the Wady Far’ah, which is known as the Wady eg-G6zeleh, flows into the Jordan some five miles south of the ford ed-Damiyyeh; and therefore, if the Midianites were aiming at ed-Damiyyeh, they would not need to cross the Wady Far’ah stream at all. Even apart, however, from the difficulty of identifying Beth-barah, the whole description is curiously vague and unintelligible. Why are ‘waters’ mentioned instead of nahal, wady (if any particular wady is meant); and what is the force of יִיעַע ‘unto’ or ‘as far as,’ which suggests that the Ephraimites are expected to line ‘the waters’ for an indefinite distance, as far as the locality specified? Is it, again, possible that ‘and the Jordan’ can be original, without reference to any particular ford or fords?

Our emendation supposes that the letters תְּמָנָבֶּרֶה התוֹרָה which are simply corrupt dittography of תְּמָנָבֶּרֶה, which can be recognized once in letters 3 to 7 with transposition of ו and י and corruption of the latter letter to ת. Letters 2, 8, 9, 13 preserve genuine letters of the doublet; this time with ב in the right order.

25. ‘Oreb and Ze’eb. The names mean ‘Raven’ and ‘Wolf.’ It has been thought that the use of such animal-names presupposes a primitive totemistic stage of society; and evidence quoted from Arabian sources is somewhat striking: cf. Robertson Smith, Animal worship and animal tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testa-
the rock of 'Oreb, and Ze'eb they slew at the wine-vat of Ze'eb; RJE and they pursued Midian; J and the head's of 'Oreb and Ze'eb they brought unto Gide'on RJE beyond the Jordan.

8. 1. And the men of Ephraim said unto him, 'What is this thing that thou hast done unto us, not to call us when thou didst go to fight with Midian?' and they chode with him.

ment; Journal of Philology, ix. pp. 75 ff. Among examples of tribal animal-names collected from Suyûtî's dictionary of gentile names, we find Zib, 'wolf,' son of 'Amr, a sub-tribe of the Azd; and Guráb, 'raven,' a sub-tribe of the Fazâra: cf. op. cit. p. 79. On animal-names in the O.T., cf. Gray, Hebrew Proper Names, pp. 86 ff.

the rock of 'Oreb ... the wine-vat of Ze'eb. Conder (SWP. Mem. iii. p. 177) tentatively suggests as possible sites the modern 'Uss el-Guráb, 'the nest of the raven,' a sharp conical peak some 2½ miles north of the modern Jericho (Eriha); and Tuwél ez-Ziyáb, 'the ridge of the wolves' (apparently a clan bearing the name ez-Ziyáb), nearly 5 miles north-west of the same point. These sites are probably much too far south of the scene of action; and in any case we cannot attach importance to designations embodying animal-names which (at any rate in the case of Zib, plur. Ziyáb) appear to be elsewhere in frequent use.*

they pursued Midian. Reading ' membr in place of ' ימשר, M.

the heads. Reading ישנ in place of the sing. ישן, M.

beyond the Jordan. On the manner in which this verse has been glossed by RJE in order to make it fit in with the narrative of 8 ff., cf. p. 182.

8. 1. And the men of Ephraim said, etc. The conduct of the Ephraimites towards Jephthah, ch. 12 ff., is very similar; and the grounds alleged for the quarrel, viz. failure to summon them to the battle in the first instance, are the same. There is no reason, however, to assume, with some scholars, that one of the narratives is therefore secondary to the other. Cf. Mo. ad loc., who remarks that in the two stories 'the sequel is as different as can be imagined, and in each is in entire conformity with the situation.'

* Other instances of the name 'wolf' in place-names in or near the Jordan valley, as noted in the SWP. Great Map, are:—a second Tuwél ez-Ziyáb, 5½ miles due north of Râs 'Umm el-Harrâbeh (sheet xii.); Metîfî ez-Zib, 'the peak of the wolf,' in the Jordan valley, 3½ miles south-west from ed-Dâmîyyeh (sheet xv.); Wâdy Unkûr ez-Zib, 'wâdy of the water-holes of the wolf,' running from the hill-country into the Jordan valley about 8 miles south-west of ed-Dâmîyyeh; and Wâdy Me'kûr ez-Zib (with the same meaning), 3 miles further south (sheet xv.).
2. And he said unto them, 'What have I done now in comparison with you? Is not the gleaning of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abi'ezer? 3. Into your hand hath 'Yahweh given the princes of Midian, even 'Oreb and Ze'eb: and what was I able to do in comparison with you?' Then was their anger against him abated, when he had spoken this word.

4. E And Gide'on came to the Jordan, and he passed over,

2. Is not the gleaning, etc. The Heb. term 'ōléiboth is confined to the gleaning of grapes (Mic. 7, Jer. 49, Ob. 5, Isa. 24) and olives (Isa. 17), and is never used of the gleaning of grain, for which another term, lēbet, is employed. The point of Gide'on's words is that, though not called to lend their aid until the rout of Midian was an accomplished fact, yet the Ephraimites might be said actually to have secured the greater honour, through the capture of the two princes of the enemy. The fact has already been noted (p. 182) that Gide'on's allusion to his own small force as 'Abi'ezzer' seems to indicate that this narrative (J) pictured the muster as consisting of Abi'ezrites only (ch. 6), and knew nothing of the gathering and subsequent dispersion of a very large force from several tribes (E).

3. Yahweh. So G, E, T, in place of B 'God.'

their anger. Lit. 'spirit,' or, as we might say, 'temper.' For this use of Heb. rūāḥ, cf. Prov. 16 32, 25 28, Job 15 13, Zech. 6 8, Eccles. 10 4.

4. and he passed over. Reading יְבִּיעֵר, which seems to be presupposed by G, E, S, with Grä., Bu., Oort, No., La., Cooke; in place of the Participle יָבִיַּר in B. The use of this latter, though grouped by Driver (Tenses, § 161, (2)) under clauses 'with a participial determination of the subject as the secondary predicate,' is difficult to justify syntactically; the Participle here expressing not an action concomitant with the action expressed by the main verb (נָצַל 'And he came'), but resulting from it.* The Imperfect with 1 consecutive is the regular construction to express such a sense.

* Thus such an instance as Jer. 17 25 לֹאוּ רָכִּים 'shall enter riding' is evidently different, since here the participle describes the manner of entry; and Judg. 17, Isa. 36 22, Jer. 27, al., are similar to this. Perhaps the case most like our passage is Num. 16 27 לְאוּ נַעֲלוֹת 'they came forth stationed (or 'so as to be stationed,') where לְאֹלִים expresses the result of נַעֲלָה: but, in order to make our passage really parallel to this, we should have to alter the 'Aṭhānah from לָךְ רַעְבָּה to לָךְ רָעְבָּה—'came to the Jordan, crossing over' (i.e. 'so as to cross over'); and then what is to happen to the latter half of the verse which also exhibits its
he and the three hundred men who were with him, exhausted and famished. 5. And he said to the men of Succoth, ‘Prithee, give loaves of bread to the men who are following me, for they are exhausted; and I am pursuing after Zebah and Salmunnah, exhausted and famished. Reading רעֶבֶים with ה. So Houb., Bu., Grä., Frankenberg, Kit., Oort, No., La. This correction seems almost to be postulated by v. 5, where the request for bread is made of the men of Succoth. In order to justify the reading of רעֶבֶים, we have to treat the conjunction י as adversative, as is done by A.V., R.V., ‘faint yet pursuing.’ Possibly the alteration of רעֶבֶים into רעֶבֶים may have been due to the fact that in v. 5 רעֶבֶים for they are exhausted, is followed by רעֶבֶים, and I am pursuing.’

5. Succoth. The actual sites of Succoth and Penuel have not been discovered; but evidence goes to show that they must have been not far south of the Jabbok: cf. note on ‘as far as Beth-shittah, etc.,’ ch. 7 22.

loaves of bread. Heb. kikkerōth lehem means lit. ‘rounds’ or ‘circles of bread,’ i.e. probably, round, flat cakes.

who are following me. Lit. ‘who are at my feet.’ Cf. 4 10 note.

Zebah and Salmunnah. The names הוב and לאפשת mean respectively ‘sacrifice’ (‘sacificial victim’) and ‘shelter withheld.’* It is obvious that these forms cannot be original, but must be later participial determination of the subject, הוב לאות ‘exhausted, etc.’? We should have to treat it as a circumstantial clause: ‘He and the three hundred, etc., were exhausted, etc.’ As the verse is accented, however (with break on לאות), we can only render, ‘he and the three hundred men that were with him were crossing over, exhausted and famished’; the use of the Participle לאות being apparently intended to indicate that, at the time when they were crossing, they were in the condition described by לאות. This, however, is very unnatural. Mo. suggests that לאות, the Perfect, ‘he crossed over,’ was originally a marginal gloss, which, when transferred to the text, was forced into construction by pronouncing לאת.

* For לאפשת, י ‘shadow’ occurs in the sense ‘shelter’ in Jer. 48 45, Num. 14 9, Ps. 91 1, al. For the vocalization י, cf. ובשאול, ‘In the shelter of God.’ On the Pu’al Participleisz, with dropping of preformative י, cf. G-K. § 52 s.
6. And the officers of Succoth said, 'Are the hands of Zebah and Salmunna now in thine hand, that we should give bread to thy host?' 7. And Gideon said, 'Well then, when Yahweh hath given Zebah and Salmunna into mine hand, I will thresh your flesh together with thorns of the desert and modifications in jesting allusion to the fate of the kings as related in vv. 18 ff. Cf., for similar perversions, notes on Adoni-bezek, ch. 15, and Cushan-rishathaim, ch. 3. The original forms of the names can hardly be conjectured. It is likely, however, that the first three consonants of Salmunna, מַלְוָן, embody the name of the god Salm, who is known to us through inscriptions from Tema in North Arabia: cf. Nöldeke, *Berichte d. Berl. Akad.*, 1884, pp. 813 ff.; Baethgen, *Beiträge*, pp. 80 ff.; *KAT.* pp. 475 ff.; Cooke, *NSI.*, pp. 195 ff.; La., *ERS.*, pp. 502 ff.

6. And the officers of Succoth said. We must, of course, read plur. מַלְוָנָה instead of the sing. מַלְוָן in מַלְוָן.

7. Well then. Lit. 'Therefore'; i.e. 'Since you choose to adopt such an attitude.'

_I will thresh your flesh together with_, etc. The Heb. verb דָּשׁ, which is here used, means to tread in threshing; the operation of threshing being performed either by the feet of cattle, or by the threshing-drag (מִדְּוָס) shod beneath with stone or basalt (cf. Isa. 41:15, Am. 1:8), which was weighted and dragged round the threshing-floor by oxen (cf. 2 Sam. 24:22, Hos. 10:11), thus separating the grain and grinding the straw into chaff.* The equivalent Ar. verb دَاسَ means generally in the sense to trample with the foot (e.g. of horses trampling on the slain), and also specifically of threshing grain, either by the feet of beasts, or by repeatedly drawing over it the midwás or threshing-drag (Lane). Bab. دَاسَ means to tread down or crush.

The preposition rendered 'together with' is מַעְלִים, which is always used of accompaniment, and never of the instrument. So E renders correctly 'cum spinis tribulisque deserti'; מַעְלִים מִצְלִים 'upon thorns of the desert and upon briars'; מַעְלִים, id.

Thus Gideon threatens that he will lay the men of Succoth 'naked upon a bed of thorns' (Mo.), and treat them as corn is treated in threshing, either by trampling them down or by drawing threshing-wains over them (cf. Am. 1:9).

R.V. text, in rendering 'I will tear your flesh with the thorns, etc.,' commits the double error of giving to דָּשׁ a sense which (so far

* For illustration and description of the threshing-board as used at the present day in Syria and Palestine, cf. Driver, *Joel and Amos* (Camb. Bib.), pp. 227 f.
8. And he went up thence to Penuel, and spake unto them on this wise; and the men of Penuel answered him as the men of Succoth had answered. 9. And he spake also unto the men of Penuel, saying, 'When I return in safety, I will break down this tower.'

10. Now Zebah and Sal'munna' were in Karkôr, and their host was with them, about fifteen thousand men, even all that were left out of all the host of the children of the East: for they that had fallen were an hundred and twenty thousand men who drew sword. 11. And Gide'on went up towards the track of thistles. The precise meaning of Heb. bârkânim is unknown; but the close connexion with kôsê ham-midhâr, 'thorns of the desert,' demands that the word should denote some kind of prickly plant. The explanation advocated by J. D. Michaelis, Ges., Thes., etc., threshing-sledges shod with fire-stones, is simple guess-work, depending upon a supposed connexion of the word with bârâk, 'lightning.'

10. Karkôr. The site is unknown. Eusebius (OS. 272 62 ) identifies with Kapkâpia, one day's journey distant from Petra; but this seems too far to the south. On the other hand, the Karkar at which Shalmaneser III. met and defeated Bir-idri of Damascus and his allies (KB. i. pp. 172 f.; Rogers, CP. pp. 295 f.) must have been in the neighbourhood of Hamath, and would thus be much too far to the north.

thystles. The huge number is clearly the exaggeration of a late writer. The expression šiôrû espēh, 'that drew sword,' is a favourite one in the part of the narrative of eh. 20 which is due to R', and where similar high figures are given: cf. vv. 2, 15, 17, 35, 46. Possibly, as Mo. suggests, the latter part of the verse may have been added by a redactor to harmonize 8 10b with 7 29ff.

11. towards the track of the tent-dwellers. Reading הַרְמָה שַׁנְיָה with Bu., in place of הַרְמָה, which offers
the tent-dwellers, east of Nobah and Jogbehah; and he smote the host, whilst the host was careless. 12. And Zebah and Salmunnah fled; and he pursued after them, and captured the two kings of Midian, even Zebah and Salmunnah, but all the host he devoted to destruction. 13. And Gideon, the son of Joash

the grammatical solecisms of the Article with the Construct State, and the Passive Participle of the Stative verb which is elsewhere unknown. The track of the tent-dwellers was doubtless the beaten track running north and south by which the nomads were accustomed to travel—much like the modern hagg-route which runs from Damascus to Mecca. Gideon, guessing that the fugitives would make for this track in order to escape southward, struck south-eastward from the Jordan valley until he reached it.

Nobah. According to Num. 32:42 J (cf. p. 51), Nobah, a clan of Manasseh, conquered Kenath and its dependencies, and called its name Nobah. Eusebius (Os. 269) says of Kenath that it is eis  

καναβα λεγοµενη . . . κειται δε και έτι και νιν εν Τραγων πλησιον Βοστρων. He refers to the modern el-Kanawat in the Hauran; but this seems much too remote to be the site intended in our passage: cf. note following.

Jogbehah. The name is preserved in the modern Agbehah, twenty miles east-south-east from the ford ed-Damiyyeh at which Gideon seems to have crossed the Jordan.

careless. Heb. be'Hah, lit. 'confidence,' and so 'confident' of safety, the substantive being used, as often, in place of an adjective. Cf. note on Yahweh shalom, ch. 6:21.

12. he devoted to destruction. Reading מְרִיתָה, as conjectured by Scharfenberg (apud Mo.), Ewald, etc., for מְרִיתָה, which can only mean (as rendered by R.V. marg.), 'he terrified,' and in illustration of which 2 Sam. 17, Ezek. 30, are cited by Stu., and Zech. 2:4 by Mo. This, however, is a very weak conclusion to the campaign. The mere throwing into a panic of Israel's mortal foes (for the second time in the course of the rout: cf. 7:21,22) cannot have been intended by the narrator: contrast the late narrative of Num. 31:7 P, where every male of Midian is put to the sword. The corruption of מְרִיתָ is an ancient one, being found in the Versions: קב א' εξεστησεν, י' 'turbato omni exercitu eorum,' ו' מְרִיתָ, and similarly מְרִיתָ, seem to be corrections of the reading of מב in order to produce a sense more consonant with the context. Jos., however (Ant. v. vi. 5), must have read or understood the passage in accordance with our emendation; for his paraphrase is άπαντας διέφθοραι των πολεμίων.

The correctness of מְרִיתָ (rather than מְרִיתָ), Ex. 23:23, Ps. 83:5,
13. returned from the battle. יִתְנָה הָרָה is attested by the doublet which is noted in v.12.

14. he wrote down for him, etc. A boy or youth captured by chance, and therefore (we may infer) without any exceptional qualifications as a scholar, writes down the names of the elders of Succoth; probably scratching them with a sharp-pointed implement such as a pin or knife, in the alphabetic (so-called Phoenician) script, upon a fragment of shale or similar material. This may seem to us to be surprising, but need not be regarded as incredible. Cf. further Additional note, p. 253. The rendering of R.V. text, 'he described for him,' which seems to be intended to obviate the conclusion that the names were written, is absolutely unwarranted.

the officers of Succoth, and the elders thereof. The distinction between the officers, sārîm (mentioned alone in v.6), and the elders sōqēnîm (mentioned alone in v.16) is somewhat obscure. The sōqēnîm were the heads of families in whose authority the government of the city was vested. In distinction from these, the sārîm were probably concerned, not with civil government, but with military organization.
16. and threshed therewith. Reading וָשַׁלָּחַת, in place of יְבַעַת, 'and taught therewith,' a somewhat strange expression in Heb.* The emendation is supported by the parallelism of v. 7: יְבָעַת, 'I will thresh'; and by יִבְּשַׁלָּחַת (v. 7 ἄλογος), καὶ κατέδωκεν, 'and he carded' (v. 7 καταδωκα). Υ 'et contrivit cum eis, atque comminuit' (v. 7 'conteram') may also have read יְבָעַת; but the double rendering of the verb suggests the possibility of a paraphrastic explanation of the curious יְבָעַת of Υ. In the same way, ᾿Ε ναὶ ἐμένω, 'and he tortured therewith' (but v. 7 ἔστη), 'I will thresh'); Ε καὶ ἑτεροί 'and upon them he broke' (var. lect. ναὶ ἑτεροί 'and upon them he dragged') the men, etc. (but v. 7 ναὶ ἑτεροί 'I will thresh'), may perhaps be paraphrases of Υ.

We cannot, however, be sure that by this simple emendation we have arrived at the original form of the verse. Ε offers evidence of another original considerably different from Υ. Thus the verse runs in Ε, καὶ ἤλαβε [τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ] τοὺς πρεσβύτερους τῆς πόλεως καὶ κατεδώκεν αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀκάνθαις τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ταῖς βαρκηνείς, [καὶ κατεδώκεν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄρδας θορύβου]. So Ε, with κατεδώκεν in place of κατεδώκεν. Ψ, Λ are similar. Here we have bracketed τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ as a harmonistic addition (cf. v. 11), and the last six words as a doublet embodying the Υ tradition. The remainder seems to represent a Heb. original

'And he took the elders of the city, and threshed them together with thorns of the desert and thistles.' This has strong claims to consideration as the original text. Υ, 'And he took the elders of the city, and thorns,' etc., is certainly suspicious; and it is possible that the verb ἔστη may have fallen out before Ε ναὶ ἑτεροί, and that v. 16b may have been added subsequently as an explanatory gloss.

17. the tower of Penuel. It may be inferred that the city was unwalled, and the tower was intended as a refuge in case of danger. Cf. ch. 9.6ff. 511.

* Perhaps the nearest parallel to the usage of the verb יְבַעַת in Υ is 1 Sam. 14.12, where the Philistines, on espying Jonathan and his armour-bearer, say, 'Come up unto us, that we may teach you a thing' (הָדוּ֣וּ נָא אֲכָ֖חֲכֵֽנְכֵ֣ם בַּרְבָּ֑ר); if it is legitimate to explain this somewhat obscure expression as used with a touch of irony, 'give you a lesson,' or 'give you something to think about.' Here, however, we have the addition of the object בַּרְבָּ֑ר; whereas a similar object is lacking in our passage.
of the city. 18. Then he said unto Zebah and unto Salmunnah,' Where are the men whom ye slew at Tabor?' And they said, 'As thou art so were they: each resembled the children of a king.' 19. And he said, 'They were my brethren, my mother's sons: as Yahweh liveth, if ye had kept them alive, I would not have slain you.' 20. And he said to Jether his first-born, 'Arise, slay them!' But the lad drew not his sword, for he was afraid, because he was still a lad. 21. And Zebah and Salmunnah said, 'Arise thou and fall upon us, for a man hath a man's strength.'

18. 'Where are the men, etc.' Gideon knows that the Midianite kings are responsible for his brothers' death; and he thus challenges them to produce them alive in order to save their own lives (cf. v. 19: so Bu.). The Midianites are aware that they are doomed, and, with the true savage instinct, glory in acknowledging the murders. Question and answer thus do not formally correspond; but E, Ἐ, R.V. 'What manner of men, etc.' is both impossible as a rendering of מִי יִצְּוָא הַנְּפָר_parts of men; and also very much weaker than the legitimate rendering. This latter consideration also tells against the emendation adopted by Mo. (SBOT), La. מִי יִצְּוָא אֵלַי 'Who, then, were the men, etc.'?

in Tabor. Mount Tabor, north of the plain of Esdraelon, is some thirty miles or more to the north of Shechem; near which, as we have seen (cf. note on "Ophrah," ch. 6), the clan of Abiezer must have been situated. Bu. suggests an original תֶּבֶן Tebez: cf. ch. 9 50.

each. Reading רְמָמָה for רֵמָמָה. Cf. Ex. 22 22, Num. 15 12.

20. he said to Jether, etc. Robertson Smith (Religion of the Semites, p. 417, n 3) cites Nilus as stating that the Saracens charged lads with the execution of their captives.

but the lad drew not his sword, etc. It does not necessarily follow that Jether had taken part in the battle; for it is very probable that the captives were taken back in triumph to Ophrah before their execution. The arming of the lad with a sword may have been simply in view of the task assigned to him, which he had not the heart to perform when called upon to act.

21. Arise thou. The pronoun is emphatic; and the request of the Midianites, like their answer in v 18, is a tribute to Gideon's prowess and noble bearing.

a man has a man's strength. The rendering of Mo.; lit. 'as the man, (so) his strength.' Ἰ ἀρσενον, or ἀρσενον, is exceptionally omitted. There is no doubt that Gideon will slay them at a blow; whereas a mere lad might make a bungling attempt. ἓ reads ὁτί ὡς ἀνθρώπου ἤ
So Gide'on arose and slew Zebah and Šalmunna. And he took the crescents which were upon the necks of their camels.

22. "And the men of Israel said unto Gide'on, 'Rule over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son’s son; for thou hast saved us out of the hand of Midian.' 23. And Gide'on said unto them, 'I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; Yahweh shall rule over you.' 24. And Gide'on said unto them, 'Let me make a request of you: give me every man the ear-rings of his spoil.' For they had golden ear-rings, because

διώαμνης σου, i.e. υἱὸς καθιδρυὸν, which may possibly be original. Bu. emends ὕιος οἰκίας ἕνα ἄνθρωπον, 'for thou art a mighty man.' This, though involving no great change of διώκειν, hardly seems necessary.

crescents. Heb. sahr-roním occurs once besides (Isa. 3:18) in a list of feminine ornaments. On the form, cf. G-K. § 86 g. In Ar. sahr denotes the new moon; and Aram. šahrā, Syr. šahr̓ mean moon. The crescents were doubtless threaded on necklaces, and worn as amulets. Similar strings of amulets are placed upon Bedawi camels and horses at the present day.

22. the men of Israel. The reference is to the tribes of Israel as a whole—or at least the central and northern west-Jordanic tribes, most of whom, according to the later narrative (E2), had borne a share in the campaign, and were benefited by its outcome. This, however, as we have seen, is not the conception of the old narrative J, which pictures Gide'on’s coup de main as carried out with the assistance of his own clan merely, and invests its outcome with a local, rather than a general, importance. It is difficult to picture the haughty Ephraim­ites of J, ch. 8:1-3, who turn upon the victor in the hour of his triumph, and whose aggressive indignation has to be calmed by a diplomatic rejoinder, as taking part in a request to Gide’on to become their king because he had ‘saved’ them out of the hand of Midian. The older narrative of E seems to have agreed with J in making Gide’on’s influence local rather than general. Cf. introd. to the story of Abimelech, p. 267.

23. 'I will not rule over you, etc.' The conception of Theocracy here put forward belongs to the later eighth century stage of prophetic thought. Cf. the discussion on pp. 183 f.

24. ear-rings. Heb. nizem may denote an ear-ring (Gen. 35:4, Ex. 32:3, Prov. 25:12), or a nose-ring (Gen. 24:21 J, Isa. 3:21, Ezek. 16:12). Here, as worn by men, the former is the more probable meaning, since (as Mo. notices) nose-rings appear in the O.T. only as the ornaments of women. Pliny (Hist. Nat. xi. 50) refers to the wearing of ear-rings by men in the East. The custom does not exist
they were Ishma'elites. 25. And they said, 'We will surely give them.' And they spread out a mantle, and cast therein every man the ear-rings of his spoil. 26. And the weight of the golden ear-rings which he requested was one thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold; beside the crescents, and the pendants, and the purple garments which were upon the kings of Midian, and beside the necklaces which were upon the necks of their camels. 27. And Gide'on used it for an Ephod, and generally among the Bedawin at the present day; though Mackie states that, 'in the case of an only son, the ear-ring is sometimes worn as an amulet in the form of a large silver ring suspended round the outer ear, with discs or balls attached to the lower half of the ring, hanging visible below the lobe of the ear': DB. i. p. 633b.

they were Ishma'elites. Upon the interchange between the terms 'Midianite' and 'Ishma'elite,' cf. note on 'Midian,' ch. 6.

25. they spread out. G, L', 'he spread out.' So Kit., No., La., Gress.

26. one thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold. Taking the weight of the heavy shekel at 252.5 grs. troy (cf. G. F. Hill in EB. 4444), the total weight of the golden ear-rings would be nearly 75 lbs. If reckoned by the light shekel, it would be about half as much.

beside the crescents, etc. Mo. regards the whole of this half-verse as an editorial addition, on the ground that 'this catalogue of things which were not used in making the ephod is quite superfluous, and only interrupts the narrative.' A similar view is taken by Wellh. and Sta., who, taking v.21b as part of the original narrative, find in it the origin of the later addition v.21h. On the other hand, Bu. takes the last quarter of the verse, 'beside the necklaces, etc.,' to be genuine, supposing it to be the origin of v.21b, which he regards as a later gloss.

It is unsafe to express a definite opinion on such a point. The narrative of E in v.22-27 has, as we have seen, been worked over by E2; but it is difficult to divine any purpose in such an editorial addition as this (whether by E2 or some later hand), beyond the desire to glorify Gide'on's exploit, which may equally have been present in the mind of the original narrator. The half-verse may seem to us to interrupt the proper sequence between v.26 and v.27; but would this fact have counted for much in the mind of a narrator who was fascinated by the richness and variety of the spoil, as reported by tradition?

27. an Ephod. As regards the nature of the Ephod, evidence is extremely vague; and it is even doubtful whether it was everywhere and at all times the same thing. The Ephod of the Priestly Code (i.e. of post-exilic, though probably also of earlier, times) is described (Ex. 28 P) as a decorated vestment, apparently of the nature of an
apron,* fastened partly by a band at the top round the body (יאֵב נׇאֵף נַּעַף, "the band of its attachment which is above it," v. 8), and partly by two shoulder-straps (וָנֹאִתִּים, v. 7). These latter were probably intended to keep the band of the Ephod in a position round the wearer's middle well above the loins, and thus to obviate the possibility of its becoming contaminated with sweat.§ The shoulder-straps appear to have been joined to the apron at its two upper corners; and their upper ends may have been fastened to the shoulders of the me'il (see below) by the two onyx-stones in filigree settings (vz. 9-12), which very likely served the purpose of brooches. It is possible, however, that the stones were merely ornamental and symbolical; and, if so, the shoulder-pieces may have

* The older view regarded the Ephod of P as a kind of waistcoat; but this seems to be excluded by the position of the band of its attachment יֵלֶד 'above it' (v. 8), rather than 'upon it'; and likewise by the position of the pouch above (על) the band (v. 88)—scarcely upon it. The position of the rings which fastened the pouch to the Ephod—the two upper ones attached to the shoulder-straps, and the two lower ones above the band of the Ephod—favors the same conclusion.

† This rendering assumes the view that היהבק is a metathesis of היהבק from חַבֵּה 'to bind on'; so, 'band.' Cf. Driver's note ad loc. in Camb. Bib. The sense 'attachment' given to 'apkudda makes the term a secondary derivative from the denominative verb 'aphadh 'to attach the Ephod,' which is used in Ex. 29, Lev. 87 (|| ḭאֶשָּר 'gird on').

§ The very curiously phrased injunction in Ezek. 44.18b יִרְבעוּ נְפִיָה, i.e., apparently, 'they shall not gird themselves with (or in) sweat,' which is understood by R.V. to mean 'with that which causeth sweat' (i.e. with woollen materials in distinction from linen), was understood by the Jewish interpreters to mean that they were prohibited from girding themselves as high as the arm-pits or as low as the loins—either position being conducive to sweating—but were to adopt an intermediate position. So Rashi and Kimchi. This interpretation is as old as וְיִרְבעוּ נְפִיָה, which paraphrases the passage וְיִרְבעוּ נְפִיָה וְרַמְלֵיהֶם פְּלֵיהֶם 'and they shall not gird themselves about their loins, but shall bind themselves about their hearts.' It may well be doubted whether the passage (the genuineness of which is open to suspicion) is capable of such an explanation; yet it is quite likely that the interpretation depends upon a true tradition as to the ritual position of girding, and the reason by which it was dictated.

II In Ex. 287 we should read plural verbs נְפִיָה, מִירָבָה, referring to the two shoulder-straps, in place of the singulars נְפִיָה, מִירָבָה of P. Cf. וְיִרְבעוּ נְפִיָה. On the use of the masc. form of the 3rd plur. Imperfect, in place of the fem., with reference to a fem. subject preceding, cf. G-K. § 145 u.
been joined together at the back of the neck so as to form a yoke; or else they may have joined the band of the Ephod at the back, and held it up like braces.

The Ephod is mentioned in connexion with the pouch (יָדוֹן, A.V., R.V. 'breast-plate,' v.16), which contained the objects known as Urim and Tummim. This latter was fastened by rings at its four corners, the two upper rings to the shoulder-strap (vv. 23-25), and the two lower to the band of the Ephod (vv. 26-28). The dimensions of the pouch were a span, i.e. about nine inches, square (v. 16); and when the Ephod was in place, the Urim and Tummim within the pouch lay upon the heart of the high priest (v. 30)—a fact which makes it clear that the band of the Ephod must have been well above the loins, as has already been indicated.

The material of Ephod, band, and pouch alike, and doubtless also of the shoulder-straps, was of 'blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen,' interwoven with gold thread or wire (יוֹנָבַד), which was cut from a plate of beaten gold (ch. 39). The pouch was further adorned by twelve precious stones, set in gold (vv. 17-21). The Ephod was girded on over the יִיל, a long garment with sleeves, of blue material (vv. 31 ff.).

Probably similarly to this Ephod in form, though doubtless of simpler workmanship, and (so far as we know) unconnected with any special means of obtaining an oracle,* was the 'ephodh badh 'Ephod of linen,' † with which the child Samuel was 'girt' (יָדוֹן) when he ministered as a temple-servant (1 Sam. 218); and with which King David was similarly 'girt,' when he danced ceremonially before the Ark, whilst it was being brought up from the house of 'Obed-edom to the sanctuary at Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6 14). On this occasion David excited the outspoken contempt of his wife Michal, for exposing his

* There must, no doubt, have been some ultimate connexion between the 'ephodh badh and the oracular Ephod noticed above in the next paragraph; and it is possible that the former may have been a kind of 'dummy' Ephod, typical of the relationship in which those who exercised priestly service stood towards the Deity, though actually unequipped with the means of casting lots (Urim and Tummim). Foote recalls the fact that the oracular lots in the temple of Fortuna at Praeneste were mingled and drawn by a child ('quid igitur in his [sortibus] potest esse certi, quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscenat atque ducuntur'; Cicero, De Divinatione, ii. 41, 86: a similar practice is observed in the modern State-lotteries of Italy and France), and thinks that the child Samuel may have been entrusted with a similar office. There is, however, absolutely no evidence of any such practice among the Israelites.

† The derivation of badh is unknown; but the view that it denotes the material of which the Ephod was made, and that this was some form of linen, is probably correct. Foote's theory that badh means 'member,' and so membrum virile, which the Ephod (the primitive loin-cloth) was designed to cover, is sufficiently refuted by Lev. 164, where the word is applied to the various parts of the priestly attire, turban included, and evidently describes their material.
person 'like one of the lewd fellows'; and the inference is that he wore nothing but the Ephod, and that this was of scanty dimensions*—perhaps not unlike the apron which the Egyptian priest Pe-nhēsi is represented as wearing, when performing an act of ceremonial worship; cf. Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, i. p. 253.† Sellin and Mo. (EB. 1306) suppose that the assumption of this scanty attire may have been a return to a primitive costume rendered sacred by its antiquity; much as Mohammedan pilgrims, so soon as they approach Mecca, are obliged to adopt the simple loin-cloth which was the primitive dress of the Arabs. §

More doubt has been expressed as to the precise nature of the Ephod which, in the days of 'Eli, Saul, and David, was regularly employed in the cultus of Yahweh. The priest is never said to wear or to be girt with this, but always to bear it (נֵסַי ; I Sam. 2 28, 14 3, 22 18)). Abiathar, when he escapes from the slaughter of the priests at Nob, comes down to David with an Ephod 'in his hand' (I Sam. 23 6). ¶ Here 'in his hand' refers to the carrying of the Ephod when not in use; but the verb 'bear' is clearly used ceremonially, and is most naturally to be explained from the use of the same verb in Ex. 28 12, where it is said that Aaron 'shall bear' (נֵסַי) the names of the children of Israel before Yahweh engraved upon the stones of the two shoulder-straps of the Ephod; and similarly (v. 29) that he 'shall bear' their names upon the pouch. We learn from I Sam. 23 6 that the Ephod was used in consulting the oracle, or 'enquiring of Yahweh'; and from I Sam. 14 it seems, as in later times, to have been employed in connexion with Urim and Tummim (in v. 18 בֵּית preserves the true reading 'Ephod' in place of

* The Chronicler (who was evidently somewhat scandalized by the narrative as it stands in 2 Sam.) clothes David in a מ'ביל בּוּס 'robe of byssus,' in addition to the Ephod of linen, and omits all allusion to the episode in which Michal plays a part (1 Chr. 15 27).

† It is worthy of note that Pe-nhēsi's apron is loosely girt well above the loins, being apparently supported in that position by a band from the shoulders.

§ In the description given by the Roman lawyer Gaius (iii. 192-193) of the house-search for stolen articles—'furtum licio et lance conceptum'—the leather apron, 'licium' ('consuti genus quo necessariae partes tegenter') is explained by Ihering as a relic of antiquity—the usual dress of the ancient Aryans—preserved in a ceremonial institution dating from hoary antiquity. Cf. The Evolution of the Aryan, pp. 2 ff.

‖ This last passage, as it stands in R, speaks of 'bearing the Ephod of linen'; but it is not improbable that the word badh, which is omitted by בֵּית, is an erroneous insertion.

¶ The passage is in some slight disorder. As it stands in בֵּית seems to mean 'an Ephod came down in his hand.' בֵּית, however, after the words 'unto David,' presupposes a text 'he went down with David to Keilah, having an Ephod in his hand.' This is very possibly the original text: cf. Driver, NHTS. ad loc.
Ark of God'). When asked to consult the oracle, the priest is
told to bring it near (יָכָה, 14 18, 23 9, 30 7); and, when ordered to
desist, the command is 'withdraw thine hand' (בָּרָאשׁ, 14 19), which
seems to presuppose some form of manipulation in connexion with
the sacred lot. The locus classicus for the use of this latter (Urim
and Tummim) is 1 Sam. 14 41 ג, which has already been noticed
under ch. 1 1 note on 'enquired of Yahweh.' Thus, if we are to
explain the Ephod of 1 Sam. by the Ephod of P, it may have been
the receptacle in which the sacred lot was preserved—possibly a
pouch and apron or girdle combined—the prototype of the later
priestly vestment.

The character of Gide'on's Ephod has formed subject for much
discussion. It is commonly supposed that the description
of v. 27 can
only be satisfied by the supposition that here the Ephod denotes
some kind of idol, and not simply a vestment and pouch employed
in consulting the oracle. In favour of this view the following points
have been alleged.

If the words רַפְאָהָה לֶאָב יִשְׂרָאֵל mean that Gide'on made the 1700
shekels of gold into an Ephod, it seems to follow that the Ephod
must have been something of the character of an idol, or possibly an
non-eikonic symbol (ξοανον) of considerable size; since so great a
weight of metal cannot have been employed in the manufacture of a
mere belt and apron, with pouch attached, even if we suppose these to
have been heavily overlaid with gold. The verb כֹּאָה, again, rendered
'and he set it up,' suggests an idol rather than an instrument of
divination which, when in use, was girt on to the body of the priest.
Further, the strong terms of reprobation employed by the writer—
'and all Israel went a whoring after it, etc.'—though appropriate in
application to the worship of an idol, seem rather strange if they are
to be understood of an object which is mentioned, without a word of
blame, as commonly employed in ascertaining the oracle of Yahweh
in the days of Samuel and David, and the continued use of which in
post-exilic times is specifically provided for in the ritual enactments
of the Priestly Code.

Added to the arguments based upon the reference to Gide'on's
Ephod, there are other references which have been thought to point
in the same direction. The story of Micah and his private sanctuary,
Judg. 17 18, is clearly composite in origin; and the Ephod and
Teraphim of the one narrative are parallel to the graven image and
molten image of the other—or rather to the graven image only, the
molten image being a later addition. In 1 Sam. 21 10 the sword
of Goliath is preserved in the sanctuary of Nob 'wrapped in a cloth
behind the Ephod'—a reference which may be taken to mean that
the Ephod stood by itself, clear of the wall, as an image would do.
Lastly, the obscure phrase of Isa. 30 22 (probably a late passage),
R.V. 'the plating of thy molten images of gold,
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is parallel to 'the overlaying of thy graven images of silver'; the term 'aphuddā (cognate to 'ephōd) being interpreted by R.V. as 'plating' owing to its parallelism with sīpphy 'overlaying' (for which cf. Ex. 38:17-19, Num. 17:3-4). If, then, 'aphuddā means the 'plating' of an idol, it is inferred that 'ephōd denotes such a plated idol, i.e. a wooden idol overlaid with metal.

Taking these points in order—it should be observed that, while the phrase  הָעִם may be used in the sense 'he made into' (cf. especially Isa. 44:17 הָעִם 'and the remnant thereof he made into a god'; so v.10; cf. also Deut. 9:14, Ezek. 4:9), it may equally well have the sense 'he used for.' This is the sense of the phrase in 1 Sam. 8:10, 'Your servants, etc., shall he take and use them for his work'; Ex. 38:24, 'All the gold that was used for the work'; Ezek. 1:5, 'It (the wood of the vine) cannot be used for work.' Similarly, in Hos. 2:8 (הָעִם is more naturally to be rendered 'the gold which they used for the Ba'al' (i.e. in his service) than 'the gold which they made into the Ba'al'); הָעִם by itself being nowhere else used of the image of the false god. Thus, the rendering of the phrase which is adopted in our translation is at any rate quite legitimate; the statement being understood to mean that Gide'on used the gold not merely in the manufacture of the Ephod, but also in the provision of such accessories as were necessary for its proper maintenance as a cultus-object, i.e. a sanctuary and priestly caretaker, etc.

The verb הָעִם, whether rendered 'he set it up,' or, as above, 'he established it' (cf. Am. 5:15 הָעִם 'establish judgment in the gate'), need not imply that the Ephod was an image; since, upon the alternative assumption that it was, here as elsewhere, a vestment employed in ascertaining the will of the oracle, it is not clear what other verb could have been more suitably employed to describe the fact that it was kept and used in divination at Ophrah. What the writer wishes to express is that it was there that the Ephod-cult was 'established'; and any alternative expression, such as 'he placed' or 'kept it at Ophrah,' would scarcely have been possible.

The strong reprobation of the Ephod-cult is explained by the fact that the passage comes from E2; whereas the passages in 1 Sam. which seem to regard the Ephod as the natural and appropriate means of ascertaining the will of Yahweh, belong to the much older narrative of J. The difference in point of view is no greater here than in the two accounts of the institution of the kingship; where, while J regards the granting of a king as a mark of Yahweh's favour to Israel (1 Sam. 9:16,10, E2, on the other hand, stigmatizes Israel's
demand for a king as a definite act of rejection of Yahweh (1 Sam. 8:7). It is at least probable, if not certain, that the prophetic school represented by E₂ grouped the Ephod with other conventional forms of divination, and regarded it with disfavour; and Hosea’s influence is to be traced in E₂ (cf. Introd. p. xlv), makes disparaging reference to Ephod together with Teraphim (Hos. 3:4). It is generally acknowledged that in 1 Sam. 14:18 the original form of the passage is preserved in Ἐ :—καὶ ἔλευν Σαμουὴλ τῷ Ἀχιĕρ Προσώπιγγε τὸ ἐφοῦν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦρεν τὸ ἐφοῦν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκεῖνῃ ἐνώπιον Ἰσραήλ. In Ḥ, however, הָרָנָה, ‘the Ark of God’ has taken the place of ‘the Ephod’—

an alteration which must have been purposely made, and that most probably in order to avoid reference to the consultation of the will of Yahweh by a form of divination which the corrector of the text regarded with some disfavour. The fact that, in post-exilic times, the Priestly Code lays down detailed regulations for the manufacture and use of the Ephod is not an argument to prove that in late pre-exilic times the school of E₂ could not have disapproved of its use. Rather, we may argue that, if P had supposed that the term Ephod had at any time been used of a definitely idolatrous symbol, such a term would not have been perpetuated by the Code in reference to a legitimate instrument of divination. The evidence of the Priestly Code, therefore, tells in favour of the inference that the codifiers of this body of legislation were unaware that the term ‘Ephod’ had been applied in early times to an idol.

The fact that, in Judg. 17:18, one narrative equips Micah’s sanctuary with Ephod and Teraphim, while the parallel narrative speaks of a graven image merely, is no argument to prove that the graven image was the same as the Ephod. Nor would the case really be strengthened if the second narrative had originally mentioned (as it does now) both graven image and molten image; since there is no reason whatever for supposing that the two traditions were so absolutely at one that graven image and molten image must denote the same things as Ephod and Teraphim. As Mo. has shown, however, the molten image is a late addition to the narrative.

In 1 Sam. 21:10 the statement that the sword of Goliath at the sanctuary of Nob was ‘wrapped in a cloth behind the Ephod’ may very well mean that both sword and Ephod were hanging on a large peg fixed in the wall (Lotz, Foote, Sellin), the Ephod, as being constantly in use, hanging outermost.

Lastly, the interpretation of הָרָנָה as in Isa. 30:22 is very obscure: but on any interpretation the phrase can scarcely carry much weight in proof that the term Ephod was ever applied to an idol. Foote argues that מַסָּכַת never means ‘molten image’ where, as here, it is a genitive. It means a ‘casting’; and as a genitive it means that the nomen regens is not carved, nor beaten, but cast.
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established it in his city, even in 'Ophrah; E² and all Israel went a whoring after it there, and it became a snare to Gide'on and to his house. 28. R² So Midian was subdued before the sons of Israel, and they lifted up their head no more. And the land had rest forty years in the days of Gide'on.

This conclusion is supported by such phrases as מְנֵה, lit. 'bull of casting;' i.e. 'cast or molten bull'; מִנֵה מְנֵה, 'gods of casting,' i.e. 'molten gods.' Thus, מַעֲרָה מְנֵה מְנֵה, might mean 'thy cast band of gold,' lit. 'the band (attachment) of the casting of thy gold.' It may be considered doubtful whether the parallelism of מְנֵה מְנֵה מְנֵה מְנֵה 'thy graven images of silver,' does not tell against Foote's conclusion, and compel us to explain מְנֵה מְנֵה as 'thy molten image of gold.' But even so, it is likely that מְנֵה has the same meaning here as in Ex. 28², viz. 'attachment' or 'band,' and thus refers to the priestly band or vestment which was in this case worn by the idol, and not to an actual part of the idol, such as a metal sheathing—a sense which is purely hypothetical.

We conclude then that, while the reference to Gide'on's Ephod is involved in considerable difficulty, there is nothing in the statement, nor in other statements which we have noticed, to compel us to believe that it was an idol, or anything else but the ordinary priestly vestment which was employed in obtaining an oracle.


went a whoring. Cf. ch. 2¹ note.


YAHWEH OR YAHU ORIGINALLY AN AMORITE DEITY

(Cf. note on 'the Ashera,' ch. 6².)

Sayce was the first to call attention (ET. ix. p. 522) to the existence of the name Ya-u-um-ilu on a Babylonian text of the First Dynasty period (published in CT. iv. 27). This can scarcely mean anything else than 'Ya-u is god'; and is thus identical in form and meaning
with the Hebrew ḫiʾel. Sayce’s conclusion was accepted by Hommel, who further cited the name ḫa-li-pi-um, i.e., probably, ḫa-li-yu-um,* ‘Ya-u is maternal uncle’ (Ar. ḫāl), as occurring in a document of the same period (ET. x. p. 42: the list in which ḫa-li-ya-um occurs is published in CT. iv. 27). Ya-u-um-ilu was subsequently cited by Delitzsch, together with the two forms Ya-a-we-ilu, Ya-we-ilu (which he explained as meaning ‘Yahweh is God’) in proof of the recognition and worship of the God Yahweh in Babylonia in early times (Babel und Bibel, pp. 46 f.). Upon this evidence Delitzsch based much too far-reaching assumptions as to the derivation of Hebrew monotheism from Babylonian sources; and his conclusions excited a keen and voluminous controversy.‡ In particular, his reading of the names Ya-a-we-ilu, Ya-we-ilu was hotly disputed, upon the ground that the syllable which he read as WE might be interpreted as PI, and that the first element of the names Ya-a-pi or Ya-pi was probably a verbal form. Early Babylonian usage favours the reading WE or WA for the disputed syllable rather than PI; yet, even so, it is by no means certain that the element Ya-a-we, Ya-we in the names in question is a divine name and not a verbal form. Thus Ranke, who transcribes Ya-aḫ-wi-ilu, takes the meaning to be ‘(The) god lives’ (assuming an Amorite verb מִי = Heb. מִי ‘to live’); while Hilprecht, reading Ya-ʾw-ili-u, understands as ‘God has spoken’ (Bab. awû or amû ‘to speak’; but in this case the normal Babylonian form would be ṭwi, ṭmi, not yaʾwi).§ More recently, the publication by Thureau-Dangin of the First Dynasty tablets preserved in the Louvre|| reveals the existence of the name Ya-wi (we, wa, pi?)-(ilu)-Dagan¶; and association with the name of the deity Dagan greatly strengthens the case for regarding the disputed form as a verb—the only alternative being to suppose that the name identifies a deity Ya-wi with the deity Dagan: cf. the compounds Hadad-Rimmon, Zech. 1211, and the Moabite ‘Ashtar-Chemosh (Moabite Stone, l. 17). It is thus evident that the names Ya-a-we-ilu, Ya-we-ilu cannot be cited with any probability as instances of compounds containing the divine name Yahweh.

Clay’s publication of Personal Names of the Cassite Period (1912), i.e. the period subsequent to the First Dynasty period, ranging from cir. B.C. 1760 to 1185, throws further light upon the use of the divine

* The cuneiform sign-group, which has the syllabic value PI in Assyrian documents of a later period, is commonly used with the value WE, WA, and YA in Babylonian documents of the First Dynasty period, and later still into the period of the T.A. Letters (cir. B.C. 1400). For ḫa-li-ya-um with the common sign for YA, cf. p. 245 (from Thureau-Dangin, op. cit. infra, p. 22).

‡ For the literature of this controversy, cf. Rogers, Relig. Bab. and Assyr. p. 92.

§ Cf. Ranke, Early Bab. Personal Names of the Hammurabi Dynasty, 1905.

|| Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la Première Dynastie Babyloniene, 1910.

¶ Op. cit. p. 23. The occurrence of this name and its bearing on the controversy were first brought to the notice of the present writer by Dr. R. W. Rogers.
name Ya-u in Babylonia. He chronicles the forms Ya-a-u, Ya-u­ba-ni, Ya-u-gu, and the apparently feminine forms Ya-(a)-u-tum, Ya-a-i-tum. Ya-u-ba-ni can only mean 'Ya-u is creator,' the form being precisely analogous to Ilu-ba-ni, 'The god is creator,' Ellil­ba-ni, 'Ellil is creator,' etc. The form Ya-u-ba-ni recalls the familiar name of the king of Hamath who was contemporary with Sargon (B.C. 721-705), (ili) Ya-u-bi'-di (Winckler, Sargon, pp. 102, 178), Ya-u-bi'-di (id. p. 170), which alternates with I-lu-bi'-di (id. p. 6), just as in Hebrew we find both יִם יִהוּד and ימ. Here Ya-u is marked by the determinative prefix ilu, 'god,' which proves beyond a doubt that it is a divine name. The element Ya-u, as the first element of a proper name, appears in Ya-u-ka-si, the Assy. equivalent of the Heb. Jeho'aJ:iaz, i.e. the Judaean king 'Ahaz, in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser IV. (cf. Rost, Tiglath-pilesar, p. 72). Cf. The form Ya-u-a which occurs as the representation of the name of the Israelite king Jehu, in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III. (cf. KB. i. pp. 140, n¹, 150). The shortening of Ya-u into Ya as the first element of a proper name is seen in Ya-ma-e-ra-ah, i.e. 'Ya indeed is the moon,' CT. viii. 17.

In face of this evidence, it is impossible to doubt that Ya-u or Ya-um (with mimation) is a divine name, and corresponds to the Heb. יִם or י, the shorter form of the divine name Yahweh, which regularly occurs as the first element in Israelite proper names. On the form Ya-u-tum, cf. p. 248.

We find, moreover, a large class of proper names occurring in Babylonian documents of the First Dynasty and Kaššite periods in which the second element of the name is Ya, Ya-u-a (once), Ya-tum, Ya-u-tum, Ya-u-iti; the names themselves being precisely parallel in form to other names in which the second element is indisputably the name or title of a deity.

Thus, where the relation is that of a genitive following a Construct State, we may notice A-pil-ya, A-pil-ya-tum, apparently 'son of Ya or Yatum,' like A-pil-i-lišu, 'son of his god.'

Ardi-ya, Ardi-ya-um, apparently 'servant of Ya or Ya-um,' like Ardi-ilâni, 'servant of the gods'; Ardi-ilu-Marduk, 'servant of (god) Marduk'; Ardi-Šamaš, 'servant of Šamaš,' etc.

Nûr-ya-u-iti, apparently 'light of Ya-u-tu,' like Nûr-Elil, 'light of Ellil'; Nûr-Ištar, Nûr-Marduk, etc.

Cases in which the relation to a preceding substantive is predicative, the copula being understood, are:—

A-bi-ya, A-bi-ya-tum, A-bi-ya-iti, apparently 'Ya or Yatum or Ya-u-tu is father,' like A-bi-ilu, '(the) god is father'; A-bi-ilu, 'my god is father'; A-bi-i-lišu, 'his god is father'; A-bi-e-ra-ah, 'the moon is father,' etc.

Hâ-li-ya-um, Hâ-li-ya-tum, apparently 'Ya-um or Yatum is maternal uncle.'
Be-li-ya, Be-li-ya-tum, Be-li-ya-u-tum, apparently 'Ya or Ya-tum or Ya-u-tum is lord,' like Be-li-a-bi, 'my father is lord.'

$ili-ya, $ili-ya-u-tum, apparently 'Ya or Ya-u-tum is my protection' (lit. 'shadow'; cf. Heb. הַעֲלָה, 'In the shadow of God'), like $ili-Addu, 'Addu is my protection'; $ili-(ilu)-Amurru, $ili-(ilu)-Dagan, $ili-Marduk, $ili-Šamaš, $ili-Istar, etc.

Tukulti-ya-u-ti, apparently 'Ya-u-tu is my help,' like Tukulti-Ellil, 'Ellil is my help,' etc.

It is doubtful whether A-ḫi-ya, A-ḫi-ya-u-a, A-ḫi-ya-u-ti, like A-ḫi-ilu (or -ili), should fall into the first or second of these classes. A-ḫi-ya might mean 'Ya is brother,' or 'brother of Ya,' just as A-ḫi-ilu might mean '(the) god is brother,' or (taking the ideogram for 'god' as the genitive ili), 'brother of (the) god.' In favour of the latter supposition we may cite the fem. name A-ḫa-ti-ya, presumably 'sister of Ya'; scarcely 'Ya is sister.' Cf. masc. E-ri-ši-ya, 'bridegroom of Ya,' beside the fem. names E-ri-ši-ti-(ilu)-A-a, 'bride of (god) A-a'; E-ri-ši-ti-Addu, 'bride of Addu'; and Phoenician נונ 'brother of Milk,' נונ 'sister of Milk,' נונ 'sister of Melkart.'

A third class, in which the first element of the name is a verbal form, is represented by I-din-ya, I-din-ya-tum, apparently 'Ya or Ya-tum has given,' like I-din-ilu-šu, 'his god has given'; I-din-Marduk, 'Marduk has given'; I-din-(ilu)-Amurru, I-din-Sin, etc.

It must be admitted that the explanation of -ya, -ya-tum, etc., as divine names is not generally accepted, some scholars (e.g. Ranke and Clay) explaining them as hypocoristic terminations in substitution for some fuller and more definite form (Ardi-ya thus conceivably implying Ardi-(ilu)-Marduk, or -(ilu)-Sin, etc.). Against this view, and in favour of that which is here advocated, the following points may be made:

(1) In cases in which Ya-u, Ya-u-tum occur as the first element in a proper name (as in Ya-u-ba-ni, (ilu) Ya-u-bi'-di, Ya-u-tum-ilu above cited), the hypocoristic explanation breaks down; it being impossible to explain Ya-u as anything else than a divine name or title. If, then, as has been shown, names ending in -ya, etc., are identical in formation with names containing as their second element the name of a god such as Marduk, Sin, Šamaš, etc., it is reasonable to infer that -ya as the second element of these names denotes the same deity as Ya-u when occurring as the first element in other names. In fact, as we have seen, the full form A-ḫi-ya-u-a occurs side by side with A-ḫi-ya. That Ya-u, when occurring as the second element in a proper name, should normally be shortened to -ya is precisely analogous to the usage of Hebrew proper names containing the divine name ה' (as well as חָוָה) as the second element, answering to —וה, as the first element. And further, an
instance of such shortening when \( Ya \) is the first element is seen in \( Ya-ma-e-ra-a!J \), assuming this to mean 'Ya indeed is the moon.'

(2) The forms \( A-bi-ya, A-hi-ya, Be-li-ya \) are identical in all respects with the Hebrew \( יָהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ \) are variations of the fuller forms \( יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ, יהוּ \); and the fact that in these Hebrew names the element \( Ya \) or \( Yahu \) is a divine name corresponding to the fuller form \( Yahweh \) is generally admitted.* It is difficult, therefore, to believe that the identity in form of the Babylonian names is accidental, and does not involve identity of meaning.

(3) The name \( A-hi-ya-mi \) occurs in a Babylonian letter from Ta'anach of cir. B.C. 1450 (cf. Rogers, CP. p. 282; TB. i. p. 129), borne by the Amorite writer of the letter. Here the element -\( mi \) is probably not to be understood as equivalent to -\( wi \), as has been supposed, \( Ya-wi \) thus answering to \( Yahweh \); but more probably -\( mi \) is the Babylonian enclitic particle which is regularly employed in letters of this period from Canaan in place of the normal enclitic -\( ma \). The purpose of the enclitic, thus used, is to predicate a fact with some emphasis. Thus \( A-hi-ya-mi \) would denote 'Ya indeed is brother,' or 'brother of Ya (emphatic)'; cf. \( Ya-ma-e-ra-a!J \), 'Ya indeed is the moon' above noticed. \( Ilu-ma-ilu \), 'The god indeed is god'; \( I-li-ma-a-\text{bu-um} \), 'My god indeed is father'; \( I-li-ma-a-hi \), 'My god indeed is my brother', and the S. Arabian \( אֱלִירִים 'Abi-ma-el \) (Gen. 10:38, 1 Chr. 1:27), 'God is father indeed,' side by side with the normal \( אֱלִיר 'Abi-"el, 'God is father.' But, if emphasis is thus thrown upon \( Ya \), it seems clear that the sense intended is 'Ya and no one else'; and it is out of the question that \( Ya \) thus emphasized should be simply a hypocoristic termination, and not a genuine divine name or title.

A further important fact (noticed by the present writer in JTS. ix. p. 341) is that a Babylonian syllabary (CT. xii. 4) which gives a large number of equivalents of the star-ideogram which is the ordinary symbol for \( ilu \), 'god,' offers as the first of these equivalents the word \( Ya-'-u \), a form which would appear in Hebrew as \( יָהז \), the light breathing in Bab. here answering to the Heb. \( נ \). The second equivalent on the list is \( Ya-a-ti \), which recalls \( Ya-tum \) in the names which we have been examining; but which Sayce is perhaps right in regarding as an etymology offered by the Babylonian scribe for the (to him) unintelligible \( Ya-'-u \), viz. Bab. \( yāti, 'myself' \) (ET. xviii. p. 27; xix. p. 525).

The relationship of the apparently fem. forms \( Ya-tum \), \( Ya-u-tum \) to \( Ya-u \) or \( Ya-'-u \) is obscure. The following attractive explanation

* Cf., however, Jastrow, JBL. xiii. (1899), pp. 110 ff., who takes -\( ya \), -\( yahu \) as afformatives.
has been offered by Sayce:—'By the side of the masculine Yaû we have the feminine Yaûtum, corresponding with a Hebrew יוהו. And just as יוהו is used in Hebrew for the masculine, so we find Yaûtum used not only as a feminine but also as a masculine name. That is to say, the absorption of the feminine Yaûtum, יוה, by the masculine יוה, יי, which is fully carried out in Hebrew, is in process of being carried out in the Babylonian of the Cassite age. How the goddess, who in so many cases possessed after all only a grammatical existence, came to be identified with the god, I have explained in my Lectures on the Religion of the Babylonians; a well-known example of the fact is the Ashtar-Chemosh of the Moabite Stone. While the Latin races, like the natives of Asia Minor, seemed to have craved for a female divinity, the Semites resembled the Teutonic populations in their tendency to believe only in a male deity' (ET. xviii. p. 27).

The transformation of an originally female deity into a male deity in the case of the Sabaean 'Athtar has already been noticed in note on 'the 'Ash tarts,' p. 59.*

Babylonian evidence for the worship of the deity Ya-u, Ya-u-tum (Yq, Ya-tum) appears, then, to be abundant during the First Dynasty period, and onward into the Kaššite period, though not earlier  i; and this fact lends high probability to the view of Sayce and Hommel that this deity was first introduced into Babylonia by the 'Amorite' immigrants, to whom the foundation of the First Dynasty seems to have been due: cf. Introd. pp. lvii ff.§

* Identification of Ya-u-tum, Ya-tum at one time with a female deity (Ištar) and at another with a male deity (Sin) is perhaps to be seen in Ištar-ya-ut-tum (Clay, op. cit.), Sin-ya-tum (Ranke and Thureau-Dangin, opp. cit.).

† The view put forward by the present writer in JTS. ix. p. 342, that the divine name Ya-un is to be found so far back as cir. b.c. 2700 in Lipûš-š-a-um (or E-a-um), the name of the daughter of Naram-Sin, a priestess of Sin, now appears to him to be too doubtful to be cited as evidence: cf. Rogers, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 94 u.1. On Ball's plausible explanation of Ya-u-amēlu in Gilgames-Epic, Tab. x. Col. iv. l. 17, as 'god-man,' cf. JTS. ix. pp. 341 f.

§ It is difficult to escape the impression that the reluctance of some scholars—especially Jewish scholars—to recognize the existence of the divine name Yahu or Yahweh in Babylonian documents of an early period is due to the feeling that such a fact, if true, must tend to derogate from the uniqueness of Israel's privilege as the sole recipient of the revelation implied by the name which has always been regarded as peculiarly the proper name of the God of Israel. In view of this tendency, and to guard against the misunderstanding of his own position, the present writer hastens to affirm that the views which he puts forward in this Addit. note as regards the use of the name in very early times among the people of Amurru, from whom Israel sprang, and in the following Addit. note as to the early identification of Yahweh with the moon-god Sin, do not, in his opinion, derogate in any respect from the uniquely new significance in which the name is related in Ex. 3 to have been revealed to Moses at Horeb. That revelation, with its new exposition of the name Yahweh as 'He who will become' (i.e. the God of progressive Revelation—'I will become what I will become'; cf. note on ch. 6 18, 'I will be with thee'), no less than the fulness of moral and spiritual meaning which Israel's prophets and psalmists were inspired to draw from the name in later ages, stands unparalleled in the history of Semitic religions; and is
EARLY IDENTIFICATION OF YAHWEH WITH THE MOON-GOD

(Cf. note on 'the Ashera,' ch. 6 25.)

We have seen, in the preceding note, how the name Yahu, Yahweh (Ya-u or Ya'-u, Ya-u-tum) comes into prominence at the period of the First Babylonian Dynasty; and evidence appeared to indicate that the knowledge and worship of this deity in Babylonia was due to the 'Amorite' immigrants, who may be supposed to have been the founders of the First Dynasty. It is a noteworthy fact that, while proper names compounded with the names of various Babylonian deities such as Šamaš, Marduk, Istar, etc., are frequent at this period, by far the largest number of such theophoric names are framed in honour of the Moon-god Sin. Among these, we have already noticed Sin-ya-tum, which appears to equate or identify Sin with Yatum or Yahweh. The occurrence has also been cited of the name Ya-ma­era-ah, 'Ya indeed is the moon,' i.e. the moon-god Sin.

Now the fact is significant that Gen. 14 makes Abraham, the traditional ancestor of Israel, a contemporary of Hammurabi ('Amraphel), the most celebrated king of the First Babylonian Dynasty. Biblical records, again, associate Abraham with Ur, the southern seat of the worship of Sin; and depict him as moving thence to Harran, the northern seat of the worship of the same deity, before his migration westward to the land of Canaan. Abraham’s movements are represented in the O.T. as dictated by the influence of a higher form of religion than was current at the time in Babylonia. His immediate ancestors are stated to have been polytheists, the worshippers of deities other than Yahweh (Josh. 24 2 E).

Harran* (Bab. Harrânu, ‘way or road’) appears to have been so named as the road from east to west, the gateway by which Babylonian trade and culture penetrated into and permeated the coast-land of Syria, including Canaan. It possessed a celebrated temple of Sin, called E. HUL. HUL, the antiquity of which is vouched for by Nabonidus, when he tells us that ‘since ancient days Sin, the great lord, had dwelt therein as the abode of his heart’s delight.’† Included wholly unaffected by the fact that the name itself appears to have been known and used in earlier times, and among a wider circle of peoples. Cf. on this point, Rogers, Relig. of Bab. and Asyr., p. 97; Driver, Genesis (Westm. Comm.), p. 409, Exodus (Camb. Bib.), p. ii. The document J (as distinct from E) regards the use of the name Yahweh as primeval; since it states, in Gen. 4 26, that in the days of Enosh, the grandson of Adam, ‘men began to call with the name of Yahweh,’ i.e. to use the name in invocations. Yet J by no means implies that the name was used in these early times with anything like the fulness of meaning which it attained when it became the covenant-name of Israel’s God.

* The Hebrew vocalization קָרָם Hārām is due to the objection which was felt, at the time of the creation of the Massoretic vowel-system, to the doubling of ה; but the ג form Xappav makes it certain that, at the time when Hebrew was a spoken language, the Hebrew and Babylonian forms of the name were identical. Cf. note on Harrim, p. 168.

† Cf. KB. iii. 2, p. 96; Ball, Light from the East, p. 208.
in the pantheon of Harran were Sarratu ('the Queen'), wife of the moon-god Sin, and Malkatu ('the Princess'), a title of the goddess Ištar. The names Sarratu and Malkatu are identical in form with the Hebrew Sarah and Milcah, who are related to have been respectively the wife and sister-in-law of Abraham, and to have joined in the migration from Ur to Harran (Gen. 11:27 ff.).

The two forms Abram, Abraham, point to Babylonian originals, the former to Abu-ramu, the latter to Abu-raimu (the Bab. -ra'imu being represented in Heb. by נ; cf. יא-ע-ץ-ני). But rāmu, ra'imū are variant participial forms of the verb rāmu (Heb. rāham), 'to love or show pity.' Abram, Abraham may therefore mean 'loving (merciful) father,' or 'the father is loving (merciful).'† It is at least very probable that the father here originally intended was the moon-god Sin. The attribute of love or mercy (denoted by this verb) is very characteristic of Sin. We may notice such proper names as Sin-ram-u-ri, 'Sin loves Ur (?); Sin-ram-im-Uruk (KZ), 'Sin loves (the city) Uruk'; Sin-ra'im-sēr, 'Sin loves the seed (offspring); (ilu) Sin-ri-me-ni, '(the god) Sin, is merciful.' The title 'Father' was especially appropriate to Sin. He was regarded as the father of the gods, the 'merciful, gracious father (a-bu rīm-nu-u ta-a-a-ru), in whose hand the life of the whole world rests.'§

Thus, without asserting that the origin of the figure of Israel's great ancestor is to be found in a personification of the Moon-god (which indeed it would be rash to do, in view of the fact that the name was known as a personal name at the period to which Abraham is assigned by the Biblical narrative; cf. footnote ‡), it may at least be maintained with some reason that the narrative of the movement which brought the ancestors of the Hebrews from Ur to Harran and finally to Canaan, appears to be bound up with the worship of Sin; just as it is manifestly bound up with definite adhesion to the worship of Yahweh, involving the repudiation of the 'other gods' which the ancestors of Abraham are traditionally recorded to have worshipped.

† This solution of the meaning of the two forms Abram, Abraham was first suggested to the present writer many years ago by Dr. Ball. More recently Ungnad has discovered the name Aba-rāma, Abam-rama in Bab. contract-tablets from Dilbat of the reign of Ammizaduga (cf. Beiträge zur Assyr. vi. 5, 1909, p. 60); and here, since the first element is an Accusative, it is probable that the meaning is 'he loves the father,' the name belonging to a series of Bab. names thus formed: cf. Ranke quoted by Gressmann, ZATW. xxx. (1910) pp. 2 f. Thus Ball's conclusion as to the pure Bab. origin of the name Abram, Abraham, and his connexion of the second element with the verb rāmu, are confirmed; but the possibility (though not the necessity) is opened that the Heb. name may be precisely equivalent to the Bab., and should be so interpreted. Langdon has also noted (on the basis of Ungnad's discovery) that the variants -ram, -ra'ham are explicable through the Bab. variants rāmu, ra'imū: cf. ET. xxii. (1909), p. 90.

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The fact which next calls for notice is the close connexion of Abraham with Be'er-sheba (Gen. 21:22–23 E, 21:32 J, 22:19 E), a connexion which is continued in the narrative of Isaac, where it is related that Yahweh appeared to Isaac on the night of his arrival at Be'er-sheba, revealing Himself as 'the God of Abraham thy father,' and re-affirming the promises made to Abraham (Gen. 26:23ff. J). It is from Be'er-sheba that Jacob sets out when he leaves his parents in order to go to Paddan-Aram (Gen. 28:10 J); and when, in much later life, he reaches Be'er-sheba on his way to Egypt, he offers sacrifice there 'unto the God of his father Isaac,' and is the recipient of a Theophany in which God once more repeats His covenant promises made to Abraham and Isaac (Gen. 46:1–5 E).

The name Be'er-sheba means 'Well of number Seven,' יֶבֶשֶׁת, 'Seven,' being here identical with the Babylonian (ilu) Sibitti '(god) number Seven,' who seems to have represented one aspect of the moon-god, the seven-day week as a lunar quarter: cf. Addit. note pp. 43f. The connexion which might naturally be inferred from these facts alone between בֵּית שֵׁבֶת Sheba, 'God Seven,' and Yahweh, is confirmed by the existence of the Israelite proper names בֵּית שֵׁבֶת, Elisesha', 'God is number Seven,' and especially יֶבֶסֶחֶד, Jehosheba', 'Yahu or Yahweh is number Seven.' We may recall, in this connexion, how Sabbath (the lunar quarter) and New Moon were observed in later times in connexion with the worship of Yahweh.

Coming now to Moses, we observe that the mountain at which God revealed Himself to him under the name of Yahweh, which is called Sinai in the narratives of J and P, must have been so called on account of an ancient connexion with the moon-god Sin, who gives His name to the whole district in which the mountain is situated ('the wilderness of Sin'). According to the account of the Theophany preserved by E, Πορευ (as the mountain is called in E and D) is already, prior to the revelation made to Moses, known as 'the mount of God' (Ex. 3:1), i.e. it was invested with sacred associations owing to its connexion with the worship of a particular deity—doubtless the god Sin. Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, who was a Kenite, is styled 'the priest of Midian,' i.e. the supreme interpreter of the religion of his tribe; and there can be little doubt that the God whom he worshipped was the God Yahweh, and that the central seat of this worship was Mount Sinai. No doubt the sacred associations of the place, and very possibly the conversation which Moses may have had with his father-in-law anent the character and worship of the tribal God, in a great measure prepared Moses' mind for the revelation which he was to receive.* It is interesting in this connexion to

* The view here put forward that Moses' mind may thus have been prepared, to some extent, for the Theophany, does not, of course, diminish the extraordinary and providential character of that Theophany, any more than does the fact that St. Paul was doubtless reflecting upon the argument of St. Stephen's speech, and
recall the account of the meeting of Moses with Jethro after the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt. Moses gave Jethro an account of the course of events, laying stress upon the fact that it was Yahweh who had brought about this great deliverance; and it is recorded that 'Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which Yahweh had done to Israel, in that he had delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians. And Jethro said, Blessed be Yahweh, who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of Pharaoh... Now know I that Yahweh is greater than all gods.' Jethro then proceeded to take 'a burnt offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God' (Ex. 18 su. JE).

Here no doubt we have a sacrificial meal, in token of communion of Israel and the Kenite in the worship of Yahweh, the God of Sinai (Sin's mountain).

These conclusions, with regard to the religion of the Kenites, are strengthened by consideration of the name of the North Arabian tribe Jeraḥmē'el, which was closely associated with the Kenites, as, subsequently, with the tribe of Judah: cf. Addit. note, p. 45. We may infer from 1 Sam. 3026-31 that the Jeraḥmē'elites were worshippers of Yahweh. David is recorded to have sent presents 'of the spoil of the enemies of Yahweh' to the elders of Judah, including 'those who were in the cities of the Jeraḥmē'elites and those who were in the cities of the Kenites.' 1 Chr. 2, which makes Jeraḥmē'el a descendant of Judah, i.e. an integral part of the tribe, gives, in vv. 25-33, the genealogy of the descendants of Jeraḥmē'el, and includes among them Aḥijah and Jonathan, two names which assert allegiance to Yahweh. The name Jeraḥmē'el is compounded of Yeraḥ-ma'el, 'the moon indeed is god.'* Cf. for the formation of the name, 'Abi-ma'el (noticed p. 247). Thus this tribe of Yahweh-worshippers bore a name which proclaimed their allegiance to the moon-god.

The description of the Theophany on Mount Sinai, after the ratification of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 249-11 J) is undoubtedly very ancient, and primitive in conception. It tells us that 'Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were a pavement of sapphire, and as the heaven itself for clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he put not forth his hand: and they beheld God, and did eat and drink.' It is difficult to escape the impression that the imagery is here suggested by the spectacle of the moon, riding at its full in the deep sapphire sky; and it can scarcely be objected that such an explanation involves a more crude and unspiritual conception than that which

the circumstances of the martyr's death, when he received the revelation upon the Damascus road, affect the character of that revelation as an interposition of Divine Providence. Each case illustrates the fact that God works through human agents in order to prepare the way for His signal manifestations in history.

* Cf. Hommel, Grundriss, i. p. 95, n.2.
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seems to be the only possible alternative, viz. that the writer pictured a revelation in human form.

It would be possible to make kindred speculations as to the ultimate meaning of other primitive descriptions of Theophanies—e.g. Jacob's ladder (Gen. 2812 E), the pillar of fire (Ex. 1331f. J, 1424 J), and the revelation to Moses on Sinai (Ex. 3317-347 J). Such speculations, however, would be at the best highly precarious, and are not needed in order to strengthen this argument for the primitive association of Yahweh with the Moon-god. It is sufficient to observe, in conclusion, that the opening words in which Yahweh proclaims His character to Moses in Ex. 346, יוהו יוהו יוהו יוהו 'Yahweh, Yahweh, a merciful and gracious God,' are identical in conception with the 'Merciful gracious Father' in the hymn to Sin already quoted (p. 250).

THE USE OF WRITING AMONG THE ISRAELITES AT THE TIME OF THE JUDGES.

(Cf. ch. 814 note.)

The earliest written documents from Canaan of which we have knowledge are the T.A. Letters written cir. 1400 B.C. by the petty rulers of Canaanite and North Syrian cities to their Egyptian suzerain Amenhotep III., and, subsequently, to his son and successor Amenhotep IV. or Achnaton (cf. Introd. p. lxix). These are written in cuneiform Babylonian upon clay tablets. Similar letters, belonging to the same period, have been unearthed at Lachish and Ta'anach. The earliest known documents written in the West Semitic language (using this term broadly to embrace Canaanite or Phoenician, Hebrew, Moabitic, and also early Aramaic) are very much later. From Southern Syria we have the Moabite stone, cir. B.C. 850; the Gezer agricultural calendar, probably not later than the eighth century B.C.; the Siloam inscription, cir. B.C. 700.* To these we may now add the ostraka from Samaria of the time of 'Omri and Ahab, i.e. the earlier part of the ninth century B.C., facsimiles of which have not yet (1918) been published; † and a limited number of inscribed seals and jar-handles, the most important of which is the seal from Megiddo.

* These inscriptions may conveniently be consulted in NHTS, pp. vii. ff. where further references are given.
† Cf. Driver in PEF. Qy. St., 1911, pp. 79 ff. ; and, for a summary account of the excavations at Samaria, based upon the reports in the Harvard Theol. Journ., 1908-1911, Handcock, The latest light on Bible Lands, pp. 245 ff.
inscribed 'Belonging to Shama', the servant of Jerobo'am,' i.e. very possibly Jerobo'am II., B.C. 783-743.* To Central Syria belongs the Phoenician inscription on fragments of a bronze bowl from the Lebanon, probably of the eighth century B.C.; Northern Syria offers the inscriptions of Kalumu (latter half of ninth century B.C.), Panammu, and Bar-rekub (latter half of eighth century B.C.), kings of Sam'al and Ya'di, and an inscription of Zakir, king of Hamath and La'ash, cir. B.C. 800.† These are written in the alphabetic script which was the prototype of the later West Semitic (Hebrew, Samaritan, and Syriac) and Central Semitic (Arabic) alphabets, as also of the alphabet of the Greeks.

It thus appears that we possess no direct evidence for the use of the alphabetic script in Syria earlier than the commencement of the ninth century B.C.; though its wide diffusion throughout Syria in the ninth and eighth centuries (as proved by the examples above cited) is a clear indication that its first employment must go back to a very considerably earlier date.

The fact that, in the fourteenth century B.C., the cuneiform script was regularly employed in Canaan in official correspondence with the kings of Egypt, and even (as exemplified by the Ta'anach Tablets[1]) in private correspondence between Canaanite governors, is not in itself a proof that the alphabetic script was unknown and unused even at this early period. The Canaanite practice in this respect may very well have been parallel to that which existed among the Hittites at about the same periods (as shown by Winckler's discoveries at Boghaz Keui); these latter employing the cuneiform script and Babylonian language together with their own hieroglyphic writing.

The reason why cuneiform Babylonian documents have survived from this early period, whereas no alphabetic West Semitic documents belonging to the same period are known to exist, may possibly be explained by the following facts. The cuneiform method of writing is the direct result of the material employed for written documents by the Babylonians and their imitators—this being normally the clay tablet, upon which, when in a damp condition, the characters were impressed with some form of angular stylus, before the document was baked or sun-dried. Thus, characters which were originally pictographs came to assume the form of conventional combinations of wedges or arrow-heads, the intractability of the writing material being unfavourable to the preservation of the linear


† Cf. CIS. I. i. 1, pp. 22 ff.; Ball, Light from the East, p. 238; Cooke, NSI. pp. 52 ff.

§ On these North Syrian inscriptions, cf. further pp. 173 f.

pictograph.* On the other hand, the West Semitic alphabetic script, also without doubt originally pictographic, has preserved its linear form because (though capable of being carved, like cuneiform, upon stone) it was never, apparently, written upon clay tablets, † but with a pen and ink upon skin or papyrus. But skin and papyrus necessarily perish in the course of ages when exposed to the damp climate of Syria; therefore, it is well within the range of possibility that such documents, written in the West Semitic script, may have existed at this early period and subsequently perished, while the cuneiform tablets survived. Indeed, the striking paucity of written documents from ancient Palestine may perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that skin or papyrus were commonly employed for writing purposes; and, if this was so, we may be sure that the script employed was the West Semitic alphabet, and not cuneiform. §

* The present editor has made experiments in the writing of cuneiform upon soft putty with a wooden penholder cut to a triangular shape, with one very sharp angle, the end of the 'stylus' being cut off flat. This is held through the full of the hand, as the bearded Assyrian scribe is holding his stylus in the bas-relief figured in Plate 1. (from Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, ii. Pl. 26). These experiments have proved to him that the wedges can only be formed successfully by impression without drawing, the variation in form being affected by differentiating the slope at which the stylus is applied to the putty—the short broad wedges being formed mainly by the end of the stylus, while the longer and narrower ones result from impressing the sharp edge of the stylus into the putty at an angle of approximately forty-five degrees, a still more acute angle (flatter application of the stylus) being necessary for the production of a very long wedge. Initial attempts to produce the latter by drawing with the stylus resulted in failure, as the surface of the putty tended to crumble, and the characteristic clear-cut impression was lost. The same difficulty would obviously stand in the way of drawing linear pictographs or West Semitic alphabetic characters upon this kind of material.

† The only known exceptions are the Aramaic docketts on cuneiform contract-tablets of the late Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenian periods, written, for the most part, upon the edges of the tablets, so that their contents might be seen at a glance when they were stacked upon a shelf. These have generally a rough appearance, and must have been difficult to draw upon the damp clay. Their existence certainly does not prove that it was usual to write the Aramaic script upon clay, but simply that it was convenient, in the later stages of the use of cuneiform writing, to have cuneiform documents so docketed. For these Aramaic docketts, cf. *CIS*, ii. i. Nos. 15 ff.; J. H. Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic Reference Notes* (*Vanderbilt Oriental Series*, 1902); A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. x. (1904), 'Business Documents of Murâshû sons of Nippur dated in the reign of Darius II,' pp. 5 ff.; Vol. viii. (1908), 'Legal and Commercial Transactions dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian Periods,' pp. 14 ff.; A. T. Clay, 'Aramaic Endorsements, etc.', in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (1908), Vol. i. pp. 286 ff.; *University of Pennsylvania Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section*, Vol. ii. No. i., 'Business Documents, etc.,' by A. T. Clay (1912), Plates 116-123.

§ This latter is very ill-suited for writing with a pen and ink. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Plate 54, represents a fragment of coloured
The scribes who wrote the T.A. Letters which came from Canaan were obviously more at home in using the West Semitic language than in using Babylonian. This fact is proved by their employment of Canaanite 'glosses' on Babylonian terms, or substitution of Canaanite words when at a loss for the Babylonian equivalent (cf. p. 166). If, however, they were familiarized with the idea of writing through their official correspondence in Babylonian, and could write their own West Semitic language in Babylonian cuneiform syllables, as is proved by the 'glosses,' and were accustomed to express themselves in West Semitic rather than in Babylonian, why has no discovery been made of documents in the West Semitic language, but written in cuneiform upon clay tablets? A reasonable inference is that no such documents existed; the West Semitic tongue, if written at all at this period, being written upon perishable materials such as skin or papyrus, in the alphabetic script.

There is a fact in connexion with the T.A. correspondence which may very possibly indicate that the West Semitic alphabet was actually known to, and normally used by, the Canaanite scribes of this period. It is probable that the secretary at the Egyptian court, whose business it was to read and interpret the Canaanite correspondence to the king of Egypt, was himself not a native Babylonian, or a specially trained Egyptian, but a Western Semite like those with whose correspondence it was his duty to deal. He was possibly a personal friend of ARAD-ljiba of Jerusalem, who regularly concludes his letters to the king with a postscript addressed to the secretary, begging him to impress upon the king's mind the main points with which his letters are concerned. Thus, in one of his letters he writes to him, 'Bring thou in plain words unto the King, my Lord. The King my Lord's entire territory is lost' (Knudtzon, 286). The phrase here rendered 'is lost,' in Babylonian ḫal-ḫa-at, occurs, in the same connexion, in another of ARAD-ljiba's letters (Knudtzon, 288, l. 52), and is glossed, for the sake of emphasis, by the Canaanite a-ba-da-at (Heb. יַעֲשָׂנָה). We can scarcely err in interpreting this emphasis as

pottery on which are a few cuneiform characters painted with a brush; but apart from this no instance is known to the present editor of the writing of the script otherwise than with a stylus upon clay or stone. In the bas-relief mentioned in an earlier footnote (cf. Plate 1.), which is part of a scene representing a bearded Assyrian scribe taking a memorandum of the spoil of war in cuneiform writing upon a tablet, this figure is accompanied by another who is writing with a pen upon a piece of curling material which obviously represents a scroll of leather or papyrus. The fact that this latter man is beardless marks him as a foreigner (possibly a eunuch); and it may be inferred therefore that he is writing in a non-cuneiform script—very possibly in the alphabetic Aramaic script. The two scribes are thus making a double entry in Assyrian and Aramaic respectively. The relief in question, which is of the seventh century B.C., is to be found in the British Museum, Kouyunjik Gallery, West Wall, Nos. 4-8. Nos. 15-17 in the same gallery evidently contain a continuation of the same series, and here too we have two similar scribes engaged in the same employment.
carrying the implication, ‘Do not let there be any mistake: when I say ḫalkat, I mean abadat’; and hence the inference is fair that the Egyptian king’s secretary, like his correspondent, was more familiar with West Semitic than with Babylonian.

Now among the T.A. correspondence there were found certain fragments of Babylonian legends which had apparently been written as exercises in the writing of the cuneiform script by the secretary of whom we have been speaking, or by some one else holding the same position. These exercises are written in the simplest possible form, ideograms and compound syllables (i.e. syllables both beginning and ending with a consonant) being avoided, and the words built up entirely with simple syllables (i.e. vocalic syllables or syllables containing one consonant only). In illustration we may quote the first few lines of the story of Nerigal and Ereskigal, which, apart from its occurrence among the T.A. Letters, would be unknown to us:—

\[
\begin{align*}
i-nu-ma & \ i-lu \ iš-ku-nu \ ki-e-ri-e-ta \\
a-na & \ a-ḥa-ti-šu-nu \ e-ri-eš-ki-i-ga-a-al \\
iš-pu-u-ru & \ ma-a-ar \ ši-ti-ip-ri \\
i-nu & \ u-lu \ nu-ur-ra-da-ak-ki \\
u & \ a-ti \ ul \ ti-li-in-na-a-ši \\
šu-u-up-ri-im-ma & \ li-il-gu \ ku-ru-um-ma-at-ki. \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘When the gods prepared a feast, To their sister Ereskigal They sent a messenger; “Even if we should descend to thee, Thou wouldst not come up to us; Therefore send and take thy portion.”’

A native Babylonian scribe, writing in normal fashion, would have expressed this as follows:—

\[
\begin{align*}
e-nu-ma & \ DINGIR.MEŠ \ iš-ku-nu \ ki-ri-ta \\
a-na & \ a-ḥa-ti-šu-nu \ (DINGIR) \ e-riš-ki-gal \\
iš-pu-u-ru & \ TUR \ ši-p-ri \\
i-nu & \ u-lu \ nu-ur-ra-da-ak-ki \\
\& \ a-ti & \ ul \ ti-li-in-na-a-ši \\
šup-rim-ma & \ li-lu \ ku-ru-ma-at-ki. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Here we give the ideograms DINGIR.MEŠ = Bab. ilāni, TUR = Bab. mār, in Sumerian form in order more clearly to illustrate the normal Babylonian method of using ideograms.

The use of simple, as distinct from compound, syllables suggests that the scribe was accustomed to an alphabet rather than to a syllabary, the simple syllables being for him the equivalents of his own alphabetic signs. We say the equivalents, because it is obvious that the West Semitic alphabet, which has no signs to denote vowels, and which we are accustomed to regard as wholly consonantal, must really have been regarded—at any rate by its framers and earliest
users—as a simple syllabary, in which each consonantal sign carried the vowel which was appropriate to the word in which it was used.* In certain cases, e.g. in ga-a-ul for gal, ši-i-ip for šip, the T.A. scribe uses the opportunity afforded him by the Babylonian syllabary of expressing the vowel even in a closed syllable in which the vowel is short. He does this because the language is unfamiliar to him, and it is convenient to be able to employ a phonetic complement; and, in so doing, he anticipates the history of the development of the written vocalic system in Hebrew, which was simply the invention of a series of phonetic complements when the fact that Hebrew had become comparatively unfamiliar to the Jews necessitated such a course.

Be this as it may, we have definite evidence to prove that by the twelfth century B.C., i.e. during the early part of the period covered by the Book of Judges, papyrus was employed in Palestine as a writing material; and therefore, we must infer a form of writing other than cuneiform was known and used. The Egyptian envoy Wenamon (cir. B.C. 1114; cf. Introd. pp. xcvii ff.) mentions, among the presents shipped from Egypt in payment to Zakar-ba'al, king of Gebal, for timber from the Lebanon, five hundred rolls of papyrus.† It is evident, therefore, that this Phoenician king knew and valued a material which could only be employed for writing with pen and ink; and there is no reason to doubt that this writing was the ‘Phoenician’ alphabetic script. It is interesting to observe that, in the earliest known examples of this script to which we have already referred—the ostraka from Samaria belonging to the early ninth century B.C., the writing is not scratched or otherwise incised upon the sherds, but written in ink with a reed pen, in a free and flowing style.§

The evidence afforded by philological examination of the terms employed in Bib. Heb. in connexion with writing is as follows.

The ordinary Heb. verb which means ‘to write’ is kāthabh, the ground-significance of which is uncertain. This verb may be used of engraving upon stone (e.g. the two tablets of the ten commandments), or of writing with ink in a book. Other verbs which denote ‘to engrave’ are šzaraf, šzarath, šzaf:af; but the latter verb, as used in Isa. 30:8 (‘inscribe it in a book’), may have come to be applied to writing in ink. It is worthy of note that the ordinary Bab. and Assyr. verb ‘to write,’ šatāru, is not so used in Heb.; though the

* Thus, if a Western Semite read לְלַ, he did not—like modern learners of Hebrew—think of it as a mere series of consonants d-b-r, to which the addition of the vowels was a matter of guess-work aided by the context; but he thought of it as da-ba-rum if it happened to be the substantive meaning ‘word,’ or otherwise as the context dictated, the decision as to the precise vowel which the written sign carried being instinctive to a born user of the language, just as the decision as to a cuneiform sign-group, which, e.g., might have the different values đan, kal, or rib, was instinctive from its context to the practised reader of Babylonian.

† Cf. Breasted, A.R. iv. § 82.

participial form șo'rim, which is applied to a class of minor officials who had to do with the civil and military organization of the people, perhaps originally denoted 'scribes' or 'secretaries.'

Heb. șépher, 'missive, document, book,' is probably an ancient loan-word from Bab. šipru, 'missive, message,' which is derived from šápuru, 'to send;' and this very probably points to the Babylonian origin of the use of written documents among the Western Semites. Bab. šipru, however, never seems itself to denote the document or clay tablet on which the message was inscribed; the regular term for this being duppu. That the Heb. șépher came at a relatively early date, to denote a leather or papyrus document written in ink, and therefore in the alphabetic script, is clear from such a passage as Ex. 32:32 (prob. J) where Moses is pictured as petitioning God, 'Wipe me, prithee, out of thy book which thou hast written' (םהיה, יתק למשנה נב), the verb nāhā implying the wiping of something written in ink off a roll of papyrus or leather, and not the erasure of cuneiform characters from a clay tablet.

The Heb. m'gillā, 'roll,' from gālal, 'to roll' (sometimes coupled with șépher in the phrase 'the roll of a book') can, of course, only have been a document of papyrus or leather, written in ink. The term is earliest used of Jeremiah's roll (Jer. 36:2 ff.), written in the reign of Jehoiakim, cir. B.C. 600. This was divided into d'liithōth (lit. 'doors'), i.e. perhaps rectangular 'columns,' or, less probably, 'leaves' (v. 23), and the writing is stated to have been in 'ink' (ד'יו, v. 18). Ezekiel's 'roll of a book;' 'written on the face and on the back' (Ezek. 2:10) is of nearly the same date. It is probably merely accidental that the term m'gillā does not occur at an earlier period. The regular Heb. term for a tablet for writing is ḫārah, which is most commonly applied to the two tablets of stone on which the ten commandments were inscribed. The term is used besides in Isa. 30:8—'Now go, write it on a tablet in their presence, and inscribe it in a book, that it may be for a future day, for a testimony for ever'; and in Prov. 3:3, 7; Jer. 17:1, in the figurative expression, 'the tablets of the heart.' In all these passages the reference is to the making of a permanent memorial; and the inference is that tablets, probably of stone, were used for such a purpose. No mention of the use of clay as a writing material occurs in the O.T.

Heb. hēret, 'stylus,' Isa. 8:1, must have been, in the first instance, a graving tool for cutting incised characters upon stone or metal: cf. the use of the same substantive to describe the tool with which Aaron 'fashioned' (תָּמָם) the molten bull, Ex. 32:4; and the Aram. verb ḫārat, 'to cut or scratch.' The term may, however, have come to denote a pen for writing with ink. The gillāyōn upon which the writing is to be done in Isa. 8:1 may have been a polished metal

* Vocalizing הְמֵבִּי, in place of חָמֵבִּי, 'for eternity.'
tablet (cf. R.V.), if (as is doubtful) the plur. form *gilyōnîm* in Isa. 3:23 denotes tablets of polished metal used as mirrors (from verb *gālā* in the sense 'display, reveal'); but comparison of the Talmudic *gilyōn*, which denotes the empty margin of a page or roll (from verb *gālā* in the sense 'be uncovered, and so, bare'); cf. Ar. *gala* suggests that Isaiah may have been thinking of the blank page of a book: cf. Εχρόν πανσιον καινον.* Heb. 'et, 'pen' or 'stylus,' was probably usually a reed-pen for writing in ink. Jeremiah, who himself, as we have seen, used a 'roll' for the writing of his prophecies, refers to 'the lying pen ('et) of the scribes'; and we may infer that his own pen (or rather, that of Baruch) would have been described as 'et. 'The pen of a rapid writer,' Ps. 45:1, ὧτε, would naturally be a reed. The 'et, however, might also be an iron stylus for incising characters upon stone or metal. Jeremiah, in speaking of the ineradicable character of Israel's sin, says that it 'is written with a pen of iron with diamond point' (Jer. 17:1): cf. also Job 19:24.†

So far, then, as Biblical evidence is concerned, we gather that written records in pre-exilic times were in special cases engraved on stone; but more commonly written in ink upon a roll or book of papyrus or leather. The earliest definite reference to the employment in a 'book' of writing which could be wiped off, and was therefore presumably in ink, is Ex. 32:32 (Moses' prayer), which, of course, does not prove anything more than that the J writer (if the passage is rightly assigned to him) in the ninth century B.C. supposed that Moses would think of a book written in ink. It is likely, however, that J may be embodying an oral tradition emanating from an indefinitely earlier period. On the other hand, we find no reference whatever to the use of clay tablets by the Israelites, and no hint that it is in any way reminiscent of the use of the cuneiform script in early times.

If, as we have seen from the allusion in the story of Wenamon, papyrus was used for writing in Palestine in the twelfth century B.C., it is at any rate very possible that the use of the alphabetic script may

* In either case, the terms are most probably used metaphorically, as is not obscurely hinted by the expression 'stylus of a man,' *i.e.* 'human stylus,' and by ν.3 which refers the symbolism to the begetting of a son who is to be named Maher-shalal-hash-baz. The *gillēyōn* of ν.1 is a metaphor, then, for 'the prophetess' of ν.3, who, if described as a blank page, may very possibly have been Isaiah's second wife, and not the mother of She'ar-yashub of ch. 7. On his explanation, the want of apparent connexion between the symbolism of ν.1 and that of ν.3 disappears; and there is no occasion to suppose that the *gillēyōn* was a metal tablet to be set up in some public place, or that the expression *hōret* ένος, 'stylus of a man,' means an ordinary stylus which would write 'common characters, intelligible to all' (as strangely explained by BDB, p. 355).

† Heb. 'et is probably connected with Bab. *ḥattu*, which usually means 'sceptre,' but also, no doubt, 'stylus' (the ideogram which expresses it may also denote 'scribe'). The cognate verb *ḥattu* means 'to cut into.'
have been well diffused throughout the country at the time of the Judges. How far the art of writing was generally understood and practised, or had only been mastered by a class of specially trained scribes, we cannot say. In the Gezer-calendar, however, in which the months of the year are distinguished by the agricultural operations with which they were associated ('The month of ingathering, the month of sowing, etc.'), it is generally recognized that we have the work of a peasant-farmer who was able to write in a fair and legible hand; and if such an accomplishment was possible for a peasant in the eighth century B.C. there is no valid reason for supposing that it would have been impossible for the boy captured by Gideon on some three or four centuries earlier.

The conclusion that the use of the alphabetic script may quite possibly have been well-diffused in Canaan at the time of the Judges is as much as this note is concerned to argue. The question how far back the script is to be traced is a much wider one, and is bound up with the problem of its origin—a problem which has been much debated, and upon which the paucity of evidence does not at present permit us to speak with any certainty. It can hardly, however, be disputed that there exist a few traces of the use of the West Semitic alphabet at a period far earlier than the earliest of the documents mentioned on pp. 253 f. The alphabetic letters discovered by Schumacher at Megiddo (cf. Tell el-Mutesellim, p. 109) are dated by Kit. (GVI. p. 120) between the sixteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. Some of the signs on fragments of pottery discovered by Bliss at Tell el-Hesay (Lachish) bear a remarkable resemblance to West Semitic letters (cf. A Mound of Many Cities, chap. ii.); and it is at least highly doubtful whether they can be dismissed as 'owners’ marks' merely. These pot-sherd.s were, with but one exception, found exclusively in the earliest strata of the mound, dated by Bliss not later than cir. 1600 B.C. *

As for the origin of the West Semitic script, few if any scholars at the present day would maintain de Rouge’s theory which attempted

* The inscription on an Egyptian statute of Hathor, discovered by Petrie at Serabit in the Sinai-peninsula (cf. Researches in Sinai, pp. 129 ff.), and dated by him cir. 1500 B.C., was discussed by Ball in PSBA., 1908, pp. 243 f., who took the writing as an early form of Phoenician, and read the first four characters as הֵלֵי, 'Athtar. The publication by Gardiner of further inscriptions from the same locality now shows that the characters are badly written Egyptian hieroglyphics: cf. Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, iii. (1916), pp. 1-21. Gardiner attempts to prove that these signs are the prototypes of an early Semitic alphabet of Egyptian origin, basing his argument upon the supposed occurrence of הָלָעה, Ba’alath, ‘Mistress’—the title of the goddess—which recurs in several of the inscriptions (reading from left to right, or from top to bottom); but his theory, though supported by Cowley and Sayce, depends too much upon assumption to carry weight as a plausible solution of the problem of the origin of the alphabet.
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to trace it to the Egyptian hieratic character. The theory of an origin from the Babylonian, or rather Sumerio-Akkadian, linear script which was the prototype of the cuneiform syllabary has been maintained by Ball, Hommel, Winckler, and others. In favour of this theory many attractive arguments have been adduced,* though in the present state of our knowledge these cannot be claimed

* Cf. especially Ball, The Origin of the Phoenician Alphabet, *PSBA.*, 1893, pp. 392-408; reproduced in revised and abridged form in *Light from the East*, pp. 232-238. Perhaps the most striking instances of close resemblance in form and sound between the linear Babylonian and West Semitic characters are the following. The Sumerian sign ZI, ZIDA, ZIDE, Bab. Zitu (cf. Heb. שד, Greek Ζηρα) probably represents a flowering reed. There being no consistent differentiation between \(x\) and \(s\) in old Babylonian, the difference between the West Semitic sounds seems to have been effected by taking the upper part (flower) of the reed for \(\mathfrak{y}\), and the lower part (a leaf) for \(\mathfrak{y}\). The Sumerian sign GAM (meaning, according to Babylonian lexicographers šaddu 'to bow down,' and representing some bowed or bent object, conceivably a broken reed) is practically identical in form with the West Semitic Gimel. Gimel corresponds to the Greek Γαμα, a form of the name which is not to be regarded as a modification of an original Γαμα (as suggested by Bevan, *EB.* 5360), but rather represents a more primitive form of the name: cf. Ar. גים. But the Sumerian GAM may also have been pronounced GAMMA: cf. DUG, DUGGA; IL, ILLA; etc. The Heb. name Gimel 'camel' may then be taken to be a later modification of the name GAM, due at once to the similarity in sound and to the fancied resemblance of the sign to the head and neck of a camel. If the names Ζηρα, Γαμα really find their origin not in West Semitic but in Sumerio-Akkadian, the linear Babylonian theory of the alphabet may well be regarded to be as good as proved.

We can, of course, argue nothing from such names of the alphabet as happen to be Semitic words of known meaning; since these may conceivably have been bestowed at a relatively late date in the history of the alphabet (we have already argued that the name Gimel is probably later than GAM or GAMMA). Thus the fact that \(\mathfrak{y}\) bears the name רֶא 'head,' and not the Canaanite or Hebrew name רָא, while it suggests the Bab. רֶא, is more probably to be explained from the Aram. רֶא; the fact being well established that it was the Aramaean development of the alphabet which was the parent of the Hebrew square character—the kēthāk ḫaṣṣārī 'Assyrian (i.e. Mesopotamian) script'—rather than the Phoenician development which resulted in the Samaritan script. 'Pā, the Greek form of רָא, may be compared with Ar. רד, and with Sumerian RU, the name of the triangular character which is practically identical with the early West Semitic רָא. But the Sumerian sign for RU may also bear the value DA, just as רָא and דָּלֶת are nearly identical in form in early West Semitic—a fact which suggests that רָא and דָּלֶת may have had a common origin, and also that DA (for DAL? cf. Ar. דל) may have been the original name for the latter letter, this being later on semiticized into the word of known meaning דָּלֶת 'door.'

A point in favour of the linear Babylonian theory which should not be overlooked is the fact that we have actual evidence, in the old Persian cuneiform writing, of the utilization of the cuneiform script for alphabetic purposes. On the manner in which the syllabary may have been gradually adopted so as to form an alphabet, cf. Ball, *op. cit.*, and also the facts which we have noticed above (p. 257) as to the simplification of the syllabary by a Canaanite scribe *cir.* 1400 B.C.
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actually to amount to a demonstration. Most recently Sir Arthur Evans has attempted to prove (Scripta Minoa, vol. i. 1909) that the Minoan script discovered by him in his excavations at Knossos in Crete is closely connected with the West Semitic alphabet; and this writer therefore argues for a Mediterranean origin for the alphabet, holding it to have been introduced into Canaan by the Philistines and other kindred sea-peoples who invaded and settled in Palestine at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the twelfth centuries B.C. This theory assumes the doubtful position that there is no trace of the use of the alphabetic script in Canaan prior to the thirteenth century B.C.; and, while ignoring the striking parallels, both in form and sound, between the linear Babylonian and certain of the West Semitic letters, draws similar parallels between the Minoan and West Semitic scripts based on form only, the value of the Minoan characters being at present undetermined.* Evans also fails to take account of the possibility that such resemblances as may be traced between the Mediterranean and West Semitic scripts may conceivably be due to a common dependence, whether direct or indirect, upon linear Babylonian. ‡

8. 29-32. R"s introduction to the story of Abimelech.

This short section forms a necessary introduction to the story of Abimelech contained in ch. 9. As is noticed elsewhere (cf. p. 268), ch. 9, though derived from the old composite narrative and forming part of R"s history of the Judges, must have been cut out of the book by R", who substituted the short summary 8 33-35 in place of it. We infer therefore that the story of Abimelech, together with chs. 16-21, was re-inserted into the book by the final editor R"; and if this is so, this editor must have been responsible for 8 29-32 introducing ch. 9, apart from which the information which these verses contain is superfluous to the narrative. The phraseology of 8 29-32 points to the influence of P: cf. יִשְׁבַּב וְאֵל יִרְכָּב, 'that came out of his loins,' an expression elsewhere (Gen. 46 26, Ex. 1 5 †) peculiar to P; קִבְשַׁב מְבֹהֵב, 'in a good old age,' Gen. 15 16 (late editorial interpolation), Gen. 25 8 P, 1 Chr. 29 28 †.

* This criticism applies equally to Petrie's recently published theory of the evolution of the alphabet, by survival, out of a large and widely diffused signary which had, according to him, its origin in prehistoric Egypt, and drew accretions from the whole of the nearer East (The Formation of the Alphabet, 1912, published as Vol. III. of The British School of Archaeology in Egypt Study Series). The theory really shows how deceptive arguments from form are when divorced from value.

‡ Thus, to take one illustration only, the coincidence (if such it be) is at any rate very remarkable that the Cypriote sign PA, noted by Evans (op. cit. p. 1, n. 8; p. 71, no. 4) and compared by him with the same sign in Minoan, is absolutely identical in form and bears the value PA in Sumerio-Akkadian.
29. R\textsuperscript{F} (E) And Jerubb\textsuperscript{a}al the son of Joash went and dwelt in his house. 30. And Gide\textsuperscript{on} had seventy sons, that came out of

Naturally R\textsuperscript{F} must have been dependent for his facts upon the original narrative introductory to the story of Abimelech. This probably belonged, like the main narrative of ch. 9, to E; notice the name Jerubb\textsuperscript{a}al in v. 29, as in ch. 9 1.2.5a.5b.16.19.34.57.

8. 29. went and dwelt, etc. Logically, we should have expected this fact to have been narrated before the account of the making of the Ephod in vv. 24 ff. There is a reason, however, for the order of events. The Israelites (v. 22) ask Gide\textsuperscript{on} to become their king. He refuses this (v. 23), but at the same time takes the opportunity (v. 24) of asking for the ear-rings of their spoil; and it is natural that this should immediately be followed by the account of the use to which the gold was put, and the abuse which the Ephod became. It is not until these facts have been narrated that the writer gets the opportunity of stating that (instead of accepting the offer of the kingship) the hero retired into private life, which is what the statement of v. 29, 'he went and dwelt in his home' (or, as suggested by Bu., יבש יבש, 'and returned to his home') amounts to; and this reference is a natural introduction to the account of his becoming the founder of a large family (vv. 30-31). To conclude, therefore, that v. 29 'stands singularly out of place' (Mo.), and 'originally closed the narrative in vv. 1-3, or that in vv. 4-21' (Cooke) entirely misses the point. The verse might immediately have followed v. 23, but could not have preceded it.

30. seventy sons. The same number is given for the sons of A\textsuperscript{h}ab, 2 Kgs. 10 1. The sons and the grandsons of the Judge 'Abdon are said to have been seventy in all, Judg. 12 14. In the inscription on the monument erected by Bar-rekub, king of Ya\textsuperscript{d}i, in honour of his father Panammu (cf. p. 173) it is stated that seventy brethren (or kinsmen) of Panammu's father Bar-\textsuperscript{u}r perished in an insurrection. Adoni-s\textsuperscript{e}dek boasted that he had seventy captive kings picking up crumbs under his table, Judg. 17. We can only conclude that in all these cases seventy represents a large round number.

that came out of his loins. Heb. y\textsuperscript{arekh} (properly 'hip' or 'thigh') is here used of the seat of procreative power: so also (in addition to the other occurrences of the same phrase, cited above) in the phrase (preparatory to the calling for a specially solemn oath) 'Put thy hand under my y\textsuperscript{arekh}', Gen. 24 29 J, 47 39 J, where the reference is probably 'to an oath by the genital organs, as emblems of the life-giving power of the deity—a survival of primitive religion': Skinner, Genesis (ICC.), p. 341. The force of the expression as used in our passage is that these sons belonged to Gide\textsuperscript{on}, his clan by male descent, in contrast to Abimelech, mentioned in the next verse, who belonged
his loins: for he had many wives. 31. And his concubine who was in Shechem, she also bare him a son; and he made his name Abimelech. 32. And Gideon the son of Joash died in a good old age, and was buried in the sepulchre of Joash his father, in 'Ophrah of the Abi'ezrites.

by birth to the clan of his mother: cf. note ad loc. Robertson Smith remarks that the term fa§hig 'thigh' denotes a clan in the Palmyrene inscriptions and elsewhere in Arabic literature, and contrasts it with ba'n 'belly' or 'womb' which is similarly used; arguing that 'the "thigh" or clan of male descent, stands over against the "belly" or clan of mother's blood': cf. Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia, p. 38.

31. his concubine, etc. The connexion was not, according to the custom of the time, an irregular one. It seems to have been a marriage of a type well known among the early Arabians, in which the wife does not become the chattel or property of her husband, but is known as his sadîka* or 'female friend,' and remains with her own clan, being visited by her husband from time to time. Samson's marriage with his Philistine wife (ch. 14) was very possibly of the same character. In such cases, the children of the marriage belong to the wife's clan—a fact which has an important bearing on the events related in ch. 9: cf. note on v. 2 'your bone, etc.' On sadîka-marriage, cf. Robertson Smith, op. cit. supra, pp. 93 ff.

he made his name. Heb. נַעֲמֹת, lit. 'he set or appointed his name.' This somewhat peculiar usage (in place of the normal נִקְנָה 'he called') is seen again in 2 Kgs. 17 34, Neh. 9 7; cf. Dan. 1 7.

Abimelech. The name, which probably means 'the (divine) king is father' (sc. of the bearer of the name) is borne by the king of Gerar in Gen. 20 2 ff. E, 26 1 ff. J. Abi-milki (which is identical) is the name of the governor of Tyre who figures in the T.A. Letters cir. 1400 B.C., and of a prince of Arvad who was tributary to Ashurbanipal: KB. ii. pp. 172 f. On the use of the element Milek or Milk in proper names, cf. KAT. 3 pp. 469 ff.; Baethgen, Beiträge, pp. 37 ff.; Gray, Hebrew Proper Names, pp. 115 ff.; La., ERS. 5 pp. 101 ff.

32. in 'Ophrah, etc. Reading נַעֲמֹת in place of the Absolute form נְעָמֹת. It is possible, however, that the original narrative may have read 'in 'Ophrah' simply, and that the definition 'of the Abi'ezrites' was added subsequently as a gloss from v. 24, without altering נַעֲמֹת into the Construct State.

* The form sadîka given by Cooke is unknown in this sense. He seems to be making a confusion with sadâk, which denotes a gift given by the husband to the wife on the occasion of marriage.
33. And, when Gideon was dead, the children of Israel turned back, and went a whoring after the Ba'als, and made Ba'al-berith their god. 34. And the children of Israel did not remember Yahweh their god, who had delivered them out of the hand of all their enemies round about. 35. And they did not show kindness to the house of Jerubba'al (Gideon), according to all the goodness which he had shown to Israel.

8. 33-35. **RE's summary in place of the story of Abimelech.**

These verses, which are clearly marked by their phraseology as due to RE, give a summary account of Israel's apostasy based upon ch. 9 (cf. vv. 33b, 35a), and evidently intended to take its place; since, if ch. 9 had stood in RE's book, such a summary would have been superfluous. Cf. further Introd. to ch. 9.

8. 33. when Gideon was dead. Cf. 2:6-10 E, 2:19, 4:1 RE. According to the main editor's philosophy of history, apostasy regularly follows after the death of a judge.

went a whoring. Cf. 2:17 note.

the Ba'als. Cf. 2:13 note.

Ba'al-berith. Cf. 9:4. The title means 'Lord or owner of the covenant.' In 9:46 El-berith, 'God of the covenant,' is used. Whether this deity was thought to preside over a league of Canaanite cities, or whether the 'covenant' was between him and his worshippers, cannot be determined. Cf. Cheyne, EB. 404 for different views.

Ba'al-bérith, according to ch. 9, was the local Ba'al of the Canaanites at Shechem. This narrative, whence RE derives his information, says nothing about a general defection of the Israelites after the Ba'al; the fact being quite clear that the inhabitants of Shechem were Canaanites, and that Abimelech obtained and held sway over them in virtue of his Canaanite descent. Cf. p. 267.

35. did not show kindness, etc. A summary reference to the facts narrated in 9:1-21. Here again RE misses the point of the narrative, and assumes that the execution of Jerubba'al's seventy sons and the appointment of Abimelech as king were due to the Israelites.

Jerubba'al (Gideon). RE (or possibly some later hand) adds the name Gideon in order to make the fact clear that the two names refer to one and the same man. Cf. the similar insertion in 7:1.

9. 1-57. **The story of Abimelech.**


This ancient narrative is of the highest interest on account of the light which it throws upon the circumstances of the early stages of Israel's occupation of Canaan. After the death of Gideon or Jeruba'al, the hegemony which he had exercised over his own clan at 'Ophrah and (as we gather from this narrative) over the neighbouring
Cana'anite city of Shechem, passed in natural course to his family. Thus we see Israelite and Canaanite living side by side in a relationship of mutual toleration if not of friendship. Both races alike are sufferers from the incursions of the Midianites from without; and, when a deliverer such as Jerubba'al arises, both races thereafter are willing to recognize his right to exercise some form of chieftainship or government. Distinctions of race are, however, by no means obliterated, as subsequent events prove. Abimelech, half-Canaanite by birth, is wholly Canaanite by tribal custom: cf. note on v. 2. He uses his racial connexions to incite the members of his mother's clan at Shechem in his own favour; and by their aid he wipes out (with one exception) all the other sons of Jerubba'al who by birth were Israelites, and secures a short-lived kingship over Shechem and the neighbouring district. The statement (v. 22) that Abimelech was prince 'over Israel' seems to belong to the point of view which regards Israel at this time as already forming an organic unity, and supposes that the authority exercised by the Judges was general, and not simply local. The fact that Israelites as well as Canaanites were included under Abimelech's sway is, as Mo. notices, to be inferred from v. 65; but it is clear that the framer of the narrative misses, or at least fails to pay due regard to, the fact that Abimelech was essentially a Canaanite, who used his Canaanite connexions in order to secure his local kingship.*

Evidence of the employment of more than one source may be noticed in the middle part of the narrative. As Mo. points out, the growth of hostilities between Abimelech and the men of Shechem is traced to two distinct causes. According to v. 23, God sends an evil spirit between Abimelech and the citizens of Shechem, which causes these latter to deal treacherously with their ruler. In vv. 26-29, however, a new situation is created by the arrival on the scene of one Ga'al and his family. These new-comers stir up the racial pride of the blue-blooded Shechemites against the half-breed Abimelech, and thus foster a revolt. Clearly this second cause is distinct from, and not cumulative upon, the first. In v. 26b it is stated that Abimelech was informed of the treacherous aggressions of the Shechemites; and the expectation is created that he will immediately take action. Instead of this, however, the narrative of Ga'al intervenes, and is continued down to v. 41; at which point, after Ga'al's defeat by Abimelech and subsequent expulsion from Shechem, he disappears from the narrative, which is now concerned (vv. 42 ff) with the reprisals taken by Abimelech upon the Shechemites as a whole.

* Cooke misapprehends this point when he states (p. 98) that 'at Shechem the native Canaanites were in the ascendant, and yet there was a sufficiently strong Israelite element in the place to raise Abimelech to the position of ruler.' Yet he rightly recognizes (p. 97) that, in the sadāha marriage, 'the children remained with their mother and belonged to her tribe,' and that 'the narrative seems to imply that the woman was a Canaanite' (p. 97).
It will be noticed that \( v.42^b \), 'and they told Abimelech,' repeats \( v.25^b \), 'and it was told Abimelech,' with but trifling variation. We may plausibly infer that the main narrative, interrupted after \( v.25 \), is resumed by \( R^b \) in \( v.42^b \). Probably \( v.42a \), 'And, on the morrow, the people went out into the field,' represents the redactor's attempt to make what follows read as a continuation of the Ga' al-narrative. It anticipates \( v.43^b \), 'the people came forth from the city,'—an event which clearly took place after and not before Abimelech had laid his ambush as recorded in \( v.43a \).

We conclude, then, with Mo., that the Ga' al-narrative contained in \( vv.26-41 \) is derived from a distinct source. The rest of the narrative appears to be homogeneous; and, except for a few later additions (cf. notes on \( vv.16-20, v.22 \)), may well have been derived, as Mo. supposes, from a single ancient source.*

The source of the main narrative appears to be E: cf. the use of the name Jerubba'al, which elsewhere belongs to E (cf. p. 178); 'ĕlōhîm 'God,' and not 'Yahweh,' \( vv.7,23,56,57 \); 'with truth and with integrity' (דד רעה ב א ר ו מ \( vv.16,10 \)), a phrase which only occurs elsewhere (in reversed order) in Josh. 2414 E; 'ămā 'bond-maid' \( v.18 \) (J's phrase is šıpkhā in the same sense); and, generally, the emphasis laid upon the moral that wickedness is sure to meet with its due punishment. If \( vv.1-25,42-57 \) were derived from E, the inference is natural that the Ga' al-fragment, \( vv.26-41 \), may have belonged to J; but of this we have no direct evidence, since phrases elsewhere characteristic of J appear altogether to be lacking. It is worthy of notice, however, that the expression of \( v.33 'thou shalt do to him as occasion serveth' \) ('as thy hand shall find,) occurs again in 1 Sam. 107 ('then do as occasion serveth') which belongs to J.

Ch. 9, like chs. 16-21, exhibits no trace of the hand of \( R^b \), and clearly did not enter into his pragmatic scheme, as outlined in ch. 2.6-3.8, and worked out in the histories of the 'major' Judges. That \( R^b \) had the story before him in the earlier composite narrative which he employed (the work of \( R^e \)) is proved, however, by the fact that he knew it, and composed a short summary (ch. 8.33-55) which was intended to take its place. For \( R^b \) Abimelech was very far from being a divinely appointed Judge. The narrative relating his reign had no interest in connexion with \( R^b \)'s religious philosophy of history, except as illustrating (from his point of view) a period of apostasy which could fitly be summarized in a few sentences. The re-insertion of the story into the Book of Judges must have been due to the last editor (\( R^b \); cf. note introductory to 8.25-30), who seems to have reckoned Abimelech among the Judges: cf. the reference in the introduction to the first of the 'minor' Judges, 10.14, whose insertion in the book appears to have been due to this editor (cf. note ad loc.).

* The attempts which have been made by Winckler, Bu., and No. to prove a more detailed analysis are not convincing; any more than is the argument of La. that the whole narrative is derived from a single source.
9.1. E And Abimelech the son of Jerubba’al went to Shechem unto his mother’s brethren, and spake unto them and unto all the clan of the house of his mother’s father, saying,

9.1. Shechem. The Roman Flavia Neapolis, and the modern Nàblus,* situated thirty miles north of Jerusalem in the fertile valley which runs east and west between Mt. ‘Ebal on the north and Mt. Gerizim on the south, forming an easy pass between the maritime plain and the Jordan valley. Placed at a point at which many important roads converge, the city must always have exercised considerable importance: cf. Smith, *HG.* pp. 332 ff. The name Shechem, denoting shoulder, probably refers to the position of the city on the watershed, 1870 feet above the Mediterranean.

The early history of the relations between Israelites and Cana’anites at Shechem is involved in great obscurity. The city was occupied, prior to the arrival of the ancestors of Israel west of Jordan, by the Cana’anite clan of the Bnè-Ḥamor. The natural advantages which it enjoyed rendered it the principal city of Central Palestine, and the earliest Israelite clans (the Patriarchs) gravitated thereto on their arrival in Cana’an, and lived on terms of friendship and alliance with the Bnè-Ḥamor (Gen. 12:6–7 J, 33:18 P, 33:19–20 E). These relations were broken by the treacherous aggressions of the Sime’on and Levi clans (Gen. 34†), which seem to have provoked such retaliation on the part of the Cana’anites of the district as decimated and dispersed these Israelite clans, the remnant of them seeking refuge in other parts of the land (Gen. 49:6–7 J). On the arrival of the Joseph-clans in Cana’an and their settlement under Joshua’, Shechem lay within the district which they overspread. North Israelite tradition recorded that the bones of Joseph were brought up from Egypt and buried in a plot of ground at Shechem acquired by purchase from the Bnè-Ḥamor (Gen. 33:19 E, 50:24–26 E, Ex. 13:10 E, Josh. 24:2 E); and according to a later tradition (Josh. 24:1 E) Shechem appears as the rallying-place of ‘all the tribes of Israel’ on the occasion of Joshua’s farewell charge. Thus we are probably justified in assuming that the early relations between the Joseph-tribes and the Bnè-Ḥamor were of a friendly character. We find, however, that, in the time of the Judges, Shechem is still in possession of the Benè-Ḥamor, the burghers or free-born ‘owners of Shechem’ (דְּבֵשׁ בְּנֵי חָמָר) clearly belonging to this Cana’anite clan: cf. 9:28 note. The services rendered

* With Nàblus as the Arabized form of Neapolis, cf. Yerablus for Hierapolis.
† This narrative is clearly a thinly-veiled description of tribal relations between Israelites and Cana’anites, at first friendly, then hostile. The two sources employed in the chapter bear respectively the characteristics of J and P; but there are difficulties in the way of correlating the J narrative with the main document J: cf. Skinner, *Genesis (ICC.),* pp. 417 f.
2. 'Prithee speak in the ears of all the citizens of Shechem, "Which is better for you, that seventy men should rule over you, even all the sons of Jerubba'al, or that one man should rule over you? Remember also that I am your bone and your

by Jerubba'al in ridding the country of the Midianite pest benefited Israelite and Canaanite alike, and the Bene-Ḥamor at Shechem were thereafter willing to acquiesce in Israelite predominance in the district as represented by Jerubba'al and his sons. Abimelech's rise to power was achieved through the stirring up of racial antipathies between Canaanite and Israelite; but the pure-blooded Bene-Ḥamor were not able for long to acquiesce in the domination of the half-bred upstart ruler, and the friction which ensued resulted in the destruction of Shechem, as related in our narrative.

When next we hear of Shechem, it is an Israelite town in possession of the Joseph-tribes, and still holds the position of importance which was the natural outcome of its physical advantages; so that it appears in 1 Kgs. 12 as the city to which 'all Israel' resorts in order to anoint a successor to Solomon. The tradition in Gen. 48 where the aged Israel on his death-bed bequeaths to Joseph one shoulder (Heb. Shechem) above his brethren, which he claims to have captured from the hand of the Amorite with his sword and with his bow—may have arisen no earlier than the time of David or Solomon, as a northern Israelite explanation of the way in which the most favoured spot in Canaan came into the possession of the Joseph-tribes—a special gift made by the common father of the Israelite clans to his most favoured son. The contrast, however, with the other E tradition noticed above—which speaks of rights at Shechem acquired by purchase from the Bene-Ḥamor—is very striking—and indeed inexplicable. Cf. further Introd. p cxii.

The fact that Shechem was not easily defensible against an outside foe rendered it unsuitable as the capital of the organized kingdom of Northern Israel; and it was for this reason that Omri built Samaria on a site five miles to the north-west which his military eye selected as peculiarly adapted for a fortified capital city.

2. the citizens of Shechem. Heb. יָלְדֵי שְׁכֶמֶן, lit. the owners of Shechem. The same term is used of the citizens of Jericho (Josh. 24:11 E), of the high places of Arnon (Num. 21:28 E*), of Gibe'ah (Judg. 20:6), of Ke'lah (1 Sam. 23:11,12), and of Jabesh of Gile'ad (2 Sam. 21:12).

your bone and your flesh. The same expression is used in Gen. 29:14 J, 2 Sam. 5:1, 19:12,13 (حرف א' 13,14); cf. Gen. 2:25 J. As belonging to

* Here, however, is almost certainly corrupt. We need a verb in place of יָלְדֵי יָלְדֵי—possibly יָלְדֵי 'It (the fire) hath consumed the high places, etc.' και κατατεθευειν seems to have read יָלְדֵי or יָלְדֵי.
9. 4-5. 6.] THE BOOK OF JUDGES

flesh.”’

3. So his mother’s brethren spoke concerning him in the ears of all the citizens of Shechem all these words: and their heart inclined after Abimelech, for they said, ‘He is our brother.’

4. And they gave him seventy shekels of silver from the temple of Ba’al-berith; and Abimelech hired therewith worthless and reckless men, and they followed him.

5. And he came unto his father’s house at ‘Ophrah, and slew his brethren the sons of Jerubba’al, even seventy men, upon one stone: but Jotham the youngest son of Jerubba’al was left, because he hid himself.

6. And all the citizens of Shechem and all Beth-millo

his mother’s clan and not to his father’s (cf. 8 31 note on ‘his concubine, etc.’), Abimelech could claim that he was of one race with the Shechemites (the Bnê-Ḥamor; cf. v. 26), in contrast to Jerubba’al’s other seventy sons who were of Israelite descent (cf. 8 30 note on ‘that came out of his loins’).

4. from the temple, etc. The temple, like that at Jerusalem (cf. 1 Kgs. 7 51, 14 26, 15 18, al.), contained a treasury in which were accumulated the gifts and fees of worshippers. Possibly also it may have been the repository of public treasure: cf. the ὑπωθοδυμός of the Parthenon at Athens, and the aerarium of the Temple of Saturn at Rome (cited by Stu.

Ba’al-berith. Cf. 8 33 note.

worthless. Heb. ṭēḵîm, lit. ‘empty.’ Cf. ch. 11 5 note.

reckless. Heb. poḥâṣim, a participial form, occurs once again in Zeph. 3 4; a cognate subs. poḥâṣâth is found in Jer. 23 32; and subs. poḥâz in Gen. 49 4. In the latter passage it is said of Re’üben that he is poḥâz (“wantonness,” i.e. “wanton” or “unbridled”) like water. The cognate root in Ar. means ‘to be insolent,’ and in Aram. ‘to be lascivious’—facts which suggest that the original idea may have been to overpass bounds, be uncontrolled (cf. the comparison with water). Cf. Hiph’il hiphîṣ in Ecclus. 8 2, 19 2.

5. upon one stone. The statement (repeated in v. 18) is striking. Possibly the stone may have been the official place of execution. The great stone used by Saul for the slaughter of cattle in conformity with sacrificial rule (1 Sam. 14 33 f.) is compared by Mo., who thinks that ‘the very conformity to the precautions taken in slaughtering animals in the open field shows that the motive was to dispose of the blood, in which was the life of his victims, in such a way that they should give him no further trouble. It is an instructive instance of the power of animistic superstitions.’

6. Beth-millo. Cf. v. 20. A place of this name in the kingdom of Judah is mentioned in 2 Kgs. 12 20, 22 21. The Millo at Jerusalem
assembled themselves together, and went and made Abimelech king by the terebinth of the standing-stone which was in Shechem. And men told Jotham, and he went and stood on the top of Mount Gerizim, and lifted up his voice, and cried, and said to them,

‘Hearken unto me, Shechem’s citizens,
That so God may hearken unto you.

formed part of the fortifications of the City of David; and if the word is rightly explained as from the causative stem of the verb *mālā* ‘to be filled,’ it must be understood as meaning something which fills or banks up, and so possibly an *earthwork*; cf. Talmudic *mūlīthā*, ‘filled-up ground’; Bab. *mulū*, ‘earthwork.’ Probability, however, favours the view that the Jerusalem Millo was more than a simple earthwork—rather, perhaps, a massive fortification on the northern side of the city where such protection was specially needed. If, in our passage, Beth-millo has some such sense as ‘House (place) of the fortress,’ it may have been identical with ‘the Tower of Shechem’ (apparently distinct from the city of Shechem) mentioned in v. 6.

the standing stone. Reading *הנני* with most moderns, in place of *גֶּשֶׁם* which only occurs again in Isa. 29:3 in the sense of a *palisade* or *entrenchment*.

Possibly the *massēbāh* may have been the stone which tradition stated to have been set up by Joshua (Josh. 24:26 E).

7. stood on the top, etc. Not actually on the summit, which is nearly 1000 feet above Shechem; but on one of the lofty precipices overhanging the city (cf. Thomson, *L.B.* p. 473) from which he was able to make himself heard from below, and at the same time to beat a safe retreat after speaking.

8-15. The parable is intended to contrast the position of Jerubba’al and his sons with that of the mere adventurer Abimelech, and to predict that nothing but misfortune can result from the course which has been taken by the Shechemites. The olive, the fig-tree, and the vine, which are invited in succession to accept the kingship, represent men who, like Jerubba’al, possess a status which has been won by service for the public good. These have business more important than the acceptance and exercise of the office of kingship. On the other hand, the buckthorn, a low-growing and worthless shrub, is unequal to the task of affording shelter to the trees; but only too likely to be the cause of a forest-fire which may end in the destruction of all.

The parable is cast into a rhythmical form which is very well marked. After the summons to attend (v. 7b), which forms a couplet of 3-beat stichoi, there follow four strophes, corresponding to the
applications to the four different trees. The first of these contains six stichoi; the second and third, five stichoi; and the fourth, seven stichoi. Most of the stichoi contain 3 beats; but stichos 3 of strophe 1 contains 4 beats, and in each strophe the response of the tree is given in a long stichos which exhibits 5, or 2 + 3 beats (in strophe 4 perhaps 6, or 3 + 3, beats). The English rendering is intended, as nearly as possible, to reproduce the rhythm of the original.*

8. Time was... set out. The Heb. says literally 'Going they went,' i.e. the action is introduced with some emphasis, much as we might say, 'Once upon a time the trees went.'

the olive. The olive, the fig, and the vine are the staple products of Palestine, upon which its agricultural wealth and prosperity mainly depend. Cf. G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. pp. 299 ff.

9. Shall I leave. Lit. 'Am I to have left,' the Perfect tense being idiomatically used in Heb. 'to express astonishment at what appears to the speaker in the highest degree improbable': cf. Driver, Tenses, § 19.

whereby, etc. Reading נ in place of נ with ו in ג י, ו 'qua,' כ ח ו ו 'from which,' and omitting פי. This latter, which spoils the rhythm by causing one beat too many, has obviously been introduced from ג to, 'which rejoiceth God and men.' The Imperfect ו is impersonal; and is therefore rendered 'men honour.'

men honour God. The reference is to the use of oil in sacrifice and worship.

to wave. The Heb. נא denotes the swaying motion of the

* The scheme adopted above agrees in nearly every detail with that offered by Sievers (Metrische Studien, i. pp. 388 f.), though worked out independently. The only difference is that Sievers makes the response of the trees in each case a 6-beat line; in ג by accepting נ as it stands, and in ג by inserting נ after נ ל ל ל. Cf. also Rothstein, Z. A. xxvi (1914), pp. 22 ff.

† The form נ is very anomalous. The most probable explanation of it is that נ is the Perfect Kal, and that the Kámeş of the first syllable, falling between the tone and the countertone, is weakened into ה Kámeş through loss of emphasis: so G-K. § 63 k. The view that the form should be vocalized as a Hiph'îl or Hoph'al is less probable.
Then said the trees to the fig-tree,  
"Come thou, reign over us."

But the fig-tree said to them,  
"Shall I leave my sweetness,  
and my goodly produce,  
And go to wave over the trees?"

Then said the trees to the vine,  
"Come thou, reign over us."

But the vine said to them,  
"Shall I leave my must,  
which rejoiceth God and men,  
And go to wave over the trees?"

branches in the wind; cf. Isa. 7:2. This is 'represented as a gesture of authority' (Mo.).

must. Heb. التות, which is frequently coupled with דגן, 'corn,' and ייפוח, 'fresh oil,' as a natural product of the land, seems commonly to denote the grape-juice when first trodden out from the grapes. In Joel 2:24, Prov. 3:10 it is mentioned as filling the vats; and the term יקב, 'vat,' denotes the trough into which the juice flowed after being trodden out in the gath or 'wine-press'; cf. ch. 6:11 note. The connexion in which التות is used in the present passage ('which rejoiceth, etc.') implies that it is regarded as an exhilarating beverage; and this suggests that the term may have been used of wine in some degree fermented, as it certainly is in Hos. 4:11, where it is coupled with 'whoredom' and 'wine' (יין) as something which 'taketh away the heart' (i.e. the intellect). The fact is well known that the ancients were in the habit of making a light wine by checking the process of fermentation at an early stage; and it may be assumed that التות may denote such a light wine, as well as the unfermented juice when first pressed out from the grapes.

The view that التות denotes the vine-fruit and not a liquid is sufficiently refuted by the passages from Joel and Prov. already quoted. The grapes in their natural state were placed in the gath, and it was the juice only which flowed into the יקב, the purpose of which was to separate the liquid from the solid matter. Cf. further Driver in Amos (Camb. Bib.), pp. 79 f.

God and men. Or possibly 'gods and men.' The allusion is to the use of wine in libations at sacrificial feasts, when the god, as well as his worshippers, was thought to be cheered by the beverage.
14. Then said all the trees to the buckthorn, "Come thou, reign over us."

15. And the buckthorn said to the trees, "If in truth ye wish to anoint me as a king over you, Come ye, take refuge in my shadow: But if not, then come fire from the buckthorn, And devour the cedars of Lebanon."

16. Now, therefore, if ye have dealt in truth and in integrity, in that ye have made Abimelech king, and if ye have dealt well with Jerubba'al and with his house, and if ye have done to him according to his deserts; (in that my father fought for

15. the buckthorn. A variety of Rhamnus (so G, F), probably Rhamnus palaestina, a low and straggling bush which is common in the hill-country of Palestine.

Come ye, take refuge, etc. The irony of the parable culminates in the absurdity of the invitation, which the buckthorn issues in all seriousness.

16-20. The application fits somewhat loosely on to the parable; but such lack of strictly logical connexion as exists is a common characteristic of Oriental reasoning. The main point of the parable is that the Shechemites had chosen a king who could not command confidence and respect; but who, if treated otherwise than in good faith (בְּמַשָּׁה v. 15), was capable of compassing their ruin. The application takes up the theme of the good faith of the Shechemites (בְּמַשָּׁה v. 16), and points out that this has been markedly absent in their dealings with Jerubba'al, a man who was, in the highest degree, worthy of their confidence and gratitude. A fortiori, therefore, it was most unlikely that good relations between them and Abimelech would last for long; and, once they failed, the ruin of both parties was bound quickly to ensue. This moral is emphasized in the narrative which follows: vv. 23-24, 26-27.

Doorn., Bu., Mo., and others improve the connexion between parable and application by marking vv. 16b-19a as a later addition. The reference of בְּמַשָּׁה 'in truth' or 'in good faith,' in v. 16 is then the same as in v. 15, i.e. it refers to their good faith towards Abimelech: 'If ye have made Abimelech king, intending to act towards him in good faith, I congratulate you; but if not, the parable teaches you what to expect.'

16. according to his deserts. Lit. 'according to the dealing of his hands.'
you, and risked his life, and delivered you from the hand of Midian; 18. and ye have risen up against my father’s house this day, and have slain his sons, even seventy men, upon one stone, and have made Abimelech, the son of his bond-maid, king over the citizens of Shechem, because he is your brother; 19. if ye have acted in truth and in integrity with Jerubba’al and with his house this day, E rejoice in Abimelech and let him also rejoice in you. 20. But if not, let fire come forth from Abimelech, and devour the citizens of Shechem and Beth-millo; and let fire come forth from the citizens of Shechem and Beth-millo, and devour Abimelech.’ 21. And Jotham ran away and fled, and went to Be’er, and dwelt there, on account of Abimelech his brother.

22. And Abimelech was prince RJE over Israel E three years. 23. And God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the

17. risked his life. Lit. ‘cast his life in front’ or ‘(so as to be) at a distance’ (cf. the use of רָנוּפ in Deut. 32 62, 2 Kgs. 2 18, al.); i.e. exposed it to the utmost risk, without a thought of personal safety.

19. his bond-maid. The Heb. āmā implies a slave-concubine, such as were Hagar to Abraham, and Zilpah and Bilhah to Ja’cob. As we have seen, however, ch. 8 31 implies that Abimelech’s mother was a free-woman, dwelling with her clan at Shechem. The misconception involved in the present passage is a point in favour of its later date.

20. let fire come forth from the citizens, etc. That the buckthorn, in destroying the other trees, would itself perish, is implied though not stated in the parable.

21. Be’er. The place intended may have been el-Bireh, twenty-two miles south of Shechem and eight miles north of Jerusalem, which has been supposed to be the site of Be’eroth of Josh. 9 17, al. The name, which means ‘well,’ was, however, doubtless of frequent occurrence in ancient times; just as its modern Ar. equivalent is at the present day.

22. was prince over Israel. On this statement, as implying a later conception than that of the original narrative, cf. Introd. to chapter, p. 267. The early narrative pictures Abimelech as possessing the authority of a local sheikh over Shechem and the neighbouring district.

23. God sent an evil spirit. Cf. the evil spirit sent by God upon Saul, 1 Sam. 16 14, 18 10; and the spirit divinely commissioned to deceive Aḥab, in order that he might go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead, 1 Kgs. 22 16 ff. The view that God, from motives of displeasure,
citizens of Shechem; and the citizens of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech. 24. 'To bring' the violence done to the seventy sons of Jerubba‘al, and to lay their blood upon Abimelech their brother, who slew them, and upon the citizens of Shechem, who encouraged him to slay his brethren. 25. And the citizens of Shechem set men in ambush upon the hilltops to his hurt, and they robbed all that passed by them on the way: and it was told Abimelech.

may incite men to their own ruin, is frequent in the O.T. Thus He hardens Pharaoh’s heart (ḥikkōḏ, lit. 'made heavy'; Ex. 10:1 J; ḥizzēḵ, lit. 'made strong,' Ex. 4:21, 10:20, E or R; Ex. 9:12, 11:10, 14:8, P; ḥikkā, lit. 'made hard or rigid;' Ex. 7:3 P), and similarly He prompts Sihon, king of the Amorites, to resist Israel in order that He may give him into their hands, Deut. 2:30. So too, in 2 Sam. 24:1, He is pictured as inciting David to a pernicious action; in Isa. 19:2—14 He is said to stir up civil strife in Egypt, and to mingle a spirit of perverseness in the midst of her; and in Ezek. 14:9 He deceives the false prophet to his own destruction.

24. to bring. Reading ניבלו after ἔτος ἐπαγγείλω, with Grä., Oet., La., in order to avoid the very awkward change of subject in בנים and the following בנים 'that the violence ... might come, and to lay their blood, etc.' The alternative is to follow Mo., Bu., No., Oort in retaining בנים and deleting בנים as the introduction of a scribe who missed the verb governing בנים—'That the violence done to the seventy sons of Jerubba‘al and their blood might come, etc.'

encouraged him. Lit. 'strengthened his hands.'

25. set men in ambush, etc. The Shechemites began to set armed bands in the mountains to rob the passing caravans, thus enriching themselves at the cost of Abimelech either by injuring his trade or by interfering with the dues which he was accustomed to exact for the safe conduct of merchandise through his territory. The force of the Dativus incommodi ἐν 'to his hurt' is very idiomatic, and may be compared with the use of the preposition in ch. 3:28, 7:24, 12:5, 'take the fords of the Jordan to the detriment of' (so, against) a foe. R.V. renders 'set liers in wait for him' (cf. ch. 16:2 ליער אתיך); and this is explained by Cooke, 'They hoped to catch Abimelech, who apparently was non-resident, and failing him, they plundered his friends.' This is very improbable.

and it was told Abimelech. The sequel to this statement follows in v.43, after its repetition with slight variation in v.49b, as already
26. J And Ga'al the son of I'Obed came with his brethren, and they went over into Shechem; and the citizens of Shechem put their trust in him. 27. And they went forth into the field, and cut their vintage, and did the treading, and held a praise-festival,

explained (pp. 267 f.). Otherwise, if we assume the narrative of vv. 26 ff. to be of a part with v. 26, the information conveyed to Abimelech seems to have produced no result.

26. Ga'al. Wellh. vocalizes as הֶגָּל Go'al, comparing Ar. אֹעֵל 'dung-beetle': Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch. 2, p. 44. Mo. (SBOT.) notes that (according to Lane) אֹעֵל in Ar. is 'also applied to a black and ugly and small man, or to a contentious one.' This vocalization is favoured by Jos. r̄īāγ (Anti. v. vii. 3 f.).

'Obed. Vocalizing יָבֵד with י, in place of יבֵד יבֵד. The same form is suggested by אֹבֶד Iwβηλ, which, as Mo. points out, is probably an uncial error IΩβΗλ for ΩβΗλ.* The form Ωβηδ occurs in H P. 30, Ωβηδ H P. 56. C A Bθδ supports מ. The participial form 'Obed, 'server,' i.e. 'worshipper' of a deity, is well known as a proper name; whereas the substantive 'Ebed, 'servant,' though used in composition in 'Abdi, 'servant of Yah,' Abdiel, 'servant of God,' does not occur elsewhere by itself, and is unlikely to have been so used. A less probable view has been put forward by Kue. (Omd. § 19 9) and others, who regard לְבֵד Iwβηλ as pointing to an original יָבַד יבַד 'Yahweh is Ba'al'—a name which was offensive to later thought, and was therefore altered in contempt into 'Ebed, 'servant.' With this view is involved the supposition that Ga'al, as the son of a worshipper of Yahweh, must have been an Israelite, whose object was to stir up the Israelite population of Shechem against the rule of the Canaanite Abimelech. This, however, is plainly refuted by the fact that the men whose ear Ga'al succeeds in gaining are 'the citizens of Shechem' ('ב י'כיבא, v. 26), i.e. the same people who, according to vv. 26, made Abimelech king on the ground that he was their own kinsman ('your bone and your flesh,' v. 2).

27. cut their vintage. Here the plural of קֶרֶם, 'vineyard,' is used by metonymy of the produce of the vineyard, as is indicated by the fact that it is coupled with the verb בָּשַׁר, which is the regular term for cutting grapes: cf. Deut. 24 21.

a praise-festival. If rightly connected with הָלַל, 'to praise;' Heb. הַלַּלְתּוּמ here seems to denote a festival of thanksgiving to the deity. The term occurs only once besides, in Lev. 19 24 H, in the phrase

* The form לְבֵד for יָבַד Ωβηδ, occurs in סא in 1 Chr. 2 12 (twice), 37, 38, 11 47; ס ב לְבֵד, 26 7, 2 Chr. 23 1.
and went into the house of their god, and did eat and drink, and cursed Abimelech. 28. And Ga’al the son of Obed said, ‘Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should serve him? Should not the son of Jerubba’al and Zebul his officer serve the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem? but why

kōdeš hillālīm, ‘a holy thing of praise’; * the reference here being to the produce of fruit-trees in the fourth year, when it was consecrated to Yahweh in token of thanksgiving. In Aram. hillūtā denotes a marriage-song (cf. the use of the Hoph’al hillūlā in Ps. 78:63). Ar. tahlūl is used of a shout of praise (ordinarily applied to the pronouncing of the formula, ‘There is no god but God’). This term, however, is connected by Wellh. with hillūl ‘the new moon,’ and is supposed by him to have been associated originally with the festival in honour of the new moon : cf. Reste arab. Heidenthums, p. 108.

28. Who is Abimelech, etc. Reading Imperfect ḥuḵ in place of 𐤀𐤃𐤇𐤃 in Imperative. As the text stands in 𐤀𐤃𐤇𐤃, Ga’al’s speech can only be rendered as in R.V.: ‘Who is Abimelech and who is Shechem, that we should serve him? is not he the son of Jerubba’al? and Zebul his officer? serve ye the men of Hamor the father of Shechem: but why should we serve him?’ Here ‘Shechem’ seems to stand as the rhetorical equivalent of ‘Abimelech’ : cf. 1 Sam. 25:10, ‘Who is David, and who is the son of Jesse?’ This is clearly the view adopted by Ḡ, which renders kai τίς ἐστίν υἱὸς Σωκεμ for ḥuḵ. We can hardly assume, however, that a reading ḥuḵ lies behind the Ḡ rendering ; since, as Robertson Smith (quoted by Mo.) has rightly pointed out, this expression is never used in the sense Shechemite : and that ‘Shechem’ by itself should be employed as a synonym of ‘Abimelech’ is incredible. The alternative explanation is to take ‘Shechem’ as an antithesis to ‘Abimelech’—‘we Shechemites’; but, as the text stands, this is excluded by the fact that there is no similar antithesis in the answer which Ga’al supplies to his own question (we should expect, ‘is he not the son of J., etc., while we are, etc.’). Further, the Imperative ḥuḵ ‘serve ye’ should naturally be followed by the 2nd person plur., ‘but why should ye serve him’; and the occurrence of the 1st person, ‘but why should we, etc.,’ is at least very awkward. And again, in לְהַסְגֹּר נָעַרְנָה the emphasis on the subject of the verb, as indicated by the personal pronoun, is very great—‘but why should we serve him?’ i.e. we in implied contrast to some other

* Probably we ought to place the ’athnah upon kōdeš, and render, ‘And in the fourth year all its fruit shall be holy (lit. a holy thing), a praise-offering to Yahweh.’
should we serve him? 29. Oh, would that this people were under my hand! then would I remove Abimelech, and would say to Abimelech, "increase thine army, and come out."

person or persons; whereas, if the earlier part of the sentence is correct as it stands in \( \text{Hebrew} \), we should expect the emphasis to be thrown upon the object of the verb—"but why should we serve him?" (in contrast to 'the men of Ḥamor, etc.').

Adopting our simple emendation, the following explanation is plausible. The speech contrasts the antecedents of Abimelech and Shechem (i.e. the citizens of Shechem, or free-born Bnē-Ḥamor)—'What is there in Abimelech's antecedents as compared with ours, that we (pure-blooded Bnē-Ḥamor) should serve him (the half-breed)? Ought not the relations to be reversed, and Abimelech and his place-man Zebul to serve the hereditary owners of Shechem?' This is substantially the explanation of Mo., which has been adopted by Bu., La., etc.; except that these scholars read the Perfect \( \text{Hebrew} \) in place of \( \text{Hebrew} \)—'Did not the son of J. and Z. his officer serve the men of Ḥ., etc.? i.e. 'he himself was formerly a subject of the old Ḥamorite nobility of Shechem.' It may be urged, however, against this reading that it implies that, prior to the election of Abimelech as king, the ruling class in Shechem had been the Bnē-Ḥamor; whereas, as a matter of fact, vv.12 represent the Bnē-Ḥamor as acquiescing in time past in the rule of the Israelite Jerubba'al and his sons.

Upon the various other explanations and emendations of the passage which have been offered, cf. Mo. Comm., and especially the same writer's very full note in \( \text{Hebrew} \). For the most part they depend upon the mistaken assumption that Ga' al was an Israelite, and that the rebellion which he was fomenting was an upheaval of the Israelites against the rule of the Shechemite Abimelech. Upon this theory, cf. note on 'Obed,' v.26.

29. under my hand. Lit. 'in my hand,' i.e. subject to my authority.

and would say. Reading \( \text{Hebrew} \) with \( \text{Hebrew} \) and most moderns in place of \( \text{Hebrew} \) 'And he said to Abimelech.' It is clear from what follows that Ga' al's words are merely a boast which was not carried into execution until his hand was forced, as related in v.39.

Bu., however, thinks that, if the words 'and would say to A. 'Increase thine army, etc.,' really formed part of Ga' al's boast, the challenge which they contain would have preceded and not followed its result as embodied in the words 'then would I remove A.' He therefore suggests that the words 'Increase thine army, etc.,' originally formed part of Zebul's message to Abimelech, as related in vv.22 f., and were later on erroneously inserted in their present position, with the introduction 'and he said to A.' This objection can hardly
30. And when Zebul, the governor of the city, heard the words of Ga‘al the son of Obed; his anger was kindled. 31. And he sent messengers to Abimelech at [Arumah], saying, ‘Behold,

be maintained. It is obvious that Ga‘al may first have stated the main fact, viz. that he would soon get rid of Abimelech if he had the chance, and then have gone on to boast how he would attain this end—by challenging him to pitched battle.

30. Zebul the governor of the city. It is clear from the narrative that Abimelech did not reside at Shechem, but at the neighbouring city of Arumah: cf. vv.31,41, with note on the former verse. Zebul appears to have been his representative at Shechem. Whether he was a Canaanite or an Israelite cannot be determined.

31. at Arumah. Reading אָרֻם (or אָרֻם; cf. v.41) in place of פִּנְתָא. R.V.’s rendering of this latter, ‘craftily,’ is the interpretation of גַּמׂוֹת. It presupposes that a šur. ley. torma,* from the root רָמָּא, ‘to deceive,’ is used in place of the normal מִרְמָא or תַּרְמִית in the sense ‘deceit.’ A.V., ‘privily,’ follows the majority of the versions: לָעַד w. kropg, פ. ‘clam,’ יד, Ar. אֱ. This rendering likewise presupposes derivation from the root רָמָא, upon the view that an expression properly meaning ‘in deceit’ is used in the sense ‘in secret.’ Thus A.V. adds marg. ‘Heb. craftily.’ So Rashi, Kimchi (first explanation), and the older commentators generally. Granted, however, that בָּשׁ-torma is the equivalent of בָּשׁ-mirma, such a sense as ‘privily’ is illegitimate; the only possible meaning of the statement being ‘that Zebul sent to Abimelech a deceptive, and therefore an erroneous message’ (Stu.). But this is excluded by the context, which makes it clear that the message embodied a true statement of affairs.

Kimchi (second explanation) and Levi ben-Gershon rightly divined that what we should expect is the name of the place at which Abimelech was residing; and observing that Arumah is named as his residence in v.41, supposed that Tormah and Arumah are variant names of the same city. We may follow most moderns in concluding that המכסה represents a simple corruption of the latter name. עַל, מֵעֲרָא דּוֹפָנ, i.e. המכסה, suggests that the Greek translator may have used a text in which the 1 was written as in המכסה, v.41.

* The form מכסה is strange if derived from מכסה. König (Lehrgebäude I. ii. p. 193) groups it with מכסה from מכסה Judg. 14 וַיַּתֶּמְת from מכסה Prov. 101, 1412, 1721, Ps. 11928.
Ga'al the son of "Obed and his brethren are come to Shechem, and, behold, they are stirring up the city against thee. 32. Now, therefore, arise by night, thou and the people who are with thee, and lie in wait in the field. 33. And in the morning, when the sun is up, thou shalt rise early and make an onset against the city: and, behold, he and the people who are with him will come forth unto thee, and thou shalt do to him as occasion serveth.'

34. And Abimelech arose, and all the people who were with him, by night, and they lay in ambush against Shechem in four bands. 35. And Ga'al the son of "Obed went out, and stood in the entry of the gate of the city; and Abimelech rose up, and

The site of Arumah is unidentified. The modern el-'Ormeh (written with י and not א*, about five miles south-east of Shechem has been suggested.

are stirring up. Reading מְעַרְירִים with Frankenberg, Bu., Mo. (SBOT.), No., in place of מֵעֶרֶרִים, which can only mean 'are besieging,' and is so rendered by the Versions. As Mo. points out, however, the Heb. construction is irregular, and the sense 'are inciting to hostility,' which has been adopted by many commentators, is illegitimate.

33. make an onset. The Heb. verb פָּשַׁת, which occurs again in our narrative in v.44 (twice), expresses (as appears from the context in these and other occurrences) the making of a sudden and unexpected raid or attack. The connexion with Heb. פָּשַׁת 'strip off' (one's garment) is obscure. The explanation offered by BDB—'put off (one's shelter), i.e. make a dash (from a sheltered place)—is very precarious.

as occasion serveth. Lit. 'as thy hand shall find.'

34. four bands. Lit. 'four heads': cf. p. 181. So v. 37b. The expression, though most frequent in J, is used in the parallel narrative E in vv. 43f.

* Substitution of י for א is seen in the modern 'Askalān for ancient 'Ashkelon, and in 'Ānā for 'Ono. The converse change is seen in 'Endūr for 'En-dor.

‡ We should expect זֵרֵים אֲנֵי הָעָר, not זֵרֵים אֲנֵי עַל הָעָר. The only other occurrence of בֶּן of the city is 1 Chr. 201 יֶרֶם אֲנֵי רַבִּים, where 12 Sam. 1121 has the normal יֶלֶע.

§ New Heb. פָּשַׁת, Aram. פָּשַּׂת, mean 'to extend,' and also 'to make plain'; while Bab. pašatu has the sense 'expunge, obliterate,' sc., writing by smearing or covering it with clay. The bond of connexion (if such exists) between the various senses of the root requires investigation.
9. 36. 37. THE BOOK OF JUDGES

the people who were with him, from the ambuscade. 36. And when Ga'al saw the people, he said unto Zebul, 'Behold, people are coming down from the tops of the hills.' And Zebul said unto him, 'The shadow of the hills thou seest like men.' 37. And Ga'al spoke yet again and said, 'Behold, people are coming down from the navel of the land, and one band is coming by way of the soothsayers' terebinth.' 38. And Zebul said unto

36. The shadow, etc. A taunt suggesting that 'his fears make him imagine enemies where there are none' (Mo.). Zebul's policy was to force Ga'al's hand by insinuating that he dared not be as good as his word: cf. v. 38.

37. the navel of the land. The meaning of Heb. tabbûr is elucidated by new Heb. tabbûr, tibbûr, and Aram. tibbûra, 'navel.' So Θ ὄμφαλος, Ε 'umbilicus.' The other versions paraphrase: נבּיָה 'stronghold,' ס 'iblūl (meaning dubious), Ar. أنصي 'furthest part.' Rashi and Kimchi explain as a hill or elevation forming a stronghold, and R. Isaiah as a central position from which roads diverged. In Ezek. 3812, the only other occurrence of the term in O.T., it is also used topographically, the inhabitants of the hill-country of Judah being described as 'those dwelling upon the navel of the earth,' i.e. (from the Israelite point of view) the most prominent and central part of the Universe (cf. Ezek. 56). In the present passage the expression is obviously a closer definition of 'the tops of the mountains,' v. 36, and probably describes some neighbouring height (or even heights; for v. 37b seems to indicate that the bands are coming from different directions) which was regarded as the central part of the main mountain-range of Canaan.

the soothsayers' terebinth. Heb. 'elôn mvestment, some well-known tree which was the seat of the practice of divination. Gen. 126J speaks of a tree called 'elôn môre, 'terebinth of the oracle-giver' (cf. for môre, footnote p. 206), which was also in the near neighbourhood of Shechem, and may have been identical with the tree mentioned in the present passage.

The form of soothsaying practised by the mvestment is uncertain. If the Heb. root 'ânèn is connected with Ar. āanna, 'to omit a hoarse nasal sound,' mvestment may denote the murmurer or hoarsely humming one. So Robertson Smith (Journal of Philology, xiv. pp. 119 ff.), who states that 'the characteristic utterance of the Arabic soothsayer is the monotonous rhythmical croon called sâg,' properly the cooing of a dove.' According to Wellh., however (Reste arab. Heidenthums p. 204), the term is to be explained, from Ar. āanna, 'to appear,' as meaning dealer in phenomena.
him, 'Where is now thy boast, in that thou saidst, “Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him?” Are not these the people whom thou didst despise? Pray, go forth now, and fight with them.' 39. So Ga'al went forth before the citizens of Shechem, and fought with Abimelech. 40. And Abimelech pursued him, and he fled before him: and there fell down many slain up to the entry of the gate. 41. And Abimelech dwelt in Arumah: and Zebul drove out Ga'al and his brethren, so that they should not dwell in Shechem.

42. And on the morrow, the people went out into the field: and men told Abimelech. 43. E And he took the people and divided them into three bands, and lay in ambush in the

38. thy boast. Lit. 'thy mouth.' The Heb. פֶּה, 'mouth,' is used similarly in Ps. 49:13 (עֵד), 'This is the way of them that have self-confidence, and of those who following them approve their speech (mouth).' Bab. פֶּה 'mouth' frequently has the meaning 'speech.'

Are not these the people, etc. The situation is aptly summed up by Mo. : 'Zebul, by reminding Ga'al, doubtless in the presence of many bystanders in that public place, goads him into fighting. He had indeed no choice; if he declined the challenge, his prestige and influence in Shechem were gone.'

41. And Abimelech dwelt, etc. Abimelech returned to the city in which he was dwelling (possibly the narrative may originally have run "וַיָּלֶד אַבִּימֶלֹךְ אֶל שֶׁכֶם וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֵי הַחֲלִיאָה תֵּלֶד אַבִּימֶלֹךְ וַיַּלְדֵהוּ אֶל שֶׁכֶם " 'And A. returned, and dwelt in A.'), and did not trouble to follow up his victory, feeling no doubt that Zebul was capable of dealing with the situation. Ga'al's incompetence as a leader having been sufficiently demonstrated by his shameful defeat, Zebul had no difficulty in expelling him from Shechem, together with the other members of his family or clan. Thus the disaffection in the city, of which Ga'al was the author, comes (at least temporarily) to an end. 'The citizens of Shechem,' who had been persuaded by the impostor to adopt him as their leader, were no longer concerned to support him; and Zebul could scarcely have expelled him from the city without their aid, or, at any rate, without their acquiescence. The continuation of the narrative in vv. 42 ff., which represents 'the people,' i.e. the same citizens of Shechem, as still at active hostilities with Abimelech 'on the morrow,' is thus not of a piece with the Ga'al narrative. As we have seen (cf. note on v. 25b), vv. 43 ff. are clearly the proper continuation of the main narrative, which is broken off at v. 25, and resumed by the Redactor in v. 42.

42. And on the morrow . . . field. On this statement, as representing an attempt on the part of R\[\text{B}\] to harmonize his two narratives, cf. p. 268.
field; and he looked, and, behold, the people were coming out from the city; and he rose up against them, and smote them.

44. And Abimelech, and the band that was with him, made an onset, and stood in the entry of the gate of the city: and the two bands made an onset upon all who were in the field, and smote them. 45. And Abimelech fought against the city all that day; and he captured the city, and the people who were in it he slew: and he broke down the city, and sowed it with salt.

43. The people were coming out, etc. Coming out upon one of the predatory excursions described in v. 25.

44. The band. Reading sing. נשים with F and some MSS. of G, in place of נשים 'the bands.' According to v. 43a, Abimelech had divided his available forces into three bands, and according to v. 44b two bands attacked the Shechemites in the field while Abimelech was seizing the gate of the city with his own contingent.

made an onset. Cf. v. 33 note.

45. Sowed it with salt. A symbolic action, apparently intended to indicate that nothing thereafter was to live and flourish there. The turning of a fruitful land into a salt desert as the result of a curse is mentioned in Deut. 29:23, Ps. 107:31; cf. Jer. 17:6, and the story of the destruction of the cities of the plain in Gen. 19:1. Ros. and commentators after him refer to Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxi. ch. 7; Virgil, Georg. ii. 238, as mentioning the well-known fact of the infertility of a salt soil. More to the point, in connexion with our passage, is Tiglath-pileser I.'s account of his destruction of the city of Hunusa (Annals, col. vi. 14): 'The three great walls of their city, which with burnt brick were strongly built, and the whole of the city I laid waste, I destroyed, I turned into heaps and ruins; and salt (?) thereon I sowed';* cf. Budge and King, Annals of the Kings of Assyria, i. p. 79; KB. i. pp. 36f. Scheiden, Das Salz, p. 95 (quoted in EB. 4250) cites the tradition that Padua was sown with salt by Attila, and Milan by Barbarossa.

Robertson Smith (Religion of the Semites, p. 454, n1) adopts a

* The word rendered 'salt' is (abnu) Sİ.PA; and unfortunately we cannot be sure of the meaning of Sİ.PA (or Sİ. HAD), which is most likely the ideographic form in which an otherwise unknown Assyrian word is written; though the rendering above adopted appears to be the most probable. The Determinative Prefix abnu, 'stone,' marks the substance as a mineral; and there is a variant reading plur. abne, 'stones' (lumps of salt?). The Assy. asrz, 'I sowed (it),' is the same verb as is used in our passage by the Heb. way-yisra'atha. The reference in the Annals of Asurbanipal (col. vi. 79; cf. KB. ii. pp. 206f.) cited in EB. 4250 from Gunkel, Genesis, p. 187, which is supposed by Gunkel to refer to the same ceremony, is of too doubtful significance to be quoted.
46. And when all the citizens of the tower of Shechem heard it, they entered into the crypt of the temple of El-berith. 47. And it was told Abimelech that all the citizens of the tower of Shechem had gathered themselves together. 48. And Abimelech went up to Mount Ṣalmon, he and all the people who were different explanation, supposing that the salt was used as a symbol that the city was consecrated to the deity as a devoted thing (ḥerem; cf. note on ch. 1:17), since the sprinkling with salt has a religious meaning, as a symbol of consecration, in Ezek. 43:24. This parallel, which refers to the sprinkling of a whole burnt-offering with salt, must be deemed of doubtful validity.

46. the tower of Shechem. This stood, apparently, apart from the city of Shechem, and was probably (like the tower of Penuel, ch. 8:17) the stronghold of an unwalled hamlet.

crypt. Heb. srīḥah. The meaning of the term is somewhat obscure. In its only other occurrence in the O.T., 1 Sam. 13:6, it seems to denote an underground chamber, natural or artificial;* and this sense is borne out by the use of srīḥā in the Nabataean inscriptions to denote a tomb hewn out of the rock: cf. Euting, Nabataische Inschriften, 15:34. In Ar. the cognate word darīḥ denotes 'a trench' or oblong excavation in the middle of a grave, in distinction from lāḥ (an excavation in the side); or it may denote the grave altogether, as in the benediction 'May God illumine his grave!' (darīḥahu): cf. Lane s.v.

How such a rock-hewn crypt could have been set on fire is not evident. Possibly the door may have been in the side of a rock, with steps descending into the interior; and, the faggots being piled against this door, the fire burnt it through and suffocated the refugees. Or, if we explain (as we legitimately may do) that the faggots were placed upon (לני) the crypt, we may picture a flat trap-door on the top of which the fire was laid, so that the mass of burning material eventually fell upon the people in the crypt beneath.

A.V., R.V., in giving the more general rendering 'hold,' seem to depend upon Στείχος, ὁχῦρα, θέρα (v. 40) 'praesidium.' Abulwalid compared the Ar. srāḥ, 'a lofty building or chamber standing apart' (from srāha 'to be unmixed, clear,' here used in the sense 'to stand clear'); and hence the sense 'citadel' or 'tower' was adopted by many of the mediæval and earlier modern commentators. Most recent scholars adopt the explanation which is given above.

48. Mount Šalmon. The name Šalmon seems to mean 'the shady'

* In this passage srīḥim are coupled with bōrōth, 'cisterns,' i.e. rock-hewn receptacles for water which, in a disused state, might form effectual hiding-places.
with him; and Abimelech took an axe \( \text{כָּז} \) in his hand, and cut a bundle of brushwood, and took it up and placed it on his shoulder; and he said unto the people who were with him, 'What ye have seen me do, make haste, do likewise.' 49. And all the people also cut each his bundle \( \text{כֶּז} \) and they went after Abimelech, and placed them against the crypt, and set the crypt on fire over them: so all the men of the tower of Shechem died also, about one thousand men and women.

50. And Abimelech went unto Tebe\( \text{ש} \), and encamped against Tebe\( \text{ש} \), and captured it. 51. Now there was a strong tower in the midst of the city, and thither fled all the men and women,

—probably a reference to the woods which (as the context shows) clothed its sides.*

**an axe.** Reading sing. \( \text{כָּז} \) with \( \text{G} \text{A} \text{L}, \text{S} \text{h}, \text{F}, \text{F} \), in place of \( \text{יהוֹנָה} \) ‘axes.’ The Heb. idiom says ‘the axe,’ the Definite Article being so used with familiar objects which are understood elements in the situation: cf. Davidson, *Syntax*, § 21 d; G-K. § 126 s; *NHTK*. p. 1. The idiom may be illustrated in English by the way in which we speak of ‘boiling the kettle’—never ‘boiling a kettle.’ The emendation \( \text{כָּז} \) ‘his axe,’ adopted by Mo., Bu., No., Kent, Cooke, is much less idiomatic; apart from the fact that ‘his’ is not pre-supposed by any of the versions above cited.

**49. his bundle.** Reading fem. \( \text{נָשָׁיִים} \) (cf. v. 48) in place of \( \text{נָשָׁיִים} \), which, as vocalized, is intended to convey the same sense, being regarded as a masc. form \( \text{נָשָׁיִים} \) with suffix of the 3rd masc. sing. (on the suffix-form; cf. G-K. §§ 7c, 91e). Probably \( \text{כָּז} \) should be vocalized \( \text{כָּז} \) ‘a bundle,’ which may be the original text.

**against the crypt.** Or possibly, ‘upon the crypt’; cf. note on v. 46.

50. **Tebe\( \text{ש} \).** The modern Tūbās, twelve miles N.E. of Shechem, has been identified by Rob. (*BR*. 3 ii. p. 317) as the site which Eusebius gives as the ancient Tebe\( \text{ש} \); which is described by him as thirteen Roman miles from Neapolis (Shechem) in the direction of Scythopolis

* That the meaning ‘to be dark or shady’ belongs to the root \( \text{כָּז} \) is clear from the subst. \( \text{כָּז} \) (for \( \text{כָּז} \) \( \text{כָּז} \)) ‘deep shade,’ and the Bab. root \( \text{כָּז} \), ‘to be dark or black.’ Probably Heb. \( \text{כָּז} \) ‘image’ properly means ‘shadow’ (so-called as being black in a land of strong lights and shades), since an image is the shadow or replica of that which it represents. Cf. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 141; *KAT*. p. 475, n 6. BDB’s explanation of \( \text{כָּז} \) as ‘something cut out,’ based on Ar. \( \text{כָּז} \), ‘to cut off’ (properly ‘to extirpate by amputation’) is very far-fetched.
even all the citizens of the city, and shut themselves in, and went up on to the roof of the tower. 52. And Abimelech came unto the tower, and fought against it, and he drew near to the door of the tower to burn it with fire. 53. And a certain woman cast an upper millstone upon the head of Abimelech, and brake his skull. 54. And he called quickly unto the lad who bore his armour, and said to him, 'Draw thy sword and despatch me, lest they say of me, "A woman slew him."' So his lad thrust him through, and he died. 55. And when the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was dead, they went every man to his place.

(Bethshe'an), OS. 262 44. This identification is accepted by some modern writers (so, most recently, Cooke); but must, on philological grounds, be deemed highly precarious."

53. an upper millstone. Heb. pēlah rēkhēbh, lit. 'cleft (stone) of riding,' so-called as riding upon the lower stone (pēlah taḥtīth, Job 41:24; ḳ. 10). The complete mill is termed rēḵayim. The hand-mill still used in Palestine is formed of two flat stones: a peg in the centre of the lower one corresponds to a hole in the upper, which is thus kept in place; and the upper being turned by a wooden handle, the corn which is placed between the two stones is ground. The diameter of the mill is usually about eighteen inches, the upper stone being of smaller diameter than the lower and two or three inches thick. These mills are usually turned by women, the performance of such work by men being regarded as a badge of degradation: Judg. 16:21, Lam. 5:13, Jer. 52:11 (ך). Cf. Kennedy in EB. 3091 ff.

54. Draw thy sword, etc. Similarly, Saul commands his armour-bearer to slay him when he perceives that otherwise he must fall into the hands of the Philistines: 1 Sam. 31:4.

despatch me. Heb. mōṯēth, the causative and intensive form of māṯ, 'to die,' always has the sense 'to kill outright.' Cf. especially 1 Sam. 14:13, where it is stated that the Philistines 'fell before Jonathan, and his armour-bearer despatched them (memaḏmōṯēth) after him.'

55. the men of Israel. Abimelech, in succeeding to the power and influence exercised by Jerubbaal and his seventy Israelite sons, may be supposed to have ruled over Canaanites and Israelites alike in the district about Shechem. The feelings of the Israelites against the B'nē-Hamor of Shechem and the Canaanites of the neighbouring

* There is correspondence of one consonant only between Tēbēs and Ṭūbās; and the ă in the latter name ought naturally to represent ī in Heb. The modern Ar. form would accurately correspond to a Heb. ֶשֶבך, rather than ֶכֶבך; cf. Cheyne, EB. 5033.
56. Thus God requited the wickedness of Abimelech which he had done to his father, in slaying his seventy brethren: 58. And the wickedness of the men of Shechem did God requite upon their head: and there came upon them the curse of Jotham the son of Jerubba'al.

cities must have been intensified by the fact that the assassination of Jerubba'al’s Israelite sons was a Canaanite movement (cf. p. 267); and, hostile at heart as they must have been to Abimelech as the Canaanite nominee, they would naturally support him when it came to a conflict with the Canaanites: and they probably formed the bulk, if not the whole, of his army. Cf. Mo. ad loc.

56. Thus God requited, etc. It is characteristic of E to draw a religious moral from the facts of history.

IO. 1-5. The ‘Minor’ Judges: Tola and Ja’ir.

The so-called ‘minor’ Judges, Tola’ and Ja’ir (10:1-5), Ibshan, Elon, and ‘Abdon (12:8-16) appear scarcely to stand upon the same level as historical personages with Ehud, Barak, Gideon, Abimelech, and Jephthah. Tola’ is said to have been ‘the son of Pu’ah the son of Dodo, a man of Issachar,’ and to have ‘dwelt in Shamir in the high-country of Ephraim.’ In Gen. 46:13 P both Tola’ and Pu’ah appear as sons, i.e., doubtless, clans of Issachar; and this is also the case in Num. 26:23 P, 1 Chr. 7:1ff. Ja’ir the Gileadite, whose thirty sons had thirty towns called Havvoth-Ja’ir, is the same as Ja’ir the son or clan of Manasseh who made conquests in Gilead which were afterwards known as Havvoth-Ja’ir (i.e., ‘the tent-villages of Ja’ir’), according to Num. 32:41 J, Deut. 3:14, 1 Kgs. 4:13. Elon is described as ‘the Zebulonite’; and in Gen. 46:14 P Elon is a son of Zebulun, and, according to Num. 26:26 P, founder of the clan of the Elonites. That Ibshan and ‘Abdon are also clan-names may be inferred. We know that Ja’ir’s thirty sons represent thirty village-settlements: when we read that Ibshan had thirty sons and thirty daughters, and that ‘Abdon had forty sons and thirty grandsons, it is reasonable to infer that the writer’s meaning is the same in these cases also. The statement that Ibshan made outside-marriages for his daughters, and brought in wives for his sons, doubtless refers to the numerous alliances and connexions with other clans which were formed by branches of the clan of Ibshan.

It is a further question whether these ‘minor’ Judges were included in the historical scheme of RE. In the survey of the course of Israel’s history during this period which forms the introduction to his book in ch. 2:11-23 (cf. pp. 52 ff.), RE traces the periods of oppression by foreign foes to Israel’s declension from the service of Yahweh,
and regards the raising up of the Judges as deliverers as an act of condescension on Yahweh's part when punishment has been meted out. This view of history is faithfully followed out by the editor in the cases of the 'major' Judges; but in the brief notices of the 'minor' Judges mention of Israel's defection from Yahweh, and the naming of the particular foes into whose power they were delivered, are conspicuously absent. Of Tola it is simply stated that he 'arose after Abimelech to save Israel'; and of Ja'ir even more briefly that he 'arose after him'. Ibšan, who is made to succeed Jephthah, is said to have 'judged Israel after him'; and the same formula is used of Elon and 'Abdon. Thus it may be inferred with great probability that the notices of the 'minor' Judges were inserted into the book subsequently to the redaction of R\textsuperscript{P}. The purpose of the interpolator may have been to raise the number of the Judges to twelve, and, so far as possible, to make them representative of the twelve tribes of Israel. Thus we have

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Judge</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
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<tr>
<td>'Othniel</td>
<td>Judah</td>
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<td>Ehud</td>
<td>Benjamin</td>
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<td>Barak</td>
<td>Naphtali</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gide'on</td>
<td>West Manasseh</td>
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<td>Abimelech</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tola'</td>
<td>Issachar</td>
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<td>Ja'ir</td>
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<td>Jephthah</td>
<td>Gad</td>
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<td>Ibšan</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elon</td>
<td>Zebulun</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Abdon</td>
<td>Ephraim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samson</td>
<td>Dan</td>
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</table>

If the Bethlehem which is mentioned as the native city of Ibšan (ch. 12 8\textsuperscript{10}) is the Bethlehem which is assigned to Zebulun in Josh. 19\textsuperscript{16} P, i.e. the modern Bēt Lahm seven miles west-north-west of Nazareth, this city seems to have been on the border between Zebulun and Asher; and thus Ibšan may have been regarded as the representative of Asher. Re'uben and Sime'on are unrepresented, while Abimelech properly gives a second representative to West Manasseh; still, the scheme is sufficiently complete to make it probable that the theory above suggested was in the mind of the editor who added the notices of the 'minor' Judges.

Who this editor was may be inferred from the fact that his book contained the story of Abimelech, and that this usurper was counted by him as one of the Judges: cf. ch. 10\textsuperscript{1}. He can hardly have been other than the editor who reinserted the narrative of Abimelech into R\textsuperscript{P}'s book, i.e. the late editor whom we have characterized as R\textsuperscript{P}.

For the grounds upon which the notice of Shamgar in ch. 3\textsuperscript{31} is to be regarded as still later than the work of R\textsuperscript{P}, cf. p. 76.
THE BOOK OF JUDGES

10. I. Rf And after Abimelech there arose to save Israel Tola, the son of Pu'ah, the son of Dodo, a man of Issachar;

10. I. Pu'ah. Heb. נפוי; so 1 Chr. 7.1. The form נפוי Puwwah is given by Gen. 46:13, Num. 26:23. The name is probably the equivalent of Ar. [fəwəwə], which denotes the species of madder called Rubia tinctorum, L., from the root of which a red dye is derived* (cf. Lane s.v.; Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, p. 251); whereas Tola', which means 'worm' in Ex. 16:30 (more commonly fem. Told'ath, cf. Bab. *tultu*), is used in Isa. 1:18, Lam. 4:5 to denote the crimson dye called cochineal (properly the *insect* from which the dye is prepared; so, more commonly, fem. Told'ath). The coincidence suggests that kindred clans adopted kindred totem-objects.

Dodo. This name occurs again in 2 Sam. 23:9 קרכ = 1 Chr. 11:12; 2 Sam. 23:24 = 1 Chr. 11:58; 2 Sam. 23:9 Kt. gives the form Dodai; and similarly כב֝אַל reads דודא in || 1 Chr. The same form is favoured by the evidence of כ in 2 Sam. 23:1 and || 1 Chr. Dodai occurs in 1 Chr. 27:4, where the reference seems to be to the same man as is named in 1 Chr. 11:18 (called 'the Aholite' in both passages). The form Dodo may be paralleled by דדוע, the name of an official (probably a Canaanite) in the service of the Pharaoh, which occurs in the T.A. Letters (cf. Knudtzon, Nos. 158, 164); cf. also נתי Dada in Palmyrene (de Vogüé, *La Syrie centrale*, 93; Cooke, *NSI*. p. 301), and the names from cuneiform texts cited in *KA*. 3 p. 483.

The meaning of the name has been the subject of some discussion. The most probable theory regards both Dodo and Dodai as hypocoristic abbreviations of a fuller form such as Dodiel or Dodiyya (תְּנֶל; cf. הנִּתי Dodavahu, 2 Chr. 20:37). The element דּוֹד is then the same as the subst. which means 'uncle' on the father's side (used in 1 Sam. 14:50, 2 Kgs. 24:17, al.), properly, it may be assumed, 'object of love' (so in Heb. the word often has the meaning 'beloved,' which is also seen in Bab. דדוע). Thus Dodo, Dodai, may mean 'the god is uncle' (i.e. *kinsman* or *patron* of the bearer of the name); or, conceivably, 'Beloved of the god': cf., for the latter sense, the name ידידיה Jedidiah, 'Beloved of Yah,' 2 Sam. 12:25; and David, i.e., probably, 'Beloved' (by God). Cf. Cheyne, *EB*. 1122; Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, pp. 60 ff. A passage of interest in this connexion is found in the Inscription of Mesha', where the Moabite king, in relating his success against Israel east of Jordan, says, 'The king of Israel had built 'Ataroth for himself: and I fought against the city and took it; and I slew the whole of it, even the people of the city, as a gazing-

† Cf. the South Arabian name Dádi-kariba, 'My (divine) kinsman has (or is) blessed'; Hommel, *AHT*. p. 86.
and he dwelt in Shamir in the hill-country of Ephraim. 2. And he judged Israel twenty and three years, and died, and was buried in Shamir.

3. And after him there arose Ja'ir the Gile'adite; and he judged Israel twenty and two years. 4. And he had thirty sons who rode on thirty ass-colts; and they had thirty cities (they stock unto Chemosh and unto Moab. And I captured thence the altar-hearth of הָרֹאשׁ, and dragged it before Chemosh in קְרֵיעָה (Moabite Stone, ll. 10-13). Here the word הָרֹאשׁ should perhaps be vocalized הַרֹאשׁ 'its (divine) Patron,' i.e. the God of the city* (Yahweh?

Cf. ll. 17 f., where, after taking the city of Nebo, Mesha states that he took the vessels of Yahweh, and dragged them before Chemosh). Failing this explanation, הָרֹאשׁ must be vocalized דֹּדוּ, and regarded as the proper name of a deity, which may (on this hypothesis) perhaps be recognized in the O.T. proper names above discussed: cf. Baethgen, Beiträge, p. 234; KAT.3 p. 225.

טִיאוֹ מַטְרַדְּלָףְוּ אָוָיו, בָּלָי 'patru Abimelech,' לְפִדָּי אָבִי, treat Dodo, not as a proper name, but as the subst. meaning 'uncle' with suffix of the 3rd masc. sing. †: 'son of his (i.e. Abimelech's) uncle.' Such an explanation is excluded by the fact that, while Tola is expressly described as 'a man of Issachar,' Abimelech, so far as he was Israelite in extraction, belonged to Manasseh. Several minuscules of ט (grouped by Mo. as טו) offer the reading καὶ ἀνάστησεν θεός . . . τὸν θεόν νῦν θεον νῦν Κάριε (or Καρπί) πατρὶδὲλφον αὐτῶν, omitting the words 'a man of Issachar.' Here Καρπί may represent the name קֵרֵאי כְּאָרַי: cf. 2 Kgs. 2523, Jer. 408, al. The origin of this text is wholly obscure.

Shamir. The site is unknown. אִלָכ אֶפְרָאִים.

4. who rode, etc. A similar statement is made in ch. 1214 with regard to 'Abdon's descendants. The detail is mentioned as a badge of rank: cf. ch. 510a.

cities. Reading פִּיתּוֹ with all Versions, in place of פִּיתּוֹ 'ass-colts,' which has arisen from accidental imitation of the same word preceding.

* In the difficult expression in Am. 814 'as the way of Be'ersheba' liveth!' הָרֹאשׁ 'way' is plausibly emended by Winckler (AF. i. p. 194 f.) into קְרֵיעָה. This gives the sense 'As thy (divine) patron liveth, O Be'ersheba,' an excellent parallel to 'As thy god liveth, O Dan': cf. גַּם θεός σου in place of קְרֵיעָה.

† This explanation is also offered by י, אָב in 2 Sam. 239,94, 1 Chr. 1112,26, and by a ג doublet in 2 Sam. 238,24.
are called Havvoth-Ja'ir unto this day), which are in the land of Gile'ad. 5. And Ja'ir died, and was buried in Kamon.

_Havvoth-Ja'ir._ Probably 'the tent-villages of Ja'ir.' Heb. _havwa_ is explained from Ar. _hiwā_, 'a group of tents near together.' Most likely the Hivvites, who are mentioned among the peoples of Canaan, obtained their name as originally inhabitants of such primitive village-communities.

*which are in the land of Gile'ad.* So Num. 32:41, 1 Kgs. 4:13, 1 Chr. 2:22. In Deut. 3:14, Josh. 13:30 R$^3$ the Havvoth-Ja'ir are incorrectly localized in Bashan. On the origin of this error, cf. Driver, _Deuteronomy_ (ICC.) p. 55.

5. _Kamon._ Polybius (v. lxx. 12) mentions a Kamôn east of Jordan as captured by Antiochus the Great: —καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πελλαν, καὶ Καμοῦν, καὶ Γαφροῦν. The name of Kamôn is very possibly preserved in the modern Kumêm, a village six and a half miles west of Irbid. About one mile north-west of Kumêm, a ruined site Kamm may correspond to the ancient city. It should be noted that the name Γαφροῦν, which is coupled with Καμοῦν, i.e. doubtless the Ephron (יוֹרֵן) of 1 Macc. 5:46, seems to be preserved in the Wady el-Çafr which lies some two miles north of Kamm. Cf. Buhl, _Geogr._ p. 256.

IO. 6-16. _Further apostasy receives its punishment._


This is a section which raises interesting questions in connexion with the original composition of the history of the Judges. As it now stands, it was clearly intended by R$^2$ as an introduction both to the narrative of the oppression of the Ammonites and the raising up of Jephtha as judge (ch. 10:27-12:7), and to that of the oppression of the Philistines and the raising up of Samson as judge (chs. 13 ff.): cf. _v_.7. The ordinary formula of the pragmatic scheme of R$^2$ may be traced in full in _v_.6 (omitting the specification of 'the gods of' various nations), _v_v_v_7.106: cf. the type-form given on p. 54. On the face of it, however, it is obvious that the whole section cannot have been composed by R$^2$ for the purpose which it now fulfils in his book. There is no reason why, at this particular point in his narrative, he should depart from his ordinary practice of introducing the history of each particular judge singly and in his regular brief form; and, as a matter of fact, the repetition of his ordinary formula at the beginning of the Samson-narrative, ch. 13:1, renders the mention of Israel's apostasy leading to the oppression of the Philistines (10:6a.7b) superfluous in ch. 10. Further, it should not escape notice that, if 10:6-16 was actually composed by R$^2$ as an introduction to the narratives of the oppression of the Ammonites and Philistines *in that order*, he would
scarcely have employed the opposite order in v. 7b; 'and he sold them into the hand of the Philistines and into the hand of the children of Ammon.'

Closer examination reveals the fact that the phraseology of the section is in many points identical with that which characterizes the later strata of E; especially as seen in Josh. 24, Judg. 6-10, 1 Sam. 7-12, 10-17-19, 12. The most striking phrases are 'we have sinned' (נָשָׁתָה) vv. 10, 16, as in 1 Sam. 6, 12; 'oppress' (מְנַעֲבַ) v. 12, as in Judg. 6, 1 Sam. 10, 18; 'foreign gods' (אֶחָד לֶוֶת הַכָּל) v. 16, as in Josh. 24, 20, 23, 1 Sam. 7; 'put away' (וַיִּשְׁלָח), in reference to the 'foreign gods,' v. 16, as in Josh. 24, 20, 23, 1 Sam. 7, 3 (on these phrases as generally characteristic of E, cf. Driver, LOT, p. 177); as well as the retrospect of Israel's past history, especially the deliverance from Egypt, vv. 11, 12, as in Josh. 24, 6-8, 1 Sam. 10, 18, 12, 6, 8.

Thus it may be inferred that we have, in 10, 6-16, a section originally belonging to E's history of the Judges, which was incorporated by R1 into his composite history, and then used by R2 in place of (or it may be, in combination with) his ordinary brief introductory formula. The purpose which this section fulfilled in E's history seems to be indicated by the reference to the Philistines as the oppressors in v. 7b (so Bu., RS., p. 128); the fact that this people is mentioned first probably indicating that the reference to the children of Ammon which follows is a later addition, due to R1, and intended to make the section serve as an introduction to chs. 10, 17-12, 7 as well as to chs. 13 ff.

But, if this is so, this introduction from E to the narrative of a Philistine oppression cannot have referred to the Samson-story as given in Judges, since this is derived wholly from J (cf. p. 336)—apart from the fact that a section in which the religious motive is so fully developed can never have been designed to introduce a story of which the crude and primitive character is almost unrelieved. It is scarcely open to doubt that E's history of the Philistine oppression is that which now forms one strand of the composite narrative in 1 Sam.; and the proper conclusion to this narrative, as it took form under the same hand (E'), is found in the account of the deliverance from the Philistines as effected by Samuel, which is now contained in 1 Sam. 7 (so Mo., p. 276; S. A. Cook).

It is impossible accurately to determine how far R2 felt it necessary to supplement his source; since, as we have noticed in the Introduction (p. xlvi ff.), his phraseology is modelled throughout upon that of E, and therefore cannot with certainty be differentiated from it. Probably he was responsible for the summary statement of Israel's apostasy which opens v. 6; but the remaining formulae which normally we associate with his pragmatic introductions were most likely already existent in the work of E. Thus, for example, v. 7 down to 'Philistines,' which is cast in the well-known formulae of R2, must,
6. \( R^E \) And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, \( E^2 \) and served the Ba'als, and the 'Ashtarts, \( R^E \) and the gods of Aram, and the gods of Sidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of 'Ammon, and the gods of the Philistines; \( E^2 \) and they forsook Yahweh, and served him not. 7. And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of the Philistines, \( \mathcal{R}^J \) and into the hand of the children of 'Ammon. 8. \( E^2 \) And they brake and crushed the children of Israel in that year, \( \mathcal{R}^J \) eighteen years, even all the children of Israel who were beyond Jordan in the land of the Amorites, which is in Gile'ad. 9. And if our theory of the origin of the section be correct, have already existed in E's introduction to the Philistine oppression.

The passages in vv. 7–9 which serve to make the section suitable as an introduction to the narrative of the oppression of the 'Ammonites must be due to the Redactor who placed it before 10:17-12:7, i.e., we may assume, \( \mathcal{R}^J \). The references in v. 6 to the gods of various nations, and in vv. 11-12 to various nations besides Egypt as oppressors (some of them, e.g. the Philistines and the 'Ammonites, out of place in a retrospect of past oppressions and deliverances) must be due to a much later hand, to whom the somewhat lengthy record of apostasy and its outcome seemed adapted for the insertion of such detailed lists.

10. 6. the Ba'als and the 'Ashtarts. Cf. ch. 213 notes.

8. they brake. Heb. ṭā'āš (once again in O.T., Ex. 15:6b) perhaps = rahāšu in the T.A. Letters, which Zimmern (\( KAT.3 \) p. 653) regards as a Canaanism; cf. Kn. 127, l. 33; 141, l. 31, 'and may the bow-troops of the King my lord . . . shatter (ṭi-ra-ha-as) the head of his enemies.' in that year, eighteen years. As Mo. remarks, such a collocation is impossible. The eighteen years probably belongs to \( \mathcal{R}^E \)s system of chronology, referring to the duration of the 'Ammonite oppression; while 'in that year is more suitable to the verbs at the beginning of the verse which suggest a signal catastrophe rather than a long-continued subjugation and oppression' (Mo.), and probably refer to the first stage of the Philistine aggressions, as narrated by \( E^2 \).

even all the children of Israel, etc. The facts related by \( \mathcal{R}^E \) in this verse and v. 9 as to the extent of the 'Ammonite aggressions were probably derived by him from one of the ancient sources which narrated the story of Jephtha. Cooke's statement that 'the extension of the oppression to all the children of Israel on both sides of the Jordan is probably due to the latest editor' is groundless. The writer does not refer to the whole of Israel east and west of Jordan, but to all Israel in Gile'ad east of Jordan, and to certain tribes (Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim) west of Jordan which (he implies) were some-
the children of 'Ammon crossed the Jordan to fight also against Judah, and against Benjamin, and against the house of Ephraim; E and Israel was in sore straits. 10. And the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh, saying, 'We have sinned against thee; [] for we have forsaken <Yahweh> our God, and have served the Ba'als.' 11. And Yahweh said unto the children of Israel, 'Did not [] Egypt, R and [] the Amorites, and the children of what harassed by raids, though not oppressed in the same degree as the inhabitants of Gile'ad. That the Ephraimites at any rate were interested parties is proved by the narrative of ch. 12 III.

10. for. Reading simply with several MSS. of M, and E, F, S, in place of מ י 'and because,’ R.V. ‘even because.’

Yahweh our God. The addition of ‘Yahweh’ is supported by six MSS. of M, and by E, L, F. The phrase ‘Yahweh our God’ is characteristic of E (as, subsequently, of D); and the proper name Yahweh is desiderated by the contrast with ‘the Ba’als.’

11. Did not Egypt, etc. Reading מ italiani יましたがיRub מ ו' from' before each of the peoples enumerated, offers an impossibly harsh anacoluthon, omitting an indispensable verb, which is supplied by A.V., ‘Did not I deliver you from the Egyptians, etc.;’ R.V., ‘Did not I save you from, etc.’ Such a verb, whether ירדה יתברמא (A.V.) or ירדה יתברמא (R.V.), could not be understood in Heb.; though it is conceivable that its omission may be due to an error of transcription. Against such a view, however, is the fact (noted by Mo.) that we should expect either verb to be followed, not by מ 'from' simply, but by ירח 'from the hand of.’ Thus E, with whose work we are dealing, employs this expression exclusively after ירדה י التربية ‘deliver’ both in Judg. and 1 Sam.: cf. Judg. 6 6, 1 Sam. 7 3, 10 18, 12 10, 11; so Judg. 8 31 R 82. In the same way ירדה י التربية ‘save’ is regularly followed by מ in Judg.: cf. 2 16, 18, 8 22, 10 12, 12 2, 13 3; once by the synonymous ירה, 6 11.

The emendation above adopted has, as we have seen, the predominant support of the Versions, and offers the simplest solution of the textual difficulty. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that מ may originally have been followed by
10. 12.] THE BOOK OF JUDGES

'Ammon, and [] the Philistines, 12. and the Sidonians, and 'Amalek, and 'Midian oppress you; and when ye cried unto me, I saved you from their hand? 13. But ye have forsaken

the Amorites. We find no specific allusion to the Amorites as oppressors; the fact, mentioned in ch. 1 34, of their forcing* the children of Dan from the vale into the hill-country being scarcely of sufficient importance, and also not followed by any signal act of deliverance. Taking 'Amorites' as a general designation for the inhabitants of Canaan (as is usual in E; cf. note on ch. 1 'against the Canaanites'), it is conceivable that the allusion may be to the oppression of Sisera and 'the kings of Canaan' related in chs. 4, 5. Possibly, however, as suggested by ֵּה, may be a corruption of מִבּוּּנִיר 'the Moabites' (for the Gentiilic form, cf. especially Deut. 2 § 20) or מַשְׁפָּה 'Moab,' since it is rather surprising to find no allusion to the oppression of this latter people, as related in ch. 3 3ff. מָאֵל, while retaining ֵא' מַרְפַּד, adds וַיָּבָשׂ after וַיָּבוּל מַרְפַּד.

the children of 'Ammon. These are named in ch. 3 19 as aiding 'Eglon king of Moab in his oppression of Israel; but such a passing allusion could not have been in the writer's mind—at any rate unless he had previously mentioned Moab (cf. note preceding). Probably, like the mention of the Philistines with which it is coupled, the allusion is to the narrative following; and since reference to deliverance from the 'Ammonites and Philistines (v. 12b) is historically out of place, we may regard the names as a later careless insertion.

12. the Sidonians. We know of no occasion on which these people played the rôle of oppressors of Israel. Possibly, as Mo. suggests, their insertion here may be due to the mention of Sidon in v. 6.

'Amalek. Cf. ch. 3 18, 6 3, where the mentions of 'Amalek, though very possibly later than the main narratives in which they occur (cf. notes ad loc.), are earlier than the present passage.

'Midian. So מַרְפַּד (מָאֵל before 'Amalek), and most moderns. Some MSS. of G, S, Σ, Φ read 'Cana'an'; while S reads 'Ammon,'

* the same verb as יִלְוַעְלוּ 'oppressed' in 10 12.
me, and have served other gods; therefore I will no more save you. 14. Go and cry unto the gods whom ye have chosen; let them save you in the time of your distress.’

15. And the children of Israel said unto Yahweh, ‘We have sinned; do thou to us whatsoever seemeth good in thy sight: only pray deliver us this day.’ 16. And they put away the foreign gods from the midst of them and served Yahweh: and his soul was impatient for the misery of Israel.

having omitted the reference to the children of Ammon and the Philistines in v.11. יִשְׁמע (Ma‘on) is apparently the modern Ma‘an some eighteen miles east-south-east of Petra. The Ma‘onites (Heb. מַעֲנִים) are mentioned in later times as antagonists of Judah (1 Chr. 4:41; 2 Chr. 26:7; and probably also 2 Chr. 20:1); but we have no record of any aggressions by them in the time of the Judges. On the other hand, mention of the Midianite oppression (ch. 6) is to be expected.

14. whom ye have chosen. For the use of the verb ‘choose’ in this connexion, cf. Josh. 24:15 E 2, ‘and if it be evil in your eyes to serve Yahweh, choose ye this day whom ye will serve.’

16. and served Yahweh. גלַּל adds μουρό, i.e. מְרוּ, as in 1 Sam. 7:4.

his soul was impatient. Lit. ‘was short.’ So elsewhere of Yahweh, Zech. 11:8; of the Israelites, Num. 21:4b. With נַחֲר ‘spirit’ as subject, Mic. 2:4, Job 21:4. The antithetical idea—‘was patient’—is expressed by יֶשֶׁב יִשְׁרָאֵל ‘he prolonged his soul’; cf. Job 6:11.

The rendering of גָּלָל-και אוֹגֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (אָוֹגֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) ‘the prolongation of Israel’ seems to embody a doublet, the first clause being a rendering of יְשָׁם יִשְׂרָאֵל (אָשְׁם יִשְׂרָאֵל), and the second correctly reproducing the text and meaning of יִשְׁמע.


The hand of R2 is to be seen in 11:3b (cf. ch. 3:20, 4:23, 8:28). In ch. 12 this editor employs the formula which he probably found already existing in the narrative of RIF (cf. ch. 15:30, 16:31, 1 Sam. 4:18b; 7:15).

Discussion of the ancient source, or sources, of the narrative must take its start with an examination of 11:12-28, which relates the sending by Jephthah of an embassy to the king of Ammon, protesting against his encroachment upon the territory of Israel between the Arnon and the Jabbock, and substantiating Israel’s claim to hold it by right of conquest from Sihon, king of the Amorites. It is a difficulty with regard to this argument, as put into the mouth of Jephthah, that, except for the single reference to Ammon at the end of v.15, it refers throughout not to Ammon but to Moab. Thus, vv.17-18 state that
Israel, in approaching Cana'an from the east, was careful not to
encroach upon the territory of Moab, i.e. the country south of the
Arnon; but was content to conquer and settle in the territory of the
Amorite Sihon, north of the Arnon and south of the Jabbok. The
appeal of v. 24 is obviously addressed to Moab: 'Those that Chemosh
thy god disposseth—wilt thou not possess them? etc.' Chemosh
was the national god of Moab; while the god who stood in this
position to Ammon was Milcom. In the same way, reference is
made (v. 25) to the example of an earlier king of Moab, Balak the son
of Sippor, who left Israel unmolested in the enjoyment of their newly
acquired territory.

As regards the origin of 11 12-28, two possibilities present themselves.
Either the section is a late insertion into an otherwise homogeneous
narrative, framed in order to establish Israel's claim to the territory
between the Arnon and the Jabbok—possibly in view of some later
encroachment of Ammon* (Mo., Cooke, etc.); or, the section, referring
properly to Israel's relations with Moab, is part of a variant tradition,
according to which Jephthah appeared as a deliverer of the Israelites
in Gilead from the aggressions, not of the Ammonites, but of the
Moabites. On this latter hypothesis, we may expect to find the strand
which embodies this variant tradition interwoven throughout the nar­
rative as a whole (Holzinger, followed by Bu., Cor., No., Kit., Kent).

The former theory depends upon the fact that Jephthah's speech,
as given in vv. 16-27, appears to be drawn chiefly from Num. 20.21,
exhibiting, here and there, verbal similarities (cf. notes on text). We
must suppose that the interpolator, finding ready to his hand an
ancient narrative which related the way in which Israel, in making
their conquest and settlements east of Jordan, were careful to respect
the old-established rights of Moab, adapted the facts extracted from
this narrative so that they might apply equally to Ammon by the mere
insertion of the words 'and the land of the children of Ammon' at
the end of v. 16. This theory is vitiated by the fact that, while it is
quite conceivable that the author of the interpolation may have thought that a narrative which illustrated Israel's care to avoid
infringing the rights of the two kindred peoples, Edom and Moab,
was applicable by inference to their attitude towards another kindred
people (Ammon), it offers no explanation of the reference to the
example of Balak, an earlier king of Moab, as a precedent, and (most
markedly) it is obliged to assume that the writer is guilty of a gross
error in confusing Chemosh, the god of the Moabites, with the god of
the Ammonites. The fact has also been remarked that there is no
evidence to prove that the section is very late in origin. It depends,
as we have noticed, to some extent upon Num. 20 14-21, 21 13, 21-24a,
but by

* Mo. suggests that the occasion of the interpolation may have been the
aggressions of the Ammonites upon the ancient territory of Israel at the beginning
of the sixth century B.C., as mentioned in Jer. 49:1.
no means slavishly so*; and the conception of Chemosh in v. 24 as a national deity, exercising a potency and influence in relation to his people comparable to that which Yahweh exercises over Israel, may be paralleled by the conception of the same deity's power within his own land which underlies the old narrative of 2 Kgs. 3:20-27.† It is at least unlikely that such a view should have found expression at a period when at any rate in prophetic circles a doctrine of high spiritual monotheism had gained currency.

Rejecting this theory, then, we are thrown back upon the alternative which regards 11:12-26 as forming part of an originally distinct narrative, in which Jephthaḥ is raised up to meet the aggressions, not of the 'Ammonites, but of the Moabites. Looking carefully at 10:17-12:7 as a whole, and examining it in detail, we are led to the conclusion that, while evidence that the narrative is composite throughout is by no means so obvious as e.g. in the Gideon-narrative, yet traces of the combination of two traditions varying in detail really do exist.

Thus we note that, according to 11:1-11, Jephthaḥ is an outlaw from Gile'ad, dwelling in the land of Țob, and is fetched thence by the elders of Gile'ad in order that he may act as their leader in repelling the 'Ammonite invasion. According to 11:30-34 ff., however, his home is at Mispah of Gile'ad; and the fact that he has lived there some time as a person of consequence, possessing a considerable retinue of dependents, seems to be indicated by the terms of his oath—'The comer-forth that cometh forth from the doors of my house to meet me' suggests some range of possibility as to the projected victim; and the idea that this may prove to be his only daughter is sufficiently remote not to have entered into his reckoning. We may also observe (with Frankenberg) that the words of Jephthaḥ's daughter, 11:36, 'Forasmuch as Yahweh hath wrought for thee full vengeance upon thine enemies,' clearly indicate that Jephthaḥ had a personal ground of quarrel with the 'Ammonites; apart from which, indeed, his vow is difficult to explain. This fact, however, is hard to reconcile with the representation of him in 11:1-11 as an outsider, who undertakes at a price to organize resistance to the enemy.

Further, 10:17 can scarcely stand in original relationship to 10:18, 11:1-11. According to 10:17, the presence of an invading 'Ammonite army in Gile'ad has been met by an organized muster of the Israelites at Mispah. The double דבנ, 'and they encamped,' clearly implies two hostile armies in battle-array: cf. ch. 6:33, 7:1, 1 Sam. 4:1, 17:12, 28:4. From 10:18, however, we learn, to our surprise, that the Israelite army is without a leader; and it is only at this stage that the Gile'adites conclude, after deliberation, that they have no man of their own fit to undertake command, and are obliged to send their elders to

† Cf. NHTK. ad loc., and the present editor's Outlines of O.T. Theology, pp. 34 ff.
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the land of Tob to fetch back Jephthah. Assuming for the moment that this difficulty is not insuperable, it is very strange that, while according to 10:17 the 'Ammonite invasion has already taken place, and the critical conflict is impending, 11:4 informs us (as though it were a fresh fact) that 'after a while the children of Ammon fought with Israel.' If, however, 10:17 is not really of a piece with 11:1-11, this mention of the 'Ammonite invasion in 11:4 forms the appropriate prelude to the mission of the Gileadite elders to fetch Jephthah, as related in 11:5-11.

Jephthah's proceedings, again, as related in 11:29, can only be explained as actuated by the necessity of raising an army before attacking the Ammonites. Yet according to 10:17, as we have seen, the army is already mustered at Mispah.

Thus we seem to have established several points which indicate that 10:17 has no original relationship to 11:1-11, but belongs to a different narrative. If this be so, 10:18 can be nothing else than the clumsy attempt of a redactor to fit 10:17 on to 11:1ff. The statement 'he shall be head, etc.' is clearly drawn from 11:8b.*

If, then, 10:17 is distinct in origin from 11:1-11, its proper sequel is probably 11:15-28, a section which we observed at the outset to be also distinct from 11:1-11, as making Moab, and not Ammon, the aggressor. But 11:30-34 has also been argued to be distinct from 11:1-11, on the ground that Jephthah the influential householder at Mispah is distinct from Jephthah the outlaw. On the other hand, we have seen that 11:29 coheres with 11:1-11, and not with 10:17. The resumption of 11:29b may be seen in 11:32a ➔, where the redactor of the two narratives picks up the thread which has been broken by the insertion of 11:30-31. Traces of the fusion of two accounts may perhaps be seen in 11:33a, since we appear to have a double terminus ad quem for the rout—'until thou comest to Minnith,' and 'as far as Abel-ceramim.' Probably 'from Aro'er until thou comest to Minnith' belongs to the Moabite narrative, the 'Aro'er in question being the frequently mentioned city on the Arnon at the northern boundary of Moab which has been mentioned in v.26; though this is uncertain (cf. note ad loc.). 'As far as Abel-ceramim' may then be supposed to come from the 'Ammonite...

* It is a point worthy of notice that, in the account of the institution of the monarchy in Israel in 1 Sam. 8-12, where two practically complete narratives, from J and E respectively, have been combined, the opening words of RJE's connective narrative in 11:12-16 are phrased in precisely the same form as Judg. 10:18:

'And the people said every man to his fellow, Who is the man
'And the people said unto Samuel, Who is he

that shall begin to fight with the children of Ammon?
that said, Shall Saul reign over us?

he shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.'
narrative, unless it be taken as a further definition of the *terminus ad quem*.

Lastly, we observe that the transition from 11:40 to 12:1 is somewhat unexpected. The account of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, and the yearly commemoration of this event which was thereafter established, seems naturally to wind up the narrative; and the events related in 12:1-6 give us the impression of belonging to an originally different source. We may assign 12:1-6, therefore, to the Ammonite narrative 11:1-11, etc., and we do this with the more confidence through observation of the fact that Jephthah's words in v.3, 'and I passed over unto the children of Ammon, and Yahweh gave them into mine hand,' are an echo of 11:30b,32.*

Thus we may reconstruct two distinct narratives, which probably ran originally as follows, square brackets being used where details have now to be supplied by conjecture.


[The Moabites oppress the Israelite inhabitants of Gile'ad (some details possibly derived from this narrative by RJK in 10:33,34). Jephthah, an influential citizen of Mispah, undertakes the defence of his country. On the rumour, possibly, of warlike preparations among the Gile'adites], a Moabite army is mustered, and encamps in Gile'ad; the Israelite force being brought together in readiness at its leader's native city (11:17). Before joining battle, Jephthah has recourse to diplomacy, but without success (11:28-29). He, therefore, decides to attack the Moabites; and vows that, if Yahweh will grant success to his arms, he will offer up a human sacrifice from among the members of his household (11:30-31). [The battle results in a decisive victory for Israel, the rout of the Moabites and slaughter of the fugitives extending] over a specified area, and including the destruction of twenty cities (11:33 in part). On Jephthah's return in triumph to Mispah, his only daughter is designated by fate as the sacrificial victim. Though torn by grief, he is faithful to the terms of his vow; and a yearly commemoration of Jephthah's daughter thereafter becomes an institution among the daughters of Israel (11:34-40).

In this narrative 'the children of Ammon' has been substituted for 'Moab' or 'the Moabites'† in 10:17, 11:12,13,14,17,29,30,31, and additions referring to the children of Ammon have been made in v.v.15,30. The object of these changes was, of course, to bring the narrative into

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* The threat of the Ephraimites in 12:1b, 'we will burn thy house over thee with fire,' might be supposed to point to the narrative in which Jephthah is a householder in Gile'ad (11:31,34) rather than to that in which he is an outlaw. This is a point, however, which need not weigh against the conclusion adopted above; since the first essential of the Gile'adites' compact with their new ruler (11:9,10) would be the granting him a residence at Mispah.

† While the expression 'the children of Ammon' is regularly used to denote the Ammonites, we do not find 'the children of Moab' used of the Moabites; though we know of no reason why such a phrase should have been avoided.
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line with the parallel narrative in which Jephthah appeared as deliverer from the Ammonite aggressions; and the author of them was the redactor of the two narratives whom we must assume to have been R.

The source from which this narrative is derived is indicated by the fact, already noticed, that 11:12-28 depends very largely upon Num. 20:14-21, 21:13-21:24a. These sections belong mainly, if not wholly, to E; and thus we are justified in inferring that E is the source of the narrative which makes use of them.

(2) 11:1-11 (except v. 1b.2,5a, on which see below), 11:20,32b,33 (in part), 12:1-6.

Jephthah, a Gileadite without any tribal position owing to the accident of his birth, becomes an outlaw from Israelite territory, and takes up his abode in the land of Tob, where he gathers a band of desperadoes like himself, and gains a reputation as a successful freebooter. The Ammonites commence hostilities against the Israelites in Gilead; and the elders of Gilead [having made an unavailing appeal for help to the tribes on the west of Jordan,* and] having no one among themselves equal to the task of raising and leading an army, are obliged to have recourse to Jephthah in the land of Tob, and to entreat his services. He consents upon the understanding that, if successful, he is to become ruler of Gilead, and the compact is sealed ‘before Yahweh’ at Mispah (11:1-11). After traversing the country of Gilead and East Manasseh in order to raise an army, Jephthah advances against the Ammonites (v.29) in order to attack them; Yahweh gives them into his hand (v.32b), and he smites them with a great slaughter as far as Abel-ceramim (v.33 in part). After the battle, an armed force of Ephraimites crosses the Jordan and threatens Jephthah with reprisals, upon the false excuse that he did not summon them to aid him in the battle with the Ammonites. Once more gathering the Gileadites to his banner, he puts the Ephraimites to the rout, and seizing the fords of the Jordan, cuts off all fugitives, so that forty-two thousand Ephraimites are slain (12:1-6).

Since the other narrative must be assigned to E, the inference is that the present narrative belongs to J; and in favour of this we may remark that the arrogant conduct of the Ephraimites (12:1ff.) is strikingly similar to their behaviour to Gideon as related in the J narrative, ch. 8:1-3. A narrative reflecting discredit upon the Ephraimites, and possibly coloured by tribal antagonism, is more naturally assigned to a Judean than to an Ephraimite source.

It only remains to notice interpolations in the narrative which appear to be very late in origin.

11:1b.2. It is clear from 11:7 that Jephthah’s expulsion from Gilead was tribal and not family. The ‘brethren’ of v.3 are therefore his fellow-

* It is possible, however, that 11:29 in its original form may have related an ineffectual attempt made by Jephthah to gain the assistance of these tribes. Cf. note ad loc.
clansmen and not his natural brothers, as seems to be implied by v.2. Moreover, it is evident from the use of 'Gile'ad' in vv. 1h,2, as though it were the name of an individual, that we have here to do with the method of narration which characterizes the late priestly school of writers, in which districts, clans, and cities are spoken of as individuals. Instances of this method are frequent in the genealogies of P and 1 Chr. (cf. for 'Gile'ad' so treated, note on 'Machir' ch. 5 14); and we have already found illustration of it in the accounts of the 'minor' Judges, which, as we saw, emanated from the latest redactor, R. The term יֵשְׂפָּל 'begat,' v.1h, is very characteristic of P. Cf. CH. p. 30.

It is clear, however, that the main narrative 10 17-11 11 is literal and not figurative, and deals actually with the doings of individuals. Possibly the reference in v.2 to Jephthah's expulsion, 'and they drove out Jephthah' may have been derived from the main narrative (so Bu.); cf. v.7a. On the other hand, it is very possible that v.7a combined with v.1h may be the source of the allusion in v.2, as it comes from the hand of R (so Mo.).

11 18a. This half-verse is superfluous by the side of v.1, and has the appearance of a late gloss. It is omitted by Gr b; while Gr a appears to include it and to omit v.4.

11 20a-2b. The reference to Israel's possession of Gilead as having lasted undisputed for three hundred years is obtained by computation of the periods of oppression and deliverance (including the periods assigned to the 'minor' Judges) given in the preceding narrative up to the beginning of the Ammonite oppression (exactly, three hundred and one years). This date must therefore have been inserted by R or by some later hand.

12 7h. The record of Jephthah's death and burial is given precisely in the form which recurs in 8 32, 10 25.5, 12 12.15, and represents the regular formula of R.

It has been maintained by some scholars (cf. Sta., GVI. i. p. 68; Wellh., Comp. 3 p. 224) that the story of Jephthah is altogether without historical basis. Tradition supplies no historical details as to his campaign. The account of his birth (cf. 11 1b, 'Gile'ad begat Jephthah') and death and burial (cf. 12 7h, 'and he was buried in the cities of Gile'ad') makes him a shadowy figure who is evidently only the heros eponymus of an obscure Gile'adite clan, apparently of mixed origin (cf. 11 1a, 'the son of a harlot'). The story is supposed to have grown up round the yearly festival which was customary in the narrator's time (11 30.40), and which was, in origin, a celebration of the death of the virgin-goddess, for the observance of which in Palestine evidence is forthcoming from other sources (cf. Additional note, p. 332).

The probability that the women's festival of later times may have been erroneously explained as commemorative of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter does not, however, compel us to conclude that
17. RJE And the children of 'Ammon E were called to arms, the story of this sacrifice was invented in order to account for the festival. The fact of such a sacrifice is not inherently improbable. There is ample evidence to prove that human sacrifice was not altogether unknown and unpractised among the Israelites in early times (cf. Additional note, p. 329); though it seems to have been sufficiently rare to have evoked the feeling of horror which is implicit in the narrative. It is at least as likely that an originally independent tradition of the death of Jephthah's daughter may have come to be associated with a festival the idolatrous origin of which was forgotten, as that the story is a deliberate invention without historical basis. The absence—or rather, the paucity—of details as to Jephthah's campaign is no argument against its historical truth. It might equally be urged, on the other hand, that a mere inventor would have found no difficulty in supplying such details.

These considerations have their weight even upon the assumption that the narrative is derived from a single source. If, however, as has been argued above, we have a combination of two somewhat variant traditions from J and E, the case for an historical basis for the tradition is greatly strengthened; more especially as one of these narratives appears (at any rate in the form in which we know it) to have been independent of the story of the sacrifice with its commemorative festival. The details of 11th, 12th, which are cited by Wellh. in support of his theory of a clan-myth, have been shown above to be additions which are due to the post-exilic hand R².

10. 17. The children of 'Ammon. This is the ordinary designation of this people; 'Ammon by itself occurring only twice, viz. 1 Sam. 11 (but G, S² 'the children of 'A.'), and the late (probably Maccabean) Ps. 85, 8. The land of the children of 'Ammon (in Assyr. inscriptions Bit Ammân, or, in short form, Ammân) lay immediately east of the territory captured by the Israelites from Sihon king of the Amorites, which formed the southern part of Gilead, between the Arnon and the Jabbok, and from which Sihon appears previously to have expelled the Moabites (cf. 11 note). The boundary between the two territories is given in Num. 21 (G) as Ja'zer; * a city which Eusebius places ten Roman miles west of Philadelphia and fifteen miles from Heshbon (OS. 264). The site intended seems to be the modern 'Hirbet Sâr.

* G qe'p ṣe'q qarm niq ḫm hw htw. ḫs 'For the border of the children of A. was strong,' gives an unsuitable sense in the context; and G's reading ḫn (of which ḫ is a relic) is generally adopted.

Josh. 13:3 (probably influenced by David's conquests, as related in 2 Sam. 10.11) assigns to the tribe of Gad 'half of the land of the children of 'Ammon as far as Ara'oter which is to the east of Rabbah.' In contrast with this, Deut. 210 represents Moses as forbidding the Israelites to encroach upon 'Ammonite territory.
and encamped in Gile'ad. And the children of Israel—a name which may possibly preserve a relic of the ancient name, in spite of the difference of sibilant.* The name 'Ammon is preserved in the modern 'Ammân, the site of Rabbah or Rabbath-'Ammon, the chief city of the 'Ammonites, which was rebuilt in the second century b.c. as the Roman city Philadelphia, considerable remains of which still survive.

were called to arms. Cf. 6.34 note.

Gile'ad. The country immediately east of Jordan, when accurately described in the O.T., is divided into three divisions—the Mishôr or 'Table-land' to the south, Gile'ad (or 'the Gile'ad') in the centre, and the Bashan to the north: cf. Deut. 3.10, 4.48, Josh. 20.8. This division corresponds with the physical characteristics of the country: cf. especially Smith, HG. pp. 534 f. The Mishôr, 'an absolutely treeless plateau,' covers the southern half of the modern el-Belkâ, extending from the Arnon to a line a little north of Heshbon, 'practically coincident with the Wâdy Hèsbân' (Smith, HG. p. 548). North of this, 'the country is mainly disposed in high ridges' of limestone, 'fully forested,' as far as the Yarmuk. This is the ancient Gile'ad, the name of which, if rightly connected with the Ar. ﳉ ald 'hard, rough,' is to be understood as referring to the geological characteristics of the mountain-ridges (cf. Conder, in Smith, DB. 2 i. 1191a). North of the Yarmuk lies the Bashan (cf. Ar. ḫâ'neh 'soft and smooth ground'), an ancient volcanic region, where 'the soil is rich, red loam resting on beds of ash,' and the rock black basalt.

Gile'ad is divided into halves by the Jabbok (cf. Deut. 3.12, Josh. 12.2, 5, 13.31). The southern half, together with the Mishôr (i.e. all the country between the Arnon and the Jabbok) was conquered by Israel from Sîhon king of the Amorites (Josh. 12.2), and became the territory of the tribes of Gad and Re'uben (Deut. 3.12). According to P in Josh., the Mishôr fell to Re'uben (13.15-23), and South Gile'ad to Gad

* Philological purists question, or even categorically deny, the possibility of connexion between the names Ya'zûr and Sûr on the ground of the difference between the sibilants. It is more than doubtful whether such an attitude is justified. That -prepend and -prepend were very easily confused, both within the Hebrew language itself and among the different Semitic languages, is proved by such variations as Heb. 昣 and ܐ, ܕ ܪ and ܡ, ܒ and ܒ (where the variation appears to be purely accidental, and not to embody any different shade of meaning); Heb. and W. Aram. ܪ, but Palmyrene and Syr. ܐ; Heb. ܒ, but Ar. ܕ, Aram. ܒ, Bab. ܠ for an original ܪ.

If ܫ really represents ܒScrollBar, the wearing away of the opening syllable with its weak consonants may be illustrated by Yiblēsam and Bîlâsam, modern Bel'am; Yîzrē'el, mod. Zêrin; 'Ayyâlôn, mod. Yâlô; Bēth-ē'ked, mod. Bit-kâd; 'Aphek, (probably) mod. Fîk.
gathered themselves together, and encamped in Mispaḥ. 18. And the people of Israel said every man to his fellow, ‘Who is the man who will begin to fight with the children of Ammon? he shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gile’ad.’

(13.24-28). North Gile’ad is assigned, together with the Bashan, to East Manasseh (Deut. 3.13, Josh. 13.29-33 P); and was probably conquered by Manassite clans from the west subsequently to the settlement in West Palestine: cf. note on ‘Machir,’ ch. 5.14. Such is the more accurate application of the term ‘Gile’ad’; though it seems at times to have been used with greater elasticity. Thus in Deut. 34.1 it denotes the whole of the country east of Jordan, as far north as Dan.: cf. also 1 Macc. 5.20 ff. Elsewhere, again, ‘Gile’ad’ is restricted exclusively either to the northern or the southern half of Gile’ad proper. In the present narrative (as in ch. 5.17; cf. note) it denotes the southern half, including probably the Mishōr, i.e. the whole region between the Jabbok and the Arnon—the modern el-Belkā. For the classified occurrences of the different usages, cf. BDB. s.v. The name of Gile’ad survives in the modern Gebel Gil’ād, the highest part of the mountain-range south of the Jabbok.

Mispaḥ. The site is unknown, and the various conjectures which have been put forward are devoid of all foundation. The name means ‘place of outlook’ (from the root ṣāḥa ‘to look out, watch’); hence we may infer that the city was situated on some eminence or spur of the Gile’ad-range overlooking a wide prospect. The Mispaḥ of Gen. 31.49 J can hardly be the same, since it must have lain north of the Jabbok on the north-east border of Gile’ad, overlooking Aramaean territory; unless, indeed, the verse is a later gloss upon its context, as there is some reason to suppose: cf. Driver, Westm. Comm. ad loc.

18. the people of Israel. Reading נְהִיָּה in place of נְהִיָּה ‘the people, the princes of Gile’ad.’ Here ‘the princes of Gile’ad’ is usually regarded as a late gloss, explicative of ‘the people,’ and intended to connect the verse with 11.5. If this is the case, however, why do we not read ‘the elders of G.,’ as in 11.6.7.8.9.10.11? The term ‘princes’ is not used elsewhere in the narrative. Our emendation assumes that נְהִיָּה was misread as יְנִיָּה; and that נְהִיָּה, coming thus to be regarded as the Absolute, and not the Con­struct, State, received the addition of the Definite Article.

For the expression נְהִיָּה, cf. 2 Sam. 18.7, 19.40, פִּילִי. In such a connexion פִּילִי ‘people’ has almost the force of ‘soldiers’ or ‘army’; cf. BDB. s.v., 2d; NHTK. on 1 Kgs. 16.15.
II. 1. J Now Jephthah the Gile'adite was a mighty man of valour, and he was the son of a harlot: R² and Gile'ad begat Jephthah. 2. And the wife of Gile'ad bare him sons; and when the wife's sons were grown up, they drave out Jephthah, and said to him, 'Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house, for thou art the son of another woman.' 3. J And Jephthah fled from his brethren, and dwelt in the land of Tob; and there

II. 1. Jephthah. The name means 'He (i.e. God) openeth' (sc. the womb?). The fuller form Jephthah-el is cited by Halévy as a proper name in Sabaeans (Études Sabéennes, 148), and occurs as a place-name in Josh. 19:14-27 P. Cf. the proper name Petahiah 'Yah has opened,' I Chr. 24:16, al.

1. the son of a harlot. The mother may have been a non-Israelite; and seems, at any rate, not to have belonged to the father's clan. Jephthah, as his mother's son, was therefore outside the father's clan also. Cf. note on 'his concubine,' ch. 8:31.

and Gile'ad begat, etc. Here the district is personified as father of Jephthah—a mark of late date for vv. 1b-2, which can have formed no part of the original narrative: cf. pp. 303 f. ΕΠΩ, ἡ ἐγνώσον τῷ Γαλαάδ, Γαλαάδ, Σκαὶ καὶ ἐπέκειν τῷ Γαλαάδ, seem merely to represent attempts to improve the connexion with v. 1a, and not an originally different text 'יו טבנה.'

3. the land of Tob. In 2 Sam. 10:6,8 'the men of Tob' are mentioned, together with the Aramaeans of Beth-Rehob and Zoba and the king of Ma'acah, as allied with the 'Ammonites in their war with David. Tobšow or Toubšow east of Jordan, 1 Macc. 5:13, the inhabitants of which are called Toubšewoi or Toubšewoi in 2 Macc. 12:17, is probably the same district. The Jerusalem Talmud makes the land of Tob identical with Sūšitha (Shebitha, vi. 1, fol. 36c), which is identified by Neubauer (Geographie du Talmud, p. 239) with Hippos in the Decapolis, i.e. probably the modern Sūsiyyeh on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee. This would seem to suit Sayce's proposed identification (Records of the Past, 2nd ed. p. 45) with Tubi mentioned by Thutmosi III. in a list of conquered cities a little before Astiratu, i.e. Tell 'Aštarah, this latter being twenty miles east-north-east of Sūsiyyeh. Conder (Heth and Moab, p. 176) and Smith (HG, p. 587) find the name Tob in the modern et-Tayyibeh, south of the Yarmūk and some eight miles, a little south of due west of Irbid. Buhl. (Geogr., p. 257, n.967) refers to another et-Tayyibeh, some twenty-three miles east of Irbid, between Der'ā and Boşrā.

worthless men. Lit. 'empty men,' as in ch. 9:1. 'Worthless' is not altogether a satisfactory rendering. Heb. rékîm, as here used, does not specifically imply moral obliquity; but rather a lack of the qualities which command success in the leading of a regular life
collected themselves worthless men unto Jephthah, and they went out with him.

4. And after a while the children of 'Ammon fought with Israel. 5. Gl. And when the children of 'Ammon fought with Israel, J the elders of Gilead went to fetch Jephthah from the land of Tob. 6. And they said to Jephthah, 'Come, and be our ruler, that we may fight with the children of 'Ammon.' 7. And Jephthah said to the elders of Gilead, 'Was it not ye who hated me, and drave me out from my father's house? Why then are ye come unto me now when ye are in straits?' 8. And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, 'Therefore have we now returned unto thee; so go with us, and fight with the children of 'Ammon, and thou shalt be head over us, even over all the inhabitants of Gilead.' 9. And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, 'If ye bring me back to fight with the children of Ammon, and Yahweh deliver them before me, I shall be head

('ne'er-do-wells'), and possibly also (as suggested by the usage of the adverbal form רֶקִים, 'with empty hands') a lack of material goods such as property and tribal status. Cf. the description of the men who attached themselves to David when he was leading the life of an outlaw in the cave of 'Adullam, 1 Sam. 22:2. These include unsuccessful, needy, and discontented men, to whom it is not necessary to suppose that any moral stigma was attached. In 2 Sam. 6:20, 2 Chr. 13:7, רֶקִים does seem to denote the absence of specific moral qualities. In post-Biblical Heb. the term comes to denote intellectual vacuity (cf. the use of χερός in Jas. 2:20); but is also often used as a general term of contempt (so probably פַּקָדָו = מְסַיִם in Matt. 5:22).

went out with him. I.e. engaged in predatory forays.

5. And when, etc. Literally rendered, the Heb. runs, 'And it came to pass, when the children of 'A. fought with Israel, and the elders of G., etc.,' it being idiomatic in Hebrew to continue with 'and' after the time-determination, which is really a parenthesis. Thus, if we regard the first half of the verse as a later gloss (cf. p. 304), the 'and' connects v.6b directly on to v.4. Cf. the similar note on ch. 1:1 'the children of Israel enquired.'


8. Therefore, etc. The words contain a tacit admission that they were in the wrong. At all costs it was necessary to secure Jephthah's aid without further parley. Εάλ. οὐχ οὐτως, i.e. οὐκ οὐτως for οὐκ ὁ, is certainly incorrect.
over you?' 10. And the elders of Gile'ad said unto Jephtha'h, 'Yahweh shall be hearer between us; surely according to thy word so will we do.' 11. So Jephtha'h went with the elders of Gile'ad, and the people set him over them as head and ruler; and Jephtha'h spake all his words before Yahweh in Mispah.

12. E And Jephtha'h sent messengers unto the king of *RJE* the children of *Ammon*, E saying, 'What hast thou to do with me, that thou art come unto me to fight against my land?' 13. And the king of *RJE* the children of *Ammon* E said unto the messengers of Jephtha'h, 'Israel took away my land when they came up out of Egypt, from Arnon even unto the Jabbok, and unto the Jordan: now, therefore, restore it peaceably.' 14. And

10. hearer. The expression is used in a judicial sense, as in 2 Sam. 15 3, Deut. 11 17, al. Cf. the manner in which the compact is sealed, as related in v.11h.

11. and Jephtha'h spake, etc. The reference is to the compact of v.10. Jephtha'h was not content with a merely casual promise; but took care that it should be solemnly ratified at the local sanctuary of Mispah, and therefore in Yahweh's presence as 'hearer.'

12. unto the king of the children of *Ammon.* Upon the reasons which compel us to suppose that the message was addressed to Moab, and that, throughout vv.12-28, 'the children of *Ammon* has been substituted for 'Moab,' cf. pp. 298 f.

What hast thou to do with me? Lit. 'What to me and to thee?' i.e. 'What business have we with each other?' the regular idiom in deprecation of interference: cf. 2 Sam. 16 10, 19 22, 1 Kgs. 17 18, 2 Kgs. 3 13, 2 Chr. 35 21, Matt. 8 29, Mark 5 7, John 2 4. The ordinary rendering 'What have I to do with thee?' obscures the sense.

13. Israel took away my land, etc. The excuse had some amount of justification if, as we gather from Num. 21 26, the territory in question, though captured by Israel from Si'lon king of the Amorites, had previously been wrested by Si'lon from Moab.

from Arnon. The modern Wâdy Mogib, which runs into the Dead Sea from the east, about twenty-two miles from its northern end. A description of the ravine of the Arnon is given on p. 221.

even unto the Jabbok. The modern Wâdy ez-Zerka, the principal tributary of the Jordan. The distance from the Arnon to the Jabbok is about fifty miles; and the breadth of the strip of territory from the Jordan to Hirbet Sâr (assuming this to be the site of Ja'zer; cf. 10 17 note) about sixteen miles.

restore it. Reading sing. דָּהַן (in reference to 'דָּהַן 'my land') with some MSS. of G, L, E, in place of plur. דָּהַנ.
Jephthal sent messengers yet again unto the king of the children of 'Ammon, 15. and said to him, 'Thus saith Jephthal, Israel did not take away the land of Moab, and the land of the children of 'Ammon. 16. But when they came up from Egypt, Israel went through the wilderness unto the Red Sea, and came to Kadesh. 17. And Israel sent messengers unto the king of Edom, saying, "Prithee, let me pass through thy land"; but the king of Edom hearkened not: and also unto the king of Moab did he send; but he was unwilling: so Israel dwelt in Kadesh. 18. Then he went through the wilderness, and compassed the land of Edom and the land of Moab, and came along the eastern side of the land.


16. went through . . . to Kadesh. Bu., following Wellh. and Holzinger, finds in this passage support for the theory of a more original narrative of the wilderness-journey, direct from the Red Sea to Kadesh, which was the scene of the giving of the Law. But, however probable may be the theory which locates Sinai or Horeb in the near neighbourhood of Kadesh (cf. pp. 109 ff.), no support can justly be drawn for this or any similar theory from the present passage; since Jephthal's sole concern was to relate the negotiations which took place from Kadesh, and any allusion to earlier events of the journey, e.g. the law-giving at Sinai, would have been wholly out of place. La. remarks justly, 'Surtout Jephte ne peut vraiment pas remonter au déluge; les faits du Sinaï n'avaient rien à faire ici: il mentionne la sortie d'Egypte par la mer Rouge et arrive aussitôt à Cadès, point de départ des négociations.'

17. And Israel . . . Edom. Cf. Num. 20:14 E, 'And Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom.' 

Prithee . . . land. Cf. Num. 20:17 E, 'Prithee let us pass through thy land.'

but the king of Edom hearkened not. A summary of Num. 20:18-21 E, and also unto the king of Moab, etc. We find no account of negotiations with Moab in Num. or Deut.


18. Then he went . . . Edom. Cf. Num. 20:21b-22h, 'So Israel turned aside from him. And they journeyed from Kadesh,' Num. 21:4, 'by way of the Red Sea to compass the land of Edom.' All that intervenes in Num., from 20:22 to 21:4 down to 'Mount Hor,' is derived from sources other than E.

compassed. I.e. 'went round,' so as to avoid encroaching upon it.

and came along . . . Moab. Cf. Num. 21:11 E, 'and they encamped . . . over against Moab on the eastern side.'
of Moab, and they encamped on the other side of Arnon, and did not come within the border of Moab; for Arnon was the border of Moab. 19. And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, the king of Heshbon, and Israel said to him, "Prsithee, let us pass through thy land unto my place."

20. But Sihon refused to allow Israel to pass through his

and they encamped, etc. Cf. Num. 21 13 E, 'and they encamped on the other side (מרכיב) of Arnon, which is in the wilderness that cometh forth from the border of the Amorites; for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites.'

19. And Israel sent, etc. Cf. Num. 21 21-22 E, 'And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, saying, Let me pass through thy land. . . . By the king's highway will we go until we shall have passed thy border.' Deut. 2 26-27, 'And I sent messengers from the wilderness of Edemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying, Let me pass through thy land: by the highway only will I go; I will neither turn aside to the right hand nor to the left.'

Heshbon. The modern Hesbān, sixteen miles east of Jordan and twenty-four miles north of the Arnon.

20. But Sihon refused, etc. Reading 'יתן יד את הארץ ברר; cf. Num. 20 21 הניָה רְאוּ עֲבֵר בְּכִלָּל, support שָׁטוּ for שָׁטֵט; Isaiah 37 35, 39 8, 48 10, Num. 20 21, 22 14, 2 Sam. 13 9, 1 Kings 20 38, Isa. 1 21, Hosea 11 6, and frequently in Jer.), but clearly did not read תאם 'to allow,' as above adopted, since this would certainly have been represented in translation by doīnavai; cf. Num. 20 21 כִּי עָבְרָהַנָּה וַעֲבֹד doīnav τῷ Ἰσραήλ παρελθείν κτλ.

Num. 21 23 reads '不准 את הארץ ברר 'ו like '不准 עבָר בְּכִלָּל; and it is possible that our author, having this text before him, and intending to substitute תאם for תאם may have accidentally omitted תאם since the construction רבד '不准 עבָר is quite unparalleled, and cannot have been intentionally written (is regularly followed by the Infinitive). This hypothesis explains the rendering of ἔδωκα, ἔδωκα, and also the corruption of שֶׁלֶם first into שֶׁלֶם and then into שֶׁלֶם in ש. An alternative hypothesis
border, and Šiḥon gathered together all his people, and they pitched in Jahas; and he fought with Israel. 21. And Yahweh the God of Israel gave Šiḥon and all his people into the hand of

is to suppose that the בְּזָא before בָּשָׁר is a corruption of הָבַּר, which was already existent in the Heb. MS used by ו. ו, as it stands, is rendered by R.V. 'But Šiḥon trusted not Israel to pass, etc.'; but the Heb. construction is impossible. Had the writer wished to use the verb בָּשָׁר in this connexion he would have written some such sentence as 'Blake אַשָּׁר אֱבָנָי מָא' בלע ו. ו, 'But Šiḥon did not trust in Israel, nor suffer them to pass, etc.' Deut. 2:30, אַשָּׁר אֱבָנָי מָא, 'But Šiḥon king of Heshbon was not willing to let us pass by him.'

_and Šiḥon gathered... Israel._ Cf. Num. 21:23 E, 'and Šiḥon gathered together all his people, and went out against Israel to the wilderness, and came to Jahas, and fought with Israel'; Deut. 2:32 'and Šiḥon came out against us, he and all his people, to battle at Jahas.'

_in Jahas._ Heb. מָבַע 'in Jahas,' with so-called מ locative ending. So Jer. 48:21, 1 Chr. 6:78, ו. ו; cf. Num. 21:23, Deut. 2:32 (where, however, the מ loc. may embody the sense of direction towards, after a verb of motion—'to Jahas'). We find the form מָבַע Jahas, Josh. 13:18. Elsewhere the form is Jahaš; Isa. 15:4, Jer. 48:34, Moabite Stone, ll. 19, 20. The site is unidentified. Our narrative suggests that the city must have lain on the south-east border of Šiḥon's territory, north of the upper reaches of the Arnon, and this view is supported by its mention in 1 Chr. 6:78 as a Levitical city in Re'uben next before Kedemoth: cf. the reference in Deut. 2:36 to the wilderness of Kedemoth (i.e. 'eastern regions') as the district outside Šiḥon's territory to the east from which Israel sent an embassy to him. Mesha, king of Moab says (Moabite Stone, loc. cit.), 'And the king of Israel had built Jahaš, and abode in it, while he fought against me. But Chemosh drove him out from before me; and I took of Moab two hundred men, even all its chiefs, and I brought them up against Jahaš, and took it, to add it unto Dibon.' This suggests proximity to Dibon (the modern Dībān), to the east of which the site of Jahaš is probably to be sought. Eusebius states (OS. 264:84) that the site was shown in his day between Medeba and Dibon (if this is intended by Δησως); but this would place it too far to the west, well into the interior of Šiḥon's territory.

21. _And Yahweh... smote them._ Cf. Deut. 2:33, 'And Yahweh our God gave him up before us, and we smote him and his sons and all his people.' Num. 21:32a E has simply 'and Israel smote him at the edge of the sword.'
Israel, and they smote them: so Israel possessed all the land of the Amorites, who dwelt in that land. 22. And they possessed all the border of the Amorites, from Arnon even unto the Jabbok, and from the wilderness even unto the Jordan. 23. So now, Yahweh the God of Israel hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and shouldest thou possess them? 24. Those that Chemosh thy god dispossest—wilt thou not so Israel possessed, etc. Cf. Num. 21 26 E, 'and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites.'

22. And they possessed, etc. Cf. Num. 21 24b E, 'and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, unto the children of 'Ammon; for 'Ja'zer' is the border of the children of 'Ammon' (on the reading, cf. note on 10 17). In Deut. 2 36,37 the conquered territory is defined as extending from 'Aro'er on the edge of the Wady Arnon as far as Gile'ad, i.e. the northern half of Gile'ad, north of the Jabbok (on the variations in the use of the term 'Gile'ad,' cf. note on 10 17); and the fact is carefully noted that no encroachment was made on the territory of 'Ammon, this latter being defined as 'all the side of the Wady Jabbok and the cities of the hill country': cf. Josh. 12 2 R0. Here the reference must be to the upper course of the Jabbok, which, starting eastwards in the neighbourhood of Ḥirbet Ṣâr (Ja'zer) takes a northward and then north-westward curve before turning due westward, and thus seems in this passage to be regarded as the (ideal) boundary between Israel and 'Ammon.*

23. and shouldest thou, etc. The italics, here and in v. 24, represent great emphasis in the original.

possess them. I.e., of course, 'possess their territory.' So in v. 24.

24. those that Chemosh, etc. The speaker assumes just as real an existence for Chemosh as for Yahweh. He is no monotheist in the proper sense of the term, i.e. he does not hold the doctrine that Yahweh is the one and only God of the whole earth, and that the existence of other gods is a delusion. Yahweh is for him, doubtless, the sole object of Israel's allegiance and worship; but the holding of

* In Num. 21 24b it is doubtful whether 'unto Jabbok' defines the northern limit of the territory merely; or, taking a comprehensive survey of the whole course of the wady, makes the reference to define the northern and eastern borders. On the latter hypothesis, 'unto the children of 'Ammon' is a further definition of this north-east border-line in so far as the upper part of the Jabbok-wady is identical with the border of 'Ammon. The fact, however, that in our passage in Judg. 'unto Jabbok' clearly defines the northern limit of Siḥon's territory, 'from the wilderness' explaining the eastern limit, makes it probable that the expression is used in the same way in Num., the statement meaning—the strip of territory as defined from south to north, of which the eastern limit is the land of 'Ammon, marching with Siḥon's territory along a line which runs approximately north, and south through Ja'zer. Cf. Gray, ICC. ad loc.
possess them? so, all that Yahweh our God hath dispossessed from before us—them will we possess. 25. Now, then, art this faith (monolatry) does not hinder him from believing that Chemosh really stands in the same kind of relation to Moab as Yahweh does to his own nation; i.e. he thinks of Yahweh as the national God of Israel, not as the God of the whole earth. His religious belief thus differs from that of the eighth-century prophets and their successors, who proclaim a doctrine of virtual monotheism—i.e. a doctrine which, if not as yet in all respects worked out to its logical conclusion, yet undoubtedly contains all the elements of a full belief in the existence of one God only. Further passages in the O.T. which embody the more primitive conception are noticed and discussed in the editor's Outlines of O. T. Theology, pp. 34 ff.

Chemosh. Cf. Introd. to the narrative, p. 299. Chemosh is always mentioned elsewhere in the O.T. as the god of the Moabites; Num. 21:9, 1 Kgs. 11:33, 2 Kgs. 23:13, Jer. 48:13,14,46. In Num. 21:9, Jer. 48:46 Moab is called 'the people of Chemosh.' In the inscription of the Moabite Stone Mesha' king of Moab ascribes the oppression of Moab by Israel to the fact that 'Chemosh was angry with his land' (l. 5); and the turn in Moab's fortunes which is marked by successes against Israel is regarded as due to the renewal of the favour of the god (ll. 8 f., 33), who is pictured as directing Mesha's plan of campaign: 'And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel' (l. 14); 'Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Horonèn' (l. 32). Chemosh is represented as the leader in battle, 'Chemosh drive him (the king of Israel) out (of Jahas) from before me' (l. 19); the population of the city of 'Abaroth is utterly devoted to him as a 'gazing-stock' or spectacle over which he may gloat with satisfaction (Nùn, l. 12); and the altar-hearth of the divine Patron of the city is dragged before him at Keriyoth as a trophy (ll. 12 f.). In this mode of thought, and the phraseology in which it finds expression, we cannot fail to trace close resemblance to the ideas which were current in Israel in early times as to Yahweh's relationship to His people.

Two kings of Moab, as known to us, bear names which are honorific to Chemosh—Chemoshkán,§ i.e. '(He whom) Chemosh has established' (cf. נעננ, נטננ, ינקנ, similar forms in honour of Yahweh),


‡ Cf. note on 'Dodo,' ch. 10.

§ The second element in the name is doubtful, the letters being nearly illegible. The reading adopted is that of Lidsbarski, as the result of a fresh examination of the stone (cf. Ephemeris für Semit. Ergr. i. pp. 3 f.). The old reading, Chemoshmelekh, seems to be excluded by the fact that there is scarcely room for more than two consonants. Clermont-Ganneau has suggested Chemoshgad.
thou at all better than Balak the son of Sippor, king of Moab? Did he contend at all with Israel, or did he fight at all against them? 26. When Israel dwelt in Heshbon and its dependencies, and in 'Aro'ér and its dependencies, and in all the cities

the father of Mesha' (Moabite Stone, l. 1), and Kammusunadbi, the Assyr. form of Chemoshnadab, i.e. probably 'Chemosh is liberal or princely' (cf. הַמָּשֹׁשׁנַדָּב), who is mentioned by Šennacherib as paying tribute in B.C. 701 (K.B. ii. p. 90). The Bab. form (ilu) Ka-mušu-šar-ušur '(god) Chemosh protect the king' occurs in a business-document of the sixth year of Cambyses (quoted in KAT.3 p. 472). Two seals of doubtful date and genuineness bear respectively the legends לֵבָכָה וַתְּהַל לֵבָכָה 'belonging to Chemoshedeq,' 'belonging to Chemoshshib,' in Phoenician characters (cf. Lidsbarski, Ephemeris für Semit. Epigr. i. pp. 136 ff.); and each has a representation of the winged solar-disk, possibly, as Baethgen suggests (Beiträge, p. 14), connecting Chemosh with the sun.

dispossesseth. Reading יִשֵּׂרָאָל with Mo. in place of יִשְׂרָאֵל, R.V. 'giveth thee to possess.' The correction seems to be demanded by the parallel clause in the latter half of the verse, and the final י may very probably have arisen through dittography from the initial letter of יִשְׂרָאָל. On the verb הֹרִית, meaning both 'to cause to possess' and 'to dispossess,' cf. note on 119.

25. Balak the son of Sippor. The story of Balak and Bala'amm, Num. 22:2-24:28, is a composite narrative which raises problems of more than ordinary difficulty. Most scholars hold that the sources J and E are here combined: but the characteristics of J are not so well marked as those of E, and the existence of the former source has thus been questioned; whilst the question of the stages by which the narrative attained its present form affords scope for considerable difference of opinion. Cf. Gray's full discussion in ICC. pp. 307 ff.

26. dependencies. Lit. 'daughters.' Cf. ch. 137. The expression is commonly characteristic of J.

'Aro'ér. Vocalizing, as normally, אֶרֶץ, in place of the anomalous אֶרֶץ of מָרָא. The city is the modern 'Arār: cf. note p. 221. It is commonly mentioned as situated 'on the edge (lip) of the Wady Arnon,' and as the southernmost limit of the territory conquered by Israel from Sihon.

מִא, in place of in 'Aro'ér' reads יִמְעֵה, and in place of 'by the side of Arnon,' מִא reads παρὰ τῶν ἤρων,...'juxta Jordanem'; and these readings are adopted by Mo. (SBOT,' followed by La., Cooke) on the ground that 'Aroer and the Arnon come from v.18 (cf. Num. 21:13ff); while Jaazer and the Jordan, which are not suggested by anything in the context, are original.' More probably, as Bu.
which are by the side of Arnon, three hundred years; why, pray, didst thou not recover them at that time? 27. I, therefore, have not sinned against thee; but thou dost me wrong in fighting against me. Let Yahweh, who is Judge this day, judge between the children of Israel and the children of ‘Ammon.

28. E Howbeit, the king of the children of ‘Ammon hearkened not unto the words of Jephthah which he sent unto him.

29. J And the spirit of Yahweh came upon Jephthah, and he (Comm.) suggests, they represent a later attempt to adapt the argument to Israel's relations with ‘Ammon, instead of (as was originally intended; cf. pp. 298 ff.) with Moab. On Ja'zer, as marking the boundary between the territories of Israel and ‘Ammon, cf. notes on 10, 11.

three hundred years. On the source of this figure, cf. p. 304.

why, pray. Lit. 'and why.' On the idiomatic use of a copulative to give a forcible and sarcastic turn to a question, cf. NHTK. on 1 Kgs. 22, and note on ch. 6.

didst thou not recover them. Vocalizing ὑπέρσεις with ἔτοιμω αὐτῷ, Stu., Mo., in place of ἰδία τόπων (plural verb with object unexpressed). The sing. verb is in agreement with the context, the subject being, not the particular king of Moab addressed, but the land of Moab personified as an individual. Cf. v. 27b, where 'I' clearly refers, not to Jephthah, but to Israel (cf. v. 10). Strictly speaking, we should expect a fem. suff. in reference to the 'cities' preceding; but such a use of masc. suff. for fem. is not uncommon: cf. G-K. § 1350.

27. I, therefore, etc. For the form and thought of the sentence, cf. 1 Sam. 24 12, 'And I have not sinned against thee, but thou art hunting my life to take it.'

who is Judge this day. Connecting ὅμιλον closely with ὅπως, as the order of words seems to demand. So Mo. R.V., in agreement with accents (which connect ἀνώτατον more closely with the preceding ἑλπίζει than with the following ἰδίως), renders 'The Lord, the Judge, be judge this day,' making ὅπως to refer to the verb ἰδίως at the commencement of the sentence. For the invocation of Yahweh as arbiter between two parties, cf. Gen. 16 5 J, 1 Sam. 24 12, 13.

29. And the spirit of Yahweh, etc. Cf. ch. 3 note.

and he passed, etc. The passage is obscure; but not so obscure as it appears to those scholars who fail to recognize the combination of two sources in the narrative (cf. the remarks of Mo., and the paraphrase of them given by Cooke). Looking at the opening statement of the verse, 'And the spirit of Yahweh came upon Jephthah,' and comparing it with the connexion in which the identical phrase (of Othniel)
passed through Gile'ad and Manasseh, and he passed over to Mizpeh of Gile'ad, and from Mizpeh of Gile'ad he passed over to

stands in 310, and the similar phrase (of Gideon) in 634, we may justly infer that what follows refers to Jephthah's efforts to raise an army to meet the Ammonites: nor is this inference invalidated by the fact that, according to 1017, an army had already been mustered (Mo., Cooke), since, as we have seen, this verse belongs to a different narrative. Even 1118, which, according to our analysis, belongs to the same source as 1120, cannot be cited to the contrary (as by Mo.), since 'the people' of Gile'ad who made Jephthah their head can hardly have been already a fully organized army. They doubtless formed some part of the material for such an army; but the whole point of the narrative 1111 is that the Gile'adites resorted to Jephthah because they possessed no one of sufficient initiative not only to lead but also to raise an army at all adequate to meet the aggressor. Observing further that the closing statement of v.29 (picked up and expanded in v.32 after the interposition of a portion of the other source, vv.30,31) speaks of Jephthah's advance to give battle to the Ammonites, it may be claimed that our inference that the middle part of the verse refers to the mustering of the army becomes a certainty.

Granted, however, that this is the case, it still appears most improbable that the narrative stands in its original form. The phrase יִהְיֶהוּ אֶלֶף אֲלֹהֵי צִדְכָּה can only be intended to mean 'and he passed through Gilead, etc.'; but in this sense the construction (יִהְיֶהוּ followed by the Accusative) is almost, if not quite, without parallel* (the regular construction is יִהְיֶהוּ). As the text stands, 'Gile'ad' is here, as elsewhere in the narrative, the region south of the Jabbokh (cf. 1017 note), while 'Manasseh' most probably denotes the region to the north of the wady, i.e. East Manasseh. We cannot be sure that clans from West Manasseh had by this time crossed the Jordan and made their settlement in the east (they had not done so in the time of Deborah; cf. note on 'Machir,' ch. 514); though this is a consideration which need not have weighed with a narrator who may have assumed that what was true of his own age was also true of an earlier period. Still, taking note of Jephthah's claim in 122 to have summoned Ephraim to his assistance without success (a statement which seems to presuppose an earlier reference in the narrative from

* Possible instances, e.g. Gen. 3232 והָאָרֶץ עֶבֶּרָה אֲלֹהֵי צִדְכָּה Josh. 166 and Josh. 164 are probably to be understood in the sense pass by (cf. with the Accus., Judg. 338, 2 Kgs. 69), rather than pass through. In any case, these passages deal with city-sites, not with widely extended districts like Gilead and Manasseh. Notice the carefully marked contrast in Num. 2017, 2128 between בַּעֲרָה pass through or traverse a land, fields, vineyards, and with Accus. pass over or cross the border of a land regarded as a definitely marked line.
11. 31. THE BOOK OF JUDGES to the children of 'Ammon. 30. E And Jephthah vowed a vow to Yahweh and said, 'If thou wilt indeed give the children of 'Ammon into my hand, then the person that cometh forth from the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace, shall belong to Yahweh, and I will offer him up as a burnt offering.'

which it is drawn), it is not unlikely (as Holzinger and Bu. suggest) that 'Ephraim' may originally have stood in the present passage in place of 'Gilead'; in which case 'Manasseh' will refer to West and not to East Manasseh. Thus (reading three times after יְדָעֵן) the passage may have run 'and he crossed over (the Jordan) to Ephraim and to Manasseh, and he crossed over (again) to Mispeh of Gilead.' The double יְדָעֵן, if referring to his crossing and re-crossing the Jordan (cf. 6:23), is thus not redundant.

Even so, the passage must have been abbreviated from its original form, as 12 certainly presupposes prior mention of the fact that the appeal to Ephraim was fruitless. Probably the narrative was cut down and mutilated when the two sources J and E were pieced together; and this, possibly, in view of the fact that the narrative E in ro 17 pictures the Israelite army as already mustered and encamped at Miṣpah. Such a conclusion at any rate may suffice to account for the obscurity of the verse, which the view that it 'is a somewhat unskilful attempt to fasten the new cloth, v. 12-28, into the old garment' (Mo.), or (otherwise expressed) that 'an editorial hand has attempted to pick up the thread of the narrative after the long interpolation, vv. 12-28' (Cooke) certainly does not do.

and he passed over to Miṣpah, etc. Reading for ה, as seems to be demanded by the context. Whatever view be taken as to the precise form of the description of Jephthah's earlier movements (cf. note preceding), we can in the present statement scarcely find anything else than the account of his return to Miṣpah after raising his army, and immediately prior to his attack upon the foe. The forms Miṣpah, Miṣpah appear to be used interchangeably with reference both to this locality and to others of the same name.

to the children of 'Ammon. Inserting before יְלַעַבְנָה with twelve MSS. of ה.

31. then the person that cometh forth, etc. Lit. 'the comer-forth that cometh forth'—a phrase which implies that from the first a human sacrifice is contemplated. Ros., Stu., and others quote the remarkable parallel from Servius on Aeneid, iii. 331: 'Idomeneus de semine Deucalionis natus, Cretensium rex, cum post eversam Trojam reverteteretur, in tempestate devovit diis sacrificaturum se de re, quae primum occurrisset. Contigit autem, ut filius ejus primus
RJE So Jephthah passed over unto the children of Ammon
J to fight against them, and Yahweh gave them into his hand.

And he smote them E from 'Aro' er until thou comest to
occurreret: quem cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset, ut alii, immolare
voluisset, et post orta esset pestilentia, a civibus pulsus est regno.'
Cheyne (EB. 2362) cites an Arabian tradition mentioned by Lyall
(Ancient Arabian Poetry, Introd. p. xxxviii): 'Al-Mundhir had
made a vow that on a certain day in each year he would sacrifice the
first person he saw: 'Abid [a poet] came in sight on the unlucky
day, and was accordingly killed, and the altar smeared with his
blood.'

The narrator, though regarding the sequel of the vow—the fact
that the victim should prove to be the hero's only child—as a terrible
tragedy, yet does not seem to hold that such a vow is contrary to the
spirit of Yahweh's religion. It is an extraordinary sacrifice, offered
in a great emergency as a supreme bid for the active co-operation of
the deity. Cf. the Moabite king's sacrifice of his firstborn son as a
last resort (2 Kgs. 3:26-27)—a costly sacrifice which is supposed by the
narrator to have been effectual in arousing the god Chemosh, and
thus enabling the Moabites to expel the invaders from their land.*
On the further evidence for the occurrence of human sacrifice among

from 'Aro' er. Besides the frequently mentioned city on the
east of the Wady Arnon (cf. v. 26 note), there was, according to Josh.
13:26 P, another city named 'Aro' er to the east of Rabbath-Ammon, i.e.
in Ammonite territory. Our ignorance as to the source of the present
statement forbids our making a decision as to which 'Aro' er is here
referred to. If (as we conjecturally suppose) the source is E, then
the reference will be to 'Aro' er on the Arnon. If, on the other hand,
the passage is an extract from J, the allusion probably is to the 'Aro' er
of Josh. 13:25.

Minnith. The site is unknown. Eusebius (OS. 500 44) identifies
it with a village called Maavid, four Roman miles from Heshbon, on
the road to Philadelphia; a locality which, according to Buhl (Geogr.
p. 266), would suit the modern ruins which bear the name Ḫeṣrām.
Such a position, however, appears unsuitable either to the Moabite (E)
or the Ammonite (J) narrative. 'Unto Minnith' marks the extreme
limit within which the twenty cities smitten must be pictured as lying;
and clearly these can hardly have been within the invaded territory,
i.e. Israelite cities which had previously been captured and occupied
by the foe. Indeed, upon either view of the site of 'Aro' er, such an
assumption is impossible, since 'Aro' er marks the starting-point of
the conquest, which must be presumed to have extended from

* On this explanation of the somewhat obscure passage in 2 Kgs. 3:27, 'And
there came great wrath, etc.,' cf. NHTK. ad loc.
Minnith, even twenty cities, as far as Abel-keramim, with a very
great slaughter. So the children of Ammon were subdued
before the children of Israel.

34. E And Jephthah came to Mizpah unto his house; and
behold his daughter coming forth to meet him with timbrels and
and dances: and she was absolutely an only child: he had not
beside her son or daughter. 35. And when he saw her, he
rent his garments, and said, Alas, my daughter! thou hast
indeed brought me low, and thou art become the supreme cause

'Aro'er on the Arnon southward into Moabite territory (if the state-
ment comes from E), or from 'Aro'er to the east of Rabbath-"Ammon
presumably further eastward (if it comes from J).

Abel-keramim. The name means 'meadow of vineyards'; and
Eusebius (OS. 225) informs us that in his day there was a village
named Abel with productive vineyards (κόμη Αμώνελεπόφορος) six miles
from Philadelphia (Rabbath-"Ammon)—though in what direction he
does not state. If we may assume that this is a correct identification,
the statement 'as far as Abel-keramim' is naturally to be assigned
to J.

34. and behold his daughter, etc. So the Israelite women celebrate
the triumph of their people in Ex. 15:20⁺ E (exactly as here, 'with
timbrels and with dances'), 1 Sam. 18:6⁺, Ps. 68:11 (Ps 12). she was absolutely an only child. The Heb. is extraordinarily
emphatic—lit. 'and she only was an only child.' R.V., by omitting
to render the Heb. יְהוּ֖דָּה, misses this emphasis altogether.

beside her. Reading יְהוּ֖דָּה with fem. suffix, in place of the erroneous

35. brought me low. Lit. 'bowed me down.' The expression is
very forcible.

the supreme cause of my trouble. Heb. יְהוּ֖דָּה. Lit. 'as (in the
character of) my troublers,' the idiomatic ב essentiae (cf. BDB. sub ב I. 7) followed by the plural denoting intensity (the so-called pluralis
excellentiae). R.V. 'thou art one of them that trouble me' misses the
force of the expression altogether, supposing it to mean 'among my
troublers.' We find exactly the same idiom in Ps. 54:4 (Ps 6), 'The Lord
is the great support of my soul' (Heb. יְהוּ֖דָּה, lit. 'in the character
of the supporters'); Ps. 118:7, 'Yahweh is for me my great helper'
(Heb. יְהוּ֖דָּה, lit. 'in the character of my helpers'). In both these
passages (as in our passage) the feeble and erroneous rendering of
R.V. implies that Yahweh is only one among many helpers!

The Heb. verb 'אָכַּה, for which the only general reading is 'to
trouble,' denotes, as its occurrences prove, the causing of poignant
of my trouble; seeing that I have opened my mouth unto
Yahweh, and cannot go back.' 36. And she said unto him,
'My father, thou hast opened thy mouth unto Yahweh; do to
distress or anxiety. In New Heb. it has the meaning 'to make
turbid'; in Ar. 'akira 'to be turbid.'

The renderings of Jephthah's words in ταραξάς εταραξάς...καὶ
σὺ ἂν ἐν τῷ ταραξῷ μου, ἢ ἐπιποδοστάτηκας μοι, ἢ ἐπιποδοστάτηκας μοι
'Thou hast utterly overthrown me, and thou art to-day one of my overthrows,' ἢ 'decepi me, et ipsa decepta es,' suggest a Heb. original with the same verb in each
clause. This may have been ἐμπεπόδοστάτηκας μοι; though in the thirteen other occurrences of this root none of these Versions represent it by the verbs
which they use in this passage. ἐμπεπόδοστάτηκας μοι (so ἐποδοστάτηκας μοι,
L 'impedisti me') certainly suggests ἐμπέποδοστάτηκας μοι; cf. the rendering of
ὑπορέχεις by ἐμπεπόδοστάτης in 1 Chr. 27. If, however, the first clause
had originally run ὑπορέχεις, ἐμπεπόδοστάτης (rendered by the ἐμπεπόδοστάτης group, elis σκόλουν ἐγείνον ἐν ὀψιαλμοῖς μου points to
Maltese thorn or sharp-pointed instrument (rendered by σκόλουν Ex. 10, Deut. 7)
Judg. 8) being apparently taken by the translator in the sense of a thorn or sharp-pointed instrument (cf. its use in Job 40).
More probably the Heb. was intended to mean 'Thou art become
a snare in my sight,' i.e. an almost irresistible temptation to break
the vow made to Yahweh, the existence of which he makes known
to her in the next clause.

Τ, Α, Σ, Θ support the text of Χ, from which there is no good
reason to depart.

I have opened my mouth. The Heb. verb ἔπασα 'to open' is
similarly used (with subj. ἔφη which my lips uttered) of making
vows in Ps. 66.

36. do to me, etc. Since the father has not actually mentioned his
vow to the daughter, Bu. (RS. p. 126) supposes that the narrative
must have undergone abbreviation, the daughter's inquiry as to the
cause of her father's distress, and his explanation of it, having fallen
out. But Mo. is assuredly correct when he remarks, 'To me it seems,
on the contrary, much more in accord with the native art of the story-
teller that he lets the situation and a woman's quick presentiment
suffice, without this prosaic explanation.'
me according to that which hath gone forth from thy mouth, forasmuch as Yahweh hath wrought for thee full vengeance upon thine enemies, R\textsuperscript{K} even upon the children of 'Ammon.'

37. E And she said unto her father, 'Let this thing be done for me; let me alone two months, that I may go, and wander free upon the mountains, and weep over my maidenhood—I and my

\textit{that which hath gone forth, etc.} The same expression is used of a vow in Num. 30\textsuperscript{2} (תְּוִיאָה).

\textit{full vengeance.} Heb. 'vengeances'—another case of the intensive plural. Cf., for other instances, G-K. § 124e.

37. \textit{and wander free.} Reading \textit{בְּעָרֵבָּה} with RSm., Kit., Cooke. Cf. the use of the verb \textit{רֹדְה} in Jer. 2\textsuperscript{31} 'we have wandered at large'; and Ar. \textit{רֵדָה} 'to go to and fro.* \textit{לְפָנַי שְׁפָתֶק}, that I may go \textit{and go down} upon the mountains' is obviously impossible, it being a forced expedient to follow Kimchi, who explains that 'Mispah, where Jephthah's house was, was higher than the surrounding mountains; or else the verb is used with reference to the valley which lay between Mispah and the mountains.'\textsuperscript{†} \textit{לְעָמַר} 'circumseam,' \textit{לֹא} 'walk about,' \textit{לְעָרַבָּה} 'and wander' (lit. 'extend myself') suggest our emendation \textit{לְעָרַבָּה} in order to obtain the sense demanded by the context.

The view that \textit{לְעָרַבָּה} is out of place, and should properly stand at the end of the verse, either as a gloss (Doorn.) or a genuine part of the text (Bu.), in the sense 'and then I will descend'—i.e. return from the mountains to offer myself as a willing victim—has nothing to commend it. If it is unnatural to speak of 'descending' from Mispah to the mountains, the converse is equally unnatural; since Mispah, as its name implies (10\textsuperscript{3} note), must have stood on a prominent height.

\textit{and weep over my maidenhood.} Stanley (\textit{Jewish Church}, I. Lect. xvi.) aptly compares the lament of Antigone (Sophocles, \textit{Ant.} 890), of which

* La. emends \textit{לְעָרַבָּה}, the Hiph'ēl of the same verb in a similar sense (Internal Hiph'ēl as in Ps. 55\textsuperscript{3}). This form should surely be vocalized \textit{לְעָשָרָה}, and not \textit{לְעָרַבָּה}, as given by La.; \textit{לְעָדָה} forms without separating vowel being rare (cf. G-K. § 722).

\textsuperscript{†} Kimchi actually brings forward the suggestion that \textit{לְעָרַבָּה} may be explained \textit{from the verb רֹדְה} which we have adopted in our emendation, and quotes Ps. 55\textsuperscript{3} in which the Internal Hiph'ēl occurs \textit{לְעָשָרָה}, 'I am restless (or toss to and fro) in my murmuring.' He then rejects this in favour of the explanation noticed above. Rashi is perplexed by the verb 'go down,' and explains that it is 'a term denoting lamentation, an example of which is seen in the passage (Isa. 15\textsuperscript{3}) 'on their housetops and in their broad places every one lamenteth, running down (לְעָדָה) lit. 'going down ') in weeping.'
companions.' 38. And he said, 'Go.' So he sent her away two months, and she went—she and her companions, and wept over her maidenhood upon the mountains. 39. And at the end of two months she returned unto her father, and he did to her that which he had vowed, she having never known a man. And it

the maiden's grief is 'the exact anticipation . . . sharpened by the peculiar horror of the Hebrew women at a childless death—descending with no bridal festivity, with no nuptial torches, to the dark chambers of the grave':—

my companions. Kt.ןינר has the support of the analogous form

she having never known, etc. A circumstantial clause, of the form

and it became a custom. Reading לְפַלְפַלְפַלְפַל with La. The subject of the fem. verb לְפַלְפַלְפַל is neuter; so exactly Ps. 69:11 'לְפַלְפַלְפַלְפַל הַיָּמִים 'and it became reproaches unto me.' On the use of the fem. in a neuter sense, cf. G-K. § 122q. The view of König (Syntax, § 323b) that the subject is the נִמְלָה of the preceding sentence—'and she (the
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became a custom in Israel; yearly the daughters of Israel go to commemorate the daughter of Jephthah, four days in the year.

12. I. And the men of Ephraim were called to arms, and maiden) became a pattern—is very unlikely. makes the masc. the subject of the fem. verb—a want of concord which Bu. would remedy by reading ; but this does not give so idiomatic a phrase as that which we adopt.

Since the 'custom' refers to the women's festival mentioned in v. 40, it is clear that vv. 39-40 are wrongly divided, and that should stand at the beginning of v. 10. As is noted by Le Clerc, Ros, etc., the reason for the division adopted by may be gathered from an addition in , according to which is explained, not as a 'custom,' but as an 'ordinance' forbidding the sacrifice of son or daughter, which is assumed to have been promulgated in order to obviate the recurrence of such a tragedy: 'It was made an ordinance in Israel in order that no man should offer up his son or his daughter for a burnt-offering, as the Gile'adite did because he did not consult Phinehas the priest. If, however, he had consulted Phinehas the priest, he would have redeemed her at a price.'

yearly. Heb. יָמִים יָמִים, lit. 'from days unto days,' i.e. 'from year to year,' in accordance with the idiomatic use of the plural יָמִים: cf. BDB. s.v. יָמִים 6.c.

the daughters of Israel go. The Imperf. describes a frequentative action which still recurs in the writer's time. R.V. 'went,' i.e. 'used to go' (as though the annual custom had ceased) is certainly wrong.

to commemorate. On the meaning of the Heb. verb here used, cf. note on 'they recount,' ch. 5 11. The festival is discussed in Additional note, p. 332. Since the commemoration most probably took the form of a ceremonial wailing, we might expect some more specific term than . If the text should be emended, the easiest alteration would be 'to lament'; cf. the use of the verb in Isa. 3 26, 19 8, and the substantival forms 'lamentation and mourning,' in Isa. 29 2, Lam. 2 5. So Ball, privately.

12. I. And the men of Ephraim, etc. On the resemblance between this incident and that recorded in ch. 8 1ff, cf. note ad loc.

were called to arms. Cf. note on 6 34.
passed over to Saphon; and they said to Jephthah, "Why didst thou pass over to fight with the children of Ammon without having called us to go with thee? We will burn thy house over thee with fire." 2. And Jephthah said unto them, "I had a quarrel—even I and my people, and the children of Ammon oppressed me sorely; and I summoned you, but ye did not save me from their hand. 3. And when I saw that there was none to save, I put my life in my hand, and passed over unto

to Saphon. A city of this name is mentioned in Josh. 13:27 P, together with Succoth, as lying in the Jordan valley. This is identified by the Jerusalem Talmud (Shebith. ix. 2, fol. 38 d) with Ṣabba, i.e. the Amathus of Eusebius and Jerome, twenty-one Roman miles south of Pella (OS. 91, 219), and the modern Amateh, situated in the mouth of the Wady Raqib, about seven miles north of the Jabbok. But we should have expected the Ephraimites to have crossed the Jordan south of the Jabbok at the ford ed-Damiyyeh in order to reach Mizpah; and the position of Succoth, with which Saphon is associated in Josh. 13:27, was probably south of the Jabbok: cf. p. 220. י"ע, 'A., Θ., F, S render 'northward,' and this is adopted by R.V. text; but the rendering appears to be topographically impossible.

without having called us. Lit. 'and us thou hadst not called'—a circumstantial clause.

we will burn, etc. Cf. ch. 14:15, 15:6.

2. I had a quarrel. Lit. 'I was a man of strife.'

oppressed me. Supplying ἔπειραν, as suggested by מִסוֹר וְכֵן me (so לְךָ, סֹ), with most moderns. This verb 'might easily be omitted by a scribe after הָלַךְים' (Mo.), and some verb is indispensable, unless (with F 'contra filios Ammon,' S  רֶמֶשׁ מֵעַבְדֶה R.V. 'with the children of A.') we treat the l as 'ῶάν of association': cf. cases cited by BDB. s.v. l, r g.

and I summoned you. Reading Hiph'îl יִסְכָּר בָּשָׂם, as in ch. 4:10, 2 Sam. 20:4,5. יִכְו מְשֹׁר should be followed by הָלַךְ בָּשָׂם—'and I cried unto you' (cf. מִסְכָּר כֹּל הָלָךְ בָּשָׂם). The application made by the Gile'adites to the western tribes of Israel for help against the Ammonites finds a close parallel in 1 Sam. 11, where the inhabitants of Jabesh of Gile'ad seek help in this direction against the aggressions of Nahash, king of Ammon.

3. that there was none to save. Reading יִסְכָּר בָּשָׂם with מִסְכָּר, סֹ, Bu., Oort, No., La., Kit. For the phrase, cf. Deut. 28:29,31, 1 Sam. 11:3, 2 Sam. 22:42, Ps. 18:41, מְשֹׁר. יִכְו מְשֹׁר מָיָן 'that thou wouldest not save.'

I put, etc. Reading כָּרָה יִסְכָּר in place of the anomalous קָר.
the children of 'Ammon, and Yahweh gave them into my hand: why then are ye come up unto me this day to fight against me?' 4. Then Jephthah gathered together all the men of Gile'ad, and fought with Ephraim; and the men of Gile'ad smote Ephraim [.]. 5. And Gile'ad took the fords of the Jordan against Ephraim; and whenever the fugitives of Ephraim said, 'Let me pass over,' the men of Gile'ad said to each, 'Art thou

4. and the men of Gile'ad smote Ephraim. After these words צא אפרים כפרים 啟층 벌 이용 ארמסב 한국 참
because they said, "Fugitives of Ephraim are ye Gile'adites, in the midst of Ephraim, in the midst of Manasseh,"' i.e. the Ephraimites taunted the Gile'adites with being, in origin, renegade members of their own tribe, without territorial status, and existing on sufferance in the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh. But, according to the earlier narrative, the reason why the Gile'adites smote Ephraim was not on account of any such taunt (however much this may be supposed to have exacerbated the combat), but because the Ephraimites forced battle upon them. It is not clear how the Gile'adites could, in one breath, be called 'fugitives of Ephraim,' and yet be charged with living 'in the midst of Ephraim'; nor, again, is this latter expression, which seems to suggest that the Ephraimites owned or at any rate claimed territory in Gile'ad east of Jordan, susceptible of any explanation. The term פֵּלִיטים, 'fugitives,' always elsewhere denotes survivors who have escaped from the battlefield,* and is in fact so used in v. 5. It is here that we find the solution of our difficulty. In the Heb. the first four words of the difficult sentence in v. 4, צא אפרים כפרים "because they said, "Fugitives of Ephraim,"' are, with one slight variation (Perfect וארמסב for Imperfect), identical with the words of v. 5 rendered 'whenever the fugitives of Ephraim said.' It can hardly be doubted that these words from v. 5 have come into v. 4 through an error of transcription, and then, on the assumption that the subject of the verb ארמסב refers back to 'Ephraim' preceding, and that the words 'fugitives of Ephraim' form the commencement of what the Ephraimites said, the sentence has been conjecturally filled out as we find it in א. The words are lacking in the ג MSS. HP. 54, 59, 82, 84, 106, 108, 128, 134, and are marked by an asterisk in א.

5. took the fords, etc. Cf. ch. 3 26, 7 21.
"whenever . . . said." The Imperfect וארמסב denotes recurrence.

* Heb. פֵּלָת, 'to escape,' seems properly to mean 'to survive,' and to be identical with Bab. balāṭu, 'to live.'
an Ephraimite? And if he said, 'No,' they said to him, 'Say now Shibboleth,' and he said 'Sibboleth,' and was not able to pronounce aright. Then they laid hold on him and

6. Say now Shibboleth. The word Shibboleth, which may denote either 'stream' (Isa. 27:12, Ps. 69:16), or 'ear of corn' (Job. 24:24, Gen. 41:6 ff, al.), appears to have been selected at random as an example of a word commencing with the difficult letter š (so Kimchi). We have no means of ascertaining the precise sibilant sound which the narrator represents by š in the Ephraimite pronunciation. It is possible that it was actually š (an emphatic s), which is the sibilant which represents the s of some Babylonian loan-words in Heb. (cf. סִפרу = סיוֹר, סַרְגַּנְו = סַרְגַּנְו, etc.). Or, bearing in mind the fact that the word meaning 'ear of corn,' which is written with š, š, in Heb., Aram., and Bab., is pronounced in Ar. with س, s (sunbul, sunbula), we may conjecture that the Ephraimites may have used the Ar. pronunciation; but since the narrator could not, in unpointed Heb., reproduce the difference between š and š, he was obliged to write š in place of the latter in order to make his meaning clear. Kimchi states that the people of Neraphath were unable to pronounce š, š, and reproduced it as aspirated û, th (i.e. probably ,), and he suggests that the Ephraimite pronunciation may have been similar.

Of the parallels for the test cited by commentators, the most striking (quoted by Ber., etc.) is the incident of the Sicilian Vespers, Mar. 31, 1282, when the French were ordered to pronounce ceci e ciceri, and those who betrayed their nationality by pronouncing c as in French (sesi e siseri) were immediately cut down.

was not able. Reading נָב יִלְmiş with סָי, סָי, סָי, lit. 'he could not fix;' must be taken to imply ellipse of some such object as יִלְmiş 'his mouth,' or יִלְmiş 'his lips.' The view taken by BDB. and some commentators that the assumed object is יִלְmith 'the heart,' i.e. 'the mind' (as in the late passages, Job, 11:13, Ps. 78:8, 1 Chr. 29:18, al.), and that the expression means 'he did not give attention,' is less probable. The error in pronunciation was clearly due to dialectical peculiarity and not to inattention; it being most unlikely that the Ephraimites would fail through carelessness if they realized (as they must have done) that it was a matter of life or death whether they satisfied the test or not. Apart, however, from the inelegancy of יִלְmith followed by יִלְמ, the use of the simple Imperfect is singular in the midst of a series of Imperfects with 1 consecutive. Twelve MSS.
slew him at the fords of the Jordan: and at that time there fell of Ephraim forty and two thousand.

7. RJE And Jephthah judged Israel six years. R² And Jephthah the Gile`adite died, and was buried in his city, in Mispeh of Gile`ad.

Then they laid hold ... Jordan. At this point Bu. (followed by La.) proposes to insert the words of v. ⁴ 'for they said, "Ye are fugitives of Ephraim."' Since, however, the context deals with each individual case, we should have expected 'Thou art a fugitive of Ephraim.'

7. in his city, in Mispeh of Gile`ad. Reading בְּבֵית אָוֶּל in place of ביתו, 'he did not understand how to speak aright.'

Evidence shows that the practice of human sacrifice (especially the sacrifice of the firstborn) was not unknown among the Israelites; though in historical times it seems to have been very exceptional. In pre-Mosaic times it was probably more frequent, if not customary. The Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20 ²²-²³ E), many of the regulations of which probably grew up in Cana`an at a period immensely earlier than the age of Moses,³ seems expressly to contemplate that the normal fate of a firstborn son is that he should be sacrificed to Yahweh and the requirements of his religion. This view seems to explain the close connexion in many points of this early legislation with the Code of Hammurabi, which must...
Yahweh. The enactment of 22:29 says, without qualification, 'The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give to me'; and this is immediately followed by the enactment with regard to the firstborn of animals, which is couched in precisely similar terms: 'So shalt thou do to thine ox and to thy sheep: seven days it shall be with its mother; on the eighth day thou shalt give it to me' (v. 30). We know of course how the former enactment was interpreted elsewhere, and that in early legislation. The law of J in Ex. 34:20 lays down that 'Every first-born of thy sons thou shalt redeem'; and this is repeated in Ex. 13:13. Thus it appears probable that an animal-substitute may usually have been provided at an early period in Israel's history. The story of Abraham's projected sacrifice of Isaac in Gen 22:8 was probably intended to show that the Father of the Faithful had been ready to make the most costly sacrifice, and God had graciously vouchsafed to be pleased with an animal in its place. Such a tradition (if we are justified in regarding it as ancient) was doubtless not without its influence in determining the interpretation of the old regulation. Mic. 6:6, if really the work of the eighth-century prophet, indicates that in the mind of the average Israelite of Micah's day there still lurked the idea that Yahweh might conceivably be propitiated by the sacrifice of a firstborn son as the most costly form of offering; but whether this idea was often, or ever, carried into practice at this period we cannot say. It is quite possible, as many scholars have thought, that the passage may be due to a prophetic teacher

(if not in toto, at least as regards a large part of its enactments) have been operative in Syria as well as in Babylonia cir. B.C. 2000 (on Hammurabi as king of the West as well as of Babylonia, cf. Introd. pp. lxi ff.). It explains also the extremely primitive character of many of the enactments of the Book of the Covenant; e.g. 21:6, 22:8 (R 18), where ha-'elohim can scarcely, except on the most forced exegesis, be explained otherwise than as 'the (household) gods'—probably identical with Teraphim. In 21:6 the scene of the ceremony is clearly the master's own house (not the local sanctuary), just as it is in Deut. 15:16; the only difference being that in the later enactment the reference to ha-'elohim is dropped, doubtless as offensive to the purer form of Yahwism. In 22:8 ha-'elohim are agents or means of divination, just as the Teraphim appears to have been (cf. note on ch. 17). If this view of the origin of the legislation of the Book of the Covenant is correct, we can understand how a code which was probably from primitive times the property both of the Canaanites and of such Israelite elements as had not come under the influence of Mosaic Yahwism, may have contained an enactment enjoining the offering of the firstborn, which later on came, under the refining influence of Mosaic Yahwism, to be interpreted as satisfied by the redemption of the firstborn of man by the sacrifice of an animal.

On the view that the history of Israel's religion in early times is the history of a conflict between the high ethical Yahwism which was the outcome of the teaching of Moses, and a much cruder and more naturalistic form of Yahwism practised by Israelite tribes which had never been in Egypt nor come under the influence of the great teacher, cf. an article by the present editor entitled A Theory of the Development of Israelite Religion in Early Times, JTS., Apr. 1908, pp. 321-352.
during the idolatrous reaction under Manasseh in the seventh century B.C., when it became the custom to sacrifice children as holocausts to the god Molech (cf. 2 Kgs. 21:6, Jer. 3:24, 7:31, 19:4f., 32:35, Ezek. 16:20-21, 23:37-39). *

The same abuse is stated by the Deuteronomic redactor of Kgs. to have been practised in the reign of Ahaz (2 Kgs. 16:3), and during the closing days of the Northern Kingdom (2 Kgs. 17:17); but no allusion to such child-sacrifices is made by Isaiah in his prophecies which seem to belong to Ahaz’s reign, nor by Amos and Hosea in their indictment of the sins of the Northern Kingdom; and it seems probable, therefore, that R3 in Kgs. may be erroneously attributing the corrupt practice of Manasseh’s age to an earlier period. Ps. 106:37f. is not evidence that the custom was general throughout pre-monarchic times; but we may probably infer from Isa. 57:5f. that the seventh-century practice survived into post-exilic times among the degraded remnant of the Judaean population which was left in Palestine during the exile. 2 Kgs. 17:31 states that it was in vogue among a section of the foreign settlers who were introduced into the Northern Kingdom after the fall of Samaria.

The practice of the rite of child-sacrifice among the Canaanites is alluded to in Deut. 12:29, 18:9-10, and forbidden to Israel (cf. Lev. 18:21, 20:2). Excavation has brought to light numerous examples of the burial of infants of about a week old in jars in the vicinity of a sanctuary. † These are probably evidence for the practice of the sacrifice of the firstborn among the Canaanites; though it is only rarely that the remains of the infants appear to have been subjected to the action of fire. Another form of human sacrifice which has been attested by excavation is the foundation-sacrifice, in which the victim (infant or adult) has been buried (probably alive) in the foundations of a building. An instance of this form of sacrifice among the Israelites is perhaps to be found in 1 Kgs. 16:34; but, if this be so, the mere fact that the event is placed on record seems to indicate that it was very unusual.

* The phrase which is often used in allusion to this form of sacrifice—בַּלְּבַעְדוּ, rendered by A.V., R.V., ‘cause to pass through the fire’ (sometimes בַּלְּבַעְדוּ simply)—has been otherwise explained as though it referred to some rite of initiation. But the meaning of the expression is more probably ‘make over’ (‘cause to pass over’) to the deity ‘by fire’ (cf. the use of the verb in Ex. 13:12); and the fact that this really denotes a sacrifice in which the victim was first slain and then burnt has been, strongly maintained by Mo. (EB. 3184) by comparison of passages in which the phrase occurs with parallel passages in which the reference to the slaughter of children is unambiguous. Cf. especially Jer. 32:35 with 19:5f.; Ezek. 23:37-38 with 16:30f.

Whatever be the historical value of the story of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, it is probable that the festival which existed in the narrator's time, and which he explained as commemorative of this traditional event, really had its origin in a cultus which was based upon mythology and not upon history. There is evidence for the practice of a similar ceremonial in Syria in later times. The worship of Kóρη, i.e. the heavenly virgin, by the inhabitants of Shechem is attested by Epiphanius (Adv. haeres. iii. 2, 1055), who supposed that the ceremonial sacrifice was connected with the commemoration of Jephthah's daughter. Porphyry (De Abstinentia, ii. 56) states that at Laodicea on the Syrian coast a virgin was in ancient times offered to Athena, and that the ceremonial still survived, a stag being substituted for the human sacrifice. Pausanias (III. xvi. 8) identifies the goddess who was thus honoured with Artemis, whose image, he tells us, had formerly stood at Brauron, but had been presented to the Laodiceans by Seleucus. Robertson Smith (Religion of the Semites, p. 466) argues that the town of Laodicea was of much greater antiquity than its re-christening by Seleucus; and that, if the goddess in question had really been Greek, she would not have been identified with Athena as well as with Artemis. His conclusion is that she must originally have been a form of the native Syrian goddess 'Ashtart (cf. also Frazer's note in his edition of Pausanias, vol. iii. pp. 340f.). The connexion of this sacrifice with the Iphigenia-legend (as recognized by Pausanias) is clear; especially with that form of the legend in which a hind was substituted by Artemis as a sacrifice, in place of the maiden. It is much more likely that the Greek legend had its source in Western Asia (like many other elements of Greek mythology), than, conversely, that the legend, and the rites in which it was celebrated, penetrated from Greece into the Syrian littoral.

The resemblance between the stories of Iphigenia and Jephthah's daughter has often been remarked: cf., e.g., the series of parallels drawn by Capellus, De voto Jephthae, § xii. (Annotata ad Libros Historicos V.T., Tom. ii. 1660, p. 2082). If this resemblance is more than accidental, it goes far to anticipate the objection which might be brought against the validity of the evidence which has already been adduced for the existence in Syria of rites analogous to the women's festival of Judg. 11.40, viz. that the former is very late in comparison with the latter; since it is clear, from the early date at which the legend of Iphigenia appears in Greek mythology, that, if at all dependent upon Semitic cultus, it must testify to a cultus of very considerable antiquity.

As to the original significance of this cultus we are altogether without definite evidence, and can only make conjecture. Mo. (p. 305) thinks that 'the annual lamentation of the women of Gilead for Jephthah's daughter belongs to a class of ceremonies, the original
significance of which, often disguised by the myth, is mourning for the death of a god.' Jeremias (OTLAE, ii. pp. 168 f.) would bring the sacrifice into connexion with the Tammuz-Ištar cult.

This latter cult appears to have been inherited by the Babylonians from their Sumerian predecessors, and is consequently of very high antiquity. It was borrowed from the Babylonians by the Phoenicians, among whom Tammuz was venerated under the title Adon 'lord'; and from the Phoenicians the Tammuz-Ištar myth spread westwards into Greece, in the well-known form of the story of Adonis and Aphrodite. We may gather from the O.T. some few traces of the cult in Israel, where, as elsewhere, it seems pre-eminently to have been practised among women.* Its central observance was ceremonial mourning for the death of the god, who typified the youthful sun of springtime, or, according to a variant conception, the luxuriant vegetation produced by this sun, which is cut off and destroyed by the fierce heat of the sun of midsummer. This mourning took place in the fourth month, which falls at or about the summer-solstice (cf. OTLAE. i. pp. 96 ff.), and which bears the name of Tammuz in the Babylonian (as in the later Jewish) calendar.‡

The cult of Ištar, as the earth-goddess of fertility, stands in intimate connexion with that of Tammuz. She appears variously as his virgin-mother, sister, wife, and lover. Sometimes, indeed, Tammuz seems to have been regarded as feminine, and bore titles which properly belong to the goddess.§ The conception seems to vary according as

* Ezek. 8:14 speaks of the women at Jerusalem weeping for Tammuz. In Isa. 17:10 the phrase נטיעות נועםיה, which R.V. text translates 'pleasant plants,' is more probably to be rendered, as in the marg., 'plantings of Adonis': cf. the Greek Ἀδωνίδες κήποι, i.e. pots or baskets containing quick-growing, and quickly-fading, plants, which were dedicated to Aphrodite as emblems of her lover's beauty and early death (cf. Plato, Phaedrus, 276 B; Theocritus, 15. 113). Some would find a similar reference in the allusion to 'gardens' in Isa. x. 28-30. In Dan. 11:57 the phrase כרמים נפש-seat the desire (desired one) of women,' which the context shows to be the title of a deity, probably refers to Tammuz (cf. the commentaries of Bevan and Driver ad loc.). The reference in Zech. 12:11 to 'the mourning of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddo' is obscure, and the grounds for associating it with the Tammuz-wailing are highly precarious; while the supposition that an allusion to the ceremonial is to be found in 'the mourning for an only son' Am. 8:10, and that the formulæ of lamentation for the dead mentioned in Jer. 22:18, 34:5 are derived from the cult, is most improbable. Cf. Baudissin, Adonis und Esmun, pp. 87-93.


8. And after him Ibzan of Bethlehem judged Israel. And he had thirty sons, and thirty daughters he sent abroad, and thirty daughters he brought in for his sons from abroad: and he judged Israel seven years. 10. And Ibzan died, and was buried in Bethlehem.

11. And after him Elon the Zebulonite judged Israel; and he judged Israel ten years. 12. And Elon the Zebulonite died, and was buried in Aijalon in the land of Zebulun.

Ištar is regarded as the spontaneously-productive virgin (or sexless) Mother-Earth, or fertility is conceived as the result of union between Spring-Sun and Earth. When the former conception held force, Tammuz, as the emanation of Mother-Earth, might naturally be regarded as virgin and feminine like herself.

The Greek myth of the abduction of Kore-Persephone (a vegetation-goddess) to the Underworld, and her return to the earth in the spring, is ultimately of Babylonian origin. The relation between Demeter (originally the Earth-goddess) and Kore (the spring-vegetation) represents one form of the Tammuz-Ištar myth, just as the relation between Aphrodite and Adonis represents another form. It is probable that the yearly sinking of Kore (or the feminine Tammuz) to the Underworld may at one time have been marked (at least in Syria) by a virgin-sacrifice, for which in later times another offering (e.g. a hind) was substituted. We recall the fact already noticed that the sacrifice of the Shechemites mentioned by Epiphanius, and connected by him with the sacrifice of Jephthah’s daughter, was made to Kore. The emphasis on virginity belongs to the basic conception of the Earth-mother herself as virgin or sexless. Cf. further, Addenda, pp. xvii ff.

Among the many virgin-sacrifices of early Greek mythology we may compare that of Polyxena, who, as her name implies—‘she of the many guests’—is in origin a queen of the Underworld, the wife of Polydecer or Polydecmnon (i.e. Hades, so-called as πολλοῖς δεξιό­μενος): cf. Murray, The Rise of the Greek Epic, pp. 121 f.


8. Bethlehem. Jos. (v. vii. 13) takes this city to be Bethlehem of Judah; and the same view is assumed by Rashi, Kimchi, and Levi ben-Gershon, who preserve a tradition that Ibzan was the same as Boaz the ancestor of David. There is, however, a northern Bethlehem mentioned in Josh. 19:18 P which is probably the modern Bêt Lāḥm, seven miles west-north-west of Nazareth, and it is not unlikely that this may be the city intended. Cf. p. 290.

12. was buried in Aijalon. Possibly the distinction drawn by י between the name of the judge and that of his city is merely artificial.
13. And after him Abdon the son of Hillel the Pir'athonite judged Israel. 14. And he had forty sons and thirty grandsons, who rode upon seventy ass-colts: and he judged Israel eight years. 15. And 'Abdon the son of Hillel the Pir'athonite died, and was buried in Pir'athon in the land of Ephraim, in the hill-country of the 'Amalekites.

reproduces both names as Αλλαμ, i.e. ηλπ. So Nöldeke (Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T., p. 184), Mo., La., Cooke.

13. the Pir'athonite. Pir'athon corresponds philologically to the modern Far'ātā, six miles west-south-west of Shechem. The Φαράθων fortified by Baccides (1 Macc. 9 60) appears to have lain further south.

15. in the land of Ephraim. Some Ε MSS. here read ἐν ὄρει Εφραίμ ἐγι γῆ Σαλαμ. This is adopted by Mo. (SBOT) who supposes that ἐν γῇ Σαλαμ = νύμφα τῆς Σαλαμ, i.e. the land of Sha'ālim mentioned in 1 Sam. 9 4. In support of this view he adduces the southern position of Pir'athon, as inferred from 1 Macc. 9 60, and the fact that the name 'Abdon occurs in the genealogical lists in Benjamin, 1 Chr. 8 20, 8 30 = 9 30. That Σαλαμ = Σαλαμ (in 1 Sam. 9 4, Σαλαμ, Σαλαμ) is, however, a bold assumption; and, since 'Abdon is not an uncommon name, there is no reason for suspecting that the Benjaminite 'Abdon of 1 Chr. must be identical with the 'Abdon of the present passage.

in the hill-country of the 'Amalekites. Cf. p. 132.


This narrative introduces us to the period of the Philistine oppression, for the history of which the way has been prepared by the account of Israel's apostasy in 10 6-16; cf. the reference to the

* Meier and Roskoff are selected as good representatives of the earlier writers on the subject, who were mainly concerned with drawing out the parallels between the deeds of Samson and those of Herakles. Steindl goes much
Philistines in vs. It was this oppression which led ultimately to the institution of the kingship in Israel; and, so far as we can gather from the oldest sources, the strong hand of the Philistines was not relaxed to any appreciable extent until some amount of consolidation had been achieved among the Israelites through the establishment of the monarchy. The narrative thus occupies its right chronological position in the Book of Judges, chs. 17-21 being of the nature of an appendix (cf. Introd. p. xxxvii).

The Samson-narrative, though consisting of a number of semi-independent stories, shows no sign of compilation from parallel and divergent sources; and the generally accepted view is that it has been extracted in its entirety from one of the two main ancient sources of Judges. That this source was J can hardly be doubted. Böhme has proved conclusively that ch. 13 must be derived from J. He notes the striking resemblances which it exhibits to the Gideon-narrative 6:11-24 J—the appearance of the Angel of Yahweh as the bearer of specific injunctions; the offering of a kid upon a rock-altar; the miraculous disappearance of the supernatural visitor, whilst the heavenly fire consumes the offering; the terror of the human actors on realization that they have seen a divine being, and their subsequent reassurance that Yahweh is well-disposed towards them. Especially striking is the verbal identity between vs. 6-7 and Gen. 16:11 J in the phrase בְּנֶפֶשׁ יָפֶר הַרְעָדִי יִלְשָׁא 'Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son,' and vs. 6a and Gen. 32:20 J 'וּלְךָ הַיָּשָׁא לְשׁמָי יִלְשָׁא 'Wherefore, now, askest thou concerning my name?' Other resemblances cited by Böhme are, vs. 6 יִלְשָׁא אֲשֶׁר שָׁמָּה אָלֵּה 'and his name he told me not;' and Gen. 32:20 J 'וְעָנָא נָפַל שָׁפֵךְ 'tell me, prithee, thy name;' vs. 10 יִרְאוֹר יָרִיאוֹ 'and she ran and told,' and Gen. 24:28, 29:12 J, where the same two verbs are similarly coupled; the association of יִרְאוֹר 'hasten' and יְרָע 'run' in vs. 10, as in Gen. 18:6, 7, 24:20 J; vs. 11 יִנְאָמָא אַנְיָמָא 'further than his predecessors in elaborating the solar-mythological theory; and, while laying himself open to grave criticism in many points of detail, he marks a distinct stage in the serious treatment of the subject. A valuable criticism of Steinthal is offered by Baethgen. Stahn is useful as giving a very full bibliography of earlier monographs, with brief summaries of the views of different scholars. Smythe Palmer deals with the subject in a far more detailed and systematic way than has been attempted by earlier scholars, bringing together a large and varied mass of material in support of his thesis. The value of the book would have been greatly enhanced if this material had been more critically sifted. The book is weakest in its Semitic philology, suggestions of a transparently fallacious character being too often accepted and built upon.

* On vs.6-16, as originally intended by the E narrator to introduce, not the judgeship of Samson, but that of Samuel, cf. p. 294.

† An attempt to prove compilation from the two main ancient sources of Judges has been made by E. von Ortenberg, Beitr. z. Jahresber. d. Gymn. zu Verden, 1887; but he has not met with acceptance among scholars. The present editor has not been able to obtain access to this publication.
'and he said, "I am he," (i.e. 'I am he'), as in Gen. 27:24 (elsewhere only 1 Kgs. 13:14; cf. Gen. 2:20). In addition to these, we may note as characteristic J phrases, הַיְּהוֹוֹ 'the Angel of Yahweh,' vv.3,13,16,17,18,20,21 (on מְלֹאךְ יְהֹוָה v.3 cf. notes), אֱלֹהִים 'Behold, now;' v.3; רָאָה 'intreat,' v.8; אֵינוֹ 'Oh, my lord' v.8, וּכְלָל 'Wherefore' v.18; cf. חָלָה J 4, 9, 48, 56b, 89b. Finally, the prolonged barrenness of the hero's mother is a trait which characterizes the J narrative; cf. Gen. 11:30 (Sarai), Gen. 25:21 (Rebecca), Gen. 29:31 (Rachel), which are the only occurrences of the adjective מִּרְפָּא 'barren' in narrative outside Judg. 13:3.

While, however, ch. 13 thus abounds with indications that it is derived from J, the literary characteristics of J are absent from chs. 14-16. These latter chapters are entirely sui generis, full of the rough vigour and broad humour of the rustic story-teller, but lacking the literary grace and finish which distinguish the finer parts of J and E. It is obvious, moreover, that the religious motive which colours the narrative of ch. 13 is altogether absent from chs. 14-16. The birth-narrative prepares us for a Judge or a Samuel, keenly alive to the fact that he holds a divine commission, and upheld in his performance of it by consciousness of the divine support. Samson, however, proves to have no commission at all, and recognizes no higher guide than his own wayward passions. Again, the fact can hardly be denied that the story-cycle of chs. 14-16 contains a mythological element which must be very primitive, and which is, in origin, far removed from the Yahweh-religion of J (cf. Addit. note, p. 391).

Yet that ch. 13 was written to introduce the narrative of chs. 14-16 cannot be questioned. Had it originally prefaced a Samson-narrative more in accordance with its own tone, we cannot imagine why this should have been rejected by a later editor in favour of the present narrative. Moreover, chs. 14-16 are not entirely without points of connexion with ch. 13. We notice 14:4a, the allusion to Yahweh's divine purpose working unseen through Samson's wayward inclination; and 16:17a 'No razor hath come up upon my head, for a Nazirite of God have I been from my mother's womb'—a statement which presupposes the injunction of 13:5.7. These are passages which lie upon the surface of the narrative, and are easily detachable from it without in any way affecting its sequence. The inference which may be drawn is that the J narrator made use of an ancient cycle of folk-tales which were current in his day, incorporating them into his work practically unaltered from their popular form, except for one or two touches such as we find in the passages above noticed.

This is the view of van Doormnick, who, however, is inclined to assign to the later narrator not merely the passages above mentioned, but also Samson's last prayer to Yahweh 16:28, and the three allusions to his feats of strength as inspired by the sudden inrush of the spirit of Yahweh in 14:6,10, 15:14; whereas on other
occasions (e.g. 15:8, 16:9, al.) he appears to act without any such initiative. So drastic an elimination from the ancient folk-tales of all allusions to Yahweh's influence on the hero (a proceeding which, to be complete, should include 15:18-19 in its present form) can hardly be accepted. However much the stories may, in their origin, have been coloured by the solar-mythological motive, it cannot be doubted that this motive had long been forgotten by the time that the tales were utilized by the J writer for his narrative: and, if this was so, and Samson's feats had come to be related as the actual deeds of an actual member of the tribe of Dan, it is natural that they should have come to be explained, like other events of a phenomenal character, as due to the active co-operation of the Spirit of Yahweh.* Such a presentation marks a stage midway between the purely pagan (non-Yahwistic) conception of the hero, and his adoption by the author of ch. 13 as the commissioned agent of Yahweh, of which the most salient feature is the interpretation of his long locks (originally in all probability a solar trait; cf. Addit. note, p. 404) as the distinctive badge of dedication to Yahweh, from his birth and even earlier, as a Nazirite—a conception which it is difficult to regard as originally inherent in the stories of chs. 14-16 (cf. note on 13:6).

This view of the growth of the Samson-narrative is indicated in the text by the marking of the old story-cycle as J¹, and the later construction put upon it by the main J narrator (as embodied in ch. 13 and in the touches in chs. 14-16 above noticed) as J². The next stage was the full acceptance of Samson as a member of the series of divinely commissioned Judges by R¹⁸, whose hand is seen in 13:16, and in this editor's ordinary formula of conclusion in 16:31. The principal editor of our Book of Judges, R² (whose regular formula of introduction is seen in 13:1), appears to have laboured under a sense of the moral unsuitability of the hero for inclusion in such a category; and thus to have made extensive excisions from the narrative, including among them the account of Samson's death as a slave of the uncircumcised. Probably he would have been by no means averse from excluding him altogether, but found his figure too firmly enshrined in the popular imagination to allow of the practicability of so drastic a proceeding. R²'s revised account ended with ch. 15, as we may see by the occurrence of the concluding formula as to the length of the judgeship in 15:20, which is the formula of R¹⁸, adopted by R² from 16:31 when 16:1-31a was cancelled.‡ At a later time the excised

* As a matter of fact, 14:19a is probably to be regarded as a later addition to the narrative (cf. note ad loc.), but not on the ground that it pictures Samson as animated by the Spirit of Yahweh; the particular phrase in which this is described being probably copied from 14:9, where it seems to be an integral part of the narrative.

‡ The considerations which may have influenced R² in his inclusions and omissions from the story-cycle have been well indicated by Bu. — 'Down to the close of ch. 15, Samson is the husband of one wife, and love to her, along with
stories were once more inserted, as we have them in *ch.* 16, doubtless by the hand which restored the story of Abimelech and the Appendix, *chs.* 17-21 (R"; cf. note on *ch.* 8 20-32).

The Samson-narratives (*i.e.* the ancient story-cycle, *chs.* 14-16) stand alone in the O.T. as illustrations of a type of story emanating, not from the literary circle of the prophets, but from the popular traditions of the country-folk. As Bu. points out (*DB.* iv. p. 380 a), 'the ideal of the country-hero was exactly the same in Israel then as it is at the present day. The lion of a village must be first in success with the female sex, first in bodily strength, courage, and fondness for brawling, and first in mother-wit.' As has been argued elsewhere (cf. *Addit. note,* p. 391), the stories seem to exhibit strongly-marked traces of an ancient solar myth, the original significance of which had doubtless been forgotten when it was drawn upon to enrich the halo of the marvellous with which popular imagination loved to surround the deeds of the tribal hero. When, however, allowance has been made for this element in the narratives, there can be no doubt that they possess unique value as illustrating the village-life of the time, and the relations between Israelites and Philistines living in the border-country. The two villages Sor'ah and Eshta'ol, on the edge of the Shephelah, appear as the homes of a small cluster of Danite clans. The Danites must have been few in number; and it is very probable that the migration of the main part of the tribe to seek a new home in the extreme north (as related in *ch.* 18 20ff., *Josh.* 19 47 J) may already have taken place. In any case, the Danites of the south were at this time confined within a very small district; and, together with the neighbouring clans of Judah, were in subjection to the Philistines, and stood in wholesome dread of sharing the responsibility of any action which might excite the animosity of their masters (cf. 15 11).

The question must remain open whether any historical reality is to be attached to the figure of Samson. It can hardly be denied that, given the existence of a cycle of stories relating to a mythical solar hero who had come to be popularly regarded as an historical individual, we have sufficient substratum to account for the whole Samson-tradition; such elements in the story as are originally unconnected with the solar myth belonging quite conceivably to the local colouring which was the work of popular story-tellers. There is, however, an abundance of analogy for the accretion of mythologi-
cal tales round historical persons; and the fact that this is so should warn us against pronouncing a categorical opinion that the figure of Samson is wholly unhistorical.

Such a question is, however, of very slight importance. If we could grant the historical character of the whole Samson-narrative, Samson would still not be the initiator or furtherer of any movement, religious or political, in the history of Israel which would invest his figure with the slightest historical significance. The real value of the narrative lies in its local setting, which bears intrinsic evidence of being very true to life, and in its preservation of a mythical tradition, akin to that of other Semitic races, of the existence of which in Israel we should otherwise be ignorant.

13. 1. Rkw And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh; and Yahweh gave them into the hand of the Philistines forty years. 2. Jw And there was a certain man of Sor'ah, of the clan of the Danites, and his name...


2. a certain man. Heb. 'one man'—an indefinite use of 'one' which is usually somewhat characteristic of the North Palestinian dialect; so in E in ch. 9.58 נִקְנֵה נִקְנֵה 'a certain woman.' For the classified instances of נִקְנֵה in this sense, cf. NHTK. p. 209. This small point cannot, however, weigh against the evidence already adduced (p. 336) in proof that our narrative belongs to J. The whole phrasing of v.2a closely resembles that of v.1 of 1 Sam. 1—a chapter which, if reliance is to be placed upon striking parallels in diction (cf. 1 Sam. 1.11b8 with v.6a8, 1 Sam. 1.16a with v.4a,b, 1 Sam. 2.9a,b5, 3.19a,b9 with v.24), should belong to J rather than (as commonly supposed) to E. The details added to the narrative by Jos. (Ant. v. viii. 2 f.) are apparently derived from his own imagination.

Sor'ah. The modern Sar'ah, fourteen miles due east of Jerusalem in the Shephelah, upon an elevation on the northern side of the wady eš-Sarâr (the wady of Sorek; cf. 16.4), up which the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem now travels. Beth-shemesh, i.e. 'Temple of the Sun,' the modern 'Ain-šems, stands on a corresponding eminence on the opposite side of the wady, and its proximity may help to account for the solar-mythological traits which the story of Samson seems to exhibit (cf. Addit. note, p. 391). From the manner in which Sor'ah is named with the neighbouring village Eshta'ol in v.25, ch. 16.31, 18.8.11 as the home of the Danites, it would appear that they were at this time nearly, if not wholly, confined to these two villages. The latter village, if rightly identified with the modern 'Esūa' (cf. v.25 note), is less than two miles off further up the wady to the north-east. The Danites must have been very few in number; and it is to be
was Manoah; and his wife was barren and had not borne. 3. And the Angel of Yahweh appeared unto the woman, and said unto her, 'Behold, now, thou art barren and hast not borne; GL but thou shalt conceive, and bear a son. 4. J² Now, noted that they are described, both in this narrative, and in ch. 18 2.11.19, as a clan (misphaḥa; sebpēṯ; 'tribe,' occurs, however, in 18 1.10.30). Their limitation to this small district on the edge of the hill-country is explained in ch. 1 34; cf. further note ad loc.

Manoah. The manner in which the Manaḥtites of Şor'ah (manawʿah; lit. 'the Şor'ite Manaḥtites') are mentioned in 1 Chr. 2 64 has suggested to many commentators that Manoah may have been the eponymous ancestor of the clan-division of the Danites inhabiting Şor'ah. It seems, however, to be likely that the connexion in form between Manoah and Manaḥtites is merely accidental; the Manaḥtites being a Calibbite clan, a portion of which inhabited the district of Şor'ah in post-exilic times.* The Calibbites formed an element of the mixed tribe of Judah (cf. note on ch. 1 12); and we are informed in Neh. 11 29 that Şor'ah was one of the cities occupied by the children of Judah after the Exile.

3. the Angel of Yahweh. Cf. ch. 2 1 note. but thou shalt conceive, etc. The words have the appearance of an

* The composite genealogy of the Calibbites in 1 Chr. 2 42-56 is very problematical; but it seems likely, as Benzinger and Curtis assume (commentaries ad loc.; cf. also EB, 630) that vv. 50-55 have to do with the post-exilic Calibbites, who, owing to the occupation of their former territory by the Edomites, were obliged after the Exile to settle further north. Thus we find part of the Manaḥtites at Şorah (v. 54), and another part in the neighbourhood of Kiriath-jearim (v. 52; read הָעַרְוִת instead of הָעַרְוָה). These two divisions are traced respectively to Salma and Shobil, who are said to have been 'sons,' i.e. clans of Caleb. These Manaḥtites can hardly be unconnected with Manaḥath, son of Shobil, who is mentioned in Gen. 36 48 P (cf. 1 Chr. 1 49) in the Horite division of the Edomites. Though Manoah is only mentioned by name in Judg. 13 and 16 31a, and not in the old story-cycle of chs. 14-16, the connexion of his name with Samson and Şor'ah must be of respectable antiquity (J²); and if he is really only the eponymous ancestor of the Manaḥtites, we must assume that, after the migration of the Danites to the north, the last remnant of the tribe soon disappeared from Şor'ah, and that the district was occupied by Manaḥtites at so relatively early a period that the J narrator, in writing his introduction to the Samson-stories, erroneously supposed that this Calibbite clan was Danite in origin. This is most improbable. The only remaining possibility seems to be the assumption that the tribe of Dan owed its origin, wholly or in part, to a Calibbite or related Edomite strain; but, had this been so, should we not expect Dan to be connected by tradition with Le'ah (like Judah) or at least with her handmaid Zilpah, rather than with Bilhah—a relationship which seems to imply early connexion with the Joseph-tribes rather than with Judah?

The name Manoah is identical in form with the wādy el-Munaḥ which runs into the wādy Şarār from the direction of Tibneh (Timnah); but this is perhaps a mere coincidence.
therefore, prithee, take heed, and drink neither wine nor strong
drink, and eat nothing unclean: 5. for, behold, thou art with
child, and shalt bear a son, and a razor shall not come up upon
his head; for the lad shall be a Nazirite of God from the womb:

awkward anticipation of the announcement of v. 6. They are pro-

probably a gloss (so Bu., Böhme, etc.); and it seems likely that they
were absent from the archetype of G 6. G 6 now represents them
by καὶ συναλήψῃ νῦν, i.e. νῦν—probably an addition from another
translation; contrast the rendering of νῦν ἦν οὗ ἐν γαστρὶ
ἐκτεινεται, in vv. 27 (so Mo.).

5. and shalt bear. On the Heb. Participial form, here and in v. 7,
ἵνα, cf. G-K. § 80d. It occurs again in the parallel passage
Gen. 16: 11.

a Nazirite. Heb. nāzîr means 'dedicated' or 'consecrated' to the
service of the Deity. The law regulating the Nazirite vow is given
in the Priestly Code, Num. 6: 1-21; but it relates to a vow taken for a
limited period only, and not to a lifelong vow like that imposed upon
Samson. According to Num. 6 the Nazirite is bound to observe
three rules: (1) he must abstain from wine and all other products of
the grape, including even the fresh and dried fruit; (2) he must
allow the hair of his head to grow, and must not touch it with a razor
so long as his vow lasts; (3) he must not come near a dead body,
lest he incur defilement; no relaxation of the rule being allowed in
the case of the death of father, mother, brother, or sister (wife
and child are not mentioned). Failure to observe this rule, such as
might be incurred through a sudden and unexpected death in his
company, involved the abrogation of his vow. The hair of his head
—which was regarded as the outward symbol of his consecration—
was considered to be defiled, and he remained unclean until the
seventh day, when he shaved his head, and on the eighth day made
a specified offering. This being done, his head was once more con-
secrated by the priest, and he began again to perform the period of
his vow; the days which had elapsed before his defilement being
considered to be forfeited. The completion of his vow without defile-
ment was signalized by the shaving of his head and the burning of
the hair on the altar, with the offering of sacrifices and the observance
of due formalities. Such a temporary vow is illustrated by Acts 21: 17 ff.;
and that vows of this kind were frequent in post-exilic times is indi-
cated by such allusions as I Macc. 3: 49; Jos., Ant. xix. vi. 1; BJ.
II. xv. 1.

The literary setting of the law of Num. 6 is, of course, like the rest
of P, post-exilic; but there is no reason to doubt that in substance
the law is ancient, like so many other laws which are codified in P.
We note the resemblance between the regulation laid on Samson's
mother with regard to abstaining from all products of the vine (cf. especially v.14), and the regulation on this point as laid down in Num. 6:1-4. Apart from Samson, the only allusion to Nazirites in pre-exilic times is found in Am. 2:11-12, where they are coupled with the Prophets and spoken of as raised up by Yahweh to their vocation—the inference being that their vow was a lifelong one. This passage shows that the regulation of abstention from wine was fundamental; and this is a trait which connects the Nazirites with the Rechabites (Jer. 35), with whom they were probably also associated in enthusiasm for a purer and simpler form of Yahweh-worship (cf. 2 Kgs. 10:11), as opposed to the accretions (akin to Ba'al-worship) which were the outcome of the settled life in Canaan.* The fact that Hannah, in dedicating her son to Yahweh all the days of his life, vows that a razor shall not come up upon his head (cf. 1 Sam. 1:11 with Judg. 13:5) has been taken by many to imply that Samuel was another instance of a lifelong Nazirite; and this inference is strengthened if the addition of εις in v.11, και οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα οὐ πίεσαι, be regarded as a genuine part of the original text; but the probability is rather that the passage has undergone amplification 'with the view of representing Samuel's dedication as more complete' (NHTS.2 ad loc.). Samuel is called a Nazirite in Ecclus. 46:18 (Heb. text).

It is certainly a somewhat remarkable fact that, whereas such references as we have to the Nazirite vow in pre-exilic times seem to regard it as lifelong, the instances which occur in post-exilic times are temporary merely;† but, in view of the scantiness of the evidence which we possess, there is nothing in this to indicate that the two forms of the vow were fundamentally different in conception,§ or did not coexist throughout Israel's history.

* Cf. the present editor in JTS. ix. (1908), pp. 330 f., 346 f.
† The view that St. John the Baptist was a lifelong Nazirite is plausible, but lacks evidence for its confirmation. The description given by Hegesippus of St. James the Just, the brother of our Lord, represents him as a lifelong ascetic, and uses language which is certainly based on the O.T. description of the Nazirite obligations.—Οἶς δὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μετρός αὐτοῦ ἀγίος ἦν. Οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἐπικράτησεν, οὐδὲ ἔμψυχον ἔφαγεν. Τυρόν ἔπει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἁλάβη, ἔλαιον οὐκ ἁλείψατο, καὶ βαλανείῳ οὐκ ἔχοσασα. Cf. Eusebius, Η.Ε. ii. 23.
§ The most striking difference in the two forms of the vow—viz., that the temporary vow found its culmination in the hair-offering, whereas in the lifelong vow such an offering was an impossibility—is more apparent than real. The conception involved in this form of offering appears to be that the hair, as a living part of the human organism, represents the man's personality, which is equally consecrated to the service of the Deity whether the hair is offered by fire upon the altar at the conclusion of the vow, or remains inviolate upon the Nazirite's head throughout his life. What is essential to the conception is that the head of hair must not pass away from the sphere of consecration and be treated as something profane; and this is secured, in the temporary vow, by ceremonial burning, and, in the lifelong vow, by the death of the Nazirite.

The failure of Samson to conform to the regulations prescribed to the Nazirite in Num. 6 has led to the assumption that in ancient times there must have been an essential difference in the character of the obligations imposed by the vow. Judging by the narrative of Samson's life, the only obligation which he recognized was the wearing of his hair unshorn (16:17). He can scarcely be supposed to have abstained from wine; for at his marriage-festival he gives a feast, the Hebrew term for which (mîšî't, 14:10,12,17, from šâthâ 'to drink') means lit. a drinking-bout; and that this feast was of the character which its name implies is expressly indicated by the statement that, in so doing, he did as other young men were accustomed to do in like circumstances (14:10). It may be inferred also that his slaughter of the Philistines would have involved him in defilement through contact with the dead.* The conclusion of Cooke that 'there was nothing ascetic about the Nazirite in the early days,' and that 'abstinence from wine did not become a mark of this type of devotee till a later time (Am. 2:10),' does not, however, solve the difficulty. The Samson-narrative as a whole is not self-consistent on this point. The birth-narrative, ch. 13, agrees well enough with Am. 2:11,12, and even with Num. 6, but cannot be reconciled with chs. 14-16. The injunction laid upon Samson's mother to abstain from wine and strong drink and from other products of the vine, and to avoid eating anything unclean, so far from not being binding on the child (as Cooke assumes †), is expressly based upon the fact that he is to be 'a

* The question has been raised by Gray (JTS. i. pp. 206 f.) whether Samuel, on the assumption that he was a Nazirite, could have been bound by the regulations which forbade the drinking of wine and the touching of a dead body. He 'used to be present on festal occasions when it can scarcely be doubted that wine was drunk, and we are never told that he himself abstained'; and he 'hewed Agag in pieces,' and so 'must have suffered pollution.' It is to be observed, however, that on the three occasions on which Samuel is said to have presided at a festival-meal (1 Sam. 9:11ff., 11:14ff., 16:22ff.), the meal was in every case sacrificial, and doubtless very different from Samson's rollicking drinking-bout.' If wine was drunk at such sacrificial feasts, there is no reason why Samuel should not have abstained. Was every Nazirite who was bound by the law of Num. 6 thereby debarred from taking part in such sacrificial meals during the period of his vow, or throughout his life if he was a lifelong devotee?

The slaying of Agag was a solemn execution 'before Yahweh' (1 Sam. 15:33); and it is at least an open question whether the slaughter of Yahweh's enemies carried defilement like ordinary contact with the dead. When war was 'consecrated' (cf. Jer. 6:4, Joel 3:9, Zeph 4:9), i.e. a holy war proclaimed, were Yahweh's 'consecrated ones' (Isa. 13:3), i.e. His warriors, who were under special regulations of purity and taboo (Deut. 23:10-15, 2 Sam. 11), defiled by active participation in it? The Ark at any rate did not suffer pollution through going into battle at the head of the army.

It may be admitted, however, that we have not the same ground for assuming the prohibition of contact with the dead to have been characteristic of the early form of the Nazirite vow, as we have with regard to the prohibition of drinking wine.

† 'The restrictions are laid upon the mother; nothing is said about the child observing them' (p. 132).
RJE and it is he that shall begin to save Israel from the hand of the Philistines. 6. J² And the woman came and told her husband, saying, 'A man came unto me, and his appearance was like the appearance of a god, very awful; and I asked him not Nazirite of God from the womb.' If, then, he is bound, through his mother, by this obligation when still unborn, a fortiori its stringency is not intended to be relaxed in his after-life. Yet not only, as we have seen, does he apparently drink wine, but he also eats honey which has been taken from the decomposed carcase of a lion; and in all this the narrator of chs. 14-16 evinces no consciousness that his hero is infringing the terms of his vocation. The conclusion to which we are led is that of Kue. (*Religion of Israel*, i. p. 308): 'Is it not evident from this that Samson has been made a Nazirite, although, with the exception of this one feature [his long locks], his whole history is opposed to this conception?' The author of ch. 13 (which, as we have seen, is later than the stories of chs. 14-16 which it introduces) seems to have assumed that the long locks with which his hero was endowed marked him as a Nazirite; and so in the birth-narrative he represented him as such—this inference being the easier owing to the fact that his supernatural strength was, according to the old tradition, bound up with the retention of his locks, just as a divine endowment might be granted to a Nazirite on the condition of the faithful performance of the terms of his vow. The difficulty of accepting Samson as a Nazirite is in itself a warrant for investigating the claims of a different explanation of the meaning of his long hair (cf. p. 404).

*begind to save.* In using this qualified phrase, RJE (cf. p. 338) appears to be influenced partly by the difficulty of regarding Samson as an effective 'judge' (saviour), and partly by the fact that his history was to contain E's narrative of the signal deliverance under the judgeship of Samuel (1 Sam. 7; cf. especially v. 19). Mo. explains 'begin to save' as meaning no more than 'be the first to save' (cf. 10:18 'begin to fight,' also RJE); but this is less likely.

6. a man. Reading מַגִּיר simply, with Bu., No., Kit., Ehr. Cf. v. 10, where the woman alludes again to the visitor as 'the man.' מַגִּיר must be intended to mean 'a man of God' (an inspired man, or prophet); but this should naturally be מַגִּיר (cf. 1 Sam. 2:7, 9, 6, 2 Kgs. 1:10, 4:9), the use of the Definite Article before מַגִּיר making the whole phrase definite—'the man of God,' as in v. 8 and very frequently elsewhere. It is probable that, as Bu. assumes, מַגִּיר has been carelessly added from v. 8.

a god. Reading מַגִּיר, with Böhme, Holzinger, Bu., No., Kit.
whence he was, and his name he told me not. 7. And he said to me, "Behold thou art with child, and shalt bear a son; now, therefore, drink neither wine nor strong drink, and eat not anything unclean; for the lad shall be a Nazirite of God from the womb unto the day of his death." 8. And Manoah intreated Yahweh, and said, 'Oh, Lord, prithee let the man of God, whom thou didst send, come again unto us, and teach us what we shall do to the child that shall be born.' 9. And Yahweh hearkened to the voice of Manoah, and the Angel of Yahweh came again unto the woman, as she was sitting in the field; and Manoah her husband was not with her. 10. And the woman made haste, and ran, and told her husband, and said unto him, 'Behold the man hath appeared unto me that came unto me the other day.' 11. And Manoah arose, and went after his wife, and came unto the man, and said to him, 'Art thou the man that spake unto the woman?' And

The sense intended seems to be 'a supernatural being'; so probably in v.9. For this use of 'el'ohim, cf. 1 Sam. 28:13, where the witch of Endor, when she has called up the shade of Samuel (and also, apparently, attendant spirits; cf. NHTS.2 ad loc.), says, 'I see el'ohim (supernatural beings) coming up from the earth.' מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה מְאֹד 'like the Angel of God'; but the regular expression elsewhere in the narrative (vv. 2:13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21; on v. 9, cf. note) is 'the Angel of Yahweh'; and it appears to be not till v. 21 that Manoah and his wife even suspect the real character of their visitor (v. 10); cf. also ch. 6:22).

9. And Yahweh . . . and the Angel of Yahweh. Reading יהוה in both cases for שְׁמִי ה; in the first case with לֵב, ו, ו, and in the second with לֵב, ו. As Mo. remarks, the substitution of שְׁמִי ה in יהוה may have been accidentally due to the proximity of שֶׁמֹי ה in v.9.

10. the other day. Heb. אֲרוֹב, lit. 'on the day,' i.e. the day which was noteworthy on account of the event with which it was connected.*

* The use of the Definite Article is somewhat similar in the phrase 'וַיְהִי בְּנַחֲלָה' (1 Sam. 1:14, 2 Kgs. 4:11, 12, Job 1:6, 12, 21), where English idiom renders 'And there came a day when, etc.,' but which literally means 'And the day was, etc.,' day being defined on account of the events (to be related) which happened on it. Cf. the discussion in NHTS.2 p. 6.
he said, 'I am.' 12. And Manoah said, 'Now, if thy word come to pass, what shall be the rule for the lad and his work?' 13. And the Angel of Yahweh said unto Manoah, 'Of all that I said unto the woman let her take heed. 14. Of all that cometh of the grape-vine she shall not eat, and wine and strong drink let her not drink, and anything unclean let her not eat: all that I have commanded her let her observe.' 15. And Manoah said unto the Angel of Yahweh, 'Prithee let us detain thee, and make ready before thee a kid of the goats.' 16. And the Angel of Yahweh said unto Manoah, 'Though thou detain

12. Now, if, etc. The 'if' is not expressed in Heb., the two clauses being placed side by side so as to form a virtual hypothetical sentence —'Now, let thy word come to pass, what shall be, etc.,' implies 'Assuming that thy word, etc.' Cf. ch. 6:18, lit. 'And is Yahweh with us, why, then, etc.,' i.e. 'If Yahweh is, etc.': Driver, Tenses, § 149. Perles (Analekten, p. 35) and La. propose to emend ἄντί to ἀνάτι for ἀνάτι—'At the time when thy word cometh true, what shall be, etc.' (cf. Ps. 105:10 ὡσαν Καρνήμαρ 'Until the time when his word came to pass'); but the change is no improvement.

thy word. Reading sing. יְרוּשָׁלִיִּים with many MSS. and ג, ג, פ, י, פ', in place of מִשְׁפָּת plur. יְרוּשָׁלִיִּים. Heb. mišpāṭ is here used in its common sense of ordinance or rule of life. That this should be the sense intended seems to be demanded by the Angel's answer, which repeats the injunctions laid upon the woman. So R.V. marg. 'ordering.' R.V. text, 'What shall be the manner of the child?' interprets mišpāṭ in the sense which it seems to possess only elsewhere in 2 Kgs. 1:17, 'What is the manner of the man that came up to meet you?' i.e. 'How would you describe him?' Apart, however, from the exceptional character of this use of mišpāṭ as the summary of distinctive characteristics, such a sense is less suitable to the context than that which we have adopted.

15. make ready before thee. As Mo. observes, the expression is a pregnant one, equivalent to 'make ready and set before thee.' La. assumes that יִנִּפְס 'before thee' implies something further, and so follows St. Augustine in supposing that Manoah is contemplating a sacrificial meal, which the Angel rejects in favour of a holocaust; but this view is expressly precluded by v.16b, where we are told that Manoah was unaware of the extraordinary character of his guest.

16. Though thou detain me, etc. The J narratives Gen. 18:10,
me, I will not eat of thy bread; but if thou wilt prepare a burnt offering, to Yahweh shalt thou offer it.' For Manoah knew not that he was the Angel of Yahweh. 17. And Manoah said unto the Angel of Yahweh, 'What is thy name? When thy word\[^1\]

Judg. 6:11-24, which have strong points of resemblance to our narrative, differ somewhat as regards the guest's reception of the offer of hospitality. In Gen. 18 the supernatural visitors accept the offer and partake of the meal. In Judg. 6 the Angel of Yahweh, after assenting to Gideon's proposal, converts the meal into a sacrifice. Here he refuses the meal, but suggests instead the offering of a sacrifice to Yahweh. The three narratives thus seem to mark an advance from a very primitive stage in which Yahweh Himself (cf. Gen. 18:1-13*) is thought to visit men and accept their hospitality, to later modification of the naïveté of the conception by substitution of the Angel of Yahweh for Yahweh Himself (cf. note on ch. 21 at end), and conversion of the meal into a sacrifice offered to Yahweh, who seems in the present passage to be definitely distinguished from His Angel.

17. What is thy name? . Heb. יִשָּׁם, lit. 'Who is thy name?' —perhaps through a sub-consciousness of the equivalence of the question to 'Who art thou?' Elsewhere (Gen. 32:28, Ex. 3:13) هو is used; and it is possible that י and י, which are very similar in the old character, may have been confused in our passage.

when thy word . . . honour. Heb. כִּי יִשָּׁם יִבְרָךְ אֵלָה יִבְרָךְ, E, S?, R.V. 'that when thy words come to pass we may do thee honour'; and this rendering is adopted by commentators generally without remark upon the difficulty of justifying it syntactically. The opening 'that' apparently represents the 1 of הבורך (so Ros. renders 'si eveniat quod praedixeris, ut honoremus te'), and this would have been the natural interpretation if the order of the sentence had been הבורך וייברכו 'that we may do thee honour when thy word cometh to pass'; but it is more than doubtful whether such a rendering can be extracted from the sentence in its present order. It is perhaps just possible to render 'כ' for' and treat what follows as a virtual hypothetical (cf. note on v.18, 'Now, if, etc.')—'for, let thy word come to pass, and we will, etc.' (cf. ת, i.e. 'for, when (or if) thy word . . . we will, etc.'; cf. v.12 note. On the whole, however, the rendering adopted above (so Stu.) is the most natural one.

thy word. Reading sing. בִּרְכָּה with K'רְך, many MSS. of ב, and ג, א, S', in place of כ. בִּרְכָּה.

* The confusion in this narrative between the sing. 'Yahweh' (v.18, 21, 13, 17, 20, 22b, ft.) and the plur. 'three men' (v.5, 6, 8, 9a, 10, 22a) is very obscure. Cf., however, the interesting remarks of Skinner, ICC. pp. 303 f.
cometh to pass we will do thee honour.' 18. And the Angel of Yahweh said to him, 'Wherefore, now, askest thou concerning my name, seeing that it is wonderful?' 19. And Manoah took the kid of the goats, & with the meal-offering, J² and offered it up upon the rock to Yahweh.[ ] 20. And, when

18. wonderful. The adj. pil'i occurs only once again in the fem. pil'iyyā Ps. 139,* which illustrates the meaning in the present passage:—

'Such knowledge is too wonderful for me;
Too high, I cannot attain unto it.'

The root-meaning is separate from the ordinary, and so surpassing it. For the verbal form in the Niph'al with the sense surpassing understanding, cf. Ps. 131¹, Prov. 30¹⁸, Job 42³.

19. with the meal-offering. This use of minḥa, which in pre-exilic literature is the ordinary term for offering generally, in the specific sense of meal-offering, is late, and characterizes the ritual of the Priestly Code. Böhme is therefore probably correct in regarding the reference here and in v.²³ as a late addition made for the sake of liturgical correctness.

and offered it up, etc. Manoah, we must assume, kindles his sacrifice in the ordinary way. Contrast 6²¹. The narrative of Jos. (Ant. v. viii. 3) is here strongly coloured by recollection of ch. 6¹⁸-²¹. Manoah regards the offering not as a sacrifice but as a mark of hospitality. It is the Angel who commands him to place 'the loaves and flesh, without the vessels,' on the rock, and who by touching it with the end of his rod converts it into a burnt-offering, then disappearing in the smoke of the sacrifice.

upon the rock. The reference seems to be to a rock-altar: cf. note on ch. 6²⁰. Such a primitive rock-altar exists at the present day in the neighbourhood of Sar'ah: cf. Kittel, Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte (1908), pp. 97-158 (with two plans); Über primitive Felsaltäre in Palästina, pp. 243-255 of Hilprecht Anniversary Volume (with photographs).

At the end of the verse ἦν ὁ θεός ὁ θεοφόρος ἀλήθειας, i.e. 'and doing wondrously, and Manoah and his wife were looking on.' Here the Participle ἀλήθειας is without a subj., and cannot have thus stood originally. ἦν ὁ θεός ὁ θεοφόρος ἀλήθειας (in apposition to preceding τό Κυρίος), ἦν 'Domino, qui fecit mirabilia,' presuppose

* In these passages ἦν should be vocalized ἦν, ἦν. Karo

(£)
the flame went up from off the altar towards heaven, the Angel of Yahweh went up in the flame of the altar: and Manoah and his wife were looking on, and they fell on their faces to the ground. 21. And the Angel of Yahweh appeared no more unto Manoah and his wife. Then Manoah knew that it was the Angel of Yahweh. 22. And Manoah said unto his wife, 'We shall surely die, for it is a god that we have seen.' 23. And his...
wife said to him, 'If Yahweh had been pleased to kill us, he would not have received at our hand a burnt offering and meal-offering, and would not have instructed us thus.'

Yahweh, and not Elohim: cf. the verse following. On the sense in which Elohim is probably used, cf. note on v. 6.

23. and would not have instructed us thus. Reading in place of יָדָהָ נְלַ רְאָא מְסַמֵּכָה, 'neither would he have shewed us all these things, nor would he at this time have told us such a thing as this.' The difficulty of 𐤀's text is two-fold. (1) The expression הִבָּד בֵּית 'at this time' (omitted in some G MSS., 𐤀, 𐤂) is very rare, occurring again only in ch. 21, Num. 23, in both of which passages it causes some little difficulty and its originality is questioned. Granted that it means 'at this time' or 'just now,' its position in the sentence is strange, since, referring as it does very strikingly to הָשָׁמִים נֵלַ, and not to the preceding מְסַמֵּכָה ..., הַקָּחַ נַ., 'it seems to oppose the hearing, as recent, to the seeing and the sacrifice' (Mo.). Mo.'s suggested emendation הִבָּד נֵלַ יִגָּפֶה 'for now;' is unsuitable apart from omission of all that precedes from הַקָּחַ נַ. and the reading of הָשָׁמִים נֵלַ for הָשָׁמִים נֵלַ—'Yahweh is not pleased to kill us; for now he would not have told us,' etc.

(2) If יָדָהָ נְלַ רְאָא מְסַמֵּכָה, 'neither would he have shewed us all these things,' refers to the sights which they had just witnessed, i.e. the appearance of the Angel and his subsequent proceedings, since it was on account of this appearance that Manoah supposed that Yahweh would slay them, it is obvious that it could not be adduced as a reason why He would not slay them. If, on the other hand, the verb 'shewed' refers to the information with regard to the birth of the child and his future, it is superfluous by the side of הָשָׁמִים נֵלַ,'he would not have told us, etc.,' since it says the same thing with but slight variation.

 Gale, 𐤀, 𐤂 render יָדָהָ נְלַ רְאָא מְסַמֵּכָה by כָּאָי דְּבָא אַסְפָּרְס אָב אָשַּׁל, which points to an original יָדָהָ נְלַ רְאָא מְסַמֵּכָה, 'and would not have instructed us'; cf. their rendering of יָדָהָ נְלַ רְאָא מְסַמֵּכָה, by כָּאָי פָּרָסָר אָשַּׁל.* The fact that יָדָהָ נְלַ רְאָא מְסַמֵּכָה and הָשָׁמִים נֵלַ are synonymous expressions seems to postulate the existence of a doublet. We assume, then, that יָדָהָ נְלַ רְאָא מְסַמֵּכָה was the original reading (cf. יָדָהָ נְלַ רְאָא מְסַמֵּכָה, v.8), and

* The rendering is probably due (as Mo., SBOT., observes) to false etymological association of הָשָׁמִים with רוֹאָא. The verb is similarly rendered in 2 Kgs. 12, 17.
24. And the woman bare a son, and called his name Samson: and the lad grew up, and Yahweh blessed him. 25. And the

אesthesia אבאה́, a marginal variant or explanatory gloss, was subsequently introduced into the text. Later stages of corruption are represented by the alteration of the first לזרה́ (thus making reference to seeing and hearing in place of the double reference to hearing), the glossing of the first אבאה́ by אבאה́, and its subsequent alteration to אבאה́, and then to אבאה́ when taken to refer to the words which follow it. The conclusions of Mo. (SBOT.) and La. are similar.

24. Samson. "Шимшôn. The a-vowel of the English form, which is found in גםשôn, יג 'Samson,' represents the primitive vocalization.* Cf. the name Šamšânû cited by Hilprecht, Business Documents of Murdshu Sons of Nippur, pp. 27, 70.

The connexion of the name with שמשו 'sun' may be considered certain, and no other proposed explanation is at all plausible; but the precise meaning borne by the name is wholly vague. The view that it is a diminutive form—'little sun'—is not very probable, the only analogous formation that can be cited being גדם 'pupil of the eye'—apparently 'little man' (reflected in pupil)—formed from גדם 'man'; cf. G-K § 86. More plausible is the suggestion that the termination makes the form adjectival; cf. הקדמונ 'eastern'; from הקדמונ 'east'; G-K § 86. Samson might then mean 'solar one,' just as כיירית 'Jericho' very possibly means 'lunar' (sc. city); but the precise significance of such a title—whether 'sun-like,' 'solar hero,' or 'protege of the sun-god'—is obscure. The proximity of Beth-shemesh 'Temple of the Sun' to Samson's birthplace (cf. note on 'Sor'ah, v. 2) suggests the likelihood that the hero's name was, in origin, honorific of the sun-god. It is possible, indeed, that the name may be hypocoristic for a fuller Šamšî-el, 'Šamaš is God'; cf. 'Abdon, ch. 12 [13, 14], al., by the side of 'Abdi-el, 'Servant of God,' 1 Chr. 5:16. Similar South Palestinian names are Šheshai and Šavsha (cf. p. 10), and possibly Shimshai of Ezr. 4 § 8, 17, 23.

* Cf. note on baggabôrim, pp. 168 f.

‡ The statement of Jos. (Ant. v. viii. 4), καὶ γενόμενον τὸ παιδίον Σαμύσων καλοῦσιν, ἵνα οὖν οἱ ἁποικιαὶ τῷ ὄνομα, is probably guesswork, it being unlikely that he connected it with גדם (Meier) in the sense 'robust'; cf. ch. 3:20. Ewald (HH. ii. p. 396) suggests derivation from New Heb. גדם, Aram. גדם 'to serve,' in the sense 'servant' of God, i.e. Nazirite. Other views—e.g. that the name stands for גדם, a reduplicated form from גדם, in the sense 'devastator' (cf. Ber.); or that it is to be explained from Ar. גדם, 'vir fortis et audax' (Golius quoted by Ros.)—are philologically impossible.

§ That the denominative termination -ם, as seen inparentheses, is probably an abbreviation of -ם, is suggested by the parallel forms Megiddô, Megiddôn, and the adjectival forms שילון from שילו, גלון from גלי: cf. Stade, Lehrbuch der heb. Gramm., § 296 e.
spirit of Yahweh began to impel him in Maḥaneh-Dan, between Ṣor'ah and Eshta'ol.

25. *to impel him.* I.e. to stir him up by a sudden access of frenzy in which he was moved to put forth his supernatural strength. The Heb. verb *pa'am* is used elsewhere of the *disquieting* of the human spirit through anxiety or perplexity; Gen. 41:8, Dan. 2:1,3; Ps. 77:4 (� 3)†.

Maḥaneh-Dan. Possibly a hamlet dependent upon Ṣor'ah which was the home of Manoah; since the same definition of locality—'between Ṣor'ah and Eshta'ol'—is used in 16:31 of the site of the family-sepulchre. The name, which means 'the camp of Dan,' is explained in ch. 18:12 as owing its origin to an encampment of the Danites to the west of Kiriath-Je'arim, when they were on the march from Ṣor'ah and Eshta'ol to seek a new home in the north. Kiriath-Je'arim, if rightly identified with Kuryet el-'Enab, is nearly eight miles east-north-east of Ṣor'ah. The existence in close proximity of two places bearing the same name Maḥaneh-Dan is very improbable; and since the connexion in which the name occurs in 18:12 favours its originality in that passage, it is very possible that it may be an erroneous insertion in the present context. S. A. Cook's proposal (*EB.* 2904; *Notes on O.T. History,* p. 88) to emend Manahath-Dan in both places, and to find allusion to the two divisions of the Manahathites, one in connexion with Kiriath-Je'arim (1 Chr. 2:52) and the other at Ṣor'ah (1 Chr. 2:54), is ingenious but not convincing. As we have noticed above (footnote, p. 341), the Manahathites seem to have been post-exilic Kalibbite settlers in these districts, and to have had no connexion with the tribe of Dan.

Eshta'ol. Commonly identified with the modern 'Esūa', not much more than a mile and a half to the north-east of Ṣor'ah; cf. note on Ṣor'ah, v.2. On the rare (in Heb.) Iphtal form of the name, which is possibly to be derived from the verb *šē'āl* 'ask' in the sense 'ask for oneself,' and so may mean 'place of consulting the oracle' (the site of an ancient sanctuary), cf. the present editor's note in *JTS.* xiii. (1911), p.83.

14. Doorn. and Sta. (followed by Mo., Bu., and most recent commentators) have rightly perceived that the narrative of this chapter has been extensively worked over, for the purpose of representing Samson, so far as was possible, in the light of a dutiful son. As the story stands, it seems as though Samson's parents, though at first strongly opposed to his wish to marry a Philistine maiden (v.3), finally acquiesce and accompany him to Timnah in order to forward his plans (v.4,5,10). There are, however, very obvious difficulties in the way of accepting such a situation. In v.5, though Samson is accompanied by his parents, it is he alone who is confronted by the lion; and, when he has slain it, his parents are unaware of the fact (v.6b). We can only infer that he must have outstripped his parents on the
way (Kimchi), or turned aside along a bypath in the vineyards; yet of this there is no hint in the narrative. In vv. 7, 8 the parents disappear altogether; and it is Samson alone who interviews the woman and arranges the preliminaries of the wedding, returning after a time to carry it through. In v. 10a the father appears in a belated way; but it is Samson who makes the marriage-feast (v. 10b), and acts throughout on his own responsibility.

The account of the journeys to and from Timnah is also, as the narrative stands, very confused. After the first visit in company with his father and mother, the return to Sor'ah is assumed but not mentioned; and v. 8 narrates a second visit to Timnah of Samson by himself in order to get married (תֶּלֶת). On the way down he visits the carcase of the lion and discovers the honey; some of which he gives to his father and his mother. Yet we cannot suppose that he had returned to Sor'ah prior to the actual marriage-festival (vv. 10ff.), since it was for the sake of this that he went to Timnah, as recorded in v. 8; nor can we assume that his parents accompanied him again in v. 8, and that he gave them the honey on the way down or at Sor'ah, since it is not till v. 10 that his father comes down (from Sor'ah).

The narrative at once becomes clear if, with Doorn. and Sta., we omit מִבָאָל and read the sing. מִבָאָל in v. 5; omit v. 6b דַּעְדוּ הַנַּחֲלֶת מַעְלָה and read הַנַּחֲלֶת in place of דַּעְדוּ הַנַּחֲלֶת in v. 10a, and omit the name in v. 10b. In face of his parents' opposition to the match, Samson goes alone to Timnah, and returns after a few days to his parents' house at Sor'ah (v. 8), bringing them some of the honey which he has discovered on his journey home. The simple removal of חָלָל ‘to marry her’ in v. 8 at once solves the difficulty noted above as to the journeys to and fro, by allowing the obvious inference that it was on his return to Sor'ah that he found the honey, and not, as the interpolator imagined, on going a second time to Timnah, after a return home unrecorded. He would naturally inspect the lion's carcase on the earliest opportunity. His second visit to Timnah, in order to celebrate his marriage, is recorded in v. 10, which originally ran ‘And Samson went down unto the woman, and he made there a feast, etc.'

There is another point which confirms this view of affairs. From Samson's request to his parents in v. 2 it is clear that he originally contemplated a marriage of the ordinary kind, when his father would have interviewed the father of the maiden and arranged the מֹהָר (purchase-price), and the bride would have been brought back to the bridegroom's house at Sor'ah, where the feast would have been held. In this case the bridegroom's 'companions' who assisted at the function would have been young men from his own clan. According to v. 11, however, these 'companions' are not Danites but Philistines; the feast, though provided by Samson, takes place not at Sor'ah but
at Timnah; and it is there, evidently, that the marriage would have been consummated (v.16, reading נִכְבַּר; cf. note) if Samson had not left in a rage after the unfair discovery of his riddle. This is still further borne out by ch. 15, where, on regaining his good temper, he returns to Timnah with a present for his bride, and expects to enjoy the rights of marriage at her father's house. It is evident, therefore, that after failing to persuade his parents to agree to such a marriage as he had at first contemplated, he arranges, without their consent, a marriage of the sādika type (cf. ch. 8 note), in which the custom was that the bride remained with her own people, the children of the marriage belonging to the mother's, and not to the father's clan, and the marriage-contract being frequently for a limited period merely.

This explains the fact that the bridegroom's 'companions' of v.11 are Philistines and not Danites. The only difficulty, as this verse stands, is that they are selected, not by Samson, but by persons undefined who seem to have thought it wise to have a strong body of Philistines on the spot on account of the formidable appearance of the bridegroom. Here the fact that the narrative has been worked over is transparently evident. Probably the verse originally ran, 'And he (i.e. Samson) took thirty companions, and they remained with him'; but the policy of representing Samson's conduct in the best possible light, which seems to have dominated the reviser of the narrative, has led to alteration of the text—instead of Samson himself choosing his marriage-companions from among the uncircumcised, they were forced upon him; and a reason for this has to be invented and supplied.

As to when the narrative was thus extensively glossed we have no means of determining. Probably the additions were made in late post-exilic times (so Mo., SBOT.), though this is by no means certain. They are marked in the text by the symbol Gl., i.e. 'Gloss.' Further interpolations (vv.11,19) are noticed in their place.

14. 1. J1 And Samson went down to Timnah, and saw a

1. Timnah. The form חַמְנָה Timnātha with Accusative termination, which is natural in v.v.15,6a where direction towards is implied (לזocative; cf. Gen. 38.12,13,14), is used without this implication in v.v.10,2,5b, Josh. 19:43; cf. note on Jahas, ch. 11.20. חַמְנָה Timnah occurs in Josh. 15.10,2.17,2 Chr. 28.18. Timnah is the modern Tibneh, in the Shephelah, some four miles south-west of Şor'ah. The elevation of Şor'ah is 1171 feet above the Mediterranean, while that of Timnah is 800 feet; hence the use of the verb 'went down' here and in v.v.6,7,10, and conversely 'went up,' v.v.2,18, of the homeward journey. Timnah, which is here a Philistine city, is assigned to Dan in Josh. 19.43 P; while in Josh. 15.10 P it appears as a border-city of Judah. 2 Chr. 28.18 mentions a Philistine raid on the Shephelah and
woman in Timnah of the daughters of the Philistines. 2. And he went up, and told his father and his mother, and said, 'I have seen a woman in Timnah of the daughters of the Philistines: now, therefore, get her for me to wife.' 3. And his father and his mother said to him, 'Is there not a woman among the daughters of thy brethren, or among all my folk, that thou art going to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines?' And

the Negeb in the reign of Ahaz, when Timnah and neighbouring cities were captured from Judah.

a woman. Bu. comments on the uncommon use of קָשָׂה here and in vv. 26.7.10 instead of נְדָרָה 'maiden,' the ordinary term for an unmarried girl. He suggests that the 'woman' may have been a widow or divorced wife, or else that the term may be used with a shade of contempt. The latter suggestion is the more probable; cf. the application of the term to Delilah in ch. 16:4.

2. get her, etc. The preliminaries of marriage, such as the settlement of the קְהָר (cf. p. 354), were a matter of arrangement between the fathers of the suitor and his desired bride: cf. the later version of the story of Gen. 34, especially vv. 4.6.8.12. Samson addresses both his parents and uses the plur. verb טָמֵא 'get ye.' This inclusion of the mother may be due to ג3 in view of her prominence in ch. 13, or to a later hand for the same reason; but this is by no means certain. Though the negotiations rested with the father, there is no reason why he should not have been to some extent dependent on his wife's advice. In the following v.3a it is probable that יִשָּׂא 'and his mother' is an addition in imitation of v.2. Notice the sing. suffix of יִשֶּׁר 'my folk' in the father's speech, and the fact that Samson's response in v.3b is addressed to his father only.

3. among the daughters of thy brethren. 'Brethren' here = 'fellow-clansmen'; cf. ch. 16:31, 9:1, 2 Sam. 19:13. סֹּפַר presupposes הָיוֹת 'in thy father's house,' i.e. thy family or clan; cf. 16:31, and very frequently in P and Chr. (cf. references in BDB. p. 110a). This is adopted by Bu., No.; but the change is unnecessary.

my folk. סֹּפַר, Houbigant, Bu., Oort, No., La., יִשֶּׂר 'thy folk' is plausible. But סֹּפַר is very natural in the father's mouth; and it is likely that the reading of סֹּפַר, סֹּפַר may have arisen under the influence of the preceding יִשָּׂא (so Mo.).

uncircumcised. A term of opprobrium, applied to the Philistines elsewhere in ch. 15:18, 1 Sam. 14:6, 17:28,30, 31:4, 1 Chr. 10:4. The Philistines appear to have been the only race known to the Israelites in early times who did not practice circumcision. Upon the diffusion of the custom, cf. articles in DB. and ER., and Skinner, Genesis, ICC., pp. 296 f.
Samson said unto his father, 'Get her for me; for she it is that pleaseth me.'

4. And his father and his mother knew not that it was from Yahweh: for he was seeking an occasion against the Philistines. Now at that time the Philistines were ruling over Israel.

5. And Samson went down, and his father and his mother, to Timnah, and they came to the vineyards of Timnah: and, behold, a young lion came roaring to meet him.

6. And the spirit of Yahweh rushed upon him, and he rent it.
as one might rend a kid; and there was nothing in his hand: Gl. but he told not his father and his mother what he had done.

7. J J And he went down, and spoke to the woman; and she pleased Samson. 8. And he returned after a while Gl. to take her, J and he turned aside to see the carcase of the lion: and,

Judging by these usages—especially by Lev. 117—Samson must have torn the lion down the middle,* and may be supposed to have done this by tearing the hind legs apart, precisely as Gilgames' companion Engidu is represented as doing (Plate II., fig. 4), and also the colossal figure from Cyprus (perhaps Melkart-Herakles; Plate vi.).

In the Jerusalem ת' 'sasa'da' is used as the rendering of יך י"שנהו 'and he hath torn me in pieces' (as a lion rends its prey), Lam. 311.

'as one might rend a kid.' Lit. 'like the rending of a kid,' i.e. as easily as an ordinary man would perform the same action on a kid. Mo. renders 'as a man tears a kid,' and thinks that this, like Lev. 117, may be a reference to some ceremonial act. The whole point of the description lies, however, in the ease with which Samson's extraordinary strength enabled him to perform the deed, rather than on the manner in which it was done.

and there was nothing, etc. Cf. the representations of Gilgamesh, etc., noticed above. Herakles is related to have strangled the Nemeaean lion with his bare hands ‡ (cf. the references collected by Bochart, Hierozoicon, i. p. 754); and Pulydamas of Scotusa in Thessaly, moved by desire to emulate the feats of Herakles, is said to have slain a large and powerful lion on Mount Olympus without weapons (Pausanias, vi. 5).

but he told not, etc. An interpolation of the reviser of the narrative, based upon ו' l n מ תבוחנ, and necessitated by the insertion of the words 'his father and his mother' in v.6. If Samson's parents were with him on the journey, it would be natural (apart from this statement) to suppose that they would hear of the incident, even if they did not witness it.

8. and he returned after a while, etc. Omitting the words 'to take her' as a later addition, the reference naturally is to Samson's return to Şor'ah after his visit to Timnah (cf. p. 354). The phrase וייח יק "after a while' is used in II 4, 15 of an indeterminate period, and, as the latter reference proves, can be used of quite a short period as well as of a long one (often, specifically, a year; cf. references in BDB. s.v. דט, 6c).

* Mo. is not justified in stating that 'he tore the lion limb from limb.' Had he done this, there would not have been much of the carcase left for the bees to build in.

‡ Jos. (Ant. v. viii. 5) is possibly influenced by the Herakles-myth when he states that Samson strangled the lion (αγχεν ταίς χερεῖ).
behold, there was a swarm of bees in the body of the lion, and

there was a swarm of bees, etc. Bees will not build their combs in putrefying matter; but probably we are to picture the carcase as reduced to little more than a skeleton by jackals, vultures, or ants, and dried by the heat of the sun (cf. Post in DB. i. p. 264 a); or, as Mo. suggests, 'the body dried up, the skin and shrivelled flesh adhering to the ribs, the belly hollow.' It is true that the few days (presumably) before Samson's return from Timnah would hardly suffice for the building of combs and the gathering of a considerable store of honey; but clearly we cannot press the details of the narrative. Herodotus' story of the head of Onesilus, which, when an empty skull, was occupied by a swarm of bees which filled it with a honey-comb (Hist. v. 114) has often been compared by commentators.

An alternative theory is that we have here an instance of the widely spread ancient belief that bees were generated from putrefying animal-matter (cf. references in Bochart, Hierozoicon, ii. p. 502; Sachs, Beiträge zur Sprach- und Alterthumsforschung, i. p. 154; ii. pp. 92 f.); the origin of which has been supposed to be due to the fact that the drone-fly, Eristalis tenax, which is easily mistaken for a bee by those who are not entomologists, may have been observed to spend its larval stage within the carcases of large animals.* This view, * Cf. especially the monograph of Osten Sacken, On the oxen-born bees of the Ancients (1894). The difficulty which seems to lie in the way of regarding Eristalis as the supposed 'bee' which was generated from the carcases of cattle is that the larva of this fly is aquatic, thriving in all kinds of liquid filth, but not in the solid tissues of a carcase. The body of a dead animal, such as Samson's lion, would speedily become infested with carrion-feeding larvae, such as those of Calliphora (the blue-bottle fly) and Lucilia (the green-bottle fly) which bear no resemblance to bees; but only by Eristalis if it happened to be lying in a pool of water (as was the case with the sheep, which seems to be the only certified instance known to Sacken in which this fly has actually been observed hovering over, or settling on, a carcase), or if the process of putrefaction had led to liquefaction of the viscera. It is worthy of notice, however, that the directions given by Virgil (Georg. iv. 295 ff.) for the production of bees from the carcase of a bullock, according to the Egyptian method—the bruising of the body while the skin remains intact and the apertures of the nose and mouth are carefully stopped—seem to be aimed at producing a fluid condition of the interior ('solvuntur viscera,' l. 302) after the lapse of the period during which the carcase is kept closed up in a narrow chamber; and such a condition would be favourable to the production of Eristalis, supposing that the fly could deposit its eggs in such a way that the larva could reach this internal fluid (e.g. if the skin of the bullock eventually burst). As a matter of fact, when, as Virgil goes on to relate, Aristaeus, who was the first to learn the secret, used this method—or something like it—to renew his stock of bees, and was successful, we are told (ll. 554 ff.) that

'Hic vero subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum
Aspiciunt, liquefacta boum per viscera toto
Stridere apes utero et ruptis effervere costis.'

'Bees' thus produced may very well have been Eristalis.
9. And he scraped it out into his palms, and went on, eating as he went. And he came to his father and his mother, and gave to them, and they did eat: but he told them not that it was out of the body of the lion that he had scraped the honey. 10. And his father J° went down unto the woman, and Gl. Samson J° made there a feast, for so were the young men while accounting for the (supposed) bees, would not explain the honey in the carcase; yet, once given the existence of such a belief as to the origin of bees, the story that honey was actually derived from such a source might easily follow.* It should be remarked, however, that the ancient theory connected bees specifically with the carcases of oxen (whence it is termed βοῦς ὁμολόγων), just as it traced the origin of wasps to the carcases of horses, etc.; and we nowhere find any suggestion that bees were generated from the bodies of other animals, e.g. lions.

On the theory that the story of the lion and the honey has a solar-mythological origin, cf. Addit. note, p. 405.

9. he scraped it out. The verb ῥάθα, which only occurs in this passage in the O.T., is used in post-Biblical Heb. of extracting or scraping out bread from an oven (if, for instance, it adheres to the oven in baking).

And he came, etc. According to Jos. he took three honeycombs from the breast of the lion, and gave them, not to his parents, but to the damsel at Timnah, together with the rest of the presents which he had brought for her. This alteration may be due to the difficulty noticed on p. 354, viz. that, as the text stands, he was on his way to Timnah, and his parents were not with him.

10. And his father . . . feast. Originally, 'And Samson went down unto the woman, and he made there a feast.' Cf. the discussion on p. 354.

a feast. ε, φ 'a seven days' feast' is probably based upon νν.12,17. Had there been anything unusual about the length of the festivities we should have expected it to have been specified in this verse; but seven days seems to have been the customary period in ancient times (cf. Gen. 29:27 E, Tob. 11:19), and is still customary at the present day among the Syrian peasantry (cf. Wetzstein, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1873, pp. 287 ff.); so the duration of the feast did not call for specification.

for so were the young men, etc. The statement implies that the
wont to do. 11. And because they feared him, they took thirty companions, and they remained with him. 12. And Samson said to them, ‘Prithee let me propound a riddle to you: if ye can tell it me during the seven days of the feast, the narrator is referring to a custom which was obsolete, or at any rate unusual, in his own day. This can hardly refer to the giving of a feast, or to its duration—supposing that to have been originally specified (cf. note preceding). What calls for note is the fact that the feast was given ‘there,’ i.e. at the house of the bride’s parents, instead of at the bridegroom’s house (so Mo.).

11. because they feared him. Reading ἔφημεν, or ἰδόν, with ἰδωμεν, ἠκούσαν, and many moderns. ἐφημεν is here, as frequently, Infin. Constr.; cf. G-K. § 45 d. ἠκούσαν ‘when they saw him,’ is explained by Black, Mo. ‘saw what a dangerous-looking fellow he was’; but surely, with all his coming and going to and fro, the Timnites must have been familiar enough with his appearance.

On the reasons for which we assume that v. 11a is the reviser’s addition, and that v. 11b originally opened with sing. ἔφημεν ‘and he (i.e. Samson) took,’ cf. p. 355.

thirty companions. The νοιο τοῦ νυμφῶνος, Matt. 9:15, Mark 2:10, Lu. 5:34. In the modern Syrian peasant-marriage they are termed in Ar. ṣabāb al-ʿarīs, ‘the bridegroom’s young men,’ and their number varies in accordance with the scale of the marriage-festivities, part of the cost of which they commonly defray. Probably the custom of choosing a large number of such companions dates from very early times, when the condition of the country was unsettled, and it was necessary to provide a bodyguard during the marriage-festival. Cf. Wetzstein, op. cit. p. 288, n2.

12. a riddle. Heb. ḫidhā, only in this chapter denoting a trivial conundrum invented to pose ingenuity. The term is used in 1 Kgs. 10:1 of the ‘hard questions’ with which the Queen of Sheba tested Solomon’s wisdom; while in Ps. 49:7 (ṽ 5) 78:2, Prov. 1:6 (R.V. in each case ‘dark saying’) it denotes a perplexing question of ethics or morals.

it in the body of a large animal?” asked Yiad. The surveyor answered: ‘Hearing that there was a hive near the sea-coast, I sent people to gather the honey. They told me that they found at that place a heap of bones, more or less rotten, in the cavity of which bees had deposited the honey that they brought with them.’ Sacken’s comment is: ‘This case, as a parallel to Samson’s bees, is a remarkable instance of the force of imaginative association in the human brain, and of the sameness of its illogical conclusion under similar circumstances.’
Gl. and find it out, J! I will give you thirty linen wrappers and thirty suits of festal apparel. 13. And if ye are not able to tell it me, ye shall give me thirty linen wrappers and thirty suits of festal apparel.' And they said to him, 'Propound thy riddle, and let us hear it.' 14. And he said to them,

'From the eater there came forth something to eat,

And from something strong came forth something sweet.'

_and find it out._ Heb. נַפְתָּלִית, omitted by some MSS. of G and by לְ, and marked by an asterisk in ס, stands in ב in a most awkward position, and must be regarded (with Sta., Mo., etc.) as a gloss from v. 18b. Had the expression formed a genuine part of the text, we should have expected 'If ye can find it out and tell it, etc.'

_linen wrappers._ Heb. שָׁדָה (Greek σατόν) was a large rectangular piece of fine linen, which might be worn either as a garment or as a sleeping wrap (cf. Mark 14:51f.). It is mentioned in Isa. 3:23 among other articles of female attire; and in Prov. 31:24 as made by the capable woman, and sold by her to 'the Canaanites,' i.e. the Phoenician traders—a reference which perhaps gives us a hint as to the origin of the term in Greek. The word is well diffused in the other Semitic languages (Bab., Ar., Syr.), and is used in the Talmud of a curtain, wrapper, or shroud (cf. references given by Mo.; and for the last usage, cf. Matt. 27:59, Mark 15:46, Luke 23:53).

_suits of festal apparel._ Heb. קַלְפָּהת b'גָּדֶת, as in 2 Kgs. 5:6, 20; similarly, קַלְפָּהָה s'maloth twice in Gen. 45:22 E. Here קַלְפָּה is probably to be explained as meaning 'changes' (cf. the use of the word in Job 10:17, 14:14, Ps. 55:19, ב 50); 'changes of raiment' denoting the best garments, which were only worn on festal occasions, in distinction from the everyday dress. Cf. the use of the cognate verb of changing the raiment in Gen. 35:2 E, מַעֲרָה אֶלֹהֵי אָבִּים. Less probable is connexion (suggested by Delitzsch, Assyr. Studien, p. 112) with Assyr. ālāpu 'to cover;' whence are derived nālāpu, nāliuptu, nāliuptu, all meaning garment or covering; since, on this explanation, we have to regard b'gādēthin (or s'maloth) as standing in explanatory apposition to קַלְפָּה—a term which, ex hypothesi, bears the same meaning.

14. A 3-beat distich:—

מָוַה דְּקָהל יַפְּּד מַעֲרָה מֵאָקל
יָנֵה' אוּ יַפְּד מַעֲרָה מָעָרָה

_and from something strong, etc._ Heb. יִועַ and קֶם, both of which are adjectives, are used indefinitely without the Article; hence the rendering adopted above rather than that of R.V., 'and out of the strong came forth sweetness.'
And they were not able to tell the riddle for six days. And on the seventh day they said to Samson's wife, 'Beguile thy husband, that he may tell us the riddle, lest we burn thee.

יְזַי has normally the meaning 'strong' or 'fierce.' Bochart, however (Hierozoicon, ii. p. 523), remarks that we should expect a paradox in the contrast between יז and בּחָד, just as we have one between מָכָּא 'the eater,' and הָבִית 'something to eat,' in the first line. He thinks that יז may have a range of meaning similar to the Latin acer (which may mean either 'pungent,' or 'fierce'), comparing Ar. mirra 'strength,' and מָרָר 'strong,' from the verb מָרָר, 'to be bitter' (cf., however, footnote, p. 380); and so he renders 'ab acri prodit dulce,' and in v. 18, 'Quid dulcius est melle? Et quid acrius est leone?' The need for such a paradox was felt by ש', which renders מָכָּא 'and from something biting,' etc. It might be brought out in English if we were justified in representing יז by some such rendering as 'something biting;' where the reference would of course really be to the biting (i.e. ferocious) lion, but the contrast with 'sweet' would immediately suggest that it referred to something of a biting (i.e. acrid) taste: cf. the word-play in ch. 15.*

The difficulty is that we possess no evidence that יז was used in the sense acrid or bitter; yet the question is not set at rest by Mo. when he remarks that there is in reality only one antithesis in the couplet (that between 'eater' and 'something to eat'), and that it is unnecessary therefore to make out a perfect antithesis between the adjectives independently. The rhythmical parallelism of the clauses favours such an antithesis, in sense as well as in form.*

for six days. Reading יָשִׁי in place of יָשִׁי 'three,' which cannot stand alongside of v. 16 'and on the seventh day.' So Doorn., Mo. The alternative correction is to read 'the fourth day' in v. 16; and this has the support of בַּא, ל, ש', and most moderns.

* It is, at any rate, a moot point whether 'az may not have been used in the sense harsh or acrid, and applied to a flavour. The adj. mar 'bitter,' which is commonly used as a flavour, denotes a fierce disposition in ch. 18 25, 2 Sam. 17 8, Hab. 1 6; and, conversely, it may be inferred that 'az, which is commonly used of a fierce disposition, may also have denoted a bitter flavour. The Ar. parallel offered by Bochart in illustration of connexion between the meanings strong and bitter is questionable; yet it seems likely that a similar range of meaning may have been possessed by the Heb. root רְבִּי. This has the sense 'to be hard, severe, fierce' (so BDB); and, in the adjectival form קָדוֹד, is used in parallelism to 'az as a synonym in Isa. 19 4 ('harsk lord . . . fierce king'). The root קָדוֹד, from which is derived קִיסּהּת 'cucumbers,' was plausibly connected by the Jews with רְבִּי; cf. Aboda zara, fol. xi. 1, 'Why are they called קִיסּהּת? Because they are as harsh (קַּדֵּי) to the human body as a sword.' Similarly, Pliny (Hist. Nat. xix. 5) says of cucumbers, 'vivunt hausti in stomacho in posterum diem,
and thy father’s house with fire: was it to beggar us that ye invited us hither? 16. And Samson’s wife wept upon him, and said, ‘Thou surely hastest me, and dost not love me: thou

Adopting either emendation, it is impossible, however, to square the note of time with the narrative which follows, according to which, when the Philistines have persuaded Samson’s bride to extract the answer of the riddle from her husband, she weeps over him the whole seven days during which the feast lasts (v.17). Clearly, then, the Philistines can have made no serious attempt to solve the riddle for themselves, but must have had recourse to the woman on the day when Samson propounded it to them. The note of time in vv.14,15 must be due to a later hand, who, overlooking v.17, supposed that the Philistines would have spent at least part of the time in attempting to discover the answer themselves; and we may conclude (with Sta.) that the narrative originally ran ‘and they were not able to tell the riddle; and they said to Samson’s wife, etc.’


hither. Reading יָּנֹּ֑שׁ with five Heb. MSS., ת, and moderns. יָּנֹּ֑שׁ or not’ is irregular in construction; נָּנֹּ֑שׁ being usual in the second half of a disjunctive question: cf. G-K. § 150 g, n.

16. surely. יָּנֹּ֑שׁ has here an asseverative force, as in Gen. 20:11,

neq perfici queint in cibus’ (both references cited by Ges., Thes. p. 1241 b). Both these passages refer to indigestibility rather than to flavour; yet there can be little doubt that there was a close connexion in thought between the indigestibility of the cucumber and its bitter or acrid taste when eaten with the rind or in an over-ripe state. We may compare the incident related in 2 Kgs. 4:38-41, where, when wild gourds (probably Citrullus colocynthis, L., allied to the cucumber, the pulp of which is ‘intensely bitter,’ and forms ‘a drastic cathartic, and, in quantities, an irritant poison’; cf. Post in DB. ii. p. 250) have been accidentally included in the stew, the fact that ‘there is death in the pot’ is recognized by the flavour.

It may be added that this connexion between the Heb. roots יָּנֹּ֑שׁ and יָּנֹּ֑שׁ is made in full consciousness of the fact that in the former the ג runs through Heb., Ar., and Aram., whereas in the latter, Heb. ג=Ar. ג=E-Aram. ג (tor ג after ג). Such a difference does not imply original diversity of root; but may represent merely a slight differentiation in sound for the sake of marking a variation in the shade of meaning. Cf. the way in which e.g. the Heb. קָּשַׁ֑י appears in Ar. as קָּשַׁ֑י ‘to cut’ in the literal sense, but as קָּשַׁ֑י when denoting a metaphorical ‘cutting,’ i.e. ‘deciding.’
hast propounded the riddle to the sons of my people, and thou hast not told it to me.' And he said to her, 'Behold, I have not told it to my father or my mother, and should I tell it to thee?'

17. And she wept upon him the seven days during which the feast lasted; and on the seventh day he told her, because she pressed him sorely; and she told the riddle to the sons of her people. 18. And the men of the city said to him on the seventh day, before he entered the bridal chamber,

'What is sweeter than honey?
And what is stronger than a lion?'

Deut. 4:6, 1 Kgs. 21:25, Ps. 32:6. The restrictive meaning 'only' is clearly not so suitable.

18. before he entered the bridal chamber. Reading מְרוֹב בַּסְדָּה as the last word in place of בַּסְדָּה, 'before the sun went down,' where the word for 'sun' is very uncommon (cf. ch. 1:35 note) and of anomalous form (with the old accusative ending). מְרוֹב בַּסְדָּה (cf. ch. 15:16), first suggested by Sta., has been generally adopted; and is supported by שְׁלֵה, in which the inexplicable מְרוֹב must be an error for מְרוֹב 'inner chamber' (מְרוֹב is so rendered in ch. 16:9, 1 Kgs. 20:30, al; cf. references in Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, s.v. col. 50).*

'The Timnathites waited till the last moment, to heighten their triumph and his discomfiture' (Mo.).

It would appear from this passage that the marriage was not to have been consummated until the end of the seventh day of the festival; and this also seems to follow from v.20, where, after Samson has rushed off in a rage, the bride is at once given in marriage to his 'chief friend,' clearly in order that she may escape the disgrace and ridicule which would have fallen upon her if the marriage had not been completed (cf. her father's words in 15:2); but otherwise (we may presume) an unnecessary step to take. Such a custom of deferring the completion of the marriage is, however (apart from this instance), unknown to us. Jacob consummates his marriage with Le'ah upon the first of the seven days (Gen. 29:21-28 E); and the same practice is observed in the modern Syrian marriage (cf. Wetzstein, op. cit.)

* What is sweeter, etc. A rhythmical 2-beat distich:—

mam-mathbē midd'bhaṣ
āme-āz me'arā.

* The editor's attention was called to this point by Prof. Bevan.
And he said to them,

'If ye had not plowed with this heifer of mine,
Ye would not have found out this riddle of mine.'

19. And the spirit of Yahweh rushed upon him, and he went down to Ashkelon, and smote thirty men 'from thence', and

*If ye had not, etc.* The 3-beat distich is rhymed upon the suffix of the 1st pers. sing.:

\[\text{la'lo} \text{b'ra'śîm} \text{b'eghlāthl}
\text{l'o} \text{m'sāthém} \text{hīdāthl.}\]

The rendering 'of mine' for 'my' attempts to reproduce this in English. Cf. the similar rhyme in ch. 16.24.

19. *and smote . . . riddle.* Reading מִן for מָהַי for הֲלוֹא, and omitting הֲמוֹלַחַת after מִן, with גָּלֶה, כָּלָה, וַלָּה הֲמוֹלַחַת תֶּקֶּכֶּה תַּרְוָא נִנָּרָא, כָּלָהָס עָּאָת עֶתָּוָנָו וַלָּלָה תֵּשְׁוֹקֵחַ תֵּאָבנָיָס תַּדָּרֵבָלְמָא. Cf. also ו. בַּדּבָּלָא 'of them,' i.e. of the Ashkelonites, *as assumed* from the preceding 'he went down to Ashkelon,' is very awkward; while מַתָּלוֹנָה 'their spoil' (lit. 'what was stripped off them'); cf. 2 Sam. 221 is so similar to מַתָּלוֹנָה that it is natural to regard it as a corruption, which has led, in turn, to the addition of מַתָּלוֹנָה after מִן ('he gave—not the spoil as a whole, but—the festal attire'). Adopting our emendation, the use of מִן without expressed object—this being inferred from preceding מַתָּלוֹנָה—is very idiomatic; cf., with the same verb, Gen. 18.8, 20.14, 21.14, al.

Sta. and Doorn. are probably right in regarding the whole of v.19a as a later addition to the narrative. We need not press the improbability of Samson's actually rushing off in his frenzy to a seaside town some twenty-three miles distant (cf. ch. 16.3, where he carries the gates of Gaza to the top of a hill to the east of Hebron some thirty-eight miles off), getting exactly what he wanted (the suit of festal attire) from the bodies of the slaughtered Philistines, returning to pay his wager (the same night?), and then departing, still in angry mood, to his father's house. Nor is the fact that nothing results from his raid on Ashkelon in the way of reprisal necessarily fatal to the originality of the verse. It is obvious, however, that the statement of v.19b 'and his anger was kindled, etc.,' is curiously weak and inappropriate when following after v.19a (the superhuman access of frenzy denoted by הֲוָנָא; cf. v.5 note); but, on the rejection of v.19a, it forms a natural description of his rage at the underhand trick by which the Philistines had discovered the solution of the riddle. We assume, then, that the original story made Samson depart home
took 'their suits of festal apparel', and gave them [] to the tellers of the riddle. And his anger was kindled, and he went up to his father's house. And Samson's wife was given to his companion, whom he had made his chief friend.

After a time, however, in the days of wheat-harvest, Samson visited his wife with a kid of the goats; and he said, 'I will go in unto my wife into the bridal chamber.' But her father would not suffer him to go in. And her father said, 'I verily thought that thou didst hate her, so I gave her to thy companion: is not her younger sister fairer than she? prithee in anger without paying the wager, which had not been fairly won; and that the addition is due to an interpolator who thought that the story would be improved if he were represented as paying, and at the same time inflicting damage on his foes.

And Samson's wife, etc. Cf. note on v. 18.

his companion. The φίλος τοῦ νυμφίου (Jo. 3:29), or, as we should say, best man; called in the modern Syrian wedding wazir, i.e. vizier or chargé d'affaires (from wasara 'to bear a burden') to the king, as the bridegroom is termed during the seven days' festival (Wetzstein, op. cit.).

15. in the days of wheat-harvest. This varies in Palestine in accordance with the elevation, the harvest of the Jordan valley being considerably earlier than that of the hill-country. In the district of Timnah wheat-harvest falls (according to La.) from mid-May to mid-June. The season is mentioned in view of the incident of vv. 4-5.

a kid of the goats. Cf. Gen. 38:17 ff. The gift seems to have been of the kind which was called ṣadāk among the ancient Arabians; and was probably made to the ṣadīka-wife on each occasion of such a visit. Cf. Robertson Smith, Kinship, 2 pp. 83, 93.

2. I verily thought. Heb. יתרצה דָּם, lit. 'Saying I said (to myself). The force of the Infin. Absolute is to emphasize the mental process by which he arrived at his conclusion—much as we might say in colloquial English, 'What I thought was, etc.' Cf. Davidson, Syntax, § 86 a.

that thou didst hate her. Here the force of the Infin. Absolute in the phrase נָתָתוּ מְעֹר can only be expressed by italicizing the verb; unless, with Mo., we render 'that thou didst certainly hate her.' R.V. 'that thou hadst utterly hated her' is very erroneous; the emphasis being not on the quality of the feeling denoted by the verb (bitter hatred), but upon the accurate definition of the feeling (hatred, and not love). A similar error is perpetrated by R.V. in v. 13 (cf. note).
let her be thine instead of her.' 3. And Samson said to them, 'I am quits this time with the Philistines; for I am about to do them a mischief.' 4. And Samson went and caught three

3. said to them. G^A, S^h, L^l, V read 'said to him.' This, however, is probably an alteration induced by the fact that the woman's father only is speaking in v. 2. In favour of ה cf. v. 7. As Mo. remarks, 'It is not necessary to suppose that in either case the words were spoken in their hearing; the threat was addressed to them.'

I am quits, etc. ינֵךְ is a Perfect of certitude. As the brilliant idea strikes him which, when put into action, will, he foresees, wipe off all scores which he owes to the Philistines, he speaks of it as an accomplished fact. Cf. Driver, Tenses, § 13.

The verb נְקָחָה, as here used, followed by מִן, means freed from obligation towards (the obligation in this case being, of course, that of taking vengeance); and it would be best expressed by the old phrase 'quit of,' as used e.g. in Shakespeare, Coriolanus, IV. v. 89:—

'To be full quit of these my banishers,
Stand I before thee here.'

The phrase is used (of gaining freedom from obligation of service) in Num. 32:22, where Moses, in impressing upon the two and a half tribes that they can only gain the right to the territory conquered by all Israel east of Jordan if they in their turn will cross the Jordan with the other tribes, and help them to conquer the territory to the west, adds that, when this has been accomplished, 'afterward ye shall return, and shall be quit of Yahweh and of Israel' (ןַיִּוֹ הָן מִיִּוֹ הָמוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל).

This sense is expressed by R.V. marg. and by La. R.V. text follows the Versions, Jewish commentators, and nearly all moderns in rendering, 'This time shall I be blameless in regard of the Philistines, when I do them a mischief'—an interpretation which is bound up with the rendering of יִנְקָחָה as a temporal clause, which can scarcely be justified (we should surely expect יִנְקָחָה מִיִּוֹ 'when I shall have done,' etc). יִנְקָחָה is to be explained as Futurum instans; cf. the rendering given above.

4. three hundred foxes. Since the fox is a solitary animal, it has been supposed by many that the reference is tojackals, which live together in large packs, and could be caught in numbers without great difficulty. It is, however, a very doubtful expedient to attempt to explain Samson's feats by depriving them of the element of the marvellous.
hundred foxes, and took torches and turned tail to tail, and put a torch between every two tails in the midst. 5. And he set fire to the torches, and turned them loose into the fields of the Philistines, and burned both shocks and standing corn and vineyards and olives. 6. And the Philistines said, 'Who hath done this?' And they said, 'Samson, the son-in-law of the Timnite; because he took his wife, and gave her to his companion.' Then the Philistines went up, and burned her and her father's house with fire. 7. And Samson said to them, 'If ye do after this manner, surely I will be avenged of you, and after that I will cease.' 8. And he smote them leg upon thigh with a

took torches, etc. Commentators generally have noted the remarkable resemblance of the action here ascribed to Samson to the custom which was observed at Rome during the festival of Ceres, when foxes with burning torches attached to their brushes were hunted through the Circus (Ovid, Fasti, iv. 679 ff.). This point is discussed in Addit. note, pp. 393 f.

5. into the fields. Reading תוחב with Bu., in place of ויתוחב 'into the standing corn,' which occurs only here in the plur., and is not very suitable before the following statement 'and burned both shocks and standing corn' (יתוחב sing.).

and vineyards and olives. Reading ויתוחב with $, $, in place of ויתוחב (rendered by K.V. 'and also the oliveyards' as though ויתוחב elsewhere always vineyard—here meant 'yard' or 'plantation' of olives). Vineyards and olives are thus coupled in Ex. 23 11 E, Deut. 6 11, 28 30, 40 Josh. 24 13 E, 1 Sam, 8 14, 2 Kgs. 5 26, Neh. 5 11, 9 25, ויתוחב ויתוחב. There is no reason to suppose, with Mo., that the words 'are probably an addition by a later hand, exaggerating the mischief.'

6. and her father's house. Reading נほか with many MSS. of $, $, $, $, Mo., Bu., etc. (cf. ch. 14 15), in place of הלא 'and her father.'

7. surely I will be avenged of you. Heb. קינכמת is closely connected, with a strong asserative force, and קינמ is a Perfect of certitude: cf. the precisely similar construction in 2 Kgs. 5 20 (note on construction in NHTK.), Jer. 51 14. קינמ is so used, followed by the Imperfect, in 1 Sam. 26 10 (note in NHTS. 2), 2 Sam. 15 21 Kt.; cf. also 1 Sam. 21 6, Ru. 3 12 Kt.

8. leg upon thigh. Heb. סָב denotes the leg generally, or specifi-
great slaughter, and went down, and abode in a cleft of the crag 'Etam.

9. Then the Philistines went up, and encamped in Judah, and
cally the shank from the knee downwards, as distinct from the thigh; while yărēḵh is used of the thigh, or rather, the whole of the upper part of the leg from the hip down to the knee (cf. Ar. warēḵ ‘hip’ or ‘buttock’). The only plausible explanation of the difficult expression  sóc ‘al yărēḵh is that it is a wrestler’s term, akin to the English cross-buttock, which is thus described in the Sporting Magazine, xxx. (1868), 247 A:—‘A cross-buttock in pugilism is, when the party, advancing his right leg and thigh, closes with his antagonist, and catching him with his right arm, or giving a round blow, throws him over his right hip, upon his head.’ Cf. D’Urfey, Collin’s Walk (1690), ii. p. 74:—

‘When th’ hardy Major, skill’d in Wars,
To make quick end of fight prepares,
By strength o’er buttock cross to hawl him,
And with a trip i’ th’ Inturn maul him.’

Castle (Lexicon heptaglotton, 3716) and Le Clerc connected the phrase with wrestling; but supposed that the leg ( sóc) of the victor was impacted against the thigh ( ‘al yărēḵh) of the vanquished. To Smythe Palmer (p. 225) belongs the credit of connecting the phrase with a cross-buttock, in view of the cylinder-seals in which Gilgamesh is figured as wrestling with an antagonist, and throwing him across his own thigh (cf. Plate II., fig. 5).

The Versions were evidently puzzled by the phrase. G renders literally κυνημυν εινι µορον; F ‘ita ut stupentes suram femori imponerent’; Ζ ἀπό τῶν ἰσοπροσωπῶν τῶν αυτῶν ἀπό τῶν Ἰσραήλ ἀπό τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ‘from their legs even to their loins’; Τ ἐκ ζυγίων ευ ζυγίων ἐκ ζυγίων ‘horsemen with footmen.’* Other attempted explanations—such as those of Kimchi, ‘shank over thigh,’ as they fell in precipitate flight (or, as we might say, ‘heels over head’), and Ges., Thes., ‘in frusta eos concidit ita ut membra eorum, crura et femora, alia super alis disjecta jacerent’—merely serve to illustrate the lengths to which perverted ingenuity can go.

the crag ‘Etam. A city of Judah named ‘Etam is mentioned in 2 Chr. 11* as built by Rehoboam; and the order in which the name occurs, between Bethlehem and Tekoa, favours a site at or near the modern Urṭās, near which is a spring called ‘Ain ‘Aṭān: SWP. Mem.

* This rendering inverts the order of the phrase, sóc being interpreted of those who go on foot (cf. Ps. 147 10); while the sense attributed to yărēḵh may be gathered from the Ar. verb waraka, which (according to Kazimirska, Dīc. Ar.-François) may mean ‘Appuyer un côté du corps sur le dos du cheval et voyager ainsi.’
spread themselves abroad in Lehi. 10. And the men of Judah said, 'Why have ye come up against us?' And they said, 'To bind Samson have we come up, to do to him as he hath done to us.' 11. Then three thousand men from Judah went down

iii. p. 43. This, however, is too far removed from the scene of Samson's exploits. Schick, ZDPV. x. (1887), pp. 143 f., and Hanauer, PEF. Qy. St., 1896, pp. 162 ff., have plausibly suggested the rock called 'Arâk Isma'în, near Hirbet Marmitâ, some two and a half miles east-south-east of Sor'ah, in which there is a cave which exactly suits the description of our narrative. 'The cave is approached by descending through a crack or fissure in the very edge of the cliffs overhanging the chasm of wâdy Isma'în. The crack is scarcely wide enough to allow one person to squeeze through at a time. It leads down to the topmost of a long series of rudimentary steps, or small artificial foot-ledges, cut in the face of the cliff, and descending to a narrow rock terrace running along the front of the cave, and between it and the fragments of massive wall (belonging to an ancient Christian cenobium)': Hanauer, op. cit., p. 163.

9. and spread themselves abroad. Heb. יָשַׁב again in this sense in 2 Sam. 518,22.

in Lehi. As the narrator is about to record the incident from which, according to his tradition, the place obtained its name of Lehi 'jaw-bone,' he uses the name here and in v. 14 proleptically. Probably the name was originally given to some hill or ridge on account of its resemblance to a jawbone. Commentators generally compare the Greek Ουνος γυάδος—the name of a promontory at the southern end of Laconia; cf. Strabo, viii. v. 1. Schick (ZDPV. x. pp. 152 f.) proposes to identify Lehi with Hirbet es-Şiyâyâg, a hill with ruins a little south-west of 'Arâk Isma'în. Hirbet es-Şiyâyâg means 'ruin of the goldsmiths'; but such a name is very strange in this locality, and the view is plausible that Şiyâyâg really represents the Greek σαιρών, which is the rendering of Lehi employed by Α., Ξ., Jos. (Ant. v. viii. 8 f.), and by € in vv. 14ff. 11.

Lehi is mentioned again in 2 Sam. 2311 (emended text*) as the scene of an exploit of Shammah, the son of Agee, one of David's heroes, in withstanding and smiting a large number of Philistines single-handed. On the suspicious similarity between the deeds of Samson, Shammah, and Shamgar, cf. p. 75.

11. three thousand men. The huge numbers here and in v. 16, ch.

* Reading 'Now the Philistines were gathered together 'to Lehi' (i.e. מִלְיָה) for the very obscure מִלְיָה of €, after €: εἰς σαιρών. This emendation is generally accepted.
unto the cleft of the crag 'Etam, and said to Samson, 'Knowest thou not that the Philistines are ruling over us? What then is this that thou hast done to us?' And he said to them, 'As they did to me, so have I done to them.' 12. And they said to him, 'To bind thee are we come down, to deliver thee into the hand of the Philistines.' And Samson said to them, 'Swear to me that ye will not fall upon me yourselves.' 13. And they spake to him, saying, 'Nay, but we will bind thee, and deliver thee into their hand; but we will not slay thee.' So they bound him with two new ropes, and brought him up from the crag. 14. As soon as he came unto Lehi, the Philistines came shouting to meet him: and the spirit of Yahweh rushed upon him, and the ropes that were upon his arms became like flax that hath been burnt with fire, and his bonds melted from off his hands. 15. And he found a fresh jawbone of an ass, and put forth his hand, and took it, and smote therewith a thousand men. 16. And Samson said,

'With the red ass's jawbone [I have reddened them right red];
With the red ass's jawbone I have smitten a thousand men.'

16 27 are of a piece with the marvellous character of the narrative as a whole.

13. Nay, but we will bind thee, etc. The use of the Infinitive Absolute here—lit. 'binding we will bind thee . . . but slaying we will not slay thee'—is intended to emphasize what they will do, in distinction from what they will not do; and can only be rightly reproduced in English by the use of italics. R.V. 'we will bind thee fast, etc.,' is erroneous in supposing the emphasis to be on the security of the binding. Cf. the similar error in v. 2 (note on 'that thou didst hate her').

14. melted. Heb. יָסָר, a graphic description of the powerlessness of the bonds as against Samson's strength.

15. a fresh jawbone. Heb. נָר, lit. 'moist,' explains how the jawbone was suitable for use as a weapon. Had it been old and dry it would have been too brittle.

16. with the red ass's jawbone, etc. A 4-beat distich:

_Bitkî ḫamô'r ḫamô'r himmartîm
Bitkî ḫamô'r hîkkîhî 'eleph-itî.

We vocalize the first stichos בִּלְקָחָה הָמֹר הָמֹר הִמְמַרְתִּים. There is a play upon the word for ass (חָמֹר), which means lit. the reddish-
coloured animal, and the verb (ḥamar; in Pi'el, himmēr) applied to the slaughtered Philistines, which is explained from Ar. ḥamara, properly 'to be or to make red,' used e.g. of skinning a sheep so as to make it appear red, and in Conj. 11. (the equivalent of the Heb. Pi'el) of dyeing a thing red (so Lane). Cf. the use of the Pe'al'al in Heb. in Job. 16 10, 'my face is reddened (ḥarmērā) from weeping.' The pun is suggested to Samson by the appearance of the blood-stained corpses.* As an alternative possibility, we might vocalize as Kal ḥimmēr, and regard the verb ḥamar as a denominative from ḥamōr, with the meaning 'treat as an ass' (in this case, by belabouring them), a sense which is also possessed by ḥamara in Ar. Thus, if we were justified in coining (not for the first time!) a verb to ass in this sense, we might bring out the word-play by rendering:

'With the jawbone of an ass I have thoroughly assed them.'

This explanation is adopted by Levesque (Revue Biblique, 1900, pp. 89 ff.), who reproduces the assonance excellently by use of the French rosse=a sorry jade and the denominative verb rosser=to beat or belabour violently, properly, to treat as a jade (cf. Littré, Dict. de la lang. Franç., 1761):

'Avec une mâchoire de rosse, je les ai bien rossés.'

So also La.

is rendered by A.V., R.V. 'heaps upon heaps,' with marg. Heb. 'an heap, two heaps' (cf. ותָהֲנָנָי ch. 5 30), upon the assumption that ḥammēr (though identical with the word for 'ass' preceding) has the same meaning as הָמָר Hab. 3 15 (text very suspicious), plur. בחמרים Ex. 8 10 J; and this is the sense which was probably intended by the vocalization. However, treats the two words as Infin. Absol. and Finite verbs, ἔξαλειψων ἔξαλειψα αἰτούσι; and the other Versions explain as a verbal form:—Ε 'delevi eos,' ס הכנפ סעיב 'I have heaped some of them in heaps,' יָרֵם הָרֵו 'I have cast them in heaps.'

The view that we should read Infin. Absol. Kal, coupled with a Finite verb, either Kal or Pi'el, is adopted by most moderns; but very various meanings are assigned to the verb. J. D. Michaelis

* This explanation occurred to the present editor, and was adopted by him as given above, before he noticed that he had been anticipated by Zenner, Zeitschr. für kath. Theol., 1888, p. 257, quoted and followed by Cheyne, EB. 2340.

† This verb to ass, in the sense 'to call an ass,' is quoted by the New English Dictionary from G. Harvey, Pierces Supererogation (1592), 57:—'He . . . bourdeth, girdeth, asseth the excellentest writers of whatsoever note that tickle not his wanton sense.'
17. And when he had finished speaking, he cast away the jawbone out of his hand; so that place was called Ramath-lehi. 18. And he was sore athirst, and called unto Yahweh, and said, 'Thou hast given this great victory by the hand of thy servant; and now, I must die of thirst, and fall into the hand of the uncircumcised.' 19. Then God clave the Mortar that is in Lehi, and there came water thereout; and when he had drunk, his spirit returned, and he revived: wherefore its name

(quoted by Ros.) connected the G rendering with Ar. hamara in the sense to skin or shave, and this explanation is adopted by Doorn. (followed by Bu. doubtfully, No., Kit.), 'I have thoroughly flayed or shaved them.' Mo. (followed by Bu. doubtfully, Cooke), 'I have heaped them up in heaps'—perhaps a casual denominative, invented for the paronomasia'; cf. ס". It is a defect in these and other explanations, as compared with those given at the beginning of this note, that the play upon קמорт 'ass' is one of sound merely, apart from any connexion in meaning.

17. Ramath-lehi. Here Rámath is explained by רמיה 'be cast away,' as though derived from rámā 'to cast or throw'—the name being taken to mean 'the throwing of the jawbone.' With such a derivation we should expect the form to be vocalized Rämath. Rámath should be derived from the root rām 'to be high'; and there can be no doubt that the name really means 'the height of Lehi'; cf. the proper names רחם or הрапמ 'the height,' ראמה 'the height of the outlook-point,' etc. The story is based upon an unphilological interpretation of the name.


The Mortar. Heb. ham-makhteš—doubtless a circular depression in the rock or soil, of the appearance of a mortar, from the side of which the spring issued. There was a place called 'the Mortar' at Jerusalem: Zeph. 1:11.

that is in Lehi. Lehi is here, of course, the place, as is proved by the statement at the end of the verse that the spring was in existence in the narrator's own day. The rendering of F, ס', A.V., R.V. marg. suggests that the spring issued from a 'hollow place' in the actual jawbone.

his spirit returned. Heb. נשׁה דעפ. So exactly in 1 Sam. 30:12 of the return of animation and vigour after faintness. Heb. רוח is the essential principle of life, the removal of which from the body results in death (cf. Ps. 104:29).

he revived. Lit. 'he lived.'
15. 20, 16. 1.]  THE BOOK OF JUDGES

was called 'En-hak-kōrē, which is in Lehi, unto this day.
20. R 2 And he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines twenty years.

16. 1. J 1 And Samson went to Gaza, and saw there a harlot,

'En-hak-kōrē. The name means 'the spring of the caller,' and is explained by the narrator as referring to Samson; cf. the statement of v. 18 'and he called (way-yikrē) unto Yahweh.' Hak-kōrē, however, is the Heb. term for the partridge in 1 Sam. 26 20, Jer. 17 11, referring to its call-note, which is a familiar sound in the hill-country of Palestine; and modern commentators (following J. D. Michaelis) consider that the name of the spring was the Partridge-spring, and that the explanation given by the narrator, like that of Ramath-leli, represents a later adaptation of the meaning. It is tempting to suppose that, if hak-kōrē really here refers to a bird, 'the caller' may in this case be, not the partridge, but its near relative the quail (elsewhere called s'law), which is likewise distinguished by a very clear and resonant call-note.* Bochart (Hierozoicon, ii. p. 99) quotes from Athenaeus (ix. 47) the myth that Herakles, when slain by Typhon, was restored to life by smelling a quail—whence arose the proverb among the Greeks,

"Ὥρτυξ ἐσωσεν Ἰπακλῆν τὸν καρπερόν.

According to Eudoxus (Athenaeus, loc. cit.), the Phoenicians annually sacrificed a quail in commemoration of the resurrection of Herakles in the month Peritius (Feb.-Mar.), at the season when the quail returns to Palestine in great numbers (cf. Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, 2 p. 449)—a ceremony which is almost certainly to be brought into connexion with the solar myth: cf. Addit. note, p. 406. If the quail was thus sacred to Herakles-Melkart, the possibility is opened that the bird may have played a part in the story which related the revival of Samson's vital powers (יָנָר בְּשָׁנִים); though, if this was so, the original connexion was so remote from (or so explained away by) the narrator that 'the caller' became, not the bird, but the hero himself.

20. And he judged, etc. On this notice as the conclusion of the Samson-narrative in R 29's book, cf. p. 338.

16. 1. Gaza. Heb. גָּזָה. The English form of the name is from Ḡaṣa, in which the ḡ reproduces the harder form of ṣ—a consonant which, when Heb. was a spoken language, must have repre-

* Cf. Tristram, Nat. Hist. p. 232:—'A few remain there [in Palestine] throughout the winter, but their numbers are suddenly reinforced at the end of March, when every patch of grass resounds with their well-known peculiar call-note.'
and went in unto her. 2. ‘And it was told to the Gazathites, saying, ‘Samson hath come hither.’ And they came round about, and laid wait for him all ‘day’ in the gate of the city; and they kept quiet all night, saying, ‘when the morning dawns we will

sent two distinct sounds, akin respectively to ë and ë in Ar.:

cf. G-K. § 6 e. The modern Ar. name is Gazzeh (identical with the Heb. form); and the city, which in ancient times was of considerable importance as a trade-centre on the caravan-routes to Egypt and Arabia, still possesses a considerable population: cf. Smith, HG. pp. 181 ff. Gaza is some thirty-six miles south-east of Sor’ah.

2. And it was told. Supposing ðii with £i and ðii, and all moderns. £ reads, ‘quod cum audissent Philisthiam.' £ is untranslatable without a verb.

All day. Reading ðii with Kit., in place of ðii ‘all night,' erroneously copied from the latter half of the verse. The point of the statement ‘and they kept quiet all night, saying, etc.,' must be that during the night they were off their guard, relying upon the supposition that, so long as the city-gates were closed, Samson could not escape. It was thus—as they imagined—unnecessary for them to be back at their post till dawn; but Samson baffled them by rising in the middle of the night and removing the gates. It must therefore have been not all night that they laid wait for him in the gate of the city; but so much of the preceding day during which, after Samson's arrival, the gates remained open, and it was necessary to guard them. We may safely rule out any such explanation of £ as that they kept watch all night, but fell asleep at their post (unawakened even by the noise of the tearing up of the gates!), or that Samson overawed or otherwise quelled their attack—since such details, had they been presupposed, would certainly have been mentioned in the narrative. Stu. (who was the first to put forward the explanation above adopted) simply omits the first ðii ðii; and is followed by Sta., Doorn., La. Mo. conjectures that the whole sentence, ‘and they came round about . . . gate of the city,' is a later addition 'intended to make Samson’s escape the more wonderful by exaggerating the precautions which the Philistines took to prevent it.' So No.

When the morning dawns. Heb. ðii ðii may perhaps mean ‘Till the morning dawns': with ellipse of ‘Wait,' which is supplied in translation by £ii ‘Ewos fwtos πρῳ μείνομεν. Cf. note on ‘at morning,' ch. 6 $i. It is unnecessary to follow Mo. (SBOT.) in supplying ðii (cf. 2 Kgs. 7 9).
sly him.' 3. And Samson lay until midnight, and arose at midnight, and laid hold of the doors of the city-gate, and the two posts, and plucked them up together with the bar, and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them up to the top of the hill that is in front of Hebron.

4. Now afterwards he loved a woman in the wády of Sorek, whose name was Delilah. 5. And the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and said unto her, 'Beguile him, and see by what means his strength is great, and by what means we may

3. and laid hold, etc. Cf. the description of the probable construction of the gates given by Mo. The bar let into the two posts, and stretching across the gates, would keep the latter firmly locked in position, and enable Samson to carry off the whole, when plucked up, 'in one piece.'

in front of Hebron. I.e. to the east of it—the sense which is always possessed by הַלֹּא, except when following the verb רָאָס ('look out over'); cf. the instances collected by Mo. and by BDB. p. 818 b. The distance from Gaza to Hebron is some thirty-eight miles; but this is a mere detail to the narrator. The connexion of Samson with a point so far removed from the scene of most of his exploits is obscure, unless we are justified in suspecting a solar motif: cf. Addit. note, pp. 406 f.

4. the wády of Sorek. The modern wády es-Šarár on the northern edge of which Šor'ah is situated (cf. note on ch. 13 3a). The name Sorek (which is the name of a choice kind of grape-vine) is preserved in Ḥirbet Sūrīk, two miles west of Šor'ah.

Delilah. We are not told whether the woman was a Philistine, or an Israelite in the pay of the Philistines, though the general trend of Samson’s inclinations favours the former supposition. Her name is Semitic in form; but this affords no indication as to her nationality, since Semitic names appear to have been largely used among the Philistines (cf. Šidkā, Šilbēl, etc.). On the probable meaning of the name, and its importance in relation to the mythological element in the story, cf. p. 407.

5. the lords of the Philistines. Cf. note on ch. 3 31. by what means his strength is great. Heb. הֶמְסֶרֶת הַרְדֵּנַת. A.V., R.V. render 'wherein his great strength lieth,' with צ, פ; but

* The law which governs the interchange of sibilants in Heb. and Ar. would lead us to expect Šūrīk. The use of š in the Ar. form is perhaps an indication that the later Heb. pronunciation of the name substituted כ for ב (the two consonants are often interchanged in Heb.).
prevail over him and bind him, so as to reduce him; and we ourselves will each give thee eleven hundred shekels of silver.'

6. And Delilah said unto Samson, 'Prithee tell me by what means thy strength is great, and by what means thou mayest be bound so as to reduce thee.'

7. And Samson said unto her, 'If they bind me with seven fresh bowstrings which have not been dried, such a rendering would only be legitimate if 'דמעניא were read.* without the Definite Article can only be predicate. 'By what means' suggests the supposition that his strength depended upon some magic charm (so Le Clerc, Mo., etc.).

to reduce him. i.e. to reduce or overcome his strength; Heb. יתנפז. This seems to be the meaning rather than A.V., R.V. text 'to afflict him,' marg. 'to humble him'; Mo., La. 'to torment him.' Cf. note on v.10.

will each give thee. 'Each' probably refers to the five lords of the principal Philistine cities. Cf. ch. 3.2.

eleven hundred shekels of silver. Why this particular sum is fixed, rather than what we should term a round sum, cannot be said. Commentators display a singular unanimity in repeating Reuss' suggestion that the meaning is a full thousand, or over a thousand. If this is so, we can only say that they allowed a substantial margin. The sum mentioned in ch. 17.2 happens to be the same.

The value of the Heb. silver shekel, as calculated by Kennedy (DB. iii. 420 a) was about 2s. 9d.; so the sum promised by each of the princes would have amounted to something like £151 in our money. Money at this period was not coined; but the value of the metal was determined by weight. The verb 'לכ; לכ 'to weigh' (from which the subs. shekel is derived) is commonly employed in descriptions of money-transactions: cf. Gen. 23.16 P, Ex. 22.16 E, 1 Kgs. 20.30, al.

7. seven fresh bowstrings. For Heb. yether in this sense, cf. Ps. 11.2, and the usage of the Ar. watar, Syr. yathrā. The bowstrings were, no doubt, of twisted gut which was still moist (the lit. meaning of מים), and therefore less likely to fray or break. The rendering of A.V., R.V. text 'green withs (withes)—cf. Jos. κάλμασω ... ἀμπελλοῦς—is improbable in itself and without support in usage. The number seven was probably considered to have a magical virtue.

* Maurer (apud Ros.) cites רחא דמעניא 'your other brother,' Gen. 43.14, as an instance of an adj. without the Article qualifying a subs. made definite by a pronominal suffix. This single instance, however (which may be due to textual corruption) does not prove the possibility of such a usage in the present passage.
then shall I become weak, and shall be like any other man.'
8. Then the lords of the Philistines brought up to her seven fresh bowstrings which had not been dried, and she bound him with them. 9. Now she had liers-in-wait abiding in the inner chamber. And she said unto him, 'The Philistines are upon thee, Samson!' And he snapped the bowstrings just as a strand of tow is snapped when it feeleth fire. So his strength was not known. 10. And Delilah said unto Samson, 'Behold, thou hast mocked me, and told me lies: now, prithee, tell me by what means thou mayest be bound.' 11. And he said unto her, 'If they only bind me with new ropes wherewith no work hath been done, then shall I become weak, and shall be like any other man.' 12. So Delilah took new ropes, and bound him with them, and said unto him, 'The Philistines are upon thee, Samson!' Now the liers-in-wait were abiding in the inner chamber. And he snapped them from off his arms like a thread. 13. And Delilah said unto Samson, 'Hitherto thou hast deceived me, and told me lies: tell me by what means thou mayest be bound.' And he said unto her, 'If thou weave the seven locks of my head along with the web, and beat up with

*like any other man. Heb. מְאֹדֹ דַּם, lit. 'like one of mankind.'

9. The Philistines, etc. The alarm is given, not to call out the ambush, but to test the success of the experiment. When this proves a failure, the Philistines must, of course, be supposed to remain in hiding, so that Samson is unaware of their presence, and thinks that Delilah is merely playing with him in order to gratify her own curiosity.

when it feeleth the fire. Lit. 'when it smelleth the fire,' i.e. without actual contact. For the simile, cf. ch. 15 14b.


13. the seven locks, etc. The precise sense in which Heb. מָהְרָפֹות is used—whether of natural curls or plaits—is uncertain, the etymology of the word being obscure.* Τ οἱ ἑλικῶν, Φ 'crines,' K 'plaits,' Τ ὁμίλιον id. We are reminded of the way in which Gilgamesḥ is represented on seal-cylinders, with hair divided into curling locks; though these are always six in number (not seven, as stated by Jeremias, Cooke, and Smythe Palmer), three falling on

* The explanation given by BDB, for the sense 'plaits,' 'so called from intertwining, passing through each other, of the strands,' is based on the fact that the verb הֲלָלַף, which commonly means 'to pass on or away,' seems in two passages
the pin, then shall I become weak, and shall be like any other man. 14. So, when he slept, Delilah took the seven locks of his head, and wove them along with the web, and beat up with the pin, and said unto him, 'The Philistines are upon thee,

each side of his face: cf. Plate II., figs. 3, 4, 5; Plate III., figs. 1, 2. On the probable solar significance of this characteristic, cf. Addit. note, p. 404.

13, 14. and beat up . . . the web. Adding the words are necessary to complete both Samson's directions and also the account of the way in which Delilah exactly carried them out: cf. the correspondence between his words and her actions in vv. 7, 11, 12, 17b, 19. They have fallen out of through homoeoteleuton; the scribe's eye passing from the first occurrence of ἄλογα with the web' to the second. The missing words occur, with variations, in MSS. of G, and in L, S. We follow the reading of G, according to which vv. 13b, 14a run καὶ εἰσεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν, ἕως υφάνης τάς ἐπὶ τὰ σείραι τῆς κεφαλῆς μου σὺν τῷ διάματι καὶ ἐκκρούσης τῷ πασοῦλῳ εἰς τὸν τοίχον, καὶ ἐσομαι ὡς εἰς τῶν

to have the sense 'to pass through (cf. ch. 5th note); but the connexion in idea which is here assumed appears somewhat uncertain (unless—as privately suggested by Prof. Margoliouth—we may justify such a transition in meaning by the analogy of the Ar. root marra, 'to pass by or beyond, pass along,' from which are derived marir 'a rope that is slender and long, and strongly twisted,' amarru 'more or most tightly twisted'—an elative form). The comparison of Ges., Thes., with Ar. хαϊφ, 'contortus, convolutus,' is derived from Golius; but this meaning is not given by modern Ar. lexicons. There is an Ar. word хαϊφ which means 'a woman who lets her hair fall down her back behind' (Ar. хαϊφα meaning 'to come after, succeed' temporally, and also 'to come behind or at the back' locally); and χαϊφ denotes the location or quarter which is behind' (Lane), and is used e.g. of joining the hands behind the back (Dozy). This suggests the possibility that mahalaphoth may properly denote locks which fell down the back. Cf. the description given of Gilgamesh when, after his conquest of Humbaba, he washed and polished his arms, put on fine raiment, and 'caused his long hair to fall down upon his back' (unāšilīk kammatsu eši širisu; Tab. vi., l. 2. The passage is one which unmistakably embodies a solar motif: cf. Addit. note, pp. 396 f.). It is worthy of notice that mahalapha is, in form, the exact equivalent of Bab. mahlaplu, which denotes something which covers or clothes. Possibly the word may have existed in Heb. in the sense of trapping or adornment, and may have been applied to a curl. More probable, however, than any of these suggestions is connexion with Heb. ḫalaph in the sense to sprout: cf. Ps. 90:4, 6 (Kal). Job 14:7 (Hiph'il)—a meaning which, though explained by BDB, as derived from the idea to show newness, is rather to be associated with Bab. ʾešpu, to sprout, applied to a tree (ša ʾisš), or to be long. would then properly denote 'the sproutings (long tresses) of my head': cf. the use of the verb ṣamlu 'to sprout' in v. 32 of the fresh growth of the hero's hair after it had been cut off.
THE BOOK OF JUDGES

16. 13. 14.]

The precise nature of the test which is thus described has been elucidated by Mo. (Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, 1889, pp. cxxvi ff.; cf. also Comm. and SBOT. So, previously, Braun, De Vestitu Sacerdotum Hebraeorum, Amstel., 1698, p. 252, who is followed by Stu.). Mo. seems, however, to be incorrect in assuming that the loom was of the upright kind: cf. Kennedy, article ‘Weaving’ in EB., who points out that, in the ancient Egyptian representations, which are given by him (col. 5279), and by Mo., SBOT. Eng. trans., p. 86, the looms are really horizontal; though absence of perspective makes them appear at first sight to be upright. We should probably picture a horizontal loom of the simplest sort, in which two pairs of posts firmly fixed in the ground hold the yarn-beam and the cloth-beam respectively. A piece of unfinished stuff (the māsēkheth ‘web’) is standing in the loom; and Delilah, having manoeuvred so as to get Samson to sleep with his head on her knees beside the loom, weaves his long hair into the warp with her fingers, and beats it up tightly into the web by means of the yātheḏ, l.e. the ‘pin’ or ‘batten’ (a flat piece of wood with a thin edge), so that his hair actually becomes part of the finished materiaq. When aroused

* הָלַךְ is adopted as the original of הָלַךְ מָנוּסָה because בְּלִשֵׁי, properly ‘to lie down to rest,’ is regularly rendered by מָנוּס in ג (151 cases cited in Hatch and Redpath’s Concordance); whereas only one passage (Isa. 547) is cited in which מָנוּס is so rendered.

† Cf. the description of a modern Bedawin loom given by Palmer (Desert of the Exodus, i. p. 125), who, in referring to his visits paid to Bedawin encampments, tells us that ‘On one of these occasions I noticed an old woman weaving at the tent door. Her loom was a primitive one, consisting only of a few upright sticks upon which the threads were stretched: the transverse threads were inserted laboriously by the fingers, without the assistance of a shuttle, and the whole fabric was pressed close together with a piece of wood. Beside her stood a younger female spinning goats’ hair to supply the old lady with the material necessary for her task.’ So, too, Rob. (BR. i. 169) relates that ‘Just before setting off [from Akabah], we saw in one corner the process of manufacturing the goats’ hair cloth of which the common Arab cloaks are made. A woman had laid her warp along the ground for the length of several yards, and sat at one end of it under a small shed, with a curtain before her to ward off the eyes of passers-by. She wove by passing the woof through with her hand, and then driving it up with a flat piece of board having a thin edge.’
Samson! And he awoke from his sleep, and plucked up the loom and the web. 15. And she said unto him, 'How canst thou say, "I love thee," when thy heart is not with me? three times already thou hast deceived me, and hast not told me by what means thy strength is great.' 16. And when she by the alarm, Samson leaps up; and, as he raises his head, he pulls the four posts of the loom out of the ground, and carries off web and loom together attached to his hair.

The ἐπίθημι addition ἐις τὸν τοῖχον, noticed above, assumes erroneously that ἐπίθημι (as in ch. 4:21, 22, 5:28) denotes a peg which Delilah hammered into the wall (καὶ ἀκρούσις τῷ πασσάλῳ κτλ., καὶ ἅπαξ τῷ πασσάλῳ κτλ.; cf. ἤτοτι κλαύμα τους περικύκλωσα τοῦμα κτλ.), to secure the web; and a similar error is probable for the insertion of ῥήμα in v.14b ῥήμα (cf. note). That ἐπίθημι, however, can be used in other senses is proved by Deut. 23:14, where it denotes an implement for digging. ἔπον, i.e. the 'cross-beam' of the loom to which the warp is attached; so ἔπον in v.14b, but in v.14a ἄγνωστον 'peg.' The meaning of Ἰησαχ 'web,' from ἰασᾶχ 'to weave' (cf. Ar. ἰασᾶγα), may be illustrated by the usage of the nearly identical form ἰασηκα, which occurs in Isa. 25:7 ('the web that is woven over all nations'), 30:1 ('to weave a web'), and in Isa. 28:20 in the sense of '(woven) bed-spread.' Kennedy (EB. 5282) supposes that ἰασηκα and ἰασηκα primarily denote the 'warp,' and then by metonymy the 'web,' on the ground that the post-Bib. Ἰασᾶχ is used of setting the warp in the loom. This view, however, is opposed by the relation of Ἰησαχ to Ar. ἰασᾶγα, which certainly means 'to interweave.'

14. the loom. Ἐπίθημι ἰμήν ἤγείρειν ῥήμα ἴμα is intended to mean 'the peg of the loom.' ἴμα (which is condemned as an insertion by the anomalous use of the Article with the Construct State) must have been originally a marginal addition made by a scribe who, taking ῥήμα in v.14a to mean the peg with which Delilah fastened the web to the wall or ground, desiderated a reference to Samson's plucking this out when he freed himself. As we have seen, however (preceding note) ῥήμα has quite a different meaning, and it was the loom itself which Samson pulled up.

15. How canst thou say, etc. Cf. ch. 14:16.

when thy heart, etc. Mo. brings out the sense by rendering, somewhat paraphrastically, 'seeing that thou dost not confide in me,' 'Heart,' as he points out, is used not of the affections, but of 'the inner man with its secret thoughts.' Cf. v.17, 'he told her all his heart.'
pressed him sore with her words continually, and urged him, his soul was impatient unto death. 17. And he told her all his heart, and said to her, 'No razor hath come up upon my head, for a Nazirite of God have I been from my mother’s womb: if I be shaven, then my strength will depart from me, and I shall become weak, and shall be like all other men.' 18. And when Delilah saw that he had told her all his heart, she sent and called the lords of the Philistines, saying, 'Come up this once, for he hath told me all his heart.' And the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and brought up the money in their hand. 19. And she made him sleep upon her knees, and called for a man, and he shaved off the seven locks of his head; and he began to be reduced, and his strength departed from him. 20. And she said, 'The Philistines are upon thee, Samson!' And he awoke out of his sleep, and said, 'I will go out as at

17. no razor...womb. As to the grounds upon which this passage is to be regarded as an addition to the old story by the author of ch. 13, cf. pp. 337 f. Its excision from the narrative causes Samson’s answer ('If I be shaven, etc.') to commence in precisely the same form as in vv.7-11.

18. hath told me. Reading פ for ק to, with קַר, many MSS. of א, and all Versions.

came up. Reading יָהַע, the regular tense form in narration, with many MSS. of א, in place of the irregular יָהַע.

19. and he shaved off. Reading יָהַע. ב יָהַע ‘and she shaved off’; but, if Delilah did this herself, it is not clear why the man should have been needed.

and he began to be reduced. Reading תָּנָא תַּנָא (or תָּנָא תַּנָא) with וַיַּא פֵּרָתָא רָאָהוּ, כֹּל פָּרָתָא רָאָהוּ. The reference is to the gradual ebbing away of his strength as he is shorn of his locks. Cf. v.5 note, and the use of יָנָא in Ps. 102:23 (א 24), 'He weakened my strength in the way.' ב יָנָא וְנָא ‘and she began to afflict him,' has the support of א, ב, כ, and is paraphrased by ו 'et coepit abigere eum, et a se repellere.' Whatever meaning, however, be read into the statement, it involves (coming as it does before 'and his strength departed from him') something of a hysteron-proteron; since it would be only after his loss of strength that Delilah would venture to treat him with contumely.
other times, and shake myself free'; not knowing that Yahweh had departed from him. 21. And the Philistines laid hold on him, and bored out his eyes; and they brought him down to Gaza, and bound him with bronze fetters; and he did grind in the prison-house. 22. But the hair of his head began to grow when he had been shaved.

23. And the lords of the Philistines gathered themselves together to sacrifice a great sacrifice unto Dagon their God, and

20. and shake myself free. The expression suggests that Delilah had bound him (cf. v.6), in addition to causing his locks to be shaved off; and Mo. may be right in his conjecture that a statement to this effect has been accidentally omitted.

not knowing, etc. Heb. 'ב יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּa, a circumstantial clause.

that Yahweh, etc. Doorn. supposes that בָּנָא 'his strength' originally stood in place of 'Yahweh'; cf. v.10b8. Cf., however, the remarks on pp. 337 f.

21. and he did grind. The Heb. יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּא יָּנָּa implies that this was his constant occupation. On grinding as a badge of degraded servitude, cf. note on ch. 9 63. It is probable, however, that the reference in Samson's case is not to a mere handmill, but to a heavy mill such as would usually be turned by an ox or an ass. The reference may very possibly embody a solar motif: cf. Addit. note, p. 408.

22. But the hair of his head, etc. This statement carries the mind of the sympathetic reader beyond the immediate blackness of the hero's fate, by hinting at the dénouement in which Samson will perform his greatest feat of all.

23. Dagon. A Philistine deity who had a temple not only at Gaza, but also at Ashdod (Μ Sam. 5 1, 1 Macc. 10 83 f.; 11 4), and (if the text of 1 Chr. 10 10 is to be trusted) at Beth-she'an. Beth-Dagon ('Temple of D.') was the name of a city in the Shephelah which is assigned to Judah in Josh. 15 41 P; and the same name was borne by a city on the border of Asher, apparently east of Carmel and not far from the border of Zebulun; Josh. 19 27 P. The former of these names may show Philistine influence in the Shephelah; while the latter conceivably indicates the presence of the kindred people called Takkara, whom we know to have settled at Dor, a little south of Carmel (cf. Introd. p. xcvi). Among modern Ar. place-names, we find Bêt-Değân*

* Whether this is the same as the Beth-Dagon of Josh. 15 41 is doubtful. It is so identified by Eusebius (O.S. 235 14), Βηθ Δαγων. φυλής Ιουδα. και ἑστινίων κόμης μεγίστη Καφαρ Δαγων μεταξὺ διωσιδέως καὶ Ιαμων. The site lies outside the Shephelah properly so-called (cf. note on ch. 19); but the list of cities in Josh. in which the name occurs is so confused that we can draw no certain conclusion.
five and a half miles south-east of Jaffa, with a ruined site Dagôn a little further south. One of these, no doubt, is the Bit-Daganna mentioned before Joppa by Sennacherib in his Prism-inscription: cf. KB. ii. p. 92.

It seems probable, however, that Dagon was not a foreign deity introduced from the west by the sea-peoples in their influx into Canaan, but rather a native Semitic deity, adopted (like Ba'al-zebub,* the god of Ekron, 2 Kgs. 1:24) after their settlement in the land. There is another Bêt-Degan some seven miles east of Nablus (Shechem), whither we have no reason for supposing that Philistine influence ever extended. It can hardly be doubted that Dagon is identical with the god Dagan, who is known to us from the cuneiform inscriptions. Dagan is sometimes connected with the god Anu (e.g. by the Assyrian kings Šamsi-Adad vii, KB. i. p. 174, and Sargon, KB. ii. p. 38), occupying in relation to Anu the position which is commonly filled by Enlil, to whom there is reason for assuming that he was regarded as the equivalent.† Among the T.A. Letters there are two from a Canaanite vassal of the king of Egypt named Dagantakala (Winckler, KB. v. Nos. 215 f.; Knudtzon, Nos. 317 f.); and the name of the deity is especially frequent as an element in proper names of the Babylonian First Dynasty period, several of which (e.g. Yašub-(ilu)-Dagan, Yašmaḥ-(ilu)-Dagan, etc.§) appear, from the verbal forms which they embody, to have been borne by Western Semites (men of Amurrū; cf. Introd. p. lix); cf. the way in which Ḫammurabi, in the introduction to his Code (iv. 27), speaks of Dagan as his creator (bānīšu). We first meet with Dagan in the theophoric names of two successive rulers of the city-state of Nisin, Idin-Dagan and Išme-Dagan, dated by King cir. B.C. 2250 (Sumer and Akkad, Appendix II). These rulers, though members of a dynasty which used the Sumerian language|| and adopted Sumerian customs, yet bear Semitic names (meaning respectively 'Dagan has given' and 'Dagan has heard') ; and there is thus some ground for the conjecture of Meyer (GA.2 i. ii. pp. 501 ff.) that the dynasty of Nisin may have been of Amorite origin, and may have brought the worship of Dagan with them from the west.¶

The view that Dagon was represented as half man and half fish is based upon supposed connexion of the name with Heb. dāgh 'fish,'

* On this form of the name, as original rather than Baal-zebub of J, cf. p. 5.
† Cf. the full discussion of Jensen, Kosmologie, pp. 449 ff.
§ Cf. the lists given by Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la Première Dynastie Babylonienn.
|| Cf. the inscriptions given by Thureau-Dangin, Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften, pp. 204-207.
¶ Cf. also for this view, Zimmern, KAT.¹ p. 358; Jastrow, RBA. i. pp. 219 ff.
King, who formerly maintained the Sumerian origin of the dynasty of Nisin (Sum. and Akk., pp. 284, 303), now holds it to have been Semitic (Bab. pp. 131 ff.).
and first appears in the commentaries of Rashi and Kimchi on 1 Sam. 5;* but, apart from this assumed etymology, it can claim no external support. The Assyr. representations of a deity part man and part fish, figured in Riehm, *HWB.* i. p. 290, in the article ‘Dagon,’ represent Ea-Oannes † (cf. the quotations from Eusebius and Helladius given in *OTLAE.* i. p. 48), whom we have no reason to associate with Dagon. More plausible is the association of the name with Heb. daghan ‘corn,’ put forward by Philo of Byblos, who states that Dagon was the inventor of corn and the plough, and was known as Zeus ἄρτριος. Granted this connexion, we may either suppose, with Sayce (cf. *HCM.* p. 326), that the worship of an originally Sumerian deity travelled westward to Canaan, and a native etymology having been found for his name, he ‘became a god of corn, an agricultural deity who watched over the growth and ripening of the crops’; or (as seems more probable), that the name of an originally Amorite corn-deity came to be used to denote corn, much as the Romans derived cerealia from Ceres, and used the term to denote ‘cereal crops.’ It is worth noticing, in this connexion, that among the Babylonian First Dynasty names there occurs Izraḥ-(ilu)-Dagan, i.e. ‘Dagan sows,’§ a name in which the thought may have been that the god of sowing sows the seed of a man. Cf. the

* The difficult passage 1 Sam. 5* states that, after the image of the deity had lost its head and hands, לֶאַטּ רֹעָה יָשָׁרּוֹת לֵךַּי ‘only Dagon was left upon him’ (i.e., apparently, ‘belonging to him’ or ‘of him’). It is upon this passage that Kimchi bases his statement that Dagon was fish from the navel downwards, and human above—a view which he cites as a generally received opinion (‘They say, etc.’). Wellh.’s emendation לֶאַטּ for לֶאַטּ ‘only his fishy part was left’ (*TBS.* ad loc.), supports this view, but has not gained general acceptance. We seem to need some word meaning ‘stump’ or ‘trunk,’ such as is suggested by the rendering παρὰ ἥ βασις Δαγών ὅμελεσθη. Cf. *NH 1st.* 2 ad loc.

† Cf. also *TH.* ii. p. 60, figs. 99 and 100; and Jastrow, *Bildermappe zur Religion Bab. und Assyri.* figs. 70a and 95, who takes the figure clad in a fish-skin to represent, not the god himself, but his priest.

§ Izraḥ probably stands for יִזְּרָח, פ in early cuneiform representations of Amorite words standing for the weaker as well as the stronger form of י. Cf. *Yašmah-(ilu)-Dagan* already cited—תֶּשֶׁהוּ. *Yaḏlḥ-ilu=יוֹדֶלִּין* (as in 1 Chr. 7:6,10,11, 11:45, 26:2), and cases cited in *Introduct.* p. lxxv, footnote. It may be admitted, however, that there is not the same certainty that Izraḥ is an Amorite Imperfect as exists in the case of the first elements in such First Dynasty names as *Yašmah-(ilu)-Dagan,* *Yašub-(ilu)-Dagan,* *Yamitk-ilu,* *Yakun-(ilu)-Adad,* etc., where the verbal forms are clearly not Babylonian, and, in *Yašmah,* we have the original a of the preformative syllable of the Imperf. Kal preserved as in Ar. (cf. *yakṣur=ירַעִל* among the T.A. glosses; p. 169 note). If, as assumed, Izraḥ=יִזְּרָח, we must suppose that in this case the thinning process from a to i has already taken place. It is possible, however, that the form may be praeterite of the Bab. verb *ṣarakhu* ‘to shine,’=Heb. פָּרַש.
to rejoice: and they said, 'Our god hath given into our hand Samson our enemy.' 25. And when their hearts were merry they said, ‘Call Samson, that he may make sport for us.’ So they called Samson from the prison-house, and he made sport

place-name יזרא'ל, i.e. ‘the god sows,’ which, if (as is doubtless the case) it goes back to Canaanite times, may represent a dedication to Dagon.*

25.24. The change in order of verses follows the suggestion of Bu. (so No., Kit., Cooke). ‘And when the people saw him’ (v. 24) is out of place until Samson has been fetched and brought in to the festival (v. 20); but, with the transposition, the reference of v. 21 is most appropriate, and the narrative runs smoothly. La. retains the order of ק, on the view that the Object in ‘when they saw him’ is the god Dagon, whose image was carried in procession or otherwise exhibited; but this is most improbable.

25. when their hearts were merry. Kit. יָבוּ (Perfect) and כֶּרֶך (Infin. Constr.) are equally idiomatic. The Massoretes substitute the construction which is found in 2 Sam. 13:28, Hos. 10:1, Est. 1:10, possibly failing to recognize כֶּרֶך of Kit. as a Perfect. The occurrences of this Perfect form are often difficult to distinguish from the Adjective; but the real existence of such a form (verb middle כ, like יהב) is proved by the occurrence of the plur. כֶּרֶך, Num. 24:5, Song 4:10.

that he may make sport for us. Whether the reference is to minor exhibitions of strength and dexterity, or to the exercise of his jesting proclivities, is not clear. כ câu, Ar. suppose that he was to dance before them.

and he made sport. Here כ somewhat strangely varies the spelling

* It is very possible that the passage in the Sarcophagus-inscription of Eshmun'azar, king of Sidon, ll. 18 f., should be rendered, ‘And, moreover, the Lord of kings gave us Dor and Joppa, the excellent land of Dagon, which is in the field of Sharon’ (so Schlottmann, Movers, and Blau, as cited in CIS. 1. i. p. 18). The phrase נְדָחַן הַנָּהּ דַּרְאֵרְאֶדָא is taken, however, by most scholars to mean ‘the excellent corn-land.’ On this view, the passage seems to illustrate the fact that the region inhabited by the worshippers of Dagon was principally noted for its דַּרְאֵרְאֶדָא ‘corn’ (as is still the case in modern times)—a fact which has its importance in relation to the view above discussed that Dagon was a corn-deity.

Sayce (HCM. p. 327) cites a seal preserved in the Ashmolean Museum as bearing the inscription Ba'al-Dagon in Phoenician letters, together with the representation (among other symbols) of an ear of corn. The reading is, however, very doubtful. Lidzbarski (Ephemeris für Nordsemit. Epigr., i. p. 12) thinks that it should more probably be read Ba'al-regem; whilst the ear of corn requires considerable ingenuity for its detection.
before them: and they made him stand between the pillars.

24. And when the people saw him, they praised their god, [and] said,

“Our god hath given
Our enemy into our hand,
And him who laid waste our land,
And who multiplied our slain.’

of the verb, using the form קְתִלָה which is found elsewhere only in the Pentateuch (so invariably; thirteen times) and in Ezek. 23:27, whereas in vv.25-27 we have the ordinary form קְתִלָה. Very possibly the variation may be due merely to a copyist. It is noteworthy, however, that in place of יִהְנָה יִקְתִלָה, C^A, S^b read וְיִתְנָאְהוֹן אוֹתָה, i.e. probably יִתְנָאְהוֹן (cf. the C renderings of this verb in ch. 19:25; 1 Sam. 31:4, al.), ‘and they made sport of him,’ i.e. insulted him. This text appears to lie at the back of the doublet of C^b וְיִתְנָאְהוֹן אוֹתָה (perhaps a corruption of the reading of C^A) which follows after וְיִתְנָאְהוֹן וְיִתְנָאְהוֹן אוֹתָה—or accurate rendering of the text of J. Jos. (Ant. v. viii. 12) seems to support the reading of C^A when he states that the Philistines sent for Samson וְיִתְנָאְהוֹן וְיִתְנָאְהוֹן פָּרָמָה תִּזְדַּמְנָה. It is conceivable that C^A may represent the original text, and that the variation of spelling in J may be due to the fact that the text has been altered by a later hand.

24. and said. Reading וְיִתְנָאְהוֹן with C^b וְיִתְנָאְהוֹן, in place of יִהְנָה יִקְתִלָה ‘for they said.’ So Bu., No. Clearly the words which follow embody the expression of praise, and not simply the reason for it. כ and כ were frequently confused in the older form of writing: cf. instances collected in NHTK. p. 177.

Our god, etc. The words fall into a rough rhythm, with recurrent rhyme upon the suffix -ןא ‘our’:

Nāthān 'uṭōhēnū
b'yādēnēn 'eθ 'a'v'bhēnū
w'ēn 'mahrīb 'a'rēnēnū
wā'nēser hirbhā 'eθ 'h'lalēnū.

Such rhymes are by no means infrequent, especially in short poetical pieces or proverbial sayings preserved by story-tellers in their narratives. In longer poems they are occasional; but not used systematically or extensively. Cf. Gen. 4:23, 27:20a, 49:6a, 11.25a, Ex. 15:29, Num.
26. And Samson said unto the lad that held his hand, 'Suffer me that I may feel the pillars whereon the house is supported, and may lean upon them.' 27. Now the house was full of men and women; and all the lords of the Philistines were there, and upon the roof were about three thousand men.

26. *that I may feel. קְרִיתָא from שָׁמַע (cf. Ps. 115); Kal Gen. 27:21. Kl. יִקְרִיהַא from קָשַׁם (otherwise unknown). Since שָׁמַע is the verb ordinarily used in the sense required, it is probable that we should read נְקָרָה.

whereon the house is supported. Doorn. is probably right in regarding these words as a gloss from v.29. Samson would hardly have risked betraying his purpose by using them.

27. Now the house, etc. Apparently we are to picture a banqueting hall with one side open to a courtyard, the roof on this side being supported by a pair of central pillars. Samson makes sport in the courtyard where he can be seen both by those inside the building and by those on the roof. Having thus exhibited his powers, he is brought forward and placed between the pillars—possibly in order that the lords of the Philistines and the other more important people within the hall may obtain a closer view of him.

Doorn. regards the latter half of the verse (from 'and upon the roof, etc.') as a gloss in exaggeration of the foregoing; while Mo. (followed by Bu., etc.) would delete the middle part ('and all the lords . . . men and women'), upon the ground that the Article with the Participle דַּאֲרֵי then refers naturally to דַּאֲרָיִשׁ דַּאֲרָיִשׁ דַּאֲרָיִשׁ דַּאֲרָיִשׁ דַּאֲרָיִשׁ דַּאֲרָיִשׁ דַּאֲרָיִשׁ דַּאֲרָיִשׁ. It is difficult to believe, however, in view of the great emphasis in v.29b, upon the huge number slain, that the verse as thus attenuated is more

* Here we observe the scheme of rhyming lines 1, 2, and 4, with non-rhyming 3, as in Arabic poetry:—

ki el yapdá misthblon
lehábbá mihhiyáth Shkón
‘ákhelá ‘Ar Móék’
ba’úlé bámóth ‘Arón.

and women, looking on while Samson made sport. 28. And Samson cried unto Yahweh, and said, 'Lord Yahweh, prithee remember me, and prithee strengthen me only this once, O God, that I may avenge myself upon the Philistines in one vengeance for my two eyes.' 29. And Samson grasped the two middle pillars whereon the house rested, and leaned upon them, one with his right hand, and the other with his left. 30. And Samson said, 'Let my soul die with the Philistines!' And he bowed himself mightily; and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people who were therein. So the dead that


28. this once. Heb. רָאָתָה לְעֵינֶיהָ. We should expect רָאָתָה לְעֵינֶיהָ simply (cf. ch. 6 80, Gen. 18 32, Ex. 10 17).

in one vengeance for my two eyes. Reading רָאָתָה לְעֵינֶיהָ simply. He prays that at one stroke he may exact an adequate vengeance for his grievous loss. So G, F. This meaning is adopted by R.V. text, but cannot be extracted from מ SERVICE as it stands. מ SERVICE can only mean 'a vengeance for (lit. of) one of my two eyes'; and this rendering is adopted by R.V. marg., Kimchi, Rashi, and most moderns. But, jester as Samson was, the dignity and pathos of the context seem to forbid the idea that he is here facing death with a jest on his lips.

30. Let my soul die. The use of יְשֵׁנָי ‘my soul’ as a choice synonym for ‘me’ is frequent in Heb., especially in poetry. The נֶפֶשׁ (properly, that which breathes) is the principle of life which animates the בָּשָׂר ‘flesh,’ and the exit of which results in death. It is not ‘soul’ in the sense in which we use the term, i.e. of the immortal ego.

he bowed himself. Probably we are to picture Samson as grasping the pillars with either arm, and then bending forward so as to force them out of the perpendicular. Mo., who renders רָאָתָה לְעֵינֶיהָ in v. 29, ‘and he braced himself against them,’ explains רָאָתָה here as meaning ‘he thrust,’ supposing that ‘standing between the two columns, he pushed them apart by extending his arms.’ Such a sense attached to רָאָתָה may perhaps be justified by its use to denote the stretching forth of the hand (Ex. 8 1, Isa. 5 26, al.), though it is not very natural without expression of the object (‘his hands or arms’); nor is it easy, on this interpretation, to justify רָאָתָה, v. 29. If he pushed the pillars apart, he would hardly have grasped them.
he did to death at his death were more than those that he did to death in his life. And his brethren and all his father’s house went down, and took him, and brought him up, and buried him between Şor’ah and Eshta’ol, in the grave of Manoah his father. And he judged Israel twenty years.


between Şor’ah, etc. Cf. ch. 13 note.

THE MYTHICAL ELEMENT IN THE STORY OF SAMSON

The view has frequently been put forward that the story of Samson contains many legendary elements derived from the solar mythology which seems to have been the common property, not merely of the Semitic peoples, but of other races widely distinct from them. In this respect, it has been argued, the Hebrew Samson is analogous to the Phoenician Melḵart and to the Babylonian Gilgames among the Semites, as well as to the Greek hero Herakles, the main features of whose portrait may well have been derived from Semitic sources.*

The subject is one which lends itself very readily to theorizing; and there can be no doubt that the arguments which have been adduced to prove that the whole, or the major part, of Samson’s exploits are based upon a solar myth are insufficiently attested. When this has been said, it must be affirmed, on the other hand, that there are certain elements in the story which seem to have been drawn ultimately from solar mythology; and the evidence that this is so can hardly be ignored.

The name Samson or Şimšon, connected as it doubtless is with Heb. Şe-meš ‘sun’ (cf. note on ch. 13), has of course been adduced as an argument for the theory of the solar myth. Bu. (DB. iv. p. 381 a) maintains on the contrary that the derivation ‘tells rather against than in favour of this view, for it is not the way with a nature-

* The comparison of the deeds of Samson with those of Herakles is as old as Eusebius (Chron., ed. Schoene, p. 54), Philastrius (de Haeres. c. viii), and Augustine (de Civ. Dei, xviii. 19). That Herakles represents the sun is maintained by Macrobius (Saturnal. i. xx) upon etymological grounds:—Et verum Heraclem solem esse vel ex nomine claret. Ἡρακλῆς enim quid aliud est nisi Ἡρας id est aeris θέλως? quae porro alia aeris gloria est, nisi solis illuminatio’?
myth to borrow or even to derive the name of its hero from the
cosmical object which it describes.\(^2\) Be this as it may, it can hardly
be denied that the name must have been in origin **honorific** of the
sun, and so must indicate the existence of sun-worship in the locality
—a fact which is indeed attested by the place-name Beth-shemesh,
'Temple of the Sun,' in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of
the hero's exploits.

We are probably justified in going further, and in associating this
sun-worship, not with an alien Canaanite clan inhabiting the district,
but with the tribe (or rather **clan**) of Dan itself. As is well known,
the Heb. **Dan** means 'Judge,' and is so explained in *Gen. 30*\(^6\)
J or E, *49*\(^{16}\) J. The tribe of Dan is one of the four Israelite tribes
whose descent is traced, not from a wife of Jacob, but from a hand-
maid—a tradition which is probably to be interpreted as meaning
that these tribes were regarded as not belonging to Israel by full-
blooded descent, but as occupying in some way or other an inferior
position among the tribes. Very possibly they were settled in
Cana'an prior to the entry of the Joseph-tribes under Joshua', and
were only incorporated into the Israelite confederation at a later
period (cf. *Introd.* pp. cvi f.).

As regards Dan, we may gain support for this view from the old
poem of *Gen. 49*. The statement of *v.\(^{16}\),

``Dan shall judge his people
As one of the tribes of Israel,''

is scarcely satisfied by the jejune explanation that he shall maintain
his independence as successfully as any other tribe (so, many com-
mentators). It undoubtedly implies that he will vindicate his claim
to be reckoned as an Israelite tribe, _i.e._ will raise himself out of
a position in which he was looked down upon as outside the full
blood-brotherhood.

Now in the case of two of the handmaid-tribes, Gad and Asher,
it seems clear that the tribal names were originally the names or
titles of deities (cf. the remarks on pp. 197 f.). It is not, therefore,
unlikely that the name **Dan** referred originally to a divine **Judge** who
was regarded as the patron of the clan. The god of the Babylonian
Pantheon who was pictured as the **Judge par excellence** was Šamaš
the Sun-god, whose common title among the Babylonians and
Assyrians was **Dan** (i.e. Daian) šamē u ṭiršiṯi, ‘Judge of heaven and
earth’: cf. the numerous references under the heading ‘Šamaš,
Richter (Gott der Gerechtigkeit)’ in Jastrow, *RBA.* ii. 2, p. 1098 ; and
the citations under **dānu** 2 in Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* i. p. 258. If, then,
we may assume that the ancient patron-deity of the tribe of Dan was
the Sun-god under his aspect of divine Judge, we shall not be
surprised if we find relics of solar mythology surviving in a
euhemerized form among the folk-traditions of the tribe.
Can we, however, lay our finger upon any such mythological elements in the story of Samson with reasonable probability? The one incident which must certainly be interpreted as the product of folk-mythology is the fox-story of ch. 15.36. It is impossible to suppose that this can be unconnected with the ceremonial hunting of foxes with blazing torches attached to their brushes which took place annually in the Circus at Rome during the Cerealia, April 19, as stated by Ovid (Fasti, iv. 679 ff.). Ovid cites, in explanation of this custom, a tale which he had heard from an old countryman of Carseoli. A twelve-year-old farmer's son, having caught a vixen-fox which had repeatedly robbed his father's hen-roosts, wrapped it in straw and hay, to which he then proceeded to set fire. The fox, escaping, rushed through the fields of corn and set them in a blaze; hence a law was formulated at Carseoli dealing with the fate of captured foxes.* Clearly this story is nothing more than a popular invention in explanation of an ancient rite, the origin and significance of which had passed into oblivion. Preller (Römische Mythologie, ii. pp. 43 ff.) brings the ceremony into connexion with the Robigalia, which were celebrated at the same time of year (April 25), when (as he states) young puppies of a red colour were sacrificed in the grove of Robigus, the spirit who was supposed to work in the robigo, i.e. the red rust or mildew which was so apt to attack the corn when approaching maturity. Here he seems to be not quite accurate. The sacrifice of red sucking whelps (rutilae canes), together with an augury made from their exta (augurium canarium), took place outside the Porta Catularia at Rome, and appears to have been a movable festival, distinct, at least in origin, from the offering of the exta of a sheep and a dog at the grove of Robigus, which was situated at the fifth milestone on the Via Claudia: cf. Ovid's description, Fasti, iv. 901 ff. Yet the two rites were doubtless closely connected, if not (at any rate in later times) identified: cf. Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals, pp. 88 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyc. der class. Altertumswiss., iii. col. 1981 (s.v. Cerealia); Wissowa, Religion und Cultus der Römer, p. 163. The resemblance in colour between the sacrificed puppies and the foxes is not likely to be accidental; and it is probable, as Preller supposes, that both the red puppies which were deemed an appropriate sacrifice to Robigus, and also the red foxes which

* Precisely what this fate was to be escapes us owing to a corruption of the text. The best MSS. read:—

'Factum abiit, monimenta manent: nam dicere certam
Nunc quoque lex volpem Carseolana vetat.'

Here 'nam dicere certam' yields no sense; and has been corrected into 'nam vivere captam,' which is found in some inferior MSS. Other suggestions which have been offered are 'namque icere captam,' 'namque ire repertam,' 'namque urere captam,' 'incendere captam,' etc. Cf. Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals, p. 78; Postgate, Corp. Pt. Lat. i. p. 519.
were hunted at the festival of the corn-goddess Ceres, were typical of the red-coloured blight with its destructive burning properties, which in the one case it was hoped might be averted by the sacrifice, and in the other was supposed, by a kind of sympathetic magic, to be chased away so that it might not do damage to the crops.

Now the ancient theory as to the origin of rust was that it was due to the action of the hot sun upon the corn-stalks when left damp by the dew. The view of Steinthal and Smythe Palmer is thus highly plausible that, in the incident of Judg. 15:5, Samson plays the part of the Sun-god with his fiery heat, letting loose the destructive plague of rust which burns up the standing corn of the Philistines. That the Roman custom is to be traced ultimately to a Semitic source (whence it was derived, possibly, as Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, i. p. 857, supposed, through the Phoenicians) may be inferred from the fact that it took place in the latter part of April—the period when, in Syria, the corn is approaching maturity and the danger of rust is to be apprehended, but some considerable time before the crop reaches such a stage in Italy. It may well have been, therefore, 'that the rite was transferred bodily to Latin soil without any rectification of season to make it significant' (Smythe Palmer, p. 105).

*Robigo* is also termed *uredo* in Lat., as burning up the crops, just as rust is dialectically termed *brand* in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Devon for the same reason (cf. Wright, *Dialect Dict.*, i. 376). Smythe Palmer (pp. 101 ff.) cites the Greek λαμφώπος 'torch-tail' applied to the fox, and compares the German *Brand-Fuchs* (occurring dialectically in Eng. as *brant-fox*), a term which associates the fox with burning on account of its red colour.

† Ovid versifies the prayer which he heard the Flamen Quirinalis utter when offering the exta at the grove of Robigus:

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Aspera Robigo, parcas Cerealibus herbis,
Et tremat in summa leve cacumen humano.
Tu sata sideribus caeli nutrita secundi
Crescere, dum fiant falcibus apta, sinas.

Parce, precor, scabrasque manus a messibus aufer,
Neve noce cultis; posse nocere sat est, etc.'
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§ Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 917 ff.:

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Nec venti tantum Cereri nocuer e, nec imbres,
Nec sic marmoreo pallet adusta gelu,
Quantum si culmos Titan incalficit udos :
Tunc locus est irae, diva timenda, tuae.
```

Pliny (18, 68, 10) mentions this as the commonly accepted view, but contradicts it: 'Plerique dixere, rem inustum sole acri frugibus rubiginis causam esse et carbunculi vitibus: quod ex parte falsum arbitror, onemque uredinem frigore tantum constare, sole innoxio.' Columella (*Arbor.*, 13), Palladius (i. 55), and Servius (ad. *Georg.*, 131) supposed the cause to be 'malae nebulae.'

‖ 'The corn harvest in middle Italy took place in the latter half of June and in July.'—Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 154.
We have dealt at length with this single incident, because it may be claimed that it proves decisively the real existence of a mythological element in the story of Samson; and, further, suggests very strongly that this element is solar in character—an inference which, when taken in connexion with the known existence of sun-worship in the locality in which the hero's exploits are laid, and the solar significance of his name (cf. pp. 352, 392), may fairly be claimed to be raised to a reasonable certainty. The gaining of such a vantage-ground provides justification for further advance, in the confidence that, however speculative in detail such investigations may be, the theory with which they are bound up is not in itself illusory, but possesses a solid basis in fact.

In the notes on the text, comparison has more than once been drawn between the exploits or characteristics of Samson and those of the Babylonian hero Gilgameš. The fact that Gilgameš is a solar hero is well established. As he is known to us from the famous Epic,* he is not identical with Šamaš, for he is represented as under the protection and patronage of that deity. ‘Šamaš loves him’ (Tab. I. col. v. l. 21); he figures as patron to him and to his friend Engidu (II. iii. 27 ff.; VI. 171 ff.); the mother of Gilgameš makes an offering to Šamaš before her son's expedition against the giant Humbaba, and asks why the god has placed in her son a heart which sleeps not, and so dominates him that he incites him to the most dangerous exploits (III. ii. 8 ff.). Yet there can be no doubt that the hero is a double of the Sun-god; and the fact that his exploits find their ultimate explanation in the passage of the sun through the heavens is transparently obvious.

Thus, for example, he follows the course of the sun, and goes where no one but the sun has been. Most important, in this connexion, is the account of the journey which he undertakes, after the death of Engidu, in search of the secret of immortality (IX., X.). We find him arriving at the mountain of Māšu, † where scorpion-men guard the entrance and exit of the sun. In spite of the terrible and death-dealing aspect of these warders, he prevails upon them to admit him through the gate; and he journeys for twelve double-hours along a route where the darkness is dense, until he emerges once more into the light of day. Here he finds himself in a garden in which grows the tree of the gods, the branches of which, formed of

† Māšu = `twin.' The mountain thus appears to be the twin- (double-peaked) mountain which appears in representations of the God Šamaš emerging through the gates of sunrise, which attendants throw open to him: cf. Pl. III., fig. 3.
precious stones, produce rare fruits. The custodian of this garden is the maiden Siduri-Sabitu, who sits on a throne by the shore of the ocean. Gilgameš's aim is to cross this ocean, in order to reach the abode of his ancestor, Uta-napištim (the Babylonian Noah), who, after surviving the Flood, has, with his wife, been raised to immortality by the gods, and dwells beyond the ocean. He at least may be expected to possess the secret by which death may be escaped. In answer to the hero's inquiries as to the possibility of a crossing, Sabitu replies:

'O Gilgameš, there hath never been a passage,
And no one, from all eternity, hath crossed the ocean.
The warrior Šamaš hath crossed the ocean;
But save for Šamaš, who shall cross?
Difficult is the passage, laborious its course,
And deep are the waters of death which bar its access.
Why then, O Gilgameš, wilt thou cross the ocean?
When thou arrivest at the waters of death, what wilt thou do?'

The ocean, then, is the western ocean which is regularly crossed by the Sun in his journey towards the region of sunset. The narrative goes on to relate how, by the aid of Uta-napištim's mariner, Ur-Šanabi, Gilgameš succeeds in making the passage, and safely reaches the abode of his ancestor, from whom he learns the narrative of the Flood—with which in the present connexion we are not concerned.

Moreover, Gilgameš not only traverses the sun's path, but he undergoes changes which indubitably illustrate the phases through which the sun passes during its yearly course. In illustration of this we may quote first a most important passage at the commencement of Tab. VI., following immediately after the victory over Humbaba, of which only a fragmentary account survives in Tab. V.

'He washed his weapons, he furbished his weapons, He caused his long hair to fall down upon his back. He doffed his soiled raiment, he donned his clean raiment, With . . . ? he clothed himself, and bound on a doublet; Yea, Gilgameš decked himself with his diadem, and bound on a doublet.
To the beauty of Gilgameš majestic Ištar raised the eyes; "Come, Gilgameš, be thou my spouse! Thy fruit to me, I pray thee, yield! Be thou my husband; let me be thy wife! Let me yoke for thee a chariot of lapis lazuli and gold, With wheels of gold, with horns of diamond; Thou shalt yoke daily the great steeds. Into our house enter thou mid the perfume of cedar.
Into our house when thou enterest,
<They that sit on> thrones shall kiss thy feet;
Beneath thee shall prostrate themselves kings, lords, and nobles;
The . . . of the mountain and land shall bring thee tribute.”

Gilgames rejects Istar's advances, reminding her of the sad fate of former lovers whom she has quickly spurned and made the victims of various misfortunes through which their vital force is lost. As Jastrow (REBA. pp. 127 f.) remarks, 'The tale is clearly a form of the general nature-myth of the union of sun and earth, which, after a short time, results in the decline of the sun's force. Tammuz, an ancient personification of the sun of the springtime, is named as the first of Istar's lovers; he becomes her consort and is then slain by the goddess and consigned to the nether world, the abode of the dead. The promise made by Istar to Gilgames to present him with a chariot of lapis lazuli, and to shelter him in a palace of plenty, unmistakably points to the triumph of the sun when vegetation is at its height. Tammuz and Istar, like Gilgames and Istar, thus represent the combination of the two principles which bring about life; and upon their separation follow decay and death.' *

In revenge for this rebuff, Istar persuades her father Anu to send a heavenly bull to destroy Gilgames; but the beast is slain by the hero and his friend Engidu (cf. Pl. III. fig. 2). Gilgames dedicates the horns to his god Lugal-banda, and returns in triumph to his city of Erech. Tabs. VII. and VIII. are unfortunately very fragmentary; but enough remains for us to gather that Engidu is suddenly afflicted with some fell disease, and, after taking to his bed, dies at the end of twelve days. The cause of his malady does not appear from the text as it now stands; but we are probably right in inferring that it was due to the curse of Istar, following upon the failure of her first attempt to punish Gilgames (cf. the account of Engidu's deliberate insult offered to the goddess, Tab. VII. ll. 178 ff.). Gilgames' grief at the death of his friend is vividly portrayed at the end of Tab. VII.; and from the beginning of Tab. VIII. we learn that its poignancy is increased by the thought that the same fate must ultimately overtake him also:

'Gilgames for Engidu his friend
Bitterly weepeth and wandereth through the desert:
"Must not I too die like Engidu?
Grief hath pierced mine inward part;
I fear death, and I wander through the desert."'

* The description of the chariot is (as Dhorme notes) strikingly similar to Ovid's description (Metam. ii. ll. 107 ff.) of the chariot of the Sun:—

'Aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summae
Curvatura rotae, radiorum argenteus ordo,
Per juga chrysolithi positaque ex ordine gemmae
Clara repercusso reddant lumina Phoebo.'
It is at this point that he forms the resolution to seek out his ancestor Uta-napistim, who by some means (as yet unknown to him) has gained immortality, and who may possibly be able to hand on the secret to him. He at once, therefore, sets out upon the journey which we have already outlined.

In the course of this journey, as indeed prior to it, those whom he encounters comment in identical terms upon the shocking spectacle which he presents:

* Why is thy strength consumed, thy face bowed down?
The heart is in evil case, thy features are perished,
And there is sadness in thine inward part;
Thy face is like that of one that hath journeyed far;
... distress and grief enflame thy face,
... and thou wanderest through the desert.'

To each of these inquiries he replies by asking why he should not appear thus, seeing that he has just lost so close a friend. It seems, however, to be clear that he is afflicted by something more than grief, and that in all probability the disease which has destroyed Engidu has fastened its hold upon him also. At any rate, when he reaches Uta-napistim, he is in a terrible condition, as appears from the words of his ancestor in which he directs the sailor, Ur-Šanabi, to take him to a washing-place where he may bathe and restore his health (xi. 251 ff.):

* The man before whom thou didst walk,
Whose body is covered with boils,
The beauty of whose flesh is marred with scales—
Take him, Ur-Šanabi, to the washing-place bring him;
His boils in water let him wash (white) as snow;
Let him cast off his scales, and let the sea bear (them) away;
Fair let his body appear;
Let the turban of his head be renewed;
With a robe let him be clothed, his garment of modesty;
Until he come to his city,
Until he come to his own way,
Let the garment not become threadbare, but let it be new—
be new!'

Uta-napistim's directions are followed, and Gilgameš is able to make the return-voyage, reaching Erech in perfect health, and clad in fair attire. The account of his actually finding, and then through

* So, some one whose name has disappeared, VIII. v. 7 ff.; Ur-Šanabi, x. iii. 1 ff.; Uta-napistim, x. iv. 42 ff. There is every reason to suppose that the same inquiry should be restored and put into the mouth of Siduri in x. i. 33 ff.
† Lit. 'throw off grey hair,' i.e. perhaps, its surface-wool, or, as we might say, lose its nap. A different explanation is given by Haupt, AJSI. xxvi. (1909), p. 16.
an accident losing, the magic herb by means of which he might have secured immortality, does not concern our present purpose.

Here, then, we have, in a parable the inner meaning of which is transparently obvious, an account of the sun's triumph in springtime, followed by its gradual decline in force as it starts on its long journey towards the waters of death. This culminates in the last stage of disease when it reaches its goal, where it undergoes a process of lustration, so that, when it appears once more in the east, it possesses its original beauty and glory. The meaning of the story of Engidu, who actually dies as the result of Ištar's malice, may perhaps not be affirmed with equal certainty; but the whole trend of evidence goes to suggest that he is a chthonic deity, typifying the reproductive vigour of animal-nature in the springtime, which dies away as the year passes onward on its course.*

Were it necessary to add anything in support of this clear evidence that Gilgames is a solar hero, it might be found in the material which

* This is suggested by the description of his early life as a companion of the beasts of the field, and by the satyr-like form—half man and half bull—in which he is represented upon early seal-cylinders: cf. Pl. II. fig. 5; Pl. III. fig. 2. He is described in 1. iv. 6 as iulu amatu 'the man of animal-desire.'


The view that the twelve tablets present us with the sun's doings during the twelve months of the year, and that each of these is associated with its appropriate zodiacal sign, seems to be improbable. It may be worked out in a few instances, but breaks down in the majority. Thus, Tab. III., which relates the beginning of the adventures of Gilgames and Engidu, might stand for Gemini (though the cementing of the friendship between the two heroes takes place as early as the end of Tab. I.); Tab. VI. which contains the Ištar-incident might stand for Virgo; and, most strikingly, Tab. XI., the Flood-narrative, for Aquarius. If, however, the creation of Engidu, who, as we have already remarked, is figured as half bull, represents Taurus, we should expect to find the account of this in Tab. II. and not in Tab. I.; and the Scorpion-men of the mountain of Māšu (Scorpio) should appear in Tab. VIII. rather than in Tab. IX., unless indeed they stand also for Sagittarius: cf. the representation of a scorpion-man as an archer on an ancient boundary-stone (v. R. 57; *OTLAE.* i., fig. 2, p. 11), and also on the seal-cylinders figured by Delaporte, *Cylindres orientaux*, Pl. xxI. figs. 313, 316. Probably the truth is that some of the incidents in the Epic do represent the course of the sun through the zodiacal stations, but not (at least in the form in which the Epic has come down to us) in any consistent order, or, at anyrate, in an order which is marked by the twelve tablets into which the poem is divided.

Again, it seems probable that the incidents of the poem typify not merely the yearly course of the sun, but that there is a combination of the yearly and daily courses which it is difficult or impossible to unravel. Gilgames' adventure at the mountain of Māšu, where he starts a journey of twelve double-hours over the route of the sun—barran (išu) Šamsī—is most naturally to be understood of the daily circuit of twenty-four hours; though, in view of the fact that all the way the darkness is dense, and it is only at the end of the journey that he emerges into the
is supplied by the ancient seal-cylinders of Babylonia. On these we not infrequently find the figures of Gilgameš and the Sun-god used interchangeably in precisely similar settings. One such series is illustrated on Pl. II. Here in figs. 1 and 2 we have a figure described in pictographic writing as ilu Šamaš, who contends with antelopes and lions. In fig. 3 Gilgameš likewise contends with the same animals, the arrangement of the figures being identical with that of figs. 1 and 2. That the central figure in fig. 3 is intended for Gilgameš is indicated by his full-face representation (peculiar to figures of Gilgameš and Engidu), and by the arrangement of his hair in six locks; cf. the Gilgameš-figures on Pl. III. figs. 1, 2. There are similar series which are no less significant.*

light 'before the sun,' we should expect the reference to be to the nocturnal course of the sun from west to east, which should rather occupy six double-hours or twelve hours. His journey across the ocean with Ur-Šanabi occupies one month and fifteen days before he comes to the waters of death. Since the condition in which we find him at this point, in the last stage of disease, can hardly denote anything else than the winter-solstice, when the power of the sun is at its lowest ebb, it may be that this voyage represents the half of the winter-quarter; the corresponding half being occupied by the return of the sun after purification in a condition to renew once more his yearly course.

It is impossible, again, to attain any degree of certainty in attempting to define the conception of the Epic as to the earthly counterpart of the heavenly course of the sun. Jensen places the cedar-mountain where the hero and his friend conquer the giant Humbaba among the mountains of Elam to the east of Babylonia, over which the sun rises. Thence Gilgameš reaches his city of Erech where he is at the climax of his glory. From this point Jensen would make him pursue his course due west across the Syrian desert to the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, which he regards as the twin-mountain of Māšu, and over the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea to the waters of death—the Atlantic. This view is adopted by Zimmern; though it is difficult to see how the Atlantic can have come within the Babylonian horizon. Of course Jensen and Zimmern have the Pillars of Hercules in their minds; but the Phoenicians must surely have been the earliest Semitic traders to get so far west. Other scholars find the name Māšu in the Syro-Arabian desert, which Assurbanipal calls the land of Maš, and describes as 'a place of thirst and languor, wherein no bird of heaven flies, nor do wild asses and gazelles graze there'; cf. KB. ii. p. 220; Delitzsch, Paradies, pp. 242 f. Across this they would make Gilgameš travel not due west but south-west, till he reaches South Arabia, where dwells Siduri who is termed Sabitu, i.e. on this interpretation 'the Sabaean'; cf. Hommel, AHT, pp. 35 f. This perhaps agrees better with the sun's course as viewed from the northern hemisphere—not due west across the zenith, but south-west. Yet the theory of a very early date for the origin of the Sabaean kingdom is now not regarded as probable.

* Cf., in Delaporte, Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Pl. iv. fig. 41, a figure described as ilu Šamaš in conflict with a human-headed bull; Pl. v. fig. 43, a similar figure unspecified contending with the same human-headed bull, in company with Engidu contending with a lion; fig. 45, Gilgameš with the human-headed bull (duplicated), and Engidu with the lion; fig. 44, Gilgameš with the human-headed bull together with a figure like that of fig. 43 contending with another bull of the same kind, and Engidu with the lion. We may notice also, in Hayes Ward, Cylinders . . . in
The adventures of Gilgamesh and Engidu form favourite subjects for representation on seal-cylinders in the Sumerian and early Semitic Babylonian period, as well as in later times. The heroes are most commonly depicted in conflict with beasts—either Gilgamesh attacks a wild bull or water-buffalo while Engidu is similarly engaged with a lion, or Gilgamesh by himself is seen in conflict with the latter beast: cf. Pl. II. fig. 4; Pl. III. figs. 1, 2. In spite of the fragmentary condition of parts of the Epic, it affords us ample evidence that the two heroes were mighty hunters.*

The space which we have devoted to the Gilgamesh-epic may seem to be out of all proportion to its importance in relation to the story of Samson; but this is not really so. In the first place, it has enabled us to establish the fact of the existence of a Semitic solar myth in a form of which the significance is incontrovertible, and the widespread influence of which in countries adjacent to Babylonia can easily be demonstrated. In Pl. IV. we have Gilgamesh as pictured by the Assyrians; Pl. V. illustrates the fact that the hero and his companion were familiar to the Hittites of Carchemish; Pl. VI. exhibits the movement of the same myth westward to Cyprus, the colossal figure clearly exhibiting Assyro-Babylonian influence in the treatment of the beard and hair (cf. p. 498), and in the manner in which he is rending the lion.‡ This last figure is probably rightly identified with the Phoenician Melqart, whose influence on the Greek myth of

* Sayce, E.T. xxiv. (1912) p. 39, in endeavouring to identify the hero of the seal-cylinder representations with a supposed Namra-Uddu (i.e. the Biblical Nimrod) and not with Gilgamesh, makes the assertion, 'Gilgamesh was not a hunter, and he never struggled with lions or held slaughtered animals in his hands.' This statement strangely overlooks the words which are addressed to Gilgamesh in viii. v. 5.

' <In the passes> of the mountain thou didst slay lions,' as well as the refrain of the hero's lament over Engidu (cf. x. v. 11),

'My friend who with me> slew the lions, etc.'

Cf. also, in Gilgamesh's description to Uta-napištim of the difficulties of his journey (x. v. 31 f.),

'The kāšu-bird, the buṣu-bird, the lion, the panther, the jackal (?), the stag, the ibex, the wild bull,

Their <flesh> I eat, and with their skins I <clothe myself>.'

It is highly probable that one of the Tabs. III., IV., or V., which are very fragmentary, originally contained an account of a lion-combat, possibly corresponding to the zodiacal station Leo.

‡ Cf. the representation of Engidu and the lion in Pl. II. fig. 4.
Herakles in many of its details can scarcely be gainsaid.* The proved existence of such a solar myth is the most weighty fact which can influence our decision as to whether solar elements do or do not enter into the Samson-tradition. In comparing Samson with Gilgames in our search for solar traits, we are not bolstering up the merely hypothetical interpretation of one series of traditions by the scarcely less hypothetical interpretation of another series; but we are testing the former series by that which, in the latter, may be regarded as a well-ascertained conclusion.

In the second place, for a right estimation of the character of the Samson-narrative, it is as important to notice the contrast which it offers to the Gilgames-epic as it is to register the points of resemblance between the two stories. The Gilgames-epic as a whole (and this is also true of the Herakles-saga) moves in a plane which is wholly mythical. Gods and goddesses take their part in the sequence of events like ordinary mortals. The hero and his friend are distinguished as semi-divine by the use of the determinative prefix ilu 'god,' before their names. Indeed, the fact that Gilgames possesses a divine strain in his blood is more than once emphasized in the Epic (I. ii. 1; IX. ii. 16) by the statement

'Two-thirds of him are god, and his third part is human.'

* Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, in his edition of Euripides, Herakles, i. p. 276 (1st ed., 1889), dismisses the theory of the derivation of the Greek Herakles from old Babylonian sources with great contempt, having clearly never taken the trouble to investigate and appreciate the evidence which can be advanced in its favour. Later on (pp. 290 ff.) he goes on to enumerate the earliest elements in the Herakles-myth as follows:—(1) the descent of the hero from the highest gods; (2) the conflict with the lion; (3) the conflict with giants; (4) the journey to the Underworld, and the conquest of death; (5) the journey to the garden of the gods. As a matter of fact, as Jeremias [Izdubar-Nimrod, pp. 70 ff.] points out, these are the very incidents which can be most strikingly paralleled from the Gilgames-epic. In his 2nd edition (1895) Wilamowitz-Moellendorf makes grudging concession to Jeremias that 'the resemblance of Herakles to "Izdubar-Nimrod" is of course remarkable in the highest degree (allerdings höchst merkwürdig). Naturally this also struck the ancients, and necessarily led to identification, as e.g. the Cyprian representation of the Geryones-adventure demonstrates: *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xliii. 74.' It may be observed that this concession does not touch Jeremias' point that the earliest elements in the Herakles-myth (teste W.-M.) are those which find closest parallel in the Babylonian-myth.

Jeremias further remarks that it is reasonable to hold that, just as we have the series Ištar—Ashtart—Aphrodite, so we also have the series Gilgames—Samson—Herakles; a conclusion which may be accepted with substitution of the Phoenician Melkart for the Israelite Samson, the conception of whom can hardly have had any direct influence on Greek mythology. The line of transmission was probably Babylonian—Phoenician—Greek; while Samson, as is argued above, seems to represent a lateral development of the myth in a very diluted form. Herodotus (ii. 44) states that he visited the temple of Herakles at Tyre; and that this was of very great antiquity, being said to be contemporary with the foundation of the city, which he places at 2300 years before his time. That this Herakles was the god Melkart (i.e. 'King of the city') admits of no doubt.
The world in which events are enacted is not our world; or at any rate it is ours only in a very remote and symbolical sense.* The Samson-narrative (and here we are referring to chs. 14-16, apart from the later-added ch. 13) is markedly different. Samson indeed performs prodigies of strength which are incredibly marvellous; but the whole setting of the narrative, so far from being artificial, is as fresh and true to life as almost anything contained in the O.T. It leaves us no doubt that we are breathing the natural atmosphere of the border-country between the Israelites and Philistines, and are witnessing scenes of social intercourse such as must have been of everyday occurrence at the period with which the narrator deals.†

Again, the author of the Gilgamesh-epic was an educated man of great literary ability.§ He had evidently reflected much on the problems of life and death; and, had we had occasion to refer to his speculations as to human mortality, we might have quoted passages of wonderful beauty and pathos. He seems to have been versed in the astronomical knowledge of his day. The technique of the poem is highly developed, and its descriptive power (as witnessed e.g. by the Flood-story) of a very high order. In contrast, the charm of the Samson-narrative lies in its artlessness, and in the fact that it comes straight from the lips of the rustic story-teller, whose sole equipment consisted in a retentive memory, a sense of humour, and a native power of description. Whether it be possible or not to explain every detail of the Gilgamesh-epic as an integral part of the solar myth, there can be no question that this method, if applied to the Samson-narrative, goes very widely astray. The whole narrative is so intimately bound up with the occurrences of everyday life, and quite possibly with the actual doings of an historical individual, that the fallaciousness of such a method is self-evident.

Thus it is clear that the difficulty of distinguishing the solar traits in the Samson-narrative is very considerable. A particular incident may bear resemblance more or less close to a characteristic motif in the stories of other solar heroes; but unless it is impossible to regard it as an actual incident which may have occurred in real life, its interpretation as a solar trait must remain extremely precarious. To take a single example: Samson slew a lion single-handed, and so did Herakles, and Gilgamesh very possibly slew several; but, again, similar incidents are recorded of David (1 Sam. 17:34f.) and Benaiah (2 Sam. 23:20); and we have, in these latter instances, no ground for regarding the feat as other than historical, because it is the kind of feat that a strong and brave man might reasonably accomplish.

Bearing these considerations in mind, we may proceed to notice

* Cf. the last paragraph of the first footnote, p. 400.
† Cf. the remarks on p. 339.
§ In speaking of the author, in the singular, it is not intended to express any opinion as to the unity, or composite character, of the Epic. All that is affirmed is true of the Epic as a whole, whether it be the work of one or more authors.
certain points in the Samson-narrative which may very well owe their origin to solar mythology.

Among these the most striking is the conception that the strength of the hero lies in his long hair, and that when this has been shaved off he becomes powerless; just as the sun when adorned with his rays (which are pictured as hair in the literature of all nations *) is endowed with great strength, but sinks into weakness when he loses these in the winter-season. We have noticed how Gilgameš, when he figures as the glorious sun of springtime, is said to wear his long hair falling down his back; and this hair is prominent in early seal-cylinder representations of the Babylonian hero, arranged in six curling locks which fall on either side of his head (cf. Pl. II. figs. 3, 4, 5 ; Pl. III. figs. 1, 2), with which we may compare the six rays which are depicted as issuing from the shoulders of the Sun-god (Pl. III. fig. 3). Samson’s hair was also arrayed in locks, though these were seven and not six.‡ We are not definitely told that Gilgameš loses his long locks when his strength fails him and he becomes the victim of disease, § though, since they are so prominently mentioned as a mark of his beauty when at the height of his youthful power, it is perhaps not an unfair inference that he is to be pictured as deprived of them in his affliction (cf. the remarks as to his changed appearance quoted on p. 398). When he is washed clean and free from disease ‘the turban of his head’ || is renewed; but no mention is made of his locks, which, if they were lost, must be pictured as gradually growing again. The sun does not arrive at its full strength and glory at the turn of the year. Samson’s hair began to grow again after it was cut off, but some time elapsed before he was able to put forth his pristine strength. In the note on ch. 13 6 we have observed how ill the conception of the author of this chapter that Samson was a Nazirite fits in with the portrait of him which is to be gathered from the older chs. 14-16, and have concluded that the view that he was under such a vow must probably be regarded as a later interpretation of the meaning of his long locks. If we are right in explaining them as an ancient solar trait, we can now understand why the author of ch. 13, who endeavours to view Samson and his

* Cf. the admirably full body of evidence collected by Smythe Palmer in ch. iv.
‡ We have noticed above (note on ch. 16.13) that the statement that Gilgameš wore his hair in seven locks, which seems to emanate from Jeremias (cf. OTLAE. ii. p. 172), is incorrect. For the possible meaning of Samson’s seven locks, cf. the conjectures put forward by Smythe Palmer, ch. v., who cites instances of the Sun-god depicted as adorned with seven rays, the most striking of which is perhaps the Pompeian wall-painting figured by Roscher, Lexikon der griech. u. rom. Mythol., 2003.
§ Smythe Palmer’s statement (p. 221) that when Gilgameš ‘begins to fail and fall ill’ he ‘loses his hair in which lay his strength,’ unfortunately goes beyond his facts as they may be gathered from the Epic. It is an inference merely.
|| Bab. parsigu ša ḫakkadišu. The term parsigu is used elsewhere of a bandage.
doings from the standpoint of a pious Yahweh-worshipper (cf. p. 338),
should have read a different meaning into this characteristic.

Much more doubtfully significant as a solar trait is Samson’s slay­
ing of the lion, though greatly emphasized as such by many writers; because, as we have already remarked, it is the kind of deed which
might naturally have been performed by a strong man, or might
naturally be ascribed to him, without the involving of any symbolical
meaning. The term which is used to describe the hero’s rending
of the lion does seem, however, to suggest connexion with the Gilgameš­
myth: cf. notes on ch. 14. A similar connexion may possibly be
traced in the fact that the incident occurs early in Samson’s career
and immediately prior to his being ensnared by the charms of
Philistine womankind, which leads to his ultimate undoing. Gil­
games’s lion-slaying feats must, as we have noticed,* have occurred
a little before the 1Star-incident which marks the -beginning of the
hero's misfortunes.#

A much clearer trace of solar mythology is to be found in the
story of the bursting forth of the spring at Ramath-lehi to satisfy

* Cf. footnote*, p. 401.
‡ The present writer can attach no weight at all to Steinthal’s theory that the
story of the honey in the lion’s carcass belongs to the solar myth with the sym­
bolical meaning that, when the sun is in the zodiacal sign Leo (i.e. in July), honey
is most plentiful. This theory is built up upon a series of assumptions, any one
of which is open to question. It is assumed that no other explanation of bees
building in a carcass is satisfactory; whereas, as we have seen (cf. note on 14§),
this may be explained either by the supposition that the carcass was hollow and
sun-dried, or by the *Bouvydia*-theory. Again, the claim that this explanation
offers the Philistines a possibility of solving the riddle, which is otherwise in­
soluble apart from a knowledge of the facts, can hardly carry weight. Samson’s
wit was not of so high a class that he must be deemed incapable of a very bad,
and so, unfair riddle; especially as the story makes it clear that he was confident
that he would win the wager. And lastly, the assumption that July is the month
when honey is most plentiful seems to be based upon experience of the habits of
bees in the temperate regions of Europe where flowers abound throughout the
summer, and to overlook the fact that in the sub-tropical climate of Palestine the
flowering season ceases and herbaceous vegetation is burnt up by about the middle
of May, after which (presumably) the bees are living on their store of honey, and
the supply is gradually decreasing.

Steinthal’s further conjecture that Samson’s slaying of the lion typifies the
milder sun of autumn extinguishing his own burning rays (the lion representing
the fierce heat of midsummer) is in itself so incredible that it requires no re­fu­ta­tion. It may be noticed, however, that it seems to involve a kind of hypo­
teron-proteron; for the autumnal sun stifles the heat of midsummer before the bees—
which typify the fact that honey is plentiful in midsummer—establish themselves
in the carcass.

At the same time, the fact is undoubted that in Babylonian mythology the
lion is closely associated with the god Nergal, who typifies the hot sun of mid­
summer; the choice of this animal being no doubt dictated by its fierce and
destructive disposition, its tawny colour, and its shaggy mane which suggests
not remotely the rays of the sun.
Samson's need. Abundant evidence exists in proof that springs—
—and especially hot springs—were associated with the sun or with
solar heroes.* Athenaeus (xii. 512) states that all hot springs which
break forth from the earth are sacred to Herakles: cf. also Diod.
Sic., iv. 23, v. 3; Strabo, pp. 60, 172, 425, 428; Livy, xxii. 1; al.
The original idea seems to have been that such springs are warmed
by the sun during his nocturnal course under the earth. Cf. especially
the account given by Herodotus (iv. 181) and Lucretius (De Rerum
Natura, vi. 848 f.) of the spring of the sun in the oasis of Ammonium
(Siweh) in the Libyan desert, which is cold by day but boiling hot at
night. The point is interesting as definitely connecting Herakles
with the sun. In some cases at any rate (cf. Diod. Sic. loc. cit.) the
traditional connexion with the solar hero was that the springs had
been caused to burst forth in order that he might bathe in them when
weary.

That cold springs were also associated with the sun by the Semites
is proved by the occurrence of the name 'En-shemesh 'the spring of
the sun,' Josh. 15*, t8 t7—the modern 'Ain el-Ḥōd 'the Apostle's
spring,' a little east of Bethany on the road to Jericho; and 'Ain-
šems, the modern Ar. name of Beth-shemesh. Whether the hero
bathes in the warm spring, as does Herakles, or drinks from the cool
spring, as does Samson, the effect is the same, viz. the restoration of
his vitality which through weariness or faintness has reached a low
ebb. The conception seems to be bound up with the restoration of
the sun's power in the springtime: cf. the way in which Gilgameš
has to bathe in order to free himself from his disease and renew his
beauty—a figure which, as we have seen (pp. 398 f.), typifies the
renewal of the sun's powers after he has reached his lowest ebb at
the winter-solstice.

If any weight may be attached to our suggestion (ch. 15* note)
that, in the name 'Ēn-haḵ-kōrē given to the spring of Lēhi, kōrē
originally denoted not the partridge but the quail, we seem here to
trace the combination of a kindred mythical conception as to the
return of the sun in springtime. The reason why the quail was
sacrificed by the Phoenicians to Herakles-Melkart in the early spring,
and the reason why Herakles was thought to have been restored to
life by smelling this particular bird, was that the quail was the bird
which—as its Greek name ὀρνιθής, Sanskrit Vartikā 'the returning one,'
denotes—was par excellence the migrant whose reappearance heralded
the return of the sun in the spring. Hence, according to Max
Müller (Science of Language, ii. p. 506) is derived Ortygia (the name
of the island which was otherwise called Delos 'the bright'), which
was regarded as the birthplace of Apollo, the young Sun-god of
springtime.

The incident of Samson's removal of the gates of Ġaza, and his

* Cf. the evidence brought together by Smythe Palmer, ch. xi.
setting them up on a hill to the east of Hebron, is probably connected with the conception that the sun, in rising, issues through a door with double gates on the extremity of the eastern horizon. Cf. the representation of the Sun-god Šamaš passing through such gates, which are held open for him by attendants: Pl. iii. fig. 3. The subject is one which is frequently figured on Babylonian seals. Samson removes the gates after spending the night in company with his paramour—a conception which reminds us of the description of the sun at his rising in Ps. 19:5:

'And he is like a bridegroom issuing from his bridal chamber;
He rejoiceth like a mighty man to run the course.'

It is rash to look for any symbolical meaning in the names Gaza and Hebron, these particular cities being probably merely part of the local setting of the story. It is possible, however, that some particular hill to the east of Hebron may have acquired a name as the hill over which, from the Shephelah, the sun was regularly observed to rise.

The name of Samson's paramour, Delilah, is of some importance as exhibiting almost certainly the influence of Babylonian thought upon the story. Comparison with the Bab. proper names Dalil-(ilu)-Istar, Dilil-(ilu)-Istar,* 'worshipper of Istar,' though (so far as the present writer knows) it has not before been made, is obvious. Delilah, 'worshipper' or 'devotee,' may be assumed to be a hypocoristic for the full form Delilat-Istar (or 'Astart).† As applied to a woman, the connotation of this name (at least according to the original form of the tale) can hardly be mistaken. Delilah must have been a sacred prostitute devoted to the service of the goddess (Heb. kadēšā, Bab. kadištu, harimtu, šamḥatu, or kazratu). The close connexion of these consecrated female worshippers with Istar in her relations with Gilgamēš is illustrated by the Epic in the narrative of Tab. VI. 184 ff. We may compare also Tab. I. iii. 1 ff., where Engidu, whilst living the life of a wild man among the beasts of the field, is decoyed away by the attractions of such a harimtu and adopts a life of civilization. It is Samson’s relations with Delilah which prove the cause of his undoing, just as it is through Istar that Gilgamēš' misfortunes are brought about. We may compare the way

† Such a contraction is, of course, common in Heb. proper names: e.g. Nathan for Natan’ēl, or Baruch, ‘Blessed’ (sc. of Yahweh).

In Dalil-(ilu)-Istar, Dalil is an active participle, while Dilil in the cognate form appears to be a substantive ‘worship’ for ‘worshipper.’ Heb. Delilā might appear at first sight to be a passive form; but this is not necessarily so, since, as G-K. § 842 points out, the form gātāl may result from an original active gāṭīl as well as from a passive gāṭīl. At the same time it is likely that the intransitive or passive meaning of the word (Bab. dālātu properly = ‘to submit oneself’) would favour the development of such a formation.
in which the hatred of Hera is the prime cause of the labours and sufferings of Herakles.

Possibly, though not certainly (since the incident is one which might very well have happened in real life; cf. p. 403), the story of Samson as a blinded captive grinding in the prison-house may have a solar significance, based on the fact that the sun, powerful as he is, yet covers the same beaten track day after day, and so may be conceived to be the victim of some external compulsion, which obliges him to perform the same allotted task daily without variation. If, as seems probable, the mill at which Samson grinds is to be pictured, not as a small hand-mill, but as a large mill which is ordinarily turned by an ox or ass which travels round and round in an unvarying track, the analogy is the more striking. Probably the same idea lies at the root of the story that Herakles was under compulsion to perform his labours at the bidding of the weak and tyrannical Eurystheus.

Finally, the account of Samson's death can hardly be dissociated from the solar myth. The point has been so thoroughly illustrated by Smythe Palmer (ch. xv.) that it is needless to treat it at length. By pulling down the western pillars which were thought to support the vault of heaven* (Job 26:11), the sun overpowers himself and the world with the darkness of night. The idea is aptly illustrated by Homer's description of sunset (II. viii. 485 f.):

\[\text{ἐν δὲ ἑπεὶ Ὀλυμπὸς λαμπρὸν φάος ἥλιον,}
\text{Ἥλιος νῦκτα μελαναν ἐπὶ ξείδωρον ἄρουραν.}\]

The red glow of sunset probably suggested the idea of a great carnage wrought by the downfall of the sky-temple; just as, in the Herakles-myth, it suggested the conception of the hero's glowing funeral-pyre on Mount Oeta. In the words of Smythe Palmer—

'We may suppose, then, that some such thoughts as these were present to the primæval gazer on the changing drama of sunset. See! the mighty sun has fallen! His enemies were too strong for him! In dying, he has dragged down the bright sky after him! The pillars of heaven are broken and darkness comes crashing down! But see! the place where he fell is red with the carnage of his foes! The clouds which obstructed him and exulted over him are ensanguined—involved with him in a common ruin!'

17. 1–18. 31. The story of Micah and the Danites.

The fact that this narrative is composite is very evident; and it can hardly be doubted that we have to do with two originally independent parallel narratives (so Vatke;† Ber., Bu., Mo., etc.), rather

* We may compare the pillars set up by Hercules at Gades, the westernmost point of the then-known world.
† To Vatke (Die biblische Theologie, 1835, p. 268) belongs the credit of first
than with a single narrative which has undergone extensive interpolation (Wellh.,* Kue., La., Gress.). It is not, however, always easy to disentangle the strands with any certainty, probably because the two versions of the story were originally closely similar in detail.

According to 17 1-4, Micayahu (םיכאיהם) restores the stolen silver, which is then made into a graven image (and a molten image). The idol (or idols) is placed in Micayahu’s own house. In 17 5, however, we are told that the man Micah (弭InRange a shorter form of מיכאיהם already possessed a temple (בית אלדוה), for which he made an Ephod and Teraphim, and installed one of his sons as priest. Here we note that the graven image and molten image of 17 3-4 stand over against the Ephod and Teraphim of 17 6; and the inference that the one pair may be peculiar to the first narrative (which we may term A), while the other pair is peculiar to the second narrative (provisionally called B), is confirmed, rather than the reverse, by the curious way in which all four are mentioned together in 18 14,17,18, and three of them in 18 80—passages which have all the appearance of having been filled out by a redactor. In 18 30-31 the graven image is mentioned by itself, just as it occurs without the molten image in 18 20; and this fact, taken in connexion with the fact that the verb רד the verb רד in 17 4 seems clearly to refer to a single idol, and not to two (graven image and molten image), suggests (as perceived by Mo.) that the narrative A originally referred to a graven image only, and that the molten image is a late interpolation, possibly made in view of the fact that the silver was handed over to a ‘smelter’ (╜תר). Further, it can hardly be doubted that 17 7-13 combines two accounts of the appearance of the Levite on the scene. In 17 7 he is introduced as ‘a youth’ (יתנ) who was a Levite, who happened to be sojourning ‘there’—i.e., obviously, in Micah’s village or the near neighbourhood of it. In 17 8, however, where he is termed ‘the man’ (יושב), he sets forth from Bethlehem of Judah to sojourn where he may find employment, and chancing to arrive at Micah’s home, he is hired by him as priest (vv. 8-11a). The terms in which Micah, in v. 10, invites the Levite to become to him ‘a father and a priest’ appear absurdly inappropriate if the latter was very young, as is implied by the term נדאר used in v. 7, which denotes little more than a mere boy.

perceiving that our story, as it stands, contains repetitions and discrepancies which are only to be explained by the hypothesis of the combination of two parallel narratives. He correctly perceived that the sacra are differently described in the two narratives, though erring in the supposition that the wandering Levite appears in one narrative only; his place in the other being taken by Micah’s son (ch. 17 9), who is the Jonathan of ch. 18 30 of the tribe of Manasseh. The general outline of the two stories is briefly indicated by Vatke, and not worked out in detail. Mo. (Comm. pp. 367 f.) gives a convenient summary of the analyses adopted by different scholars.

* In an appendix to Comp. 3 (pp. 363 ff.) Wellh. adopts the theory of two parallel narratives.
As a matter of fact, in v. 11b, where the term *nad'ar* is next used, it is stated that 'the youth' became to Micah 'like one of his sons.' We have here, then, a clear mark of differentiation. According to 17.11b, a youthful Levite of the clan of Judah [is adopted or hired by Micah] and becomes like one of his own sons, being installed as priest. According to 17.8-11a, a Levite from Bethlehem of Judah, of mature age, is travelling in search of employment when he receives an offer from Micah which he accepts (v. 11a), and takes up his abode in his house (v. 11b).* Micah then congratulates himself (v. 12) on having obtained the services of a *Levite*—clearly as opposed to those of his own non-Levitical son (v. 5). This last point indicates that 17.8-11a belongs to the narrative B, to which we have assigned v. 5; hence 17.11b.12a is to be assigned to A, to which it is quite suitable.‡.

We have thus accounted for the whole of ch. 17 except v. 6—a statement which, repeated as it is, in whole or in part, in 18.16, 19.13, 21.25, is clearly editorial, inserted for the purpose of explaining a condition of religion and morality which, from the editor's own standpoint, was a very low one. Whether this editor is the pre-exilic redactor of the old narratives (R1E), or the post-exilic redactor who added the Appendix (chs. 17-18, 19-21) to Judg., may be considered an open question. In the view of some scholars (e.g. Kue., Bu., Cor., Driver, LOT, Cooke) the form of expression used by the editor implies without a doubt that when he wrote there *was* a king in Israel, and that therefore his standpoint is earlier at any rate than the close of the Judaean monarchy. Such a conclusion is questionable. It is obvious that an exilic or post-exilic editor, surveying the course of Israel's past history, may equally well have drawn a distinction between pre-monarchic and monarchic times, regarding the former in comparison with the latter as an unsettled and disorganized period. Further, the occurrence of the statement in 17.6 is clearly called forth by the (from the editor's point of view) irregularities of cultus which the old narrative relates—the use of images, etc., in Yahweh-worship and the appointment of a non-Levitical priest. Is it likely that R1E, living, as we must assume, at or about the time of the idolatrous reign of King Manasseh, would have explained such irregularities by the fact that the kingship had not yet been established, regarding the kingship as a moderating and restraining influence, favouring a relative

* The reason why this half verse is referred to this narrative rather than to the other is that we are told in 18.16 that the youthful Levite had a house of his own.

‡ It is possible that v. 12a may belong to B, leaving only the words 'and the youth became his priest' to A. This is a point which it is impossible to settle decisively. The words 'from Bethlehem of Judah' in vv. 7, 8 belong to B; cf. v. 9b. A's description of the Levite's native place is given more vaguely in the words 'of the clan of Judah,' v. 7. We may infer, then, that the second occurrence of 'from Bethlehem of Judah' (v. 9) is redactional, in order to explain the reference 'from the city,' after the intervening words in v. 7 from A.
purity of cultus? Such a view is surely more closely allied to the constitutional and priestly aspect of religion which we see e.g. in a post-exilic writer like the Chronicler, than to the highly spiritualized aspect which characterizes prophetic thought in the seventh century B.C. Again, the position occupied by the statement in 21:25, rounding off a composite narrative which admittedly contains a large post-exilic element, suggests that it, like other redactional matter in the narrative, is due to R².

The explanatory note in 18:11:8 ('for there had not fallen, etc.') has the appearance of a late addition. 18:11a is naturally continued by 18:3. In 18:2b, however, the description of the spies who are sent out by the Danites is somewhat unwieldy, and may well be composite. Comparison of 18:11a suggests that the words 'from their whole number, men of valour' are alien to the rest of the description; for by their excision this latter tallies exactly with the description of the band of warriors in v.11a. In continuation, the words 'to spy out the land and to explore it' seem to be redundant by the side of the following 'and they said unto them, “Go, explore the land’’; and in view of the established fact that we are dealing with two parallel narratives, we may suspect that these are parallel passages from the two sources. The main strand of 18:2b is marked as B by its parallelism with 18:11a; and by the fact that it seems properly to be continued by 18:2b, which belongs to that source. Thus the two insertions, ‘from their whole . . . valour,’ ‘to spy out . . . explore it,’ are left by inference to A, to which the phrase ‘to spy out, etc.’ seems to belong in vv.14a.17a.

In 18:2b the spies arrive at Micah’s house and spend the night there; but in 18:3 it is when they are near the house of Micah (יהיMicah) that they happen to recognize the voice of the youthful Levite, and this causes them to turn aside thither (יהיMicah), i.e. arrests them on their journey, and turns them out of the way. Clearly, then, 18:2b and 18:3 are from different sources; and it is interesting to observe that the former is connected with B by the rather curious use of the prep. ה in the phrase ‘as far as (lit. up to) the house of Micah,’ exactly as in 17:8, 18:13b; and the latter with A by its reference to ‘the youth, the Levite’; cf. 17:7.11b.12a, 18:15.

The dialogue in 18:3b-6 may be suspected of containing elements from both narratives. In v.3b the final question ‘and what is thy business here?’ is perhaps redundant after the question preceding. If, as there is no reason to doubt, the first two questions connect with v.3a, and are addressed to the youthful Levite, they belong to A. The last question may then be assigned to B, from which, in continuation, v.4b seem to be drawn: notice in v.4 the reference to the agreement under which the Levite was hired to become priest, which recalls 17:10,13 (the phrase מורה is common to 17:10,13, 18:4b); and the reference in v.6a to ‘the priest,’ whereas in A the regular phrase is ‘the youth, the Levite.’
In the description of Laish and its inhabitants in 18, the words 'dwelling in security after the manner of the $idonians' are marked as alien to the preceding by the use of the fem. נִיוּרָא, which cannot refer to מַעַל 'the people,' but must presuppose a reference in its own source to נִיוּרָא 'the city' (fem.). It is also clear that the phrase 'dwelling in security' is superfluous by the side of 'quiet and secure' which follows. This latter phrase (תִּהוּ לַעַל שֵׁם הָבָה מַעַל) refers naturally to 'the people' (מַעַל masc.) of the early part of the verse; cf. לֵךְ שִׁלֹם וִיבָא מַעַל 'unto a people quiet and secure,' 27—a passage which, as we shall see, belongs to B. The remaining statements in the verse appear to belong to the same narrative; cf. vv. 10h. We may thus assign the whole of 7 to B, except the intrusive passage 'dwelling . . . $idonians,' which is presumably derived from A.

188-10 presents something of a problem. Most likely 'to $or'ah, etc.' in 8 belongs to a different source from 'unto their brethren.' The question 'What news have ye?' in 8 seems to demand as answer, not the exhortation of 8, but the statement of fact 'We have seen the land, etc.' 9a b. The proper continuation of 9a seems to be found in 10a, which gives a reason for the hortatory form in which it is couched; but 10b, 'for God hath given it, etc.,' which connects most lamely on to 10a, is admirably fitted as the continuation of 9b, 'be not slothful to go to enter in to possess the land.' On removal of this statement, 10b, 'a place, etc.,' falls naturally into apposition with 'the land is broad,' which, no doubt, it immediately followed in the original source. This division of sources yields us two narratives, each of which is practically complete in itself; as we may see by placing them side by side.

Our decision as to the sources is based upon the parallelism of the one narrative with 27a, which undoubtedly belongs to B.

1811-13 read as a single narrative; and this is marked as B by the recurrence of the phrase 'and they came as far as' (לִתֵּן) the house of Micah,' as in 17 8b, 18 2b. At the end of 12 the words 'behold, etc.,' which define more precisely the position of Maḥaneh-Dan in relation to Kiriath-je'arim, are probably a gloss.
In 18:14-19 we have a combination of two accounts of the theft from Micah's sanctuary. These seem naturally to divide themselves as follows:—

A

14 Then answered the five men that went to spy out the land, and said unto their brethren, 'Do ye know that there is in these houses a graven image? Now therefore consider what ye will do.' 15 And they turned aside thither, and came unto the house of the youth the Levite, and asked him of his welfare. 16 And the six hundred men girt with their weapons of war were standing at the entrance of the gate: and the five men that went to spy out the land went up; they went in thither, they took the graven image.

B

17 And while the priest was standing at the entrance of the gate, with the six hundred men that were girt with the weapons of war, 18 these others went into the house of Micah, and took the Ephod and Teraphim. And the priest said unto them, 'What do ye?' 19 And they said to him, 'Hold thy peace, lay thy hand upon thy mouth, and go with us, and be to us a father and a priest: is it better for thee to be a priest to the house of one man, or to be priest to a tribe and to a clan in Israel?'

Here we notice that v.14a and v.17a are connected by the phrase 'to spy out the land' (יָשִּׁבְךָ בָּשָׁם), which also occurs in v.2a, belonging apparently to the A narrative. Other marks of this narrative are 'their brethren' v.14, as in v.8; 'they turned aside thither' v.15, as in v.3b; 'the youth the Levite' v.15, as in v.3b; cf. 17a.11b.12a. The characteristic marks of B are 'the priest' v.17b.18, as in v.6a; 'and be to us a father and a priest' v.10, as in 17.10.

Further, it is not unnatural to assume that in v.17 the first object mentioned, viz. מָסָע 'the graven image,' is original, and that the others are redactors' additions; whereas, in the curious phrase of v.18 מָסָע לְפֶסֶל תֶּאֱנָה, which as it stands can only mean 'the graven image of the Ephod,' it is probable that מָסָע has been carelessly inserted by the redactor, and that the original narrator wrote רַעְשׁוֹ לְפֶסֶל תֶּאֱנָה. This conclusion, which has been adopted in the distribution of sources given above, thus apportions a description of the theft to each of the two narratives.

Besides the conflate allusions to the sacra in these verses and in v.14, we have assigned to the redactor 'Laish' in the curious expression 'the land Laish' in v.14 (Laish of v.7.27.30 is a city and not a land; and, had the name been assigned to the surrounding district, the phrase would have been שָׁם יִרְמַי 'the land of Laish.' In A the
spies explore 'the land' unnamed—cf. vv.6ab.17a; the city Laish belongs to B); 'the house of Micah' v.13a, explicative (from the redactor's point of view) of 'the house of the youth, the Levite'; 'that were of the children of Dan' v.16b—awkward in position and redundant.

On the removal of these redactional additions, the whole remaining text can be made, as we have seen, to fall into two narratives which read connectedly; yet there are difficulties in the apportionment of vv.16.17 which appear to be insuperable. Closely parallel as the two narratives doubtless were, it is scarcely credible that the phrase 'six hundred ... weapons of war' occurred in that form in each (vv.16a.17b); nor, again, that the phrase 'standing at the entrance of the gate' is common to both, referring in the one (v.16b) to the six hundred, and in the other (v.17a) to the priest. In v.17a the asyndeton 'they went in thither, they took, etc.,' is extraordinarily harsh in the Heb., and can scarcely be original; while in v.17b the construction 'וּלְלָע יִשָּׁש לֶבַע 'and the priest was standing ... with (lit. and) the six hundred, etc.,' though it is possible to justify it syntactically (cf. note ad loc.), yet imparts to the sentence an unnatural appearance.

We must conclude, therefore, that these two verses have undergone such an amount of alteration—probably owing to textual corruption and the introduction of marginal glosses—that it is impossible to ascertain their original form.*

18 20-29 shows no trace of the combination of two narratives. It is clearly the direct continuation of v.10, which, as we have seen, belongs to B. Notice, as a mark of this narrative, the repeated reference to 'the priest,' v.20.21.27. Redactional additions are—the introduction of 'and the graven image' in v.20a; the topographical note in v.28ab; and, probably, v.29 from 'after the name of Dan' to the end. The final statement, v.29, is framed precisely in the form of Gen. 28.19.

The two verses 18.30.31 have occasioned considerable discussion. Clearly, they cannot be the work of a single writer; since, while v.30, according to Β, speaks of the worship of the graven image as existing at Dan 'unto the day of the captivity of the land'—i.e., we must sup-

* It is possible, of course, by cutting out portions of vv.16.17 as marginal doublets, to reduce the narrative of the theft to a single account, which is then to be assigned to the source B. Such a measure is suggested by ג, in which vv.17,18 run as follows:—καὶ ἀνέβησαν οἱ πάντες άνδρες οἱ παρευθέντες κατασκευαζόντας τὴν γῆν, καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς εἰς οἰκον Μειχαία, καὶ ὁ ιερός ἑστώς καὶ θίαμα τοῦ γλυπτοῦ καὶ τὸ εφώδ καὶ τὸ θεραφεῖν καὶ τὸ χωνευτίν. καὶ εἰπεν πρὸς αὐτούς ὁ ιερός, κτλ. On the basis of this it is open to conjecture that B's account may have run ἡ ζήτησις αυτής καὶ τοῦ οἰκείου νεκροῦ τύμβου τῶν ἱεροτών καὶ τοῦ χωνευτίνος—cf. ג which offers the full text of Β.
pose, until B.C. 734, when Tiglath-Pileser IV. overran Northern Israel and deported the inhabitants (2 Kgs. 15:29; cf. Rost, *Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileser's*, pp. 78 ff.; Rogers, *CP*, pp. 320 f.). v.31 refers it simply to the period during which the house of God was at Shiloh—i.e. down to the capture of the Ark by the Philistines and the death of 'Eli, as related in 1 Sam. 4; after which we hear no more of the sanctuary of Shiloh, and are probably justified in inferring that it had suffered destruction (cf. Jer. 7:12, 14, 26:6, 9, Ps. 78:66ff.). Mo. refers v.31 to the narrative which we distinguish as A, and supposes that v.30 belongs to the other narrative, B, 'the graven image' having been substituted by an editor for 'the Ephod,' and the reference to the captivity of the land being also a late alteration (cf. *SBOT*). If, however, 'the Ephod' had originally been mentioned, it would hardly have been cut out of the narrative; the redactional practice in regard to the sacra being that of conflation, and not substitution.

The probable explanation of the origin of the duplication in the two verses is suggested by Kimchi's conjecture that 'the captivity of the land' refers to the capture of the Ark and its sequel, upon the basis of which Houbigant substitutes נַרְאָה 'the Ark' for נַרְאָה 'the land.'

'All the time that the house of God was in Shiloh' has been glossed by the explanation 'up to the day when the Ark went into captivity,' with reference to the narrative of 1 Sam. 4: cf., for the use of נַלְל 'go into captivity' in this connexion, 1 Sam. 4:21, 22, 'glory hath gone captive from Israel.'* If this is so, it is further probable that v.31a is a marginal gloss on v.30, offering the variant נַלְל 'set up' for נַלְל 'reared up,' and explaining נַלְל as the image made by Micah. The mention of the name of the priest—'Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses'—is undoubtedly ancient, and must emanate from one of the old narratives—presumably from the narrative to which 'the graven image' of v.30a belongs, i.e. A; but it is difficult to suppose that a fact of so much interest (the grandson of Moses) originally found mention at the close of the narrative for the first time. We should expect the Levite's name to have been mentioned at the point at which he is first introduced; and very possibly a trace of it may survive in the final words of ch. 17 (cf. *note ad loc.*).

We may then regard v.30 down to 'Danites' and v.31b as belonging to the narrative A.

Assuming the existence of a double strand of narrative in the story of Micah to be proved, the presumption is that the two narratives were derived, like other double narratives in Judg., from J and E respectively: yet, owing to the lack of phrases which might guide us

* Kimchi compares Ps. 78:61,

'And He delivered into captivity (יָדָרֶשְׁךָ) His strength,
And His glory into the hand of the adversary.'
in assigning either narrative to one or other of these sources, it is
difficult or impossible to pass any decisive verdict. The only really
characteristic phrase in either narrative seems to be לָשֹׁט וְלָּשֹׁט 'to spy out,'
which occurs in 18:2,14,17—passages which we have assigned to our
narrative A. This phrase is characteristic of E in the Hexateuch;
cf. Gen. 42:6,11,14,16,30,31,34, Josh. 2:1, 6:22,23, to which we may perhaps add
Num. 21:32 (E?). The verb is only found in J in Josh. 7:2. It occurs
again in Deut. 1:21, Josh. 6:20 (R), 14:7 (R'). Another point which
favours the assigning of this narrative to E is the fact that the
description of the circumstances which led to the making of the idol
in 17:2-4 is almost certainly intended to cast contempt and ridicule
upon it: cf. notes ad loc. A similar motive dominates E's narrative
of the theft of Laban's Teraphim in Gen. 31; cf. vv.34,35, where Rachel
conceals the idols from her father by sitting upon them. E's opposi­
tion to idolatry is well-marked: cf. the references to the putting away
of 'strange gods' in Gen. 35:2,5, Josh. 24:14-23, 1 Sam. 7:3,4.

As an indication that our narrative B is derived from J, we may
notice the way in which סֵפֶרֶא and אסְחָאֵל figure in this narrative
as the home of the Danite clans in 18:2-5, as in the Samson-narrative,
13:25, 16:31. The phrasing of 18:11 מִסָּחֲת הָוְיָית מַלְּאָרְנֶה מְמִשְׁפָּתָה לֵא אָלֶם מַלְּאָרְנֶה מְמִשְׁפָּתָה לֵא
is closely similar to 13:24 מְמִשָּׁפָת הָוְיָית מַלְּאָרְנֶה מְמִשָּׁפָתָה לֵא.

If the foregoing analysis is approximately correct, the story of
Micah and the Danites presents a combination of two ancient narra­
tives from J and E which were, in all essentials, strikingly similar.
The whole complexion of the story, in both traditions, is naive and
archaic. With the exception of E's account of the origin of the
graven image in 17:2-4, there is nothing in either narrative which
suggests disapproval of Micah's proceedings in establishing a private
sanctuary for the practice of an idolatrous form of Yahweh-cultus;
and this fact, together with the picture of the wandering Levite seek­
ing a livelihood as best he could, and of the movements of the Danites
in search of a new home in the north when (as stated in ch. 1:34 J;
cf. note) the pressure of alien foes rendered their earlier home too
constricted for them, bears upon its face the unmistakeable stamp of
historical truth, unmodified by the thought of a later age. The story,
then, may take rank with the history of Abimelech, ch. 9, as one of the
most ancient and valuable historical sources which we possess
dealing with the conditions of life in Canaan during the period of
the Judges.

If, as there seems to be no reason to doubt, the tradition which
makes the Levite a grandson of Moses is historical, and if, again, the
reference means that he was Moses' grandson in the literal sense,
and not simply a more remote descendant ('son of Gershom' being
used in the wider sense of descendant), then the narrative must ob­
viously relate to events which took place very early in the period.
covered by the Book of Judges. That this is so is favoured by the allusion to the tribe of Dan in the Song of Deborah, where it seems to be pictured as settled in its northern home in security, and so wrapped up in seafaring interests as to ignore the call to united tribal action issued by Deborah: cf. ch. 5 note. The Danites of Shorah and Eshta’ol, as they appear in the story of Samson, were probably a small remnant left behind in the ancient home after the migration of the main body of the tribe had taken place (cf. p. 339).

17. 1. E Now there was a man of the hill-country of Ephraim, whose name was Micay'hu. 2. And he said to his mother, ‘The eleven hundred shekels of silver which were taken from

17. 1. Micay'hu. Heb. מִיכָיוֹ הָעַיִם here and in v. 4. The form, of which מֵיכָיוֹה is an abbreviation, was perhaps originally used throughout the E narrative. Another form of the name is מֵיכָיוֹה, which occurs in Jer. 26 Kf. with reference to the prophet מֵיכָיוֹ "The form, of which מֵיכָיוֹה is an abbreviation, was perhaps originally used throughout the E narrative. Another form of the name is מֵיכָיוֹह, which occurs in Jer. 26 Kf. with reference to the prophet מֵיכָיוֹה."

2-4. The text of these verses in יִתְנָה is clearly disarranged; the disarrangement being as old as the Versions. In v. 2b the words spoken by the mother have fallen out (’ד כו אֶל הַמַּעֲרָה בֵּית חָוָא can only mean ‘and didst also say in mine ears,’ מַעֲרָה being regularly followed by the words spoken.* R.V. ‘and didst also speak it in mine ears’ is an illegitimate rendering: had this sense been intended, we should have expected מָעֲרָה for מַעֲרָה). In v. 3a Micay'hu returns the money to his mother; in v. 3b she declares her intention of returning it to him; and in v. 4a he returns it to her once more in order that she may hand it over to the silversmith. Bu. was the first to observe that the words of v. 3b ‘and now I will restore it to thee’ must be part of Micah’s speech in v. 2a. He places vv. 3b, 4a after v. 2a, and excises v. 3a as a repetition of v. 4a (in Comm. excising also the two words קֶנֶו אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרֵיה in v. 4b). The reconstruction proposed by Mo. seems to be superior to this, and has been adopted above. Mo. holds that the missing words of the mother's adjuration in v. 2a—which Bu. supposes to have been suppressed owing to the terrible character of the curse (but cf. note on ‘didst take an oath’)—are the words of v. 3a, which have been misplaced in the general dislocation of the text, and are there introduced by the gloss בֶּן אֱלֹהִים. He agrees with Bu. in placing v. 3b after v. 2a, and in regarding v. 3a as a repetition of v. 4a; but he leaves v. 4a in the position

* Ex. 19 25 יֵי וְאֵלֶּה is a very curious exception; and it seems probable that the words spoken by Moses have disappeared in the piecing together of the sources. In Gen. 4 8 יֵי וְאֵלֶּה, the words spoken by Cain, which are missing in יִתְנָה, are found in the Versions.
thee, concerning which thou didst take an oath, and also didst say in mine ears, "I do surely consecrate the silver to

in which it stands in ב, the fact that, by the removal of v. 3ba to v. 2a, the whole of v. 3 is accounted for, rendering the position of v. 4b before v. 4 highly suitable.

2. concerning which thou didst, etc. Lit. 'and thou didst, etc.' The Personal Pronoun of the 2nd fem. sing. preserves the more primitive form, קרי, which occurs elsewhere sporadically in O.T., and seems to be specially characteristic of the North Palestinian (Ephraimitic) dialect. Cf. NHTK. p. 208.

didst take an oath. Heb. יִבְשֵׁל. The oath was the solemn promise to devote the silver to Yahweh's service. Such an oath brought a curse upon the person who violated it, whether this were the maker of the oath, or any one else who misappropriated the consecrated thing. It was, no doubt, the fear of this curse which caused Micah to confess to the theft and to make restitution; and very possibly his mother may have suspected his guilt when she made the adjuration in his hearing. The verb יִבְשֵׁל invariably means 'to take an oath' before God (1 Kgs. 8:31 = 2 Chr. 6:22, Hos. 4:2, 104; Hiph'il, 'cause to take such an oath,' 1 Sam. 14:21, 1 Kgs. 8:31 = 2 Chr. 6:22 ת), and does not mean 'utter a curse' (R.V. text, Bu. *), i.e. 'curse the thief' (Mo. Comm.,† Cooke). Had such a sense been intended, it would have been expressed by another verb (킬ל or תָּרָר). The subst. יִבְשֵׁל, which means 'oath' before Yahweh, may be used in the sense 'curse'; but only of a curse which results from the violation of such an oath (different therefore from קָבָלָה, which is used e.g. of the curse of Jotham, ch. 9:27, and of Shimei's cursing David, 1 Kgs. 2:8).

I do surely consecrate. Heb. יָסָרְבּ הַנַּחֲלָה. The Perfect appears to be used in accordance with the idiom noted by Driver, Tenses, § 10, 'to describe the immediate past, being generally best translated by the present.' As the words pass her lips, she has effected the consecration. Cf. Gen. 14:22, 'lift up (יִנָּחְלָה) my hand to heaven'; 1 Sam. 17:10, 'I reproach (יִנָּחְלָה) the armies of Israel this day.' It is of course possible to render as an Aorist, 'I did surely consecrate,' i.e. in time past, prior to the theft; but it is more likely that the idea

* Bu. so far misunderstands the meaning of the verb as to suggest that the form may originally have carried an Accusative suffix יִבְשֵׁל, 'didst curse him'(!)

† In SBO T. Mo. brings out the correct sense by rendering 'didst make a solemn declaration'; though this is not so forcible as 'didst take an oath,' since it does not so clearly imply that a penalty was attached to its violation.
Yahweh from my hand alone, to make a graven image and a molten image."—E behold, the silver is with me; it was I that took it; 〈3h8, and now I will restore it to thee.〉 And his mother said, 'Blessed of Yahweh be my son!' 3. [ ] 4. So he of making the silver sacred to Yahweh occurred to her owing to its loss. If it was not found, she was under no further obligation, whereas the thief (as noticed above) would bring himself under a curse.

from my hand alone. Reading יִבְנָי in place of ה יִבְנָי with ג"א ל, לט, Mo, La. Mo. seems rightly to explain the point of the restriction implied by the words:—'No one else can fulfil the vow of consecration, and, by having an image made, lift the taboo from the rest of the silver.' In the phrase יִבְנָי יִבְנָי, the speaker says lit. 'the hand of me, in my separateness'—an idiom which is exactly paralleled by Ps. 7118 הָבָנָי הָבָנָי 'thy righteousness alone.' Bu.'s stricture that 'my hand alone' should be יִבְנָי יִבְנָי is therefore unwarranted.

יִבְנָי means 'for my son,' i.e. on his behalf, in order that he may benefit by the piety of the action. Assuming יִבְנָי to be a corruption of יִבְנָי, the reading can only have arisen subsequently to the dislocation of the text by which the mother's words appeared to be spoken after Micah's confession of the theft. The dedication is made in expiation of his guilt.

a graven image and a molten image. Etymologically פֶּֽשֶּל denotes an idol carved or hewn out of wood or stone, while מָסָּכָה denotes one which is cast of metal in a mould. In spite of its etymology, however, פֶּֽשֶּל may also denote a cast-metal idol (probably sometimes an idol with a core of wood or base metal overlaid with precious metal), as is proved by such passages as Isa. 4019, 4410 (where it is connected with the verb מַסָּכָה 'to cast'), Jer. 1014, 5117 (connected with סֹרֶפֶּה 'smelter,' the term rendered 'silversmith' in v.4 of our narrative). As has been shown above (p. 409), the original E narrative seems to have mentioned a single idol only, termed פֶּֽשֶּל, which was cast by the סֹרֶפֶּה out of the silver; but a later hand, taking פֶּֽשֶּל etymologically as a graven image, added מָסָּכָה on the ground that the context demanded mention of a cast or molten idol.

'with me.' I.e. 'in my possession'—an idiomatic usage of the prep. 'with'; cf. cases cited by BDB. s.v. מָֽסָּכָה, 3a.

it was I, etc. Heb. מָֽנַיהוּ לָמוֹ. Emphasis is expressed by the use of the separate Personal Pronoun before the verb.

Blessed of Yahweh, etc. The mother's blessing neutralizes the curse which would have resulted from misappropriation of the consecrated silver.
restored the silver to his mother. Then his mother took two hundred shekels of silver, and gave them to the silversmith, and he made thereof a graven image and a molten image: and it was in the house of Micah. 5. And the man Micah had a sanctuary; and he made an Ephod and Teraphim, and

4. two hundred shekels. We are not told what became of the remaining nine hundred shekels. Kimchi supposes that the two hundred shekels were merely the payment made to the silversmith for making the idol out of the rest of the silver; while Ros., Stu., Ber., etc., assume that the nine hundred shekels were devoted to the building and furnishing of the sanctuary. Mo. thinks that the woman was under no obligation to devote the whole of the silver to Yahweh—'The intention of the dedication was not to devote the whole of the treasure to the making of an image, but to compel the thief to restore it by putting the whole under a taboo until she herself had made, from this silver, an image of Yahweh.' This view is accepted by Bu., La. There is, however, much to be said for the view first put forward by Auberlen (Studien und Kritiken, 1860, p. 548), and adopted by Kue., that, after the woman had got back the silver through the expedient of consecrating it to Yahweh, her avarice caused her to seek to fulfil the vow by devoting merely an insignificant portion of it, and keeping back the major part. Cf. the parallel offered by the action of Ananias and Sapphira, Acts 5. Both mother and son are thus represented in an odious light; and it is wholly in the manner of the E narrator to make his point allusively (cf. Gen. 31:34,35), and not to labour it in a heavy-handed manner.

5. a sanctuary. Heb. סנה "house of God (or gods)." Whether this is to be pictured as a small shrine within, or attached to, Micah's own house (cf. the parallel narrative in v.4b), or as a separate building, is not clear.

an Ephod. Cf. the full discussion in note on ch. 8:27. Reference to the present passage occurs on pp. 240, 242.

Teraphim. The nature of the object, or objects, denoted by this term is highly obscure. That some kind of idol is intended appears from Gen. 31:30,32 E, where Laban accuses Jacob of having stolen his 'gods' (אֱלֹהִים); and that this was an image in human form seems to be clear from 1 Sam. 19:13ff., where Michal is related to have placed the Teraphim in David's bed in order to simulate him, and thus to facilitate his escape from Saul's emissaries. If the Teraphim of this passage was a complete human figure, we must infer that it was life-size; but the life-sized image of a human head or bust might have served Michal's purpose almost equally well. Laban's Teraphim, which Rachel hid by placing them under a camel's saddle and sitting upon them (Gen. 31:34 E), must, if they were complete human figures, have been much smaller. Like the plural אֱלֹהִים, the plural Tera-
installed one of his sons, and he became his priest. 6. If in
philim may denote one image (1 Sam. loc. cit.) or more than one
( Gen. loc. cit.; cf. the plural suffixes ליעים ... ליעים in v. 34).

It is clear that Teraphim were employed as oracle-givers. In
Hos. 3, as in our narrative, they are mentioned together with the
oracular Ephod; and in 1 Sam. 15; 2, 10; Ezck. 21 12, 26 7
with the form of divination called קדם, i.e., as we know from the
passage in Ezck. and the use of the root in Ar., a method of casting
lots by shaking headless arrows out of a quiver. It is possible that
the association of Teraphim with familiar spirits and wizards in
2 Kgs. 23, may connect them with the practice of necromancy. The
view that they were a form of household-god is based upon their
occurrence as the property of private individuals ( Laban, Micah,
David ); and many scholars suppose that their cult was connected
with ancestor-worship: cf. Schwally, Das Leben nach dem Tode,
p. 36; Stade, GVT. i. p. 467; Nowack, Hebr. Archäologie, ii. p. 23.
Very possibly they were identical with the 'elohim mentioned in the
Book of the Covenant, Ex. 21 8, 22 8, on which cf. Footnote, p. 330. *

The derivation of the word מְרַפְּחִים is obscure. A plausible sug­
gestion connects it with ר'פָחֵים 'ghosts' or 'shades' of the dead.
If this is so, the root of both is probably to be seen in Bab. раг or
רָפֹה, which is used of the sinking of the heavenly bodies into
the Underworld: cf. the use of Heb. נון in this sense in ch. 19 6.
T*raphim, then, like ר'פָחֵים, will denote, not the weak or flaccid
ones (as the latter term is commonly explained), but those who have
sunk down to or disappeared in the Underworld: cf. the use of the
שֵׁלט of раг in iv. 2 R. 30, No. 2, Obv. 24, 25, ( ilu) 研讨会 ir tab'ı
ŠU ana ir הית מלי, 'The Sun-god sinketh, the Sun-god sinketh,

installed. The Heb. phrase מִילָה יָד, lit. 'filled the hand of,' is
the technical expression for installation in the priestly office: cf.
(besides v. 19) Ex. 28 41, 29 9,30,33,35, Lev. 8 33 (all P), Lev. 16 32, 21 10

* The curious explanation of Teraphim which is found in the Jerusalem ת and
in Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer (early ninth century A.D.), identifying the object with
the head of a sacrificed first-born son, pickled in salt and oil, upon the tongue of
which was laid a charm written upon a thin plate of gold, and which was then
hung upon the wall, and worshipped and consulted as an oracle-giver ( cf. refer­
ces in Buxtorf, Lexicon Chald. Talm. et Rabbin., s. v. רָפֹה), closely corre­
sponds with the description of the rites of the pseudo-Šabians of Harrân, as
known to us at the period of the Mohammedan expansion ( cf. discussion and
authorities cited in Chwolson, Die Šabier, ii. pp. 19 ff., 150 ff., 388 ff.), and the
two cannot be independent: but whether the Šabian rites were of remote anti­
quity, and, if so, whether they had any connexion with the Teraphim-cult, is
wholly unknown to us.

† Here ŠU=tanut= 'repetition' (Br. 10840), indicating that the preceding
words are to be repeated, as in the Sumerian text of this bilingual fragment.
those days there was no king in Israel: every man was used to do that which was right in his own eyes.

7. E Now there was a youth J from BethleJ:iem of Judah, E of the clan of Judah, and he was a Levite, and he sojourned there. 8. J And the man departed from the city, RJE from BethleJ:iem of Judah, J to sojourn where he might chance: and he came to the hill-country of Ephraim, as far as the house of Micah, in

(both H), Num. 3 3 P, 1 Kgs. 13 32, 1 Chr. 29 5, 2 Chr. 13 0, 29 31, and metaphorically of the consecration of an altar, Ezek. 43 26 †. The expression is usually supposed to refer to the ceremony of filling the hands of the person to be consecrated with the choice portions of the sacrifice for a waive-offering: cf. Ex. 29 22 25, Lev. 8 25 28 (both P). These portions are called millhîm in Ex. 29 34, Lev. 8 28.

In Bab. and Assyr. inscriptions, however, the same phrase umâli kâta is used more generally in the sense of entrusting authority to any one, usually with some one of the gods as subject. Thus, e.g. it is said of Adadnirari iv. ša (iti) Ašur malkút lâ šânân umâli kâtuššu 'whose hand (the god) Ašur filled with an unrivalled kingdom' (KB. i. pp. 188, 190): cf. Muss-Arnolt, Dict. i. p. 542, where other examples are cited.

6. In those days, etc. On this statement as the work of the latest redactor, R P, cf. p. 410. The statement is no doubt called forth here to explain the (from the late priestly standpoint) grave irregularity of the appointment of a non-Levitical person to exercise priestly functions.

7. BethleJem of Judah. The modern Bêt-Laḥm, five miles south of Jerusalem. The definition 'of Judah' is perhaps intended to distinguish the city from the northern BethleJem of Zebulun, on which cf. ch. 12 8 note.

of the clan of Judah. The difficulty raised by this statement that the Levite was a Judaean by birth is discussed in Addit. note, p. 436.

and he sojourned there. Heb. תַּנּוֹשָׁם. The statement implies that he was enjoying the rights of protection extended to an alien gër or sojourner by the clan with which he dwelt. Cf. the parallel narrative in v. 8 אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶתְרָם יִשָּׁתָן. Considering, however, that in the present passage the words שֶׁנִּשָּׁתָן contain the identical letters of the name גֵּרָם Gershom (cf. the explanation which is offered of the meaning of the name in Ex. 2 28 J), and also that the mention of the Levite's name at the end of the narrative (ch. 18 20) and not at the beginning is very strange, it is possible that שֶׁנִּשָּׁתָן may be a relic of an original 'and his name was Jonathan, the son of Gershom.' Cf. Addenda, p. xx.
order to accomplish his errand. 9. And Micah said to him, ‘Whence comest thou?’ And he said unto him, ‘I am a Levite from Bethlehelm of Judah; and I am going to sojourn where I may chance.’ 10. And Micah said to him, ‘Abide with me, and be to me a father and a priest, and I will give thee ten

8. in order to accomplish his errand. Heb. נַעֲשָׂהֽוֹ אֱלֹהִים, lit. ‘to make (or do) his way.’ Cf. Isa. 58:13 מַעֲשֹׂהֽוֹ אֱלֹהִים ‘not doing thy ways’ (i.e. ‘thy wonted pursuits’—less specific, but yet parallel). Heb. derekh, which is frequently used in the sense of journey (cf. cases cited by BDB. s.v. דֶּרֶךְ 2), here seems to be used of the object of the journey, just as it is in ch. 18:6,8 (noted by Mo.) and, more generally, in Deut. 28:29, Josh. 1:8, 1 Sam. 18:14, al. The point of the statement is, of course, not that the Levite came to Micah’s house with the specific expectation of finding work there and nowhere else, but that up to arriving at that point he had not as yet accomplished the object of his journey, and so had it in view. The rendering here adopted is favoured by Mo. (Comm.), Ehr.

R.V. renders ‘as he journeyed,’ and so Mo. (SBOT.) ‘in the course of his journey,’ and this explanation is generally adopted: but it is opposed (if not precluded) by the facts that such a use of an Infinitive with ס is opposed by the facts that such a use of an Infinitive with ס is unparalleled,* and that the phrase ‘make a journey,’ though natural enough in English, is not found elsewhere in Heb.

10. a father. For the title as a term of respect, cf. BDB. s.v. בָּא, 8.

The מַעְשֵׁי addition at the end of the verse, מַעְשֵׁי מַעְשֵׁי, is clearly a corrupt duplication of מַעְשֵׁי מַעְשֵׁי at the commencement of v.11 (so most moderns); being marked as such by the repeated מַעְשֵׁי, and

* No. objects (against Mo., Comm.) to the explanation which we have adopted, and renders (in accordance with R.V., etc.) ‘auf seine Reise,’ asserting that תָּעַשֶּׁה is a gerundial usage of the Infinitive with ס, and should fall among the cases cited in G-K. §114. In the very miscellaneous list of cases embodied in this section, the uses of the Infinitive with ס may be classified as follows:—

Purpose (‘in order to’), Lev. 8:16, 1 Sam. 20:36, Ps. 63:8, 101:8, 104:14, Prov. 2:8; Reference or closer definition (‘as regards’ or ‘through’), Gen. 3:23, 18:10, 34:1,18, Num. 14:36, 1 Sam. 12:17, 14:28, 19:8, 2 Sam. 3:10, 1 Kgs. 2:20, 14:8, Jer. 44:1, Ps. 78:18, 103:20, 111:6, Prov. 8:31, Neh. 13:18; Consequence (‘so as to’), Ex. 23:5, Lev. 5:24,25, 26, Prov. 18:3. If, however, מַעְשֵׁה really means ‘in making his journey,’ such a usage of ס is circumstantial, and cannot be brought under any of the preceding categories. Such a rendering makes מַעְשֵׁה the equivalent of בִּעְשֵׂה (or, more properly, of בִּעְשָׂה or בִּעְשָׂה).
shekels of silver a year, and a suit of apparel, and thy living.' []

11. And the Levite consented to dwell with the man; and the youth became to him like one of his sons. 12. And Micah installed the Levite, and the youth became his priest, and was in the house of Micah. 13. Then said Micah, 'Now I know that Yahweh will do me good, seeing that the Levite hath become my priest.'

18. 1. R P In those days there was no king in Israel; and in those days the tribe of the Danites were seeking them an inheritance to dwell in; R P for there had not fallen unto them unto that day (a land) for an inheritance among the tribes of Israel.

2. J And the children of Dan sent from their clan five by the unsuitability of the verb to the context. The words could only mean 'and the Levite went,' i.e. 'departed' (cf. Gen. 18 33, 34 17, 1 Sam. 14 3, 15 27, al.). R.V. 'went in' (sc. to Micah's house) would require רָבַב at least. The words are omitted by E.

11. consented. On the usage of the Heb. verb הָדֵד, cf. ch. 1 37, note on 'persisted.'

13. Now I know, etc. A Levite as priest is regarded as highly desirable, but not as vitally necessary.

18. 1. In those days . . . Israel. Mo. refers R P's statement here to the close of the preceding part of the narrative, in reference to the (from the later point of view) ritual irregularities which are there related. His view is that 'Jerome erroneously joined the words to the following: “In diebus illis non erat rex in Israel, et tribus Dan quaerebat possessionem sibi, etc.” ; and was naturally followed in the division of the chapters which was introduced in the Latin Bible in the thirteenth century, and from it into the printed Hebrew Bible.' This conclusion is adopted by No., La., Cooke. It may be observed, however, that, while the full form of the comment concludes a narrative-section in 17 6 and 21 25, the shorter form (as in this passage) opens the narrative of ch. 19. It is not clear why the statement should not be intended to explain the independent and lawless action of the Danites as related in ch. 18.

for there had not fallen, etc. The subject of the verb is missing in בּ. We must supply יָדַע 'a land' with Stu.: for the constr. לְזֵרָה מַעַלָּה cf. Num. 34 9, Josh. 13 67. כֹּהֵן זָכָר וַאֲשֶׁר יָדַע קַלָּרוֹנָו י שֶׁ לְזֵרָה ... possibly presupposes a text in which לְזֵרָה stood as subject in place of בּ לְזֵרָה.
men E from their whole number, men of valour, J from Sor'ah, and from Eshta'ol, E to spy out the land and to explore it; J and they said unto them, 'Go, explore the land'; and they came to the hill-country of Ephraim, as far as the house of Micah, and spent the night there. 3. E When they were by the house of Micah, they recognized the voice of the youth, the Levite: and they turned aside thither, and said to him, 'Who brought thee hither? and what doest thou in this place? J and what is thy business here?' 4. And he said unto them, 'Thus and thus hath Micah done for me, and he hath hired me, and I am become his priest.' 5. And they said to him, 'Prithee enquire

2. from their whole number. I.e. representatives of the whole clan (its several branches). Heb. ę̀ṣótham means lit. 'their extremities'—a 'condensed term for what is included within extremities =the whole' (BDB. s.v. נְּפֶל). The idiom is well elucidated by Num. 22:41, 'and he saw from thence the uttermost part of the people' (נָקְסָה הַנַּחֲל), i.e. by implied inclusion, the whole of them. Cf. NHTK. on 1 Kgs. 12:31.

from Sor'ah and from Eshta'ol. Cf. notes on 13:26.
to spy out. Heb. riggêl is a denominative from régheîl 'foot,' like Lat. vestigare from vestigium. On the usage of the verb as characteristic of E cf. p. 416.

3. When they were by . . . they recognized. Heb. המה ברה מבת מיכה והפי he recognized.' The great emphasis upon the Personal Pronoun in each clause throws the two clauses into vivid antithesis, the object being to emphasize the circumstances in which the fact narrated in the second clause took place. This usage is very idiomatic: cf. Driver, Tenses, §§ 168, 169.

by the house. Heb. וְיָבַע, lit. 'with the house,' i.e. close to it. For this idiomatic use of the preposition, cf. ch. 19:11 ('near Jebus'), Gen. 35:4, Josh. 7:2, 2 Sam. 20:8, 1 Kgs. 1:8, al.

they recognized the voice. The view put forward by Stu. that Heb. קול, 'voice,' here means dialect, by which the Danites recognized the Levite as a Judaean and not an Ephraimite, is most improbable. The obvious meaning is that they happened to have known him personally before, when he was living in Judah. Cf. for the closeness of local association between the tribes of Dan and Judah, ch. 15:9ff.

and what is thy business here? Heb. והמה לָךָ what to thee here?'

5. Enquire of God. Cf. note on ch. 1:1. We note the fact that, while the Danites' request is 'Enquire of elohim,' the response (v. 6)
of God, that we may know whether our journey on which we are going shall be prosperous.' 6. And the priest said to them, 'Go in peace: before Yahweh is your journey whereon ye go.'

is 'Before Yahweh is your journey, etc.' Here, though the ordinarily unquestioned conclusion is that 'elohim denotes 'God,' and is synonymous with 'Yahweh,' the possibility presents itself that the two terms, as they stand, may embody a distinction with a difference. The reference of 'elohim may be to the Teraphim, regarded as the medium rather than the source of the divine response: cf. the use of ha-'elohim in Ex. 21 6, 22 8,9 (noted on p. 330), and Micah's reference to 'my gods,' v. 24 (cf. Gen. 31 30,32 E), as well as Bith- 'elohim, ch. 17 6, if this means properly 'house of gods.' If this be so, the force of the prep. ב may very possibly be 'by' or 'through': cf. Num. 27 21 P, 'He (Joshua) shall stand before Ele'azar the priest, who shall enquire for him by the judgment of the Urim before Yahweh' (יהואל ול בָּנֵי הָאָרוֹן לְפָנֵי יהוָה); Ezek. 21 21 (19 26), 'He (the king of Babylon) enquired through the Teraphim' (שהָל בְּנֵי הָאָרוֹן; here it is of course possible to render 'he enquired of the Teraphim'); 1 Sam. 28 8, where Saul says to the witch of Endor, 'Prithee divine for me through the familiar spirit' (כַּפַּרְעַנְיָא לְךָ בָּאָב), and, with reference to the same incident, 1 Chr. 10 13, 'and also, for that he (Saul) enquired through the familiar spirit' (לְפָנֵי נַפְרַעַנְיָא בָּאָב). Upon this explanation, the Danites say, 'Enquire through 'elohim' (or, vocalizing כַּפַּרְעַנְיָא 'through the 'elohim'), and the Teraphim, when thus interrogated, returns the answer, 'Before Yahweh is your journey whereon ye go.' Even with retention of the ordinary sense of sa'al ב, 'enquire of;' the primary meaning may be, 'Enquire of the oracle'—a sense which likewise implies that 'elohim is not identical with Yahweh, but simply voices His attitude towards the project of the Danites.

A distinction in phraseology, identical with that of our passage, is drawn in ch. 20 18, 'They enquired of (or through) 'elohim ... and Yahweh said': cf. also 1 Sam. 14 87, 2 Sam. 16 23.

6. before Yahweh. Heb. nôkha, rendered 'before,' means lit. 'in front of' or 'opposite.' So Mo., 'under the eye of Yahweh.'

* Here, whatever be the precise meaning of 'dbh, rendered 'familiar spirit' (on which cf. NHTK. p. 354; Driver, Deuteronomy, ICC., p. 225; T. W. Davies in EB. 1120 f.), it is clear that the enquiry is made through and not of the 'dbh. The response comes from the spirit of Samuel, and the 'dbh acts merely as intermediary.
7. So the five men went, and came to Laish, and saw the people that were therein, dwelling in security, after the manner of the Sidonians, quiet and secure, and there was no want of any. 

7. Laish. Heb. שֵׁלֶד means 'lion.' In Josh. 19:7 J the name is given as שֵׁלֶד Leshem—a variant form which ought probably (as suggested by Wellh., De gentibus et familis Judaeis, p. 37) to be vocalized שֵׁלד, i.e., שֵׁלד Lēshām, the same name as שַׁלְד with formative termination: cf. טַפְּמָה from טַפִּי 'ayit 'bird of prey' (so Gray, Heb. Proper Names, p. 93).

Eusebius and Jerome locate Laish or Dan four Roman miles from Paneas (the modern Bānyās) on the way to Tyre (OS. 114:26, 249:29), and state that it is here that the Jordan breaks forth (OS. 136:11, 275:33). The site intended is no doubt the modern Tell el-Kādy, an oblong mound, from the western side of which there issues a copious stream which forms one of the sources of the Jordan.* Jos. (BJ. IV. i. 1) knows this site as Daphne, and states that its springs, beneath the temple of the golden bull, supply water to the little Jordan, which flows into the great Jordan. This identification is accepted by Rob. (BR. 8 iii. pp. 390 ff.) and most modern writers. The Ar. name Kādy, which like Heb. Dan means 'judge,' may possibly offer a point of connexion. Smith (HG. pp. 473, 480) prefers to find the site of Laish-Dan at Bānyās,† on the ground that the meadows and springs of the upper Jordan could not be held against an enemy without also holding Bānyās and its castle; but, as Cheyne not unjustly remarks (EB. 997), 'From Judg. 18 we do not gather that Laish was a place of exceptional natural strength; its inhabitants were a peaceful folk, who trusted not in their fortress but in their remoteness from troublesome people like the Danites.'

_dwelling._ On the fem. form נַחֲלָה, as implying a fem. antecedent נִ ¥לְיָה 'the city,' in the source from which the extract is derived, cf. p. 412.

_in security._ I.e. without apprehension of danger from outside. Heb. נַחֲלָה.

_and there was no want... earth._ Reading נְאִיָּא מְסֹהְרוֹ קֵלְיָר בְּרָבָה as in v.10, with Ber., Bu., Mo. (SBOT.), No., La., Kit., * This stream has not been indicated in Map I.

† Theodoret (on Jer. 4:18) and Jerome (on Ezek. 48:18, and Am. 8:14) speak of Paneas as occupying the site of Dan.

Why Smith (p. 473) should say that Bānyās is 'scarcely an hour to the north' of Tell el-Kādy is not clear. His own maps, like the SWP. Great Map, locate it nearly due east.
thing (that is) in the earth, [and] they were far from the Sidonians, and had no dealings with Aram. 8. E And they came unto their brethren J to Sor’ah and Eshta’ol: E and their brethren said to them, ‘What news have ye?’ 9. J And they

Cooke, Gress., in place of קָנֵי הַמָּנָחִים דַּרְרִי בֵּית יָשָׁר. Here the curious קַלָּל מַרְרָה, which can only be understood as ‘one insulting (or humiliating) in a matter,’ very early caused difficulty, and was glossed by יִשְׂרָאֵל שָׁן נֶזֶר ‘one usurping coercive power’* (omitted by א) which has crept into the text of א. This explanation of the latter phrase as a gloss is simpler and more natural than the view of Bu. (based on א λυπονώμος θοσανοῦ, E ‘magnarumque opum’) that it is an integral part of the text, meaning ‘possessing riches,’ i.e. either יִשְׂרָאֵל or יִשְׂרָאֵל of which two readings א represents an amalgamation.

far from the Sidonians . . . Aram. Lying at the southern mouth of the valley which runs between the Lebanon and Hermon ranges, Laish was isolated from Sidon by the Lebanon range to the north-west, and from Aram-Damascus by the Hermon range to the north-east. The reading מַרְרָה ‘Aram,’ which is offered by א, א, א, א, א, א, א is adopted by Bu., La., Kit., Gress., and is undoubtedly superior to א מַרְרָה—‘had no dealings with mankind.’ The reference to Sidon requires a more definite antithesis.

8. What news have ye? Reading מַרְרָה מַה נֶזֶר, lit. ‘what is with you?’ with Wellh. (Comp. p. 365), No., Kit., in place of מַה נֶזֶר which offers an incomplete sentence, ‘What ye?’ For the use of מַה ‘with,’ cf. 2 Kgs. 3:18, Jer 27:18, where the word of Yahweh is said to be with a prophet, i.e. revealed to him; and the employment of the preposition in the sense ‘known to’ in Job 12:3, 14:5.

א, making the words part of the speech of the spies, renders καὶ εἶπον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν Τι ὢνεις κἀθησθε; i.e. ἡμῖν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ τί αὐτὸ θέλουν. Such an inquiry, however, is redundant by the side of מַה נֶזֶר ‘and will ye be still?’ in v.9, apart from the fact that we should expect מַה rather than מ. א, though agreeing with

* The subs. מַה is a διάξε λέγομεν, but the sense implied appears to be sufficiently guaranteed by the usage of the verb מַה.

† It seems probable that the narrator is thinking of the kingdom of Damascus rather than of the small Aramaean states in the immediate neighbourhood (Beth-rehbob and Ma’achah) to which Mo. alludes.
18. 9. [THE BOOK OF JUDGES]

said, 'Arise! and let us go up to Laish': for we have seen the land, and, behold, it is very good: and will ye be still? be not slothful to go in to possess the land. 10. When ye come, ye will come unto a people secure, and the land is broad: for God hath given it into your hand; a place where there is no want of anything that is in the earth.'

11. Then there set forth from thence of the clan of the Danites, from Sor'ah and from Eshta'ol, six hundred men girt with weapons of war. 12. And they went up, and encamped in

Ψ in making the words an address to the spies, yet, like Ε, has the reading καθώρετε; and Mo. deduces from this the possibility that μυσίν may be the corruption of an original καθώρειν—'What (news) are ye bringing back?' Bu.'s suggestions μνα[ν] τό τί 'What have ye seen?' or μνα[ν] τό τί 'What have ye found?' are improbable.

9. Arise! The sing. μακτ is used as a stereotyped interjection in place of the plur. (which appears in several Codd., probably as a correction). Cf. μακτ 'Come!'—originally 'Give!' or 'Permit!'—addressed to a plurality of persons, Gen. 11:47; μακτ 'Come!' addressed to a woman, Gen. 19:32; μακτ 'Behold!' addressed to Israel in the plural, Deut. 1:8.

let us go up. On the use of the verb ἀλα 'go up,' in the general sense of making a military expedition, cf. ch. 11 note.

to Laish. Reading μακτ with No., in place of μακτ ἀντίθε, 'against them,' the suffix of which has no antecedent. Ε ἐπ αὐτήν, i.e. μυσί, may represent the first stage in the corruption.

It is worthy of notice, however, that there exists a doublet in Εναι, ἡ (marked by obelus) which may possibly contain the original text. This runs in Εν as follows: εἰσηλθαμέν καὶ εἰμπερεπαθαμέν τῆν γῆν ἐως εἰς Δαυσα, καὶ εἰσομέν τὸν λαὸν τὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπ' ἑλπίδα κατὰ τὸ σύγκριμα τῶν Σίδωνιων καὶ μακρὰν ἀπέχουσα ἐκ Σίδωνος, καὶ λόγος οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς μετὰ Συρίας ἀλλὰ ἀνάστησε καὶ ἀναβομέν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὅτι κτλ. This is accepted as original by La. in the following form: Ναγιν την θέληκη μεταρι τού τιμίου τούτου καταβατίζετο ἄνθρωπος πολλοί καὶ παραδέχετοντο αὐτῷ ἡμίτοι αἰτίας ἡμῖν, in place of μυσί. μακτ. This provides us with the necessary antecedent to μυσί; but the passage is somewhat unnecessarily tautological after αὐτοῖς, and may have been constructed in imitation of that verse.
Kiriath-jearim, in Judah: wherefore that place was called

12. Kiriath-jearim. The name means ‘woodland-town.’ Eusebius places the city nine (OS. 271*9) or ten (OS. 234*91) Roman miles from Jerusalem on the road to Diospolis (Lydda). The site intended has been identified, since Rob. (BR.3 ii. pp. 11 f.), with Kuryet el-Enab (‘town of grapes’), or el-Kuryeh,* and the position suits the connexion in which Kiriath-jearim is mentioned in Josh. 9 17 among the Gibeonite cities Gibeon, Kephirah, and Beeroth; and also the description of the northern boundary-line of Judah as described in Josh. 15*9 ff., where, after running just south of Jerusalem to the hill to the west of the valley of Hinnom and north of the vale of Repha‘im, it continues in a north-westerly direction to the spring of the waters of Nephtoah (probably Liftā †), Mount Ephron (unidentified), and Kiriath-jearim (Kuryet el-Enab), where it takes a turn (JÔl v. 10) south-westward to Mount Se‘ir, and passing along the northern shoulder of Mount Je‘arim § where Chesalon (Keslā) is situated, it descends to Beth-shemesh (‘Ain-sems) and passes on to Timnah (Tibneh). Cf. also the description of the southern boundary of Benjamin in Josh. 18*14 ff. P.

* The village is often called Abū Ḍār after a celebrated family of bandits which resided there during the earlier half of the nineteenth century.

† The interchange between n and l, as seen in Nephtoah, Liftā, may be illustrated by Heb. nīkā and līkā ‘chamber,’ Heb. nāḥās (root of nāhās ‘serpent’) and lāḥās ‘to hiss,’ Bab. nēlu and Heb. līyās ‘lion,’ New Heb. nākat and Eib. Heb. lēkat, Aram. nēkat and lēkat, ‘to pick up,’ Heb. nāthan and Aram. nēthan and nēθāl ‘to give,’ Heb. ‘aimānā and Aram. ‘armēlī ‘widow,’ etc. The interchange is not confined to Semitic: thus the English Lincoln appears in Northern French as Nicole; level is from Old French livel, which has become niveau in modern French; lilac comes ultimately from the Persian lilak, a variation of nilak ‘blue,’ etc.

If, as seems likely, the n in Nephtoah is formative, and the root is pāţāḥ ‘to open,’ in the sense of an opening in the rock for the exit of water (cf. the use of the verb in Isa. 41*18, Ps. 105*41), the disappearance of the final guttural h in Liftā may be illustrated by the fact that both pāţāḥ and pāţā occur in Heb. in the sense of opening. Liftā possesses ‘a large spring and the stones of some very ancient buildings at the E. entrance to the village’ (Baedeker, Palestine,3 p. 16).

§ The hairy, i.e. scrubby, mountain (cf. Ar. ša‘ār, ‘tangled, or, abundant and dense, trees’) and the woodland-mountain appear respectively to denote the hill on which Saris stands to the north of the wādy el-Hamār, and the hill on which Keslā stands, south of the same wādy. Both hills are still covered by scrub and the remains of old woods: cf. SWP. Great Map, xvii., and Buhl, Geogr. p. 91. Baedeker, Palestine,3 p. 16, in describing the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem in the neighbourhood of Saris, says: ‘The hills are overgrown with underwood; besides the wild olives the carob-tree is frequently observed.’ Similarly, Macmillan’s Guide to Palestine,5 p. 15: ‘On either side of the road are rocky heights, with olive-trees occupying every point of vantage, and amongst them may be seen many carob-trees, conspicuous by their handsome dark green foliage. There are also several fine oak and terebinth trees.’
Mahaneh-Dan, unto this day: R\textsuperscript{v} behold, it is to the west of Kiria\textsuperscript{h}-je\textsuperscript{a}rim. 13. J And they passed on thence to the hill-country of Ephraim; and they came as far as the house of Micah. 14. E Then answered the five men that went to spy out the land R\textsuperscript{12} Laish, E and said unto their brethren, 'Do ye know

The rival identification (proposed by Henderson and Conder, \textit{SWP. Mem.} iii. pp. 43 ff.) is the ruined site 'Erma, on the southern side of the wâdy Šarâr about four miles east of 'Ain-Šems. This suits the proximity to Beth-Shemesh, which is suggested by 1 Sam. 6.20,21,\* but is irreconcilable with the description of the boundary of Judah as noticed above,‡ and (as Cheyne points out, \textit{EB.} 2680) is too near 'Sor'ah and Eshta'ol to suit the present narrative.

\textit{Mahaneh-Dan.} Cf. note on ch. 13\textsuperscript{25}.

to the west of. Lit. 'behind.' Cf. the phrase 'behind (i.e. to the west of) the wilderness' in Ex. 3\textsuperscript{1} E, and contrast the phrase 'in front of Hebron,' ch. 16\textsuperscript{3} note.

14. the land Laish. On Laish (the city) as a gloss inserted by the redactor of the two narratives, cf. p. 413.

\textit{Now therefore consider, etc. Verbum sap.} For the phrase, cf. 1 Sam. 25\textsuperscript{17}.

15-18. The two accounts, which are here interwoven, seem to have been further confused by later glossing (cf. p. 414), but the general situation is surely not so obscure as Mo. (who is closely followed by Cooke) makes out. Some difficulty is caused by the repeated reference (vv.16,17) to 'the entrance of the gate.' The term šd\textsuperscript{e}ar 'gate' is never applied to the door of a house; yet it is clear from vv.14,22 that Micah's house was one among a few others forming a small village, certainly not surrounded by a massive wall with a gate. Mo., while rightly remarking, upon v.14, that 'Micah evidently lived in an open village,' yet explains v.16 as meaning that 'the main body [of Danites] halted without the village,' and speaks later on of 'the armed men at the entrance of the village'—an expression

* The statement of Jos. (\textit{Ant.} vi. i. 4) that Kiria\textsuperscript{h}-Je\textsuperscript{a}rim was in the neighbourhood of Beth-shemesh is probably based merely upon this narrative.

‡ Leaving out of account the plausible identification of Nephtoash with Liftâ, the mere fact that Kiria\textsuperscript{h}-je\textsuperscript{a}rim occupies a position on the boundary-line between the valley of Hinnom (Josh. 15\textsuperscript{8}) and Chesalon (v.19) seems absolutely to exclude the site 'Erma. How could the line run from Hinnom to 'Erma (presumably along the upper course of the Wâdy Šarâr), strike north-east to Chesalon (Keslâ) at an acute angle, and then return south-west at a still more acute angle, over the shoulder of the hill on which Chesalon is situated, so as to reach Beth-shemesh? As a matter of fact, we are told in v.10 that, after reaching Kiria\textsuperscript{h}-je\textsuperscript{a}rim, the boundary (so far from striking north-eastward) turned westward (נָדַּב) 'towards the sea') to Mount Se'ir and Chesalon.
that there is in these houses an Ephod, and Teraphim, and a graven image and a molten image? Now therefore consider what ye will do.'

15. And they turned aside thither, and came unto the house of the youth the Levite, the house of Micah, and asked him of his welfare. 16. And the six hundred men, girt with their weapons of war, that were of the children of Dan, were standing at the entrance of the gate: and the five men that went to spy out the land went up; they went in thither, they took the graven image, and the

adopted verbatim by Cooke. Neither of these scholars explains what kind of 'entrance' he pictures an unwalled village as possessing; yet it is clear that the phrase 'the entrance of the gate' must postulate a real gate; and the natural inference seems to be that Micah, as a man of some position, had a house surrounded by a courtyard; and that it was at the gate of this courtyard, and not outside the village, that the men at arms were standing whilst their companions slipped inside (cf. La.). If this was so, the difficulty does not seem very great. The Danites might endeavour to distract the priest's attention by parleying at the gate, yet it would still be possible for him to observe the movements of the five spies, and to intervene with his feeble protest as recorded in v.18.

16. the six hundred men, etc. We must read מַלְפַּת as in v.17, in place of מַלְפַּת indefinite.

17. went up. The precise significance with which the verb is used is obscure. Ros. and Stu. assume from it that Micah's sanctuary was an 'aliyya or upper chamber on the roof of his house, to which the ascent would have been by an external staircase; but such an inference is precarious. It is not impossible that 'alā may be used simply of an aggressive entry, in much the same way as it is frequently employed of making a hostile expedition (cf. ch. 1 note), without implication of an actual ascent.

they went in thither, they took, etc. The asyndeton is very harsh in the Heb., and can hardly be the work of the original narrator. Wellh. (in Bleek, Einleitung, p. 198) and Bu. suggest that the two Perfects should be vocalized as Imperatives (and), and

* Whether the statement of Ex. 32:26 J that Moses 'stood in the gate of the camp' implies that the camp of Israel was surrounded with a zartaba or barricade with an actual gate is not clear; but in any case 'gate' by itself has not the same definiteness as הָעָפִּיס הָעָפִּיס, lit. 'opening of the gate,' in our narrative.

† Cf. Warren in DB, ii. p. 432a: 'In the villages there is usually a court attached to the house, in which the cattle, sheep, and goats are penned.'

§ Wellh. retracts this suggestion in Comp, p. 366.
18. 19. 21. 22. 23. THE BOOK OF JUDGES

Ephod, and the Teraphim, and the molten image. And while the priest was standing at the entrance of the gate, with the six hundred men that were girt with the weapons of war, 18. these others went into the house of Micah, and took the graven image, the Ephod, and the Teraphim, and the molten image. And the priest said unto them, 'What do ye?' 19. And they said to him, 'Hold thy peace, lay thy hand upon thy mouth, and go with us; and be to us a father and a priest: is it better for thee to be priest to the house of one man, or to be priest to a tribe and to a clan in Israel?' 20. And the priest's heart was glad, and he took the Ephod, and the Teraphim, and the graven image, and went in the midst of the people. 21. So they turned and departed, and put the little ones and the cattle and the goods before them. 22. When they were a good way from the house of Micah, the men that were in the houses which were near to Micah's house were called to arms, and followed hard after the children of Dan. 23. And they cried unto the children of Dan. And they turned their faces, and said to Micah, 'What aileth thee, that thou art up in arms?' 24. And he said, 'My gods that I made ye have that the words originally formed the continuation of the spies' advice in v. 14—'Now, therefore, consider what ye will do: go in thither, take the idol, etc.' This destroys the terse suggestiveness of v. 14 as it stands in 𝔅. We might parallel the asyndeton in narrative by ch. 20 31 (ה зрения), 20 48 (ו ה נ כ); but here again the originality of the text may be questioned.

And while the priest, etc. Lit. 'And the priest was standing . . . and these went in, etc.' For the construction, cf. Driver, Tenses, § 169.

with the six hundred, etc. Lit. 'and the six hundred.' The construction may be justified as an instance of 'view of association' (cf. BDB. p. 253a); yet it is not very natural, and tends to accent our suspicions as to the state of the text.

19. lay thy hand, etc. For the expression, cf. Mic. 7 16, Job 21 6, 29 9, 40 4, Prov. 30 39.

21. the goods. Heb. הנכ only here; but cf. the usage of the masc. רבד in Gen. 31 1, Isa. 10 5, al.

22. when they were, etc. Lit. 'They were a good way from . . . and the men that were, etc.'—a circumstantial construction similar to that noticed in v. 3.

were called to arms. Cf. note on ch. 6 34.

23. art up in arms. Lit. 'art called to arms' as in v. 22. The
taken away, and the priest, and are departed, and what have I
more? and how then say ye unto me, "What aileth thee?"
25. And the children of Dan said unto him, 'Let not thy voice
be heard near us, lest hot-tempered men fall upon you, and thou
lose thy life and the life of thy household.' 26. And the children
of Dan went their way: and when Micah saw that they were
stronger than he, he turned and went back unto his house.
27. And they took that which Micah had made, and the priest
that had belonged to him, and came unto Laish, unto a people
quiet and secure, and smote them at the edge of the sword,
and the city they burned with fire. 28. And there was no
deliverer, because it was far from Sidon, and they had no deal­
ings with Aram; and it is in the vale which belongeth to
Beth-rehob. 29. And they built the city, and dwelt therein. 30.
E And the children of Dan reared up for themselves
the graven image: and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of
Moses, he and his sons became priests to the tribe of the

passive verb, which seems inappropriate as addressed to Micah who
was the musterer, of course contemplates the whole company as
mustered.

25. hot-tempered men: Heb. ננוי מרי, lit. 'men bitter of
soul,' i.e. of fierce (or acrid, Mo.) temper, and so, easily roused. On
this use of the adjective mar, cf. footnote, p. 363.

27. that which Micah had made. Heb. אשר עשה מיכָה
without expressed antecedent. The reference of course is to the
Ephod and Teraphim of the J source; and Mo. is perhaps right in
his suggestion that these originally stood in the narrative, but were
omitted by the reductor of the two sources in order to make the
statement more general (including the graven image).

28. Aram. For the emendation, cf. v.7 note.

Beth-rehob. Cf. note on Rehob, ch. 1.31. 'The vale' (Heb. הָּהָּמֶק) in
which the city was situated is the broad plain of el-Bukā' between
the two Lebanon ranges.

30. Moses. מִן מַנְאָם, 'Manasseh,' with Nun ḫ'hyā ('suspended')
—a rabbinic device intended to spare the reputation of Moses by not
stating openly that he was the grandfather of a priest who practised
idolatry. The fact that the reference is really to Moses was, however,
acknowledged by early Jewish scholars: cf. e.g. the words of Rashi:
'Because of the honour of Moses was the Nun written so as to alter
Danites Gl. up to the day when the Ark went into captivity. 

And they set them up the graven image of Micah which he had made, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh.

the name. The Nūn, however, is suspended to tell thee that it was not Manasseh but Moses. The name Manasseh was explained as referring, not to the ancestor of the tribe bearing that name, but to the idolatrous king of Judah of the 7th century B.C., on the ground of likeness of character between him and Micah's priest: cf. Kimchi's remarks on ch. 17. Three other cases of a 'suspended' letter occur in the Heb. Bible, viz. Ps. 80:14, Job 38:13,16. In many Heb. MSS. and early editions נְנֹן is written without נון נַלְעָה. Cf., for a full conspectus of Rabbinic discussion on the subject, Ginsburg, Introduction to the Massoretico-critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, pp. 334 ff.

'Moses' is the reading of some QMSS., L, E, and appears in the conflate text of QMSS., ס. 'Manasseh' appears in QMA, ס'.

the Ark. Reading מַנָּסֶה in place of מָנֶסֶה 'the land.' The grounds upon which this emendation is adopted are explained on p. 415.

31. all the time ... in Shiloh. Shiloh is the modern Sêlûn in the hill-country of Ephraim, some nineteen miles north of Jerusalem and twelve miles south of Shechem. It appears in I Sam. 1-4 as the site of the House of Yahweh (I Sam. 1:24, 3:15), which was apparently not a mere tent but a solid structure (called הֶכְלָל 'temple' in I Sam. 1:3, 3:3) with doors (I Sam. 3:15) and door-post (I Sam. 1:9). This sanctuary had the custody of the Ark of Yahweh (I Sam. 3:3, 4:1ff.), having apparently succeeded Bethel in this capacity (cf. note on 'unto Bethel,' ch. 2:1). After the defeat of Israel and the capture of the Ark by the Philistines (I Sam. 4:1ff.) we hear no more of the sanctuary of Shiloh; and though the narrative of I Sam. draws a veil over its fate, the assumption that it was destroyed by the Philistines seems to be justified, both from the allusions in Jer. 7:12,14, 26:6,9, Ps. 78:60ff., and from the fact that the Ark, when restored by the Philistines, did not return thither but remained in private custody at Kiriath-jearim (I Sam. 6:20,21, 7:1) until brought up by David to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6), and that the principal centre of Yahweh-cultus in Saul's reign was not at Shiloh but at Nob (I Sam. 21:22).

* The passage in I Sam. 2:22 which refers to the sanctuary as 'the Tent of Meeting' is not found in ס., and is generally regarded by scholars as an interpolation: cf. NHTS. and loc.

‡ The view which has been advanced by some scholars that Jer. 7:12,14, 26:6,9 does not refer to the destruction of the sanctuary at Shiloh in 'Eli's time, but to a disaster (otherwise unmentioned) which was recent and still fresh in men's minds when Jeremiah wrote, is purely gratuitous. The deep and lasting impression which was made by the tragedy of I Sam. 4 is sufficiently illustrated by Ps. 78:60ff.
The meaning of the note of time 'all the time that, etc.' is very obscure. We can scarcely be intended to infer a coincidence between the cessation of the Dan-cultus and that of the Shiloh-cultus. The view of Ber. that the allusion is to the rough correspondence in time between the supersession of Shiloh by Jerusalem as the principal seat of Yahweh-cultus, and the supersession of Micah's image by Jerobo'am's costly golden bull and the merging of the particular cultus of the Danites into that of the northern half of Jerobo'am's kingdom, does not commend itself as at all likely.* More probably the reference is not to the cessation of either cultus, but to the fact that the establishment of the sanctuary at Dan was of the same antiquity as the establishment of the house of God at Shiloh.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEVITES

(Cf. ch. 17 note)

The terms in which the Levite is introduced in the story of Micah raise, in its most acute form, a difficulty with regard to the tribe of Levi which appears, on present evidence, to be almost insuperable. If Levi was, as is generally assumed throughout the O.T., in origin an independent Israelite tribe, possessing full tribal rights (the third son of Le'ah; Gen. 29 34), how can the Levite of our narrative be spoken of as having clan-connexions with the tribe of Judah (נַחֲלַת נֵיבָה)? The distinction between the Levite's position in Judah and in Ephraim is well marked; for it is stated that, whereas he belonged to the clan of Judah, he was sojourning merely in Ephraim, i.e. he was a גֵּר or stranger enjoying certain rights of protection whilst living with a tribe of alien origin to himself: cf. the similar allusion to the Levite of ch. 19 (sojourning in the hill-country of Ephraim). Hence it has been supposed by many that the Levites were in origin not members of a separate tribe, but a priestly caste marked out by a special ritual training handed down from father to son. This view is thought to gain support from Ex. 4 14 R̄, where Yahweh, in addressing Moses, speaks of 'thy brother Aaron the Levite.' Driver (Camb. Bib. ad loc.) remarks, 'As Moses, equally with Aaron, belonged to the tribe of Levi (Ex. 2 1), the term, as applied distinctively to the latter, must denote, not ancestry, but pro-

* Even if we assume the very doubtful conclusion that the establishment of Yahweh's seat at Jerusalem marks the close of the Shiloh-period, there still, according to Biblical chronology (cf. 2 Sam. 5 5, 1 Kgs. 2 31, 11 42) remains a difference of at least seventy years between David's bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem and the establishment by Jerobo'am of the bull-worship at Dan; or, if we suppose that the Jerusalem-period dates from the completion of the Temple in the seventh year of Solomon, a difference of at least thirty-three years,
fession.' He thinks (citing MacNeile, West. Comm. ad loc.) that 'there must have been a period in the history of the "Levites" when the term was "the official title of one who had received the training of a priest, regardless of the tribe of which he was a member by birth."' According to this view the name לְוִי is rightly connected in Gen. 29:34 J with the verb לָנוּ 'to be joined' or 'to attach oneself'; but originally in the sense of those who have attached themselves to distinctively priestly functions, i.e., as we might say, clerics as distinct from laymen: cf. the use of the verb in Num. 18:24 P, where they are spoken of as attached to Aaron for the service of the Tabernacle (תֵּבָנָה, תֵּבָנָה), and in Isa. 56:6 which alludes to the strangers who are attached (תַּחֲנוּן) to Yahweh to minister to him. The theory gains greatly in plausibility if we may assume a connexion between לְוִי and the term lawi'u (fem. lawi'at) which, according to Hommel (AHT. p. 278), is used in Minaean inscriptions to denote priests and priestesses of the god Wadd.

The outstanding objection to this theory, which has never been met, lies in the fact that in the (in the main) very early poem † which is known as the 'Blessing of Ja`cob,' Gen. 49, Levi appears as a purely secular tribe, and, together with Sime'on, is censured for some act of aggression and violence which is regarded as having brought a curse upon them resulting in their dispersion among the other tribes (קַרְכַּמְתֵּים). The event to which allusion is here made is naturally to be found in the treachery practised by Sime'on and Levi upon the Shechemites, as related in Gen. 34 (J and P combined), which may very well have led to such reprisals as decimated the two Israelite tribes and forced their remnants to seek a new home in other parts of the land. As a matter of fact, we know from Judg. 1:16,17 that, at a somewhat later—but still, very early—period, Sime'on is found seeking a settlement in the Negeb in the midst of Judah, with which tribe it seems ultimately to have become merged (cf. note on ch. 1:5). It is by no means improbable that the remnant of Levi may in like manner have sought a home in this region; and such an hypothesis would sufficiently

† Professor Margoliouth suggests (privately) the comparison of לְוִי with Ar. ولي, the ordinary Mohammedan term for a saint—properly one who is near to God, i.e. in intimate association with Him, from the root wala 'to follow after, be near to.' For connexion of wala with מָלֶא, cf. Ar. وَلَما, Heb. מַלְאָה, both in Pi'el with sense 'to enjoin'; Ar. وَلَهَا, Heb. מַלָּה, both 'to declare or reveal.'

‡ According to Skinner (Genesis, ICC., pp. 510 f.), 'the Blessing' is a composite production, the earliest portions (on Re'uben, Sime'on and Levi) referring to events in the remote past, and probably composed before the Song of Deborah; those on Issaehar, Dan, and Benjamin at any rate earlier than the establishment of the monarchy; while that on Judah presupposes the existence of the Davidic monarchy. The Joseph-section may be, in whole or in part, still later; but this is a very disputed question.
explain the fact that a Levite could be spoken of as ‘of the clan of Judah,’ much as the clan of Caleb came to be regarded as belonging to the tribe of Judah, though in origin distinct from it (cf. note on ch. i 12).

In ‘the Blessing of Moses,’ Deut. 33, belonging probably to the period of the divided monarchy, * Levi is regarded (in contrast to Gen. 49 6-7) as entrusted with priestly functions; but still figures none the less as a tribe, and on a par in this respect with the other tribes of Israel. There seems no good reason to doubt that there may be truth in the constant Israelite tradition that a tribe originally secular came at a particular period to be invested with such functions, though the tradition as to the circumstances which led to this may very well have fluctuated. † The one basic fact probably is that the Levites inherited the privilege from Moses, who, according to Ex. 2 1 E, was himself a member of the tribe, and who, in the only early account which we possess of the Tent of Meeting (Ex. 33 7-11 E), appears as the sole intermediary between Yahweh and Israel.

What, however, are we to infer as to the relative periods to which these events in the history of the tribe belong? To assume, as some scholars have done, that the Shechem-incident of Gen. 34, though placed by the narrator in Patriarchal times, properly refers to the period of the Judges, is surely very wide of the mark. In the first place, there is a sharp contrast between the antique tone of Gen. 34, in which tribes figure symbolically in the guise of individuals, and the vivid realism of the story of Abimelech in Judg. 9, which, while it also centres round Shechem, is as true to the life as any historical portion of the O.T. Again, while Gen. 34 brings Sime'on and Levi into connexion with Shechem, the Book of Judges has nothing in this connexion to tell us of these tribes, but pictures Manassite clans as occupying the district—i.e. elements of the Joseph-tribes concerning which tradition is strong that they invaded Canaan from the east under Joshua at some period subsequent to the Exodus from Egypt. Sime'on, however, is pictured, at the same period or earlier, as already settled with Judah in the south (Judg. 1 3-17 J); and a similar inference with regard to Levi may be drawn (as we have seen) from the genuinely old story of Judg. 17, 18, according to which the Levite was a native of Bethlehem in Judah, but a ger merely in Ephraim. Lastly, the whole tone of Gen. 49 6-7, which has nothing but a curse for Levi as a predatory secular tribe which, with Sime'on, is regarded

* Cf. the allusion to Judah in v. 7, with Driver’s note, ICC. ad loc.
† On the one hand, we have the tradition of Ex. 32 20 ff. (J and E combined), where the zeal of the Levites on Moses’ side as against the bull-worshippers appears as the cause of their selection; on the other hand the allusion of ‘the Blessing’ in Deut. 33 8 seems to point to a tradition which related the testing of the fidelity of the tribe at Maṣsah and Meribah (an explanation of the origin of these names different from that which is given in Ex. 17 7 JE combined, Num. 20 13 P). Deut. 10 8 alludes to the selection of the tribe by Yahweh for the performance of priestly functions without specifying the circumstances.
as a disgrace to its kindred, stands, as we have noticed, in striking antithesis to Deut. 33:8-11; and as surely as the latter reflects the work and personality of Moses and the priestly privileges conferred by him on his tribe, so does the former point to an age when the name and reputation of Israel's great religious leader lay as yet in the bosom of the future.

If, where all is vague and uncertain, it be possible to bridge the gulf between the secular and sacred tribe of Levi by a structure of which the outlines appear to offer an approximation to reality, we may picture the Joseph-tribes as already settled in Egypt, possibly for a considerable period, while the Le'ah-clans of Sime'on and Levi—which, after expulsion from central Canaan, have, together with clans of Judah, settled in the far south, in close contact, and on amicable terms, with their North Arabian neighbours—move across the Egyptian frontier in time of drought and famine with that ease with which we gather from Egyptian inscriptions that Semitic Bedawin tribes were admitted even after the fall of the Hyksos and under the restored Theban aristocracy of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.* This would account for the birth of Moses of Levitical parents in Egypt, and the subsequent events through which he escapes from Egypt as a political refugee and settles in Midian, receives a revelation at Sinai, leads the tribes out of Egypt, and conducts them to the scene of the Theophany, which lay probably in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-Barnea, south of the Negeb, which seems to

* Cf. the two Egyptian inscriptions given by Breasted, *AR*. iii. §§ 10 ff., 636 ff. The first of these is attached to a mutilated relief depicting officials receiving instruction as to the reception of Asiatic refugees who, in time of distress, petition for a home in the domain of Pharaoh after the manner of your fathers' fathers since the beginning.' This, according to the inscription, is granted by Pharaoh. This inscription belongs to the reign of Haremheb, the first king of the Nineteenth dynasty; or possibly, as Breasted prefers to think, to one of the later kings of the Eighteenth dynasty under whom Haremheb held the position of general. The second inscription, which belongs to the reign of Minepetch of the Nineteenth dynasty (the assumed Pharaoh of the Exodus: cf. *Intro.*, p. civ), is a letter from a frontier-official in which he informs his superior that certain Edomite Bedawin have been allowed to pass the frontier and pasture their flocks in the Wady Tumilat close to Pithom, *i.e.* in the district of Goshen.

That Sime'on at any rate joined the Joseph-tribes at a subsequent period is perhaps to be inferred from the tradition embodied in Gen. 42:34,36 E.

† The story of Moses' escape to Midian, where he marries the daughter of a Midianite chieftain and settles down for a time, is remarkably paralleled by the Egyptian tale of Sinuhe, who was a political exile in the reign of Sesostris I. of the Twelfth dynasty, some 700 years earlier. Sinuhe escapes from Egypt to a region in or near Canaan, and is hospitably received by the local sheikh, whose daughter he eventually marries and becomes himself a sheikh of the tribe for some years, after which he returns, like Moses, to Egypt. Cf. Breasted, *AR*. i. §§ 486 ff.; Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 68 ff.; Alan Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (translation pp. 158 ff.). The parallel shows how well within the range of historical probability the Biblical story lies.
have formed their headquarters during the wilderness-period (cf. pp. 109 ff.).

Here we find him, according to the oldest tradition (cf. especially Ex. 18.14ff., 33.7-11 E) occupying the position of supreme, or rather sole, exponent of religion as intermediary between Yahweh and Israel. Nothing, according to this tradition, is said of any participation by Aaron in these priestly functions—still less of his occupying the supreme position in the priesthood. In the only instance, indeed, in which Aaron is brought into connexion with the Tent of Meeting in the old narrative, he goes there with Miriam to receive a sentence of condemnation and rebuke for having ventured to speak against Moses, who is specified as God's servant with whom He is accustomed to speak mouth to mouth (Num. 12 E). In view of these facts, it at once becomes obvious that, in the expression 'thy brother Aaron the Levite' of Ex. 4.14 J, which came under discussion at the beginning of this note, either the specification 'the Levite' does not distinctively denote priestly profession, or if (as seems more likely) it does do so, it must represent the later point of view, according to which Aaron and not Moses was the priest par excellence, and so is without value as regards any bearing upon the question of the origin of the Levites.

It seems not unlikely that, after a period spent in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-Barnea' (the wilderness-sojourn), while the Joseph-tribes eventually broke off from this centre, and travelled round the land of Edom in order to enter Canaan from the east of Jordan, bearing with them the Ark of Yahweh with its priestly (Levitical) caretakers, the main part of the tribe of Levi, which, ex hypothesi, had even prior to the Exodus possessed associations with the North Arabian clans (subsequent elements of the tribe of Judah) inhabiting the region south of the Negeb, preferred to throw in its lot with these Judaean clans, and so moved up northward with them at their conquests in the Negeb and the hill-country beyond it, which came later on to be known as the heritage of the tribe of Judah (cf. Addit. note, p. 44).

This theory appears satisfactorily to account for the tribal connexion of the Levites with Judah, as found e.g. in Judg. 17.7ff., 19.1. It also offers an explanation of the story of the golden bull in Ex. 32, in which (at any rate in the form of the narrative which has come down to us) Aaron appears in an unfavourable light as the maker of the image, and the Levites in a favourable light as uncompromising adherents to the pure form of Yahweh-worship. The inference lies near to hand that the narrative, in its present form, was intended as a polemic against the bull-worship of the Northern kingdom.*

* The narrative of Ex. 32 is composite, vv. 1-6,15-24,25 being assigned to E, and vv. 25-34 (in which the Levites figure as champions on Moses' side against the idolatry) to J; while vv. 9-14 exhibit marks of a later hand, and are usually attributed to the redactor RJE. Both J and E (written from the standpoint of the
words, 'These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt' (Ex. 32:4) are identically the same as are put into the mouth of Jerobo'am in 1 Kgs. 12:28, in the account of this king's institution of the bull-worship at Bethel and Dan. As spoken by Jerobo'am, the plural 'gods' naturally refers to the two images of Bethel and Dan: but in the Exodus-narrative it is difficult, if not impossible, to justify the plural as applied to the single image. If, then, at the period at which the story of Ex. 32 took shape, 'Aaron' stands as the representative of the bull-worship of the Northern kingdom, we may infer that 'the sons of Levi' are the priestly families of the kingdom of Judah, who are the champions of a purer form of cultus.* It seems to follow that, while the 'sons of Aaron' were connected with the early sanctuaries of the Joseph-tribes, Bethel, Shiloh, and Nob, the main Levite stock supplied the priestly needs of Judah in the days when this tribe lived in comparative isolation from the central and northern Israelite tribes;‡ though single Levites might wander northward in search of a livelihood, through exercise of the priestly functions which they were fitted to discharge by birth as well as by training.§

prophetic schools of the two kingdoms) are keenly antipathetic to the bull-worship. It is possible, however, 'that — although Jerobo'am himself appointed non-Levitical priests (1 Kgs. 12:31) — there may have been among the priests of the calves some who traced their ancestry to Aaron, and claimed him as the founder of the calf-worship in Israel. If this were the case, it would make Aaron's condemnation the more pointed' (Driver, Camb. Bib. ad loc.).

* Jerobo'am's appointment of non-Levitical priests to his newly equipped sanctuaries (1 Kgs. 12:31) may have been dictated by political motives, owing to the close association of the Levites with the tribe of Judah.

‡ It is worthy of notice that, though Samuel, who was an Ephraimite, held a position at the sanctuary at Shiloh which we might have expected a Levite to fill, he is nowhere termed a Levite; and this is surely a very surprising fact upon the assumption that the term 'Levite' denotes official and not tribal status. His example goes to prove that in northern Israel at that period it was not deemed necessary that a priestly official should be a Levite by birth, rather than that a man trained for the priesthood, whatever his tribe, ipso facto became a Levite by profession.

§ If, as we have assumed, the remnant of the tribe of Levi found in early times a home among the North Arabian (Judaeans) clans to the south of the Negeb; and if, again, members of this tribe came to adopt a wandering life in search of a livelihood as priests; is it beyond the range of possibility that some of them may have migrated southward into Arabia, and may thus account for the use of the term lawi'ān to denote a priest, which we have noticed as occurring in the Minaean inscriptions from el-'Olā?
19. 1—21. 25. The outrage at Gibe'ah, with its consequences.


In ch. 19 signs of duplication in the narrative are evident in vv. 1-16—most strikingly in the speech of v. 9b, where repetition of statement is combined with variation in number, the speaker using the plural in one set of clauses and the singular in the other: 'Behold, prithee, the day hath waned toward evening; prithee stay ye the night; and ye shall arise early to-morrow for your journey.'

'Behold the day hath closed in; stay thou the night here, and let thy heart be merry ... and thou shalt depart to thy home.'

In vv. 4a, 9b the expression 'his father-in-law, the damsel's father,' is inelegantly redundant; and we observe that, while the former designation stands alone in v. 7b, the latter so stands in vv. 3b, 6b, 8. The expression 'the damsel's father' (predicating no position of relationship to the husband on the father's part) is suitable to the damsel's position as concubine merely and not a full wife; whereas the term hothen 'father-in-law' seems (at any rate to us) somewhat surprising in such a connexion, and it is reasonable to infer that it may belong to a version of the story in which the girl held the full status of a wife. Possibly a trace of this may be found in the statement of v. 1b, 'he took to him a wife, a concubine,' where לַעֲבֹר may be derived from one narrative, and לִשְׁלֹל from the other.* Further, the father's offers of hospitality are couched in two different phrases, each of which occurs twice—'Strengthen thine heart,' vv. 5b, 8a (in each case put into the mouth of 'the damsel's father'); 'Let thine heart be merry,' vv. 6b, 9b. We may notice also v. 2b 'some time, four months'—a double (indefinite and definite) note of time (cf. note ad loc.); v. 4b, 'he abode with him three days,' but v. 4h, 'and they stayed the night there'—i.e. apparently, the first night; 'they (he) arose early in the morning,' vv. 5a, 8a (cf. v. 8b), beside 'the man (he) rose up to depart,' vv. 6a, 7a; 'he came over against Jebus,' v. 10b, but 'they were near Jebus,' v. 11a, as though the proximity to this city were now mentioned for the first time; in v. 12b the man specifies Gibe'ah as the place at which they will spend the night, but in v. 13 he again speaks (without any intervening response from his lad), and proposes Gibe'ah or Ramah (here it is clear that, while the response to v. 11 is contained in v. 12, v. 13—alien to this account—is continued by v. 14, the question 'Gibe'ah or Ramah?'

* This inference is of course precarious. לֶגֶת may be a compound term 'concubine-wif6e' (or simply 'concubine-woman,' like נָשִּׁי prophetess-woman, ch. 4): cf. נָשִּׁי 2 Sam. 15, 20.
being settled by the sun’s disappearance whilst they are ‘alongside of’ the former city).

On the basis of these facts, we may make (somewhat tentatively) the following distribution. To the main narrative may be assigned v.1b (omitting נא ‘wife’); vv.2.3 (omitting ‘four months’ in v.2b); ‘the damsel’s father’ in v.4a; v.4b; ‘and they arose early in the morning’ in v.6a; v.6b (except ‘unto his son-in-law’); v.6 (except ‘and let thine heart be merry’); v.7b; v.8 (except ‘on the fifth day’); v.9a; in v.9b ‘the damsel’s father,’ and the portions of the speech which are addressed to a plurality of persons (as noted above); vv.10b.11.12.15.

This narrative, which runs almost continuously, seems to bear clear indications that it is derived from J. We may notice the use of תי אולק ‘to meet’ in v.8b of going to welcome a guest, as in the J passages Gen. 18.13, 19.1, 29.13; מוער לבר ‘strengthen thine heart with a morsel of bread,’ v.5 (so v.8 without תי אולק), which closely resembles Gen. 18.8 J, אוסח האל תיה דורי לכב ‘and let me take a morsel of bread, and strengthen ye your hearts’; the immediately following תי אולק ‘and afterward ye shall depart,’ compared with תי אולק ‘afterward ye shall pass on’ which immediately follows in Gen. 18.6 (cf. also תי אולק Gen. 24.65 J); the use of הלאמה תי ‘tarry’ or ‘delay,’ v.8, as in Gen. 19.10, 43.10, Ex. 12.38, all J; והשכחתה מתח לרכב ‘and ye shall arise early for your journey,’ v.9, as in Gen. 19.2 J, והשכחתה והלאמה לרכב ‘and ye shall arise early, and shall depart for your journey.’ The phrase of v.11ב ייבתי כור ‘in the farthest parts (lit. sides or flanks) of the hill-country of Ephraim’ (so also in v.19) is most easily explicable from a Judaean point of view.

This J narrative is continued by the remainder of the chapter, which reads as a single continuous narrative. Points which connect vv.16-21 with J are as follows: אני אעש ‘and he lifted up his eyes and saw;’ v.17, as in Gen. 13.10, 18.2, 24.63, 33.1, 43.20, Josh. 5.13, all J, as against Gen. 22.4.13 E; תקול ‘whither goest thou?’ v.17, as in Gen. 16.8, 32.17 (מ.18) J; אתון ‘whence comest thou?’ as in ch. 17.9 J, cf. Gen. 29.1, 42.7 J (Josh. 9.8 doubtful, but assigned to J by Holzinger); אוסח האל ‘both straw and provender,’ v.19, exactly as in Gen. 24.25 J, whilst the two substantives are similarly coupled in Gen. 24.32 J, and the remaining occurrences of אוסח האל ‘provender’ (Gen. 42.27, 43.21) are confined to this document; use of ל ... ל ‘both ... and,’ v.19, cf. CH. J No. 11; use of שי ‘there is,’ v.19 twice, cf. CH. J No. 84; אני אעש ‘there is no want of anything,’ v.19, as in ch. 18.7.10 J; בחרו אתו ‘only do not spend the night in the market-place,’ v.20, cf. Gen. 19.2 J, בחרו אלה ‘we will spend the night in the market-place;’ אושרו והנו ‘and they washed
their feet,' v.21, cf. Gen. 18 4, 19 2, 24 32, 43 31 (all J).* The account of the outrage, vv. 22ff., is parallel phrase by phrase with Gen. 19 4ff. J in so remarkable a manner as to compel the conclusion that one narrative must have been deliberately modelled on the other. The action taken by the Levite after his return home is strikingly paralleled by Saul's action when summoning the tribes to the assistance of Jabesh of Gile'ad, 1 Sam. 11 J. The closeness of verbal coincidence is exhibited in the comparison which follows:—

Judg. 19. They were making merry, when behold the men of the
Gen. 19. They had not yet lain down, when the men of the

Judg. 19. city, base fellows, surrounded the house (נְבֵר אַתָּה בִּית)
Gen. 19. city, the men of Sodom, surrounded the house (נְבֵר עַל בִּית)

Judg. 19. . .
Gen. 19. . . 5 'Where are the men who came unto thee to-night?

Judg. 19. 'Bring forth the man who came unto thine house, that we
Gen. 19. 'Bring them forth unto us that we

Judg. 19. may know him.' 2a And the man, the owner of the house,
Gen. 19. may know them.' 6 And Lot

Judg. 19. went forth unto them, and said unto them, 'Nay, my
Gen. 19. went forth unto them, . .7 and said, 'Nay, my

Judg. 19. brethren, do not act wickedly, I pray you. 21 Behold,
Gen. 19. brethren, do not, I pray you, act wickedly. 8 Behold, now,

Judg. 19. my daughter, who is a virgin, and his
Gen. 19. I have two daughters who have not known a man;

Judg. 19. concubine; let me, pray, bring them forth and humble
Gen. 19. let me, pray, bring them forth unto you,

Judg. 19. ye them, and do to them that which is good in
Gen. 19. and do to them according to that which is good in

Judg. 19. your sight; but to this man ye shall not do a thing of this
Gen. 19. your sight; only to these men do not do a thing

Judg. 19. wantonness, 2b inasmuch as this man hath entered into my
Gen. 19. forasmuch as they have entered into the

Judg. 19. house.' . .
Gen. 19. shadow of my roof.' . .

* One characteristic E phrase, דְּרָכַת מַעֲשַׂי 'thy handmaid,' is to be noted in v. 19. J's ordinary expression in this sense is נְבֵר בִּית.
And he entered into his house, and took a knife, and took a yoke of oxen,

And he took a yoke of oxen, and held of his concubine, and cut her up limb by limb, and cut them up,

And he took a yoke of oxen, and held of his concubine, and cut her up limb by limb, and cut them up, and sent her through the border of Israel, and sent them throughout all the border of Israel.

And all the children of Israel came out (or were called to arms) like one man.

The second narrative in vv. 116 is fragmentary, and seems to have been used merely as a supplement. It may be traced in the use of הָות 'wife'; v. 1b; 'four months,' v. 2b; v. 4a (except 'the damsel's father'); v. 6a (except 'and they arose early in the morning'); 'and let thine heart be merry' in v. 6b; v. 7a; v. 9a, and the parts of the speech in v. 6b in which the man is addressed in the singular (as noted above); vv. 10a, 13, 14. Since the other narrative has been identified as J, it is natural to infer that the present narrative may be derived from E, though there occur no characteristic E phrases to substantiate this view. It may be noted, however, that Hosea', in alluding (9, 10) to 'the days of Gibe'ah' as marking the depth of depravity to which Israel was capable of sinking, appears to have this narrative in mind,* and also to assume that so allusive a reference will be sufficient to recall it to those for whom he is writing; and, if this is so, we must conclude that the story formed part of the historical tradition of the Northern Kingdom, whether in written (E) or oral form.

Redactional links, supplied by R1E, are probably to be seen in the words 'unto his son-in-law,' v. 5a, an explicative addition to J suggested by הֶוֹנַי 'his father-in-law' of E; 'on the fifth day,' v. 8, with back-reference to v. 6a. Lastly, v. 1a is obviously from the same hand as 17, 18, 21, 25, viz. R'.

Passing on to chs. 20, 21, we are confronted by a far more intricate problem. In ch. 19 the story, as we have it from J and (so far as we can judge from its fragmentary remains) in the parallel source which we have assigned to E, bears at least a superficial appearance of

* This is the only natural explanation of the allusion: cf. Cheyne's note (Camb. Bib. ad loc.): 'The prophet's language is correct from his own point of view. True, Israel as a people took summary vengeance on the Benjaminites for the outrage of Gibe'ah. But the seed of wickedness remained, and developed into evil practices worthy only of the Gibe'ah of old.' The interpretation of ה on Hos. 10 finds reference to the election of Saul as king; and this explanation has been revived by Wellh., Comp. p. 233, n 1; Stade, GVI. i. p. 580; Nowack, Handkommentar, ad loc.; but it cannot be regarded as at all plausible. Cf. the discussion by Mo., Comm. pp. 405 f.
antiquity, and might, for ought that tells to the contrary, be assumed to embody a genuinely historical tradition. In chs. 20, 21, the whole atmosphere of the story is different. The tribes of Israel, when in receipt of the Levite's gruesome summons, assemble 'as one man' (20:1-3, 11) and form themselves into ha-'el'dhah 'the congregation' (20:1, 21:10, 13, 16)—a term which, in this connotation, is elsewhere characteristic of P in the Hexateuch.* Their assembling is expressed by the verb nikhal (20:1), i.e. 'assembled themselves as a kahal,' this substantive being the term employed in 21:5,8, and in the phrase 'the assembly of the people of God,' 20:2—expressions which are nearly confined to D and P.

Moreover, from this point onwards, a large part of the detail of the story is manifestly unhistorical. Considering that the old narratives of Judg. as a whole exhibit the tribes of Israel as for the most part disunited and struggling to maintain their bare existence against alien races, fighting each for its own hand, and only at the best attaining a very limited measure of cohesion when it was a matter of life or death in face of a common foe, it is impossible to entertain the credibility of the picture of a judicially constituted assembly of all Israel, mustered at short notice to sit in judgment upon Gibe'ah for an outrage (however heinous) committed against a single individual. Such an appeal as that made by the Levite may no doubt have aroused a large measure of support (cf. 1 Sam. 11 J), and resulted in reprisals upon the guilty city, if not upon the tribe of Benjamin to which it belonged, which may, as related, have rallied to its support; but this can surely not have happened in the form and on the scale pictured in the narrative as it now stands. The huge numbers of the narrative are certainly unhistorical. 25,000 Benjaminites + 700 men of Gibe'ah are mustered to oppose 400,000 men of Israel (20:15-17). On the first day's battle the Benjaminites slay 22,000 Israelites, apparently without themselves suffering a single casualty (20:19, 21). On the second day the Israelites lose 18,000, while the Benjaminites come off with the same immunity as before (20:24, 25). On the third day as the result of Israel's ruse the tables are turned, and the Benjaminites lose 25,000 men (20:35; cf. v. 44, 45), the whole tribe being exterminated with the exception of a bare 600 (20:47). Contrast with these figures the statement of the Song of Deborah, which puts the whole fighting force of Israel at 40,000 (5:1). Again, if the fact that

* נתח 'the congregation' occurs 77 times in Ex., Lev., Num., and Josh.; היעד without def. art. once; יתנוקל (בניןшуいただく) 'the congregation of (the children of) Israel' 37 times; היעד יתנוקל 'the congregation of Yahweh' 4 times. All these occurrences belong to P, the expression being wholly absent from J, E, and D. Outside the Hexateuch the only occurrences of היעד are 1 Kgs. 8:8 Rf=2 Chr. 5:8, 1 Kgs. 12:26, and the four instances in Judg. 20, 21 noticed above. These calculations are based on Davidson's Hebrew Concordance (with addition of יתנוקל钣ינשע Num. 13:26, omitted by Davidson).
Saul, a member of the tribe of Benjamin, was elected the first king of Israel, does not necessarily cast doubt upon the story of the disgrace of the tribe, and its reduction to the verge of extinction at some date not very long previous,* yet the account of the total destruction of the inhabitants of Jabesh of Gilead is at any rate rendered somewhat improbable by the fact that the city appears as a fortified city of some strength in the narrative of 1 Sam. II. Indeed, the conjecture lies near to hand that the whole story of Judg. 19-21 may have taken its rise out of antipathy to the memory of Saul—his native city Gibe'ah, his tribe Benjamin, and the men of Jabesh of Gilead who owed him a debt of gratitude (1 Sam. 11) which they were not forgetful to repay to the best of their ability (1 Sam. 31 11ff.) being in turn held up to execration by the narrator.‡

Close examination of chs. 20, 21 reveals the presence of a mass of discrepancies, repetitions, and dislocations which sufficiently proves that the narrative in its present form must have resulted from a very complicated process of combination and later working over. The following points may be noted:—

According to 20:1 the Israelites gather unto Yahweh at Mizpah. Mizpah may be assumed therefore to have been the site of an important sanctuary: cf. 20:36, 21:1-6. In spite of this, however, they have, according to 20:18, 26, 21:2, to go up to Bethel to consult the oracle of Yahweh.

20:3, the mention of the fact that the Benjaminites heard of the mustering of the Israelites, interrupts the sequence of the narrative in the midst of which it stands, and does not receive its natural continuation until v.14.

The gathering of all the men of Israel against Gibe'ah in 20:11 refers, as it stands, not to mobilization (already mentioned in v.1), but to the beginning of active hostilities. We should expect the negotiations

* On the assumption of the substantially historical character of the narrative of Judg. 19-21, it is of course possible that the events narrated may have occurred early in the period of the Judges, and so perhaps some two hundred years before the days of Saul. Saul speaks of the tribe of Benjamin as 'the smallest of the tribes of Israel' (1 Sam. 9:21), and the smallness of the tribe might be explained by the circumstances narrated in Judg. 20:38-47ff.; but it should be remarked that the fact of the smallness of Benjamin is inherent in the whole tradition that he was Jacob's youngest son. The narrative of Judg. 20 does not suggest that the tribe was originally a small one, but rather the contrary: 25,700 fighting men as against 400,000 men mustered from the rest of Israel pictures Benjamin as not markedly smaller than the average of the other tribes. It is possible therefore (in view of the suggestion put forward above that the story is coloured by antipathy to Saul and his tribe) that, so far from the smallness of the tribe in subsequent times being due to the disaster which it suffered in the days of the Judges, the story of the disaster may be a spiteful invention suggested by its smallness in the narrator's day (in face of the genuinely old tradition which implies that the tribe was small from the first, and not that it became small after having previously been normal in size).

‡ Cf. Güdemann, op. cit.; Wellh., Comp. 3 p. 232 f.; Kue. Ond. § 208.
of \textit{vv.12.13} to have \textit{preceded}, and not to have followed, so extreme a measure, and to have taken place whilst the Israelites were still assembled at Mispah, and prior to the investment of Gibe'ah.

The consulting of the oracle at Bethel, \textit{v.18}, as to which of the tribes shall begin the attack, results in the specification of Judah; but there is no allusion to this in what follows. It is Israel as a whole, and not Judah simply, which offers battle to Benjamin and meets with disaster on the first day (\textit{vv.19-21}); and there is no mention of the separate action of other tribes on the second and third days, nor, on the other hand, of a change in the strategy resulting in the combination of all the tribes as a new measure.

\textit{v.22}, where the Israelites, in spite of the first day's disaster, take courage and again join battle, should follow and not precede \textit{v.23} in which they are overwhelmed by the disaster (of the first day) and consult the oracle as to whether they are to resume hostilities on the second day (\textit{v.24}).

\textit{v.27a} must originally have been directly continued by יִמְלְכָה 'saying' of \textit{v.28}, and cannot, as at present, have been separated from it by the lengthy and awkward parenthesis.

\textit{v.35} relates the smiting of 25,100 Benjaminites, i.e. the whole of their force except the 600 survivors of \textit{v.47}, and in \textit{v.36a} it is stated that the remnant of the Benjaminites realized that they were defeated; yet in \textit{v.36b} we find the Israelites still giving ground to Benjamin with the object of drawing them off from Gibe'ah, and it is not till \textit{v.41} that the Israelites, at the appointed signal, face about and confront the Benjaminites.

The account of the smiting of the 25,100 Benjaminites (\textit{v.35}) is repeated at a later stage in the narrative, \textit{vv.44-46} (here in a round number 25,000).

\textit{v.45a}—the flight of the survivors to the crag of Rimmon—is repeated in \textit{v.45b}, obviously as a resumption of the narrative after the insertion of an interpolation. The purpose of this interpolation is plain, viz., to square the 18,000 of \textit{v.44a} with the 25,100 of \textit{v.38a} by the addition of 5000 + 2000 in \textit{v.45}, resulting in the total given in \textit{v.46}.

The remorse of 'the people' at the practical extinction of one tribe from Israel having been described with some detail in \textit{v.4-4}, it is at least strange that it should be mentioned again, as though it were a fresh piece of information, in \textit{v.6}.

The inquiry of \textit{v.5} anticipates that of \textit{v.8}. While \textit{v.8} is clearly in place, offering itself as it does as a possible solution of the question put forward in \textit{v.7}, 'How shall we do for wives for them?' etc., \textit{v.6} as clearly comes too early in the narrative.

\textit{v.9} is redundant after \textit{v.8b}; and though it might be just possible to refer both to the same narrator by explaining that \textit{v.8b} states that as a matter of fact Jabesh of Gile'ad was unrepresented in the army, and that this was then \textit{found out} by the numbering of \textit{v.5}, yet this
repetition is most inelegant, and it is clear that, for the purpose of the narrative, either v. 4 or v. 8 by itself is amply sufficient.

The question of v. 17, 'How shall a remnant be left to Benjamin, &c.,' is strange if steps had already been taken to provide wives for the major part of the surviving Benjamites; and the inference at once suggests itself that the sparing of the maidens of Jabesh and the rape of the maidens of Shiloh may have belonged to two different accounts of the manner in which wives were obtained for the Benjamites, and that these accounts have been harmonized in vv. 13-16 by the explanation that the former were not sufficient, and therefore some further source of supply had to be found.

In spite of this complication, there exists a clue, the following of which seems to lead us far in the process of unravelling the different sources of the narrative. The Israelites are described by three distinct phrases. Thus we have (A) 'the children of Israel,' answering to 'the children of Benjamin,' both terms naturally construed with a plural verb; (B) 'the men of Israel,' a collective term (נברים שיעם), corresponding to 'Benjamin' as a description of the Benjamites; both of these terms are usually construed with a singular verb; (C) 'the people,' a term which appears to be used exclusively in passages which are marked by phraseology and standpoint as belonging to the latest hand of all, and in short insertions of the character of glosses in their context.*

Using this criterion, we may construct two parallel and self-consistent narratives A and B. A is practically continuous, except for omission of the account of the setting of the ambuscade (after v. 28), and the ruse by which it captured the city (after v. 34); while B, which has been drawn upon for an account of these facts, lacks the account of Israel's defeat on the first (after v. 25) and second (after v. 26) days, of the earlier stage of the battle on the third day (after v. 33), and of the escape of the surviving Benjamites—details which are sufficiently supplied by the narrative of A.†

* It is of course not implied that there is anything in the ordinary Heb. usage of נברים 'the people' which favours the view that it is a late usage, since the fact is evident that the contrary is the case. Our postulate merely is that, as used in the present narrative, its occurrences happen to stand either as manifest glosses or in close association with phrases and ideas which manifestly belong to the latest stratum.

† The division of the sources allows, in places, room for a small amount of ambiguity. Is 20:37b superfluous after 20:37a? Probably not. While the first half of the verse mentions the onset of the ambuscade, the second half describes the manner in which it was made (viz. by deployment), and its result. The manner in which allocation is made of 20:45a, 47, depends upon the assumption that both A and B probably mentioned the escape of the surviving Benjamites to the crag of Rimmon, and upon the possibility that the difference מלח רומת vv. 45a, 47, מלח רומת v. 47b, 21:18 may mark the different sources. It is of course
Then all the children of Israel were called to arms as one man unto Yahweh at Mizpah. And the children of Benjamin heard that the children of Israel had gone up to Mizpah; and the children of Benjamin were gathered together out of the cities unto Gibeah, to go out to battle with the children of Israel.

And the children of Israel arose in the morning, and encamped against Gibeah. And the children of Benjamin came out from Gibeah, and fell of Israel to the ground in that day two and twenty thousand men.

And the children of Israel went up, and wept before Yahweh until the evening; and they enquired of Yahweh, saying, 'Shall I again approach to battle with the children of Benjamin my brother?' And Yahweh said, 'Go up against him.'

So the children of Israel drew near against the children of Benjamin on the second day; and [the children of Benjamin] again fell to the ground of the children of Israel eighteen thousand men. Then all the children of Israel went up and wept, and sat down there before Yahweh until the evening.

And the children of Israel enquired of Yahweh, saying,
'Shall I again go out to battle with the children of Benjamin my brother, or shall I forbear?' And Yahweh said, 'Go up; for to-morrow I will deliver him into thine hand' . . .

30 And the children of Israel went up against the children of Benjamin on the third day, and set themselves in array against Gibe'ah as aforetime. 31 And the children of Benjamin went out to meet them, and were drawn away from the city; and they began to smite and kill as aforetime in the field about thirty men of Israel. 32 And the children of Benjamin said, 'They are smitten down before us as at the first': but the children of Israel said, 'Let us flee; and draw them away from the city into the highways.'

33b And the ambuscade of Israel burst forth from its place on the west of Geba', 34b and they came in front of Gibe'ah, even ten thousand chosen men out of all Israel. . . . And the battle was sore, 35 and Yahweh smote Benjamin before Israel: and the children of Israel felled of Benjamin on that day twenty-five thousand, one hundred men. 36a And the children of Benjamin saw that they were smitten; 36a and they turned and fled toward the wilderness unto the crag of Rimmon, 47a,b even six hundred men. . . .

20 And Israel set an ambuscade against Gibe'ah round about. 33a And all the men of Israel rose up from their place, and set themselves in array at Ba'al-tamar . . .

24b but they knew not that evil was closing upon them. 30b And the men of Israel gave place to Benjamin, for they trusted in the ambuscade which they had set against Gibe'ah. 37 And the ambuscade hasted and made an onset against Gib'eah: and the ambuscade opened out, and smote all the city at the edge of the sword. 38 Now the appointment between the men of Israel and the ambuscade was, that when they should make a beacon of smoke to rise up out of the city, 39 the men of Israel should face about in the battle. And Benjamin began to smite and kill among the men of Israel about thirty men; and they said, 'Surely they are utterly smitten before us as in the first battle!'

40 Then the beacon began to ascend from the city in a column of smoke; and when Benjamin looked back, behold, the holocaust of the city rose up toward heaven. 41 And the men of Israel faced about; and the men of
21.6 And the children of Israel were moved to pity for Benjamin their brother, and said, 'One tribe is cut off to-day from Israel.'

17 And they said, 'How shall a remnant be left to Benjamin, that a tribe be not blotted out from Israel, seeing that we are not able to give them wives of our daughters?' for the children of Israel had sworn, saying, 'Cursed be he that giveth a wife to Benjamin.'

19 And they said, 'Behold, there is the feast of Yahweh in Shiloh yearly.'

21.1 Now the men of Israel had sworn in Michmash, saying, 'There shall not any of us give his daughter to Benjamin to wife.'

7 How shall we do for wives for them, seeing we have sworn by Yahweh not to give them of our daughters to wives?'

8 And they said, 'What one is there of the tribes of Israel that came not up unto Yahweh to Michmash? And, behold, there had come no man to the camp from Jabesh of Gilead.'

10 So they sent thither twelve thousand men of the most valiant, and commanded them, saying, 'Go, and smite the inhabitants of Jabesh of Gilead at the edge of the sword, with the women and the little ones; but the virgins ye shall save alive.'

12 And they found of the inhabitants of Jabesh of Gilead four hundred
land of Benjamin. 22 And when their fathers or their brothers come to complain unto you, ye shall say, 'Grant them graciously to us; for we took not every man his wife in battle: for if ye had given them to us, ye would now be guilty.' 23 And the children of Benjamin did so, and took wives according to their number of the dancers that they had forcibly carried off: and they went and returned unto their inheritance, and built the cities, and dwelt in them. 24 And the children of Israel departed thence at that time, every man to his tribe and to his clan.

The occurrences of phrase (C) 'the people' are 20 2a, 3a, 10a, 14, 22a, 26a, 31b.* 21 2.4.8.16. The fact that this phrase is an editorial gloss in 20 22a, 26a is obvious; whilst in 20 2a it is associated with the phrase 'the assembly of the people of God' (א על י' ילס) which is of a piece with the late priestly conception of Israel as 'the congregation' (הmethods) in v. 1; and in 20 24, 21 24 with the going up to Bethel and the offering of sacrifices. Here Bethel is doubtless regarded, from the post-exilic standpoint, as the single sanctuary for sacrifice at this time, legalized as such by the presence of the Ark and the ministration of Phinehas as Aaron's lineal descendant: cf. ch. 2 1:5. The writer accepts the allusion to Mispah in the two older narratives as the place of muster, but does not recognize it as a sanctuary, in spite of the fact that the expression 'unto Yahweh' and the allusion to the oath taken there seem to imply that it was such. It is probable that in 20 26 mention of Mispah as the place to which 'the children of Israel went up' was cut out by him when he inserted 'and all the people, and came to Bethel'; and a similar excision may have been made in 20 23.

The conception of all Israel acting together as a politico-ecclesiastical body ('edhā) seems to be based upon the expression 'as one man,' which, if our analysis is correct, occurs both in A (20 1) and in B (20 11). This latter expression, while not in itself a mark of post-exilic date (see below), was admirably fitted to form the text of the post-exilic writer's expansion. The 'edhā is naturally conceived as acting in accordance with a strictly judicial procedure, as appears * The occurrence in 20 31b לֹא קְרָאת הַעֵם יִתְנ הָעֵם disappears under our emendation לֹא קְרָאת הָעֵם. Cf. note ad loc.
in 20\textsuperscript{3b-13}; and it should not be doubted that this passage (though the section \textit{vv. 3b-8} is commonly assigned by scholars to the oldest narrative) belongs, at least in its present form, to the latest hand. The fact that it breaks the connexion which must once have existed between \textit{v. 3a} and \textit{v. 14} favours the view that it is an interpolation. Besides the two occurrences of 'the people' (\textit{vv. 5a, 10a}), we may notice, as marks of this hand, the use of נсал 'lewdness' in \textit{v. 6} (in this sense a characteristic phrase of H and Ezek.), 'the country of the inheritance of Israel' in \textit{v. 6}, and the phrase בֵּית יְהוָה בֵּית יְהוָה 'extirpate the wickedness,' \textit{v. 13} (D and later). The details of the outrage as described by the Levite are naturally drawn by the late hand from the old narrative of \textit{ch. 19}; but the statement of \textit{v. 5b} 'me they thought to have slain' is a softening down of the grossness of \textit{19 22}; which possibly marks the superior refinement of a later age.

The account of the numbering of the two rival armies in \textit{vv. 15-17} has been assigned, in its present form, to the late hand, the main determining factor being the combination of the phrases 'the children of Benjamin' (\textit{v. 15}), 'this people' (\textit{v. 16}), 'the men of Israel' (\textit{v. 17}). Both the narratives A and B, however, deal with large numbers in their account of the battle, and may therefore be conjectured to have made mention of the original numbers of the two hosts; and fragments of their accounts may well have been incorporated by the late hand. There is an obvious connexion between the 25,000 Benjaminites + 700 men of Gibe'ah, and A's account of the 25,100 who fell in battle, leaving 600 survivors. The verb יָכְבַּב, where used again in the narrative (21 \textit{9}) undoubtedly belongs to the late hand.

The account in \textit{v. 18} of the consulting of the oracle at Bethel as to which tribe shall open the attack, and the designation of Judah—a proceeding which, as we have already noticed (p. 448), seems to have no effect whatever upon the subsequent course of action—is of great interest. Clearly it has been taken straight from the J narrative \textit{ch. 1 \textit{1-2}}, without regard for its appropriateness; and since it was R\textsuperscript{2} who added the Introduction \textit{ch. 1 \textit{1-5}} to Judg., it is fair to assume that the extract is due to this redactor, and that it is his handwork which we have been discussing as 'the late hand,' and not some originally distinct and independent source. We have already observed that the designation of Bethel as Israel's proper sanctuary goes back to \textit{ch. 2 \textit{1-5}}.

In 21 \textit{11} יָכְבַּב and in \textit{v. 12} the addition יָכְבַּב וּכְסֹבֵב רָדָר seem to be derived directly from Num. 31 \textit{17, 18, 35} P. For the older narrative the phrase יָכְבַּב וּכְסֹבֵב satisfies; cf. \textit{ch. 11} \textit{30}.

The remaining passages assigned to R\textsuperscript{2} fall into the following groups:—passages governed by the conceptions of the 'edhā and of Bethel as the sacrificial centre, and by reference to 'the people,' 20 in part. 27b, 28a in part, 21 2-5, 9 (10, 13, in part) 15, 16; harmonistic links, 20 46 45b.
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21 14b; statistical notes introduced by נָּמָּא $ָּלָ, 20 25b. 33b. 14b (so 4b; cf. נָּא לָל 26b, and for בַּרְנָּה יִוֶּל 2b. 15a. 17a. 46b, ch. 8 10); topographical notes, 20 31b in part, 21 12b. 10 in part (cf. ch. 18 12b. 26b; and for the descriptive phrase ‘which is in the land of Canaan,’ 21 12b, cf. Josh. 22 9. 10 P); 21 25, cf. 17 6, 18 16, 19 1a.b.

There still remains the question of identification of the sources A and B. As regards B this seems sufficiently clear. The phrase ‘the men of Israel’ occurs in 19 30 as restored after כ, and this passage is the continuation of the preceding J narrative in that chapter, and may well have been the antecedent to our narrative B. The account of the ruse by which the city of Gibeah was ambushed and burnt, and the panic-stricken Benjaminites caught between two forces of Israel, which has been assigned to B, bears close resemblance to the ruse by which ‘Ai was captured and destroyed, as related in Josh. 8 which is mainly from J. Cf. especially 2 34b, ‘but they did not know (נָּשׂ אֵל וּרְזָא) that evil was closing upon them,’ with Josh. 8 14b, ‘but he did not know (נָּשׂ אֵל וּרְזָא) that there was an ambush against him behind the city’; 2 43b ‘and Benjamin looked back, and, behold, the holocaust of the city rose up toward heaven,’ with Josh. 8 30a ‘and the men of ‘Ai looked back and saw, and, behold, the smoke of the city rose up toward heaven’; 2 42a ‘so they turned . . . unto the way to the wilderness,’ with Josh. 8 15 ‘and they fled by the way to the wilderness’; 2 42a ‘but the battle overtook them, and they that were from the city were destroying them in the midst’ (נָבָא), with Josh. 8 21b. 22, ‘then they turned again and smote the men of ‘Ai. And the others came forth out of the city against them; so they were in the midst of Israel (נָבָא לִי שֵׁרֶם נָבָא), some on this side, and some on that side; and they smote them, etc.’; 2 48 ‘and the men of Israel turned back unto the children of Benjamin, and smote them at the edge of the sword,’ with Josh. 8 31b, ‘and all Israel turned back unto ‘Ai, and smote it at the edge of the sword.’ The description of the muster of the men of Israel ‘as one man’ (20 11) and the large number of Benjaminites slain (18,000 according to 20 44), cannot be said to be inconsistent with J’s authorship. In the narrative of 1 Sam. 11, part of J’s account of the circumstances which led to Saul’s election to the kingship, which is of acknowledged antiquity as compared with the parallel narrative from E, and which, in 11 7, shows close affinity to the J narrative in Judg. 19 (cf. p. 445), it is stated that, on the receipt of Saul’s summons, the Israelites were called to arms ‘as one man,’ and the muster produces the incredible numbers of 300,000 Israelites and 30,000 men of Judah. There is no ground whatever for the assumption that exaggeration of numbers is peculiar to post-exilic narrative. Any narrative, whether pre- or post-exilic, if committed
to writing long after the events which it narrates, seems to have been liable to this failing. We have already noticed (cf. p. 120) that, in contrast to the modest assessment of 40,000 able-bodied men of Israel given by the contemporary Song of Deborah, the narrative of J in Ex. 12, Num. 11 estimates the men who came out of Egypt as 600,000. The very fact that our narrative in 19 states that the Levite divided his concubine into twelve pieces, and sent her throughout all the border of Israel, pictures Israel as already a federated entity of twelve tribes, and paves the way for the description of a unanimous response (contrast the historical account of the merely partial response to Deborah's summons), and for an incredibly high estimate of the muster. While, however, we assign the narrative B to J, the fact cannot be overlooked that this narrative, in ch. 19 as in chs. 20, 21, must belong to the latest stratum of J. The fact that it exhibits throughout so close a verbal connexion with various other parts of J (Gen. 19, 1 Sam. 11, Josh. 8), proves that the dependence is on its side and not vice-versa, and therefore that it has been constructed by a process of selective imitation, and must be much later than the old narratives which it has employed, and, in its present form at least, almost certainly unhistorical. On the other hand, the fact that the author has employed J, and J only, as his model, and that his phraseology is uncoloured by the influence of later literature,*

* Exception will doubtless be taken to our inclusion of 21 as part of J, this being a narrative which many critics (e.g. Mo.) regard as the latest part of the narrative, on the ground that it is based on Num. 31—the carrying out of the harem or ban upon Midian—a story which is assigned with good reason to a secondary stratum of P. The striking points of connexion between the two narratives which are adduced are (1) the fact that the number of warriors sent to execute the harem is the same in each narrative, viz. 12,000, and (2) the phrase which occurs in Judg. 21 to mark the distinction between the married and unmarried women, as compared with Num. 31. It should be recollected, however, that the custom of the harem was very ancient; and that, when this was practised, the saving of the unmarried girls as slave-concubines must have been frequent, if not regular (cf. Deut. 21). The phrase noted under (2) does seem to have been derived from the narrative of Num., as remarked above. On the other hand, we should not overlook such distinctions between the two narratives as the regular and exclusive use of בְּיָהוּ 'kill' in Num. 31 as contrasted with הַעְדָּהּ 'smite at the edge of the sword' in Judg. 21. The identity in number, 12,000, is, it may be admitted, somewhat striking; but, if on this score we are to infer connexion between the two narratives, the dependence is quite as likely to be on the side of the late narrative in Num. as vice-versa. The involving of Jabesh of Gilead in the odium which falls upon Gibeah and upon the whole tribe of Benjamin fits in so well with the theory that the story as a whole makes an attack upon the memory of Saul (cf. p. 447) that it is difficult to suppose that the whole Jabesh-narrative was only inserted as a very late afterthought.
seems to indicate that we are right in regarding him as pre- and not post-exilic.*

The origin of the narrative A is far more dubious. If B is rightly identified with J, it is natural to look for indications of the hand of E in the companion-narrative, more especially as the second source in chs. 19-21 has been conjecturally assigned to E; and since the use of high numbers in chs. 20:21,25,35 does not (as we have just noticed) necessarily imply a post-exilic point of view, there is no *prima facie* reason why this narrative should not date from pre-exilic times. No signs of E's phraseology are, however, apparent in the narrative; while, on the other hand, there are several indications that it, like B, was acquainted with J's account of the attack on 'Ai in Josh. 7:6: cf. ch. 20:23,26, 'they wept before Yahweh until the evening,' with Josh. 7:6, 'he fell on his face to the earth before the Ark of Yahweh until the evening'; ch. 20:31, 'they were drawn away (מְנַחֶּ֫ה) from the city;' v. 32b, 'Let us flee and draw them away (מִקְצָרִים) from the city,' with Josh. 8:6a, 'and we will flee before them... until we have drawn them away (מְנַחֶּ֫ה) from the city,' v. 37b, 'and they were drawn away (מְנַחֶּ֫ה) from the city'; ch. 20:32 'And the children of Benjamin said, "They are smitten down before us as at the first" (כַּעַרְבּוּ), but the children of Israel said, "Let us flee, etc.."' with Josh. 8:6 'for they will say, "They are fleeing before us as at the first" (כַּעַרְבּוּ); so we will flee before them'; ch. 20:34a 'and they came over against (מִנְנַשׂ) Gibe'ah,' with Josh. 8:11, 'and they came over against (מִנְנַשׂ) the city.' These facts, together with the artificial appearance of the narrative of the three days' battle (which, however, is scarcely more marked than in E's narrative in ch. 7:2-5), and, especially, the fact that the combination of A and B appears to have been effected, not by a pre-exilic redactor (such as R1F), but by RF himself (cf. especially the redactional link 21:14b-16), seem to favour the conclusion that we have in A a post-exilic narrative of unknown provenance, possibly containing some independent and relatively ancient elements (e.g. the story of the rape of the maidens of Shiloh ‡), but otherwise perhaps ultimately based upon the older J narrative with which it was eventually com-

* It may be noted that the J writer is characterized, in the account of the battle, by an unusual fondness for placing the subj. before the verb when the subj. changes in the sequence of the narrative:—cf. chs. 20:38, 45, 21:4b, 10.

‡ The fact that this story is probably ancient has been generally recognized. Unlike other parts of the narrative which have the superficial appearance of antiquity, but are really based on other narratives (cf. the foregoing discussion of the J narrative), it appears, so far as we can judge, to be independent; and it may well be that, if any part of chs. 19-21 is historical as it now stands, such an historical element may be contained in this story. It seems not impossible that it may have been derived ultimately from the E source.
The narrative A, as of unknown source, has been marked in the text by the symbol X.*

The foregoing analysis was worked out independently by the present editor prior to consultation of the attempted analyses of other scholars, and differs very widely from them. Chapters 20 and 21 have not unnaturally given scope for great divergency of opinion among commentators in the past; but, speaking generally, it may be said that in the main some agreement in the guiding principle of analysis has been reached by the most recent writers, as represented, e.g., by Mo. (Comm. and SBOT.), Bu. (Comm.), No., Driver (LOT, p. 170), Kent. This principle appears to be that, since ch. 19 'is old in style and representation,' its continuation in chs. 20, 21 must have been similar, the assumption being that such similarity should be found in absence of the element of exaggeration and incredibility. Thus, drastic elimination is made, not merely of the passages which picture Israel as organized as an 'iddha (assigned by us to R²), but (in spite of 1 Sam. 11.7-8 J) of all passages which speak of Israel as acting 'as one man,' and which deal with incredibly large numbers. Mo. (SBOT.) assigns to J 20 laa.lb/J.3·8,14.19.29.36.37a.38.39 (om. 'as in the first battle') 40.41.44-47, 21 1.15.160-19a, 20b, 21. 22a-22b.22, and regards the rest of the narrative as a post-exilic Midrash, 20 11.18.23. 21.27b.28a,37b, 21 1.5.8 end ('unto the assembly') 19 (from 'which is north,' etc.) being redactional. Driver (on the basis, mainly, of the analyses of Bu. and No.) assigns to the earlier source (except a few words here and there) 20 1.15-19a, 20b, 21. 36a.38.40-42.44a.47, 21 1.6.8.10-12 (in briefer form) 13-14 (with 'they' for 'the whole congregation') 15-17-25. These analyses give us, as the oldest (presumably historical) narrative, the account of the outrage as given in ch. 19, with the Levite's summons to Israel ; the assembling at Mispah and an enquiry into the circumstances of the crime, followed by a one day's battle in which by aid of an ambuscade the Benjaminites are defeated and almost exterminated; and, lastly, provision of wives for the survivors [by saving the unmarried maidens of Jabesh, and] by capture of the maidens of Shiloh.

The fallaciousness of an analysis which is based on the view that the older narrative can be recovered by elimination of all that is patently unhistorical has been sufficiently demonstrated by the foregoing discussion. The antiquity of ch. 19 is (as Wellh. rightly recognizes) more apparent than real, since, as we have seen, this narrative (at least in part) is framed in close imitation of older J stories—a fact which leads us with some reason to question its historical value. Why, e.g., should we accept the account of the Levite's method of appeal to the tribes of Israel, which is manifestly connected with 1 Sam. 11.7, and at the same time reject both the allusion to the Israelites' assembling 'as one man' (though this identical phrase occurs in the same verse of 1 Sam. 11.7), and also the use of high numbers (though this is paralleled by 1 Sam. 11.5)? Again, if, as cannot be denied, the account of the ambushing of Gib'eah (generally accepted as ancient) depends on Josh. 8, why should not the account of success attained by this ruse have been preceded by a narrative of two days' failure, on the analogy of Joshua's first failure against 'Ai, as related by the J narrative in Josh. 7? Lastly, what ground exists for the supposition that a narrative which bears strongly the stamp of J phraseology, and is obviously modelled on earlier J elements, was continued by the story of the rape of the Shilonite maidens, which contains no J phrases and is independent of any earlier similar narrative?

On the other hand, the merit of the criterion for analysis which we have adopted (cf. p. 449) rests in the fact that, without any sleight of hand, it immediately resolves the confusion of the narrative as it now stands, and offers us two parallel and nearly continuous narratives, together with the additions of a later redactor, the object of which can easily be divined. The distinction in the usage.
19. Now in those days, when there was no king in Israel, there was a certain Levite sojourning in the furthermost parts of the hill-country of Ephraim, who took to him a wife, a concubine out of Bethlehelm of Judah. And his concubine was vexed with him, and went away from him unto

19. **in those days.** I.e. in the days of the Judges, rather than (as Mo. thinks) 'loosely dating the following story in the period of the Danite migration.'

When there was no king, etc. Cf. p. 410.

*a certain Levite.* Lit. 'a man, a Levite'; so ch. 20 4 'the man, the Levite,' ch. 18 316 'the youth, the Levite.' The man is only twice described as a Levite, being elsewhere mentioned merely as 'the man': hence Bu. supposes that the words ר ז ל 'a Levite sojourning' are a late insertion under the influence of the preceding narrative—but this hypothesis has little to support it.*

the furthermost parts. Heb. יַרְקְתִּהְו, lit. 'sides' or 'flanks,' is used of the innermost recesses of a cave, 1 Sam. 24 4, a house, Am. 6 10, a ship, Jon. 1 5, the pit (i.e. She'ol), Isa. 14 16, or of the remote parts of the north, Isa. 14 13, al., or, of the earth, Jer. 6 22, al. Hence the expression as here used is taken by Mo., Cooke to refer to the most northerly parts of Ephraim, from the Judaean point of view. More probably the reference is to the actual flanks of the hill-country, whether to the east or west, which, lying away from the main route from south to north (which then, as now, must have run along the centre of the range) might, especially from the Judaean standpoint, be viewed as somewhat remote.

2. was vexed with him. Reading ﻣَرَاءُ ﻣَرَاءُ with Böttcher, Houb., Grätz, Mo. (SBOT.), Kit. Cf. על, ﻣَرَاءُ ﺑِنْرُيِبُوُنْ (the root ﺑِنْرِيِبُوُن is rendered by ﻣَرِيِبُوُن in 2 Chr. 16 10). For ﻼُ ﻼُ followed by ﻼُ, cf. Prov. 19 3. ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ, R.V. 'played the harlot against him,' can hardly be original; for (1) the context of the phrases 'the men of Israel' and 'the children of Israel' was observed by Ber. as one of his criteria; though he does not work it out consistently, and also fails to distinguish the redactional passages from the sources. His analysis is as follows:—A 20 1.26-18.14.15.16.23-25.59-60.47, 21 5-14.24; B 20 36.11.13.15.17.59-62.30-44.46.48, 21 1-4.15-20.

* Bu. finds fault with the constr. ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ on the ground that we should expect ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ; but it is difficult to see any essential difference between the participial usage in our passage and, e.g., Gen. 25 47 ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ ﻼُ 'and Ja'cob was a simple man, dwelling in tents.'
her father's house, unto Bethleæm of Judah, and was there some time, E four months. 3. J And her husband arose, and demands that the cause of estrangement should be a passing tiff and not an act of unfaithfulness, and (2) the constr. נל followed by מ על of the person against whom the offence is committed is unparalleled (the verb is regularly in this sense followed by ס 'away from,' by itself or in combination with another prep., מ על, מ על, מ על).

א"ב reproduces א"ב; and it is probable that או kai έπορεύθη αν' ανροῦ, F 'quae reliquit cum,' Jos. (Ant. v. ii. 8) καταλύουσα τον ἄνδρα, are merely paraphrases of the same reading: cf. the comment of Levi ben-Gershon, who explains that the verb must be taken to mean simply that the woman forsook him, and not in its ordinary sense, otherwise it would have been unlawful for the Levite to fetch her back. מ על, 'despised him,' may also be a paraphrase, unless מ על represents מ על (Dathe); but here again the following מ על forms a difficulty (only found in the late passage, Neh. 2 19). The same objection is valid against the easy emendation מ על, adopted by Michaelis, Ewald (HI. ii. p. 352), Stu., Wellh. (Comp. 3 p. 230), etc.; this verb being ordinarily (if not exclusively*) transitive and followed by an accusative in the sense cast off or spurn a personal or impersonal object. Mo. suggests, as another possibility, that the original of kai άργισθη αντίω was מ על, that this verb was corrupted into מ על ('she committed adultery'), which, again, was later on corrected into מ על upon the ground that the woman was not a wedded wife. This suggestion (favoured by Bu., No., La.) is almost too ingenious; and, as Mo. himself observes, the prep. מ (and not מ על) is regularly used after the verb מ על.

some time, four months. Heb. מ על, מ על, מ על Here (as in ch. 14, 15) seems to refer to a period of indefinite length, which is then accurately defined by מ על מ על מ על; † and the natural inference is that the latter definition is a gloss upon the former, or rather (as assumed in our analysis) that it is derived from the parallel source (cf. the precision of this source in וו. 4, 'three days,' etc.). The appositional relation between מ על מ על מ על מ על and מ על מ על מ על מ על is hardly

* It may, however, be possible that מ על, when used absolutely (cf. e.g. Ps. 74, 77, Lam. 3) may possess the sense 'to be angry,' which regularly belongs to the Bab. equivalent זقدرة. If this be so, it is not inconceivable that the verb might be construed with מ על 'was angry against,' much as the Bab. verb is construed with מ על, 'be angry with' (cf. the illustration cited p. 59).

† מ על, מ על, is of course different; this meaning 'days (i.e., by usage, a year) and four months.'
went after her, to speak kindly to her, to bring her back again, having his lad with him, and a couple of asses, and he came to her father's house: and when the damsel's father saw him, he came joyfully to meet him. 4. And his father-in-law, J the damsel's father, E detained him; and he abode with him three days: J and they did eat and drink, and stayed the night there. 5. E And on the fourth day J they arose early in the morning, E and he rose up to depart: J and the damsel's father said RJE unto his son-in-law, J 'Strengthen thine heart with a morsel of bread, and afterward ye shall depart.' 6. So they sat down, and did eat, both of them together, and drank: and the damsel's father said unto the man, 'Prithee consent, and stay the night, E and let thine heart be merry.' 7. And the man rose up to depart: but his father-in-law urged him, J and he stayed the night there again. 8. And he arose early in the morning RJE on the fifth day J to depart: and the damsel's father said, 'Prithee strengthen thine heart'; so they tarried till the day declined, and did eat, identical with the very idiomatic usage of בָּשׂוּ בָּשׂוּ when it pleonastically follows the statement of a definite period, as e.g. in עַלְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל 'a month of time' (lit. 'a month, days'). Cf., on this latter usage, the discussion in Ges., Tkes. 585d, where the analogous usage of zaman 'time,' in Ar. is cited.

3. to speak kindly to her. Lit. 'to speak to her heart.' Cf., for this idiom, Gen. 34 3, 50 21, 2 Sam. 19 7, מִישָּׁר, 1 40 2, Hos. 2 14, מִישָּׁר, Ru. 2 13, 2 Chr. 30 22, 32 6. 4. to bring her back again. Reading יִשָּׁר, in place of קֹו. מִשָּׁר, and he came. Reading שֹׁבֵע with גת, מִשָּׁר, and moderns, in place of מִשָּׁר מִשָּׁר. Mo. plausibly suggests that the readings of מִשָּׁר here and in the preceding מִשָּׁר—which he renders 'that she might win him back'—are early alterations based upon the corruption מִשָּׁר in v. 2, on the view that, since the man was the injured party, it was for the woman to make the advances towards reconciliation.

5. Strengthen thine heart. Heb. מְדָנ. Here the Imperative is to be pronounced מְדָנ (not מְדָנ) the conjunctive accent Darga which it bears being used as a substitute for Methegh: cf. G-K. § 64c, n 2.

8. So they tarried. Reading מְדָנ מְדָנ with La., in place of מְדָנ מְדָנ which can only be an Imperative (so all Versions). Since, however, in v. 9 the father uses the fact that the day has declined as
both of them. 9. E And the man rose up to depart, J he and his concubine and his lad; E and his father-in-law, J the damsel’s father, E said to him, J ‘Behold, prithee, the day hath waned to setting, prithee stay ye the night: E behold, the day hath closed in; stay thou the night here, and let thy heart be merry; J and ye shall arise early to-morrow for your journey, E and thou shalt a reason why they should stay the night, and leave (presumably in good time) on the morrow, he would scarcely in the first place have urged them to tarry till the decline of day before starting on their return. Mo. notes the fact that certain groups of G MSS. (cited by him as G^{MN}) offer (in place of ὧν ἔφθασεν ἡμέρα, which is rendered by G^{AL} καὶ στρατευόμενοι, G^{B} καὶ στρατευόμενοι*) the reading διεπλάνα αὐτῶν or διεπλάνυσεν αὐτῶν (cf. Field, Hex., ad loc.), i.e. ἡμέρα; whence he conjectures that the original text may have run ἡμέρα ἔφθασεν, ‘and he persuaded him, and he lingered,’ etc. This gives an excellent sequence, and is accepted by Bu., No., Kit., with the modification ἡμέρα; but the method of constructing a composite text from two variant readings must be deemed somewhat questionable.

and did eat. G^{AL} adds καὶ εἶπεν (so Ἐ with obelus); cf. νυ.6.

9. the day hath waned to setting. Heb. יֶהָּ הַיֵּֽהָ רֵאֵֽבּ, lit. ‘the day hath sunk down so as to set.’ ‘Day’ is here used by metonymy for ‘sun,’ as sometimes in English: cf. passages cited in the Oxford “New Eng. Dict. s.v. ‘set’ 11.9 b. The use of רָפָה may be paralleled by Bab. rabū or rāpū which is used of the sinking of the sun to the Underworld: cf. Muss-Arnolt, Dict. p. 949, and note on ‘Teraphim,’ p. 421. There is no ground for substituting בְּכַנִּים for בְּכַנִּים with Mo. SBOT. G eis (ὕπ) ἐσπιρᾶν reads בְּכַנִּים, which may be original.

behold, the day hath closed in. Heb. יֶהָּ הַיֵּֽהָ רֵאֵֽבּ, lit. ‘behold, the closing (declining) of day.’ Heb. īnā, which is elsewhere used in the special sense of encamping, is here a synonym of ἔφθασεν (cf. ν.6) in the sense bend down or decline, which, as is shown by the cognate languages (Ar., Syr.) is the original meaning of the root. G^{B}, Ἐ omit ἔφθασεν thus removing the duplication in the invitation which probably marks the different sources (cf. p. 442). G^{AL} καράκουσον (ἑδὴ) ἔδει εἰς σήμερον seems to have arisen through combination with the preceding ἔφθασεν and the reading of ἔφθασεν as

* Mo. notices that the original G reading is clearly στρατευόμενοι (for στραγ-γευόμενοι) which is found in the HP. codd. 15, 18, 64, 65; Ἐ 1οόοοοο. This has become στρατευόμενοι through the not uncommon confusion between Γ and Τ in uncial writing; and στρατευόμενοι represents a grammatical correction.
depart to thy home.' 

10. And the man would not stay the night; but he rose up and departed, and came over against Jebus R (that is Jerusalem): and with him were a couple of asses saddled; his concubine was with him also. 

11. When they were near Jebus, the day was far spent; and the lad said unto his master, 'Prithee come, and let us turn aside into this city of the Jebusites, and stay the night in it.' 

12. And his master said unto him, 'We will not turn aside into the city to thy home. Lit. 'to thy tents': cf. for this usage ch. 7, 20, Deut. 16, Josh. 22, 1 Sam. 13, 2 Sam. 19, 20, 1 Kgs. 8, 12. According to Driver (on Deut. loc. cit.), 'the expression is a survival from the time when Israel was a nomadic people and actually lived in tents; it remained in use long after the “tents” had given place to permanent “houses.”' Since, however, Heb. 'bhel is the philological equivalent of Ar. ‘ahl ‘community of settlers,’ Bab. álu ‘city,’ originally ‘settlement,’ it is perhaps truer to say that we have in this Heb. usage a survival of the wider and more primitive usage of the term. 

10. Jebus. Apart from the present narrative, this name is only applied to Jerusalem in 1 Chr. 11 (a narrative expanded from 2 Sam. 5 in which the name Jebus does not appear). The manner in which it is explained here by the editorial addition ‘that is Jerusalem’ seems to suggest that it was the more ancient name; but that this cannot be so is proved by the occurrence of the latter name in the form Urusalim in the T.A. Letters of the fourteenth century B.C. (cf. Knudtzon, Nos. 287, 289, 290 = Winckler, Nos. 180, 182 + 185, 183). 

his concubine, etc. The addition kal ó παιδων αυτου, found in some MSS. of Gr, is probably due to a precisionist. 

11. was far spent. Reading ἐστὶ (lit. ‘had gone down’) in place of the inexplicable ἔστιν of Π. ἔστιν, however, does not occur elsewhere of the decline of day,* the nearest parallel being 2 Kgs. 20, where it is used of the decline of the shadow on the step-clock of Ahaz. 

12. the city of foreigners who, etc. Reading plur. χρησιμοτητα for sing. χρησιμοτητα, and masc. ἄνθρωπος for fem. ἄνθρωπος with several MSS. of Π. 

* Why Mo. (SBOT.) should cite 1 Kgs. 12 as a parallel is inexplicable.
of foreigners, who are not of the children of Israel, but we will pass on as far as Gibe'ah.' 13. E And he said to his lad, Gibe'ah. The name occurs elsewhere, as here, without the Def. Art. מִנָּה, and also, as in vv. 13, 14, 16, 17, with the Def. Art. מִנָּה 'the Hill' par excellence as being מִנָּה אֲלֹהֵי 'the Hill of God,' i.e. the site of an ancient sacred place, 1 Sam. 10.5.* The city is sometimes defined as 'Gibe'ah of Benjamin' (1 Sam. 13, 16, 14, 16; 'G. of the children of B.,' 2 Sam. 23, 23); cf. 'G. which belongeth unto B.' in v. 11 of our narrative), or 'Gibe'ah of Saul' (1 Sam. 11, 11, 15, 31, Isa. 10, 30). Some confusion has arisen here and there in the O.T. between Gibe'ah and Geba (a masc. form also meaning 'hill'); but that the two sites are distinct is proved by Isa. 10, 28, 32, where both are mentioned. The site of Geba has been certainly identified in the modern Geba south of the wady Suwenit, five and a half miles north-north-east of Jerusalem. We must read Geba for Gibe'ah in ch. 20, 43, 1 Sam. 13, 5, 14, 2 (cf. 13, 16, 14, 6); and, conversely, Gibe'ah for Geba in ch. 20, 10, 1 Sam. 13, 3 (cf. 10, 6, 10).

The present narrative makes it clear that Gibe'ah lay close to the road which runs north from Jerusalem to Nablus, and was reached from Jerusalem rather sooner than Ramah (cf. v. 13); and, further (ch. 20, 31), that not far off from it the road divided, one branch going to Bethel—i.e. the main northern road, and the other to Gibe'on (on the reading, cf. note ad loc.)—i.e. the road by the two Bethlornns to Joppa. Further evidence is furnished by the statement of Jos. (BJ. v. ii. 1) that Titus, when advancing against Jerusalem from Gophna (Gifna) on the road from Samaria, pitched his camp in the Valley of Thorns, near a village called Gibe'ah of Saul, about thirty stadia (i.e. rather over three miles) from Jerusalem, in order to await reinforcements coming from Emmaus (Nicopolis), i.e. Amwas, which would naturally arrive by the Bethhoron road. Similarly, Jerome† describes how Paula journeyed from Nicopolis by the ascent to Upper and

* That לִבְנֵה אֲלֹהֵי is identical with לִבְנֵה, which was Saul's native city, is evident from the narrative of 1 Sam. 10, 6, 16-16. When Saul is seized with the prophetic ecstasy, 'those who knew him before time' (v. 11), who, according to this narrative, give rise to the proverb, 'Is Saul among the prophets?' are clearly his fellow-townsmen; and when he ceases to prophesy (v. 13), we find him (vv. 14, 15) at home among his relatives without further travelling (read probably in v. 15b), מִנָּה 'he came home'—as in 1 Kgs. 13, 7, 18, al.—for מִנָּה 'to the high-place,' with which we should expect מִנָּה 'he went up'—not מִנָּה: so Wellh., Driver, Kennedy, H. P. Smith, etc.). The identification of לִבְנֵה אֲלֹהֵי proposed by Smith, HG. p. 250, with Râm-Allah (meaning in Ar. 'the Hill of God') a mile west of Bireh is therefore out of the question, since it is impossible that Gibe'ah of Saul can have lain so far to the north.

† 'The Pilgrimage of the holy Paula' (translated in Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, i. (cf. § 6).
THE DISTRICT round GIBE'AH

3 1/2 miles by road to Bethel

1 1/2 miles by road to Jerusalem

Scale one inch to a mile

Based on Survey of Western Palestine, Sheets XVII and XVIII, by permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund
Lower Bethhoron, beholding on her right Aijalon and Gibe‘on, and resting awhile at Gibe‘ah before continuing her journey to Jerusalem.

It is clear from these facts that Gibe‘ah must have lain close to the junction of the two roads, and south rather than north of this junction; and adding the fact (derived from Jos.) that the distance of the city from Jerusalem was not less than three miles, the possibilities of site are confined within narrow limits.

The site proposed by Rob. (BR. i. pp. 577-579), following a suggestion made by Gross (Theol. Stud. u. Kritiken, 1843, p. 1082) is Tell (or Tulél) el-Fül, a high Tell crowned by the remains of a fortress some three hundred or four hundred yards to the east of the north road, about three miles due north of Jerusalem and two miles due south of Ramah (er-Rám). This has been accepted by many moderns. Objection is raised to the identification by Féderlin (Revue Biblique, 1906, p. 271) and Hagemeyer (ZDPV. xxiii., 1909, pp. 1 ff.) on the ground that there exist no traces of an ancient village, such e.g. as the rock-hewn cisterns which must necessarily have existed on such a site. Féderlin favours Hirbet es-Sôma, on a small eminence about six hundred yards south of Tell el-Fül, where there are considerable remains, among which are to be found about fifteen cisterns. This is probably too far south of the junction of the two roads, and too close to Jerusalem, unless we accept the variant statement of Jos. in his account of the Judges-episode (Ant. v. ii. 8) where he gives the distance as twenty stadia only (this, however, has not the same appearance of comparative accuracy as the statement in BJ.). Hagemeyer proposes the ruins called Hirbet el-Hawânit, five hundred yards north-west of Tell el-Fül, and actually on the main road. Here there are the remains of massive walls, and ancient cisterns, and the upper part of the wady Bêt Hannîna to the west may represent the Valley of Thorns. This identification, however, seems to be excluded (1) by the fact that it is unconnected with a hill, and so could scarcely have borne the name הָעָבַד RECORD, and (2) by the fact that it is actually on the road, whereas the verb הָעָבַד in v. 16 of our narrative implies that the Levite’s party had to ‘turn aside’ from the road for some little way before reaching the city.

All things considered, the ruined site Hirbet Râs eš-Tawîl, about half a mile north-east of Tell el-Fül and three-quarters of a mile nearly due east of the junction of the two roads, and also a little south of the wady el-Hafîy (which may have been the Valley of Thorns *), merits

* It is worthy of notice that the wady el-Hafîy joins the wady es-Suwenît a few miles east of Hirbet Râs eš-Tawîl. Ar. es-Suwenît means ‘the little acacias,’ i.e. thorny trees of the Mimosa tribe (of course distinct from the American tree called acacia in England): cf. the name Seneh ‘thorn-bush’ applied to the ‘tooth of rock’ on one side of the wady in I Sam. 14 4. ‘Akarbo denotes the acacia in Herod. ii. 96, and is used by Θ. as the rendering of Heb. יְאָסָט ‘acacia.’ The supposition is therefore plausible that in the time of Jos. the name ‘Valley of Thorns’ (‘Akarbov a vbv) may have been applied to both branches of the wady—the wady el-Hafîy as well as the wady es-Suwenît.
'Come, and let us draw near to one of the places, and stay the night in Gibe'ah or in Ramah.' 14. So they passed on and went their way; and the sun went down upon them close to Gibe'ah, which belongeth to Benjamin. 15. And they turned aside there to go in to stay the night in Gibe'ah; and he went in, and sat down in the market-place of the city; and there was no man that took them into his house to pass the night. 16. And, behold, an old man came in from his work, from the field, at evening: and the man was from the hill-country of Ephraim, and was sojourning in Gibe'ah; but the men of the place were Benjaminites. 17. And he lifted up his eyes, and saw the way-faring man in the market-place of the city; and the old man said, 'Whither goest thou? and whence comest thou?' 18. And he said unto him, 'We are passing from Bethle'em unto the furthermost parts of the hill-country of Ephraim: from thence am I, and I went as far as Bethle'em of Judah; and I am going unto my home'; and there is no man that

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further investigation as a possible site. This site is mentioned as an alternative to Tell el-Ful by Sir C. Wilson (Smith DB, s. v. 'Gibe'ah') and by Mo. It is marked by ancient remains: cf. SWP. Mem. iii. p. 124.


Ramah. Cf. ch. 4.6 note.

14. which belongeth to Benjamin. In distinction from other sites bearing the same name, e.g. the Gibe'ah of Judah (Josh. 15:67), and the Gibe'ah of Phine'has in the hill-country of Ephraim (Josh. 24:33).

15. market-place. Heb. ᵛʼחְבָּה, lit. 'broad place,' was an open space in the city, usually near the gate, which served as a meeting-place for business or social purposes. Cf. especially Job 29:7, 2 Chr. 32:8, Neh. 8:1,10.

16. and the man was, etc. The fact that the old man was merely a sojourner in Gibe'ah is emphasized in order that his conduct may by contrast bring the inhospitality of the Gibe'athites into bolder relief. On the sacred duty of hospitality in the East, cf. Cheyne, EB. 2128.

18. unto my home. Reading ᾿ίπται ᾿αί with ᾿εἰς τόν οἶκόν μου (cf. v.49), in place of ᾿ἐρχόμενοι ᾿αί ᾿αί, which has no doubt arisen through a copyist's mistake of ᾿έρχομαι for an abbreviated ᾿έρχεται, to which the fact that the man was a Levite may have been a contributory cause. Cf. the errors of ᾿εἰς in rendering τόν ὑπερκέιειν μου (῾αμαρίζει) for
19. Yet there is both straw and provender for our asses, and there is bread and wine also for me, and for thine handmaid, and for the lad with thy servants: there is no want of anything. 20. And the old man said, 'Peace be to thee; howsoever let all thy wants lie upon me; only do not pass the night in the market-place.' 21. So he brought him into his house, and foraged for the asses; and they washed their feet, and did eat and drink. 22. They were making merry, when, behold, the men of the city, men that were sons of Belial, surrounded the house, beating on the door, and spake unto the master.

foraged. Heb. bālāl, only used here, is a Denominative verb from subs. bōlîl ‘fodder’ (properly moistened or mixed fodder), with the meaning ‘to give fodder.’ Thus the relation between the verb and subs. is exactly reproduced by the English use of ‘forage’ as subs. and (hence) as verb.

men that were sons of Belial. Heb. בִּילִי־יִדְיָלִים, ‘men, sons of B.’, with Suspended Construct State: cf. G-K. § 130 e.*

The meaning of Belial, or rather, bōliyyālîm, is highly obscure. The form, as vocalized, is evidently a compound, the first element of which is the negative bōlî. It is in connexion with the second element that difficulty arises. If we put aside the Talmudic explanation (Sanhedrin, 111 b, ‘sons who have broken the yoke of Heaven from off their necks’) which implies a different vocalization from בִּילִי־יִדְיָל, ‘without yoke’—adopted by Jerome in the present passage, ‘filii Belial (id est, absque jugo)—the explanations in debate at the present day are two. (1) The second element yā‘al is taken as a subs. meaning ‘worth,’ which, though otherwise unknown in Heb. or any other Semitic language, is assumed from the existence of the verbal form in the Hiphîl modification, hō‘al, with the meaning ‘to be profitable.’ Bōliyyālîm is thus supposed to mean ‘worthlessness’; and this is the generally accepted modern explanation, adopted e.g. by BDB., and appearing in R.V. marg. (2) The explanation of yā‘al as an apocopated Imperfect from yā‘alî (that which) comes up’ is as old as Kimchi, who supposes that ‘not coming up’ has the sense ‘not prospering,’ i.e. ‘ne'er-do-well.’ So Hupfeld among moderns.

The objection that the context in which the term is regularly used requires something much stronger than a merely negative term, e.g.

* Perhaps, however, we ought to read דִּשְׁנָה for דִּשְׁנָה, as in ch. 20$^{13}$, Deut. 13$^{14}$, 1 Kgs. 21$^{10}$.
of the house, the old man, saying, 'Bring forth the man who came unto thy house, that we may know him.'—23. And the man, the master of the house, went out unto them and said unto them, 'Nay, my brethren, do not wickedly, I pray you: seeing

malignity or dangerous wickedness may perhaps be met by the parallels offered by other languages in which terms originally negative have come to assume a very definite positive meaning—e.g. ἀδράβιον, German 'Unheil,' Old Eng. 'naughty' (cf NHTK. p. 245). A real objection is, however, advanced by Cheyne (cf. EB. 525 f., and articles in ET. there cited) when he points out that neither explanation suits the occurrence of the word in 2 Sam. 22 5.6 = Ps. 18 4.6 (מָלָא) which must be deemed crucial for its interpretation. This passage runs—

'Billows of Death encompassed me;  
Torrents of ב'לִיְיָדוֹל o'erwhelmed me;  
Toils of She'ol surrounded me;  
Snares of Death * confronted me.'

Here ב'לִיְיָדוֹל is parallel to Death and She'ol, and Cheyne with great plausibility suggests that it denotes the Abyss as '(the place from which) one comes not up'; cf. the Bab. המל la תַּכָּר 'the Land of No-return,' a title of the Underworld. That there was, in Heb. thought, a definite connexion between the ideas of the Abyss and abysmal wickedness is proved by the use of the term hawwa, or more frequently the intensive plur. hawwóth, as that which characterizes the wicked man's 'inward part' (Ps. 5 9, 10), or, which he plots or meditates (Ps. 38 12, 13, 52 2.7, 4.9, 55 11, 12, al.). Hawwa corresponds to Ar. ḥaw̄îya, 'a deep pit, hell,' Syr. ḥaw̄̄θâ, 'gulf, chasm' (cf. BDB. p. 217 b), and its only satisfactory rendering as used in the cases noted is Cheyne's 'engulfing ruin' (now generally adopted). On this analogy it is reasonable to assume that ב'לִיְיָדוֹל, as the Abyss from which there is no ascent, came to be applied to wickedness of an appalling and catastrophic character. Lagarde has acutely pointed out (Prophetæ Chaldææ, p. xlvii) that in Ps. 41 5 (יִנָּר) the derivation of ב'לִיְיָדוֹל, as understood by the poet, seems to be given. If we vocalize רַכָּר for רַכָּר, the passage runs—

'A plague of ב'לִיְיָדוֹל is poured out upon him;  
And now that he hath lain down he shall arise no more.'

Here stichos ב indicates that דָּבָר ב'לִיְיָדוֹל in stichos א is to be understood as 'a plague of not rising up' (i.e. 'from which one does not arise'), or, as we should say, 'a mortal sickness.'

* The repeated רַכָּר is suspicious. Possibly we should emend רַכָּר 'deep darkness' with Cheyne, Book of Psalms 9, ad loc., who rendered the four terms 'Deathland . . . Ruinland . . . She'ol . . . Gloomland.'
that this man hath come into my house, do not this wantonness. 24. Behold my daughter, who is a virgin, and his concubine, let me, pray, bring them out, and humble ye them, and do to them that which is good in your sight; but to this man ye shall not do any such wantonness.' 25. But the men would not hearken to him: so the man laid hold on his concubine, and brought her out unto them outside; and they knew her, and abused her all the night until the morning, and let her go when the dawn arose. 26. Then came the woman at the approach of day, and fell down at the doorway of the man's house where her lord was, till daylight. 27. And her lord arose

In 2 Cor. 6:16 Belial or Beluwp is used, as often in Apocalyptic literature (cf. references in EB. 525), as a name of Satan.

23. wantonness. Heb. n'bhala. The term denotes the action of a person (called nabhāl) who is morally insensible of the claims of either God or man. In the present passage n'bhala is used, as most often, of immorality viewed as a callous disregard of the rights of other people. Cf. Driver's notes in Parallel Psalter, Glossary, p. 457; NHTS.² p. 200.

A.V., R.V., in rendering nabhāl 'fool,' n'bhala 'foolishness,' are not only inadequate but misleading. Driver renders 'senseless,' 'senselessness'; but an objection to this rendering is that the English terms would not naturally be understood (apart from explanation) to convey the meaning of moral and religious insensibility. There seems to be no English rendering of nabhāl which suits all occurrences. Perhaps the best general rendering is 'impious,' if we may use this adj. to denote one who lacks pietas in the full and wide sense in which the term is employed in Latin. When, however, the term nabhāl expressly contemplates a man's attitude towards his fellowmen, the rendering 'churl' may be more appropriate. Cf. Abigail's summary of the character of her husband in 1 Sam. 25 ⁵⁶—'Churl (Nabhāl) is his name, and churlishness (n'bhala) is with him.' The character of the nabhāl is summarized in Isa. 32 ⁶ (A.V., R.V. here 'vile person'; n'bhala n. 'villainy').

24. Behold my daughter, etc. The view of Ber. that this verse is a later interpolation from Gen. 19 ⁵ is improbable in view of the fact that the whole narrative is closely modelled on Gen. 19 ² in the first place (cf. p. 444).*

* The abnormal suffix-form מְלִינֵשׁ is doubtless an error for מְלִינֵשׁ; cf. vv. 26, 27, 29 (G-K. § 91d). For the masc. plur. suffixes שִׁמְאָה (twice), שִׁמְאָה, we should of course expect the fem. ; but such a use of masc. for fem. is frequent (cf. instances collected by König, Syntax, § 14).
in the morning, and opened the doors of the house, and went out to go on his way, and, behold, the woman his concubine was fallen down at the doorway of the house, with her hands on the threshold. 28. And he said unto her, 'Up, and let us be going'; but there was none that answered: then he took her up upon the ass; and the man arose, and went to his place. 29. And he entered into his house, and took his knife, and laid hold on his concubine, and divided her, limb by limb, into twelve pieces, and sent her throughout all the border of Israel. 30. [And he commanded the men that he sent, saying, 'Thus

28. but there was none that answered. The addition of הָעָלָה הָעָלָה הָעָלָה הָעָלָה הָעָלָה הָעָלָה הָעָלָה הָעָלָה הָעָלָה הָעָלָה HUN VESPÁ adds an unnecessary explanation, and is clearly a gloss.

30. And he commanded... and speak. Reading שָׁתַי וַיִּשְׁמַר כְּרִי וַיְהֵם צְמָרִים דְּרִי וַיִּשְׁמַר כְּרִי וַיְהֵם צְמָרִים דְּרִי וַיִּשְׁמַר כְּרִי וַיְהֵם צְמָרִים דְּרִי וַיְהֵם צְמָרִים D'YI ח'P:<p>They should have entrusted his envoys with a verbal message; and the exhortation 'Take ye counsel,' etc., comes more naturally from him than from those to whom the messengers are sent. In כְּבָל אִישׁ שִׁירָאֵל they are difficult, and, if part of the original narrative, can only be taken as frequentatives—'And it kept happening that everyone that saw would say,' etc.; but such a use of the frequentative is hardly natural. Assuming the text which we adopt to represent the original, the corruption in כְּבָל אִישׁ שִׁירָאֵל may have arisen as follows. The words 'And he commanded... men of Israel' were omitted through homoeoteleuton, the preceding v. 29 ending with 'Israel.' The speech 'Hath there been,' etc. being thus disconnected, and the spokesman undefined, attempt was made to solve the difficulty by insertion of 'And it was so, that everyone that saw it said,' the fact that this is a late gloss being indicated by the tenses כְּבָל אִישׁ שִׁירָאֵל, which are to be regarded as Perfects with weak ו, not 1 consecutive. The substitution of כְּבָל אִישׁ שִׁירָאֵל for כְּבָל אִישׁ interrogative at the beginning of the speech may have arisen through dittography of the final כְּבָל אִישׁ שִׁירָאֵל.
shall ye say to all the men of Israel), "Hath there been such a deed as this since the day that the children of Israel came up from Egypt unto this day? Take ye counsel concerning it, and speak."

20. Then all the children of Israel were called to arms and the congregation was assembled as one man, from Bu., Mo. (SBOT.), No., La., Kit. BH., Cooke prefer to construct a text from QJiA v. 30a, QJiA, QJiA v. 30b, QJiA v. 30a; i.e. after receiving the Levite's message, the spectators respond by echoing it in substance. Such repetition is, however, from the literary point of view, almost intolerable; and it is difficult to justify the conflate text. We certainly cannot explain the omission of the injunction to the messengers in QJiA through homoeoteleuton (unto this day' in the words of the messengers and in the response of the spectators) as is done by Mo. and Cooke, since such homoeoteleuton would naturally result in omission of the response of the spectators and not vice versa, the scribe's eye passing from the first ויהיה רביע to the second and omitting all that came between. How could it pass from the second to the first and omit all that came before the first? On the other hand, the text of QJiA (i.e. the second reading which we take to be original) might have omitted ויהיה רביע by homoeoteleuton; but in this case we should expect omission also of QJiA v. 30a which, as forming part of the Levite's message, must ex hypothesi have preceded ויהיה רביע.

The expression נפשו נפשו, 'Apply (lit. set) counsel,' does not occur elsewhere; cf., however, ch. 207ב הנני למד נפשו נפשו, 'Give here your advice and counsel,' with the same Ethic Dative למד (it is possible that we should read נפשו נפשו for נפשו נפשו as in 207ב). נפשו נפשו, 'set [your mind] upon it, take counsel, and speak;' implies an ellipse of נפשו נפשו after נפשו נפשו, as in Isa. 4110. Houb., Stu., etc., read נפשו נפשו for נפשו נפשו. The verb נפשו נפשו 'take counsel' (for the normal נפשו נפשו) occurs once again in Isa. 810.

20. were called to arms. Reading with Bu. in place of נאקיע נאקיע 'came out,' etc., to battle (Mo.). The emended verb is more natural in connexion with the words following 'unto Yahweh at Mizpah.' The same emendation is probably to be made in the parallel passage 1 Sam. 117 on the authority of QJiA: cf. NHTS.2 ad loc.

the congregation. Cf. p. 446.
Dan even to Be'er-sheba, and the land of Gile'ad, unto Yahweh at Mişpah. 2. And the chiefs of all the people, all the tribes of Israel, took their stand in the assembly of the people of God, even four hundred thousand footmen that drew sword. 3. And the children of Benjamin heard that the children of Israel had gone up to Mişpah. And the children of Israel said, 'Tell how this wickedness was brought to pass.' 4. And the Levite, the husband of the murdered woman, answered and said, 'To Gibe'ah which be­longeth to Benjamin I came, even I and my concubine, to spend the night. 5. And the citizens of Gibe'ah rose up against me, and surrounded the house against me by night; me they thought to have slain, and my concubine they humbled so that

from Dan, etc. So (defining the northern and southern limits of the land of Israel) 1 Sam. 3: 20, 2 Sam. 3: 10, 17: 11, 24: 2, 17, 24: 18, 1 Kgs. 4: 20 (2: 5). With inverted order, 1 Chr. 21: 8, 2 Chr. 30: 5. the land of Gile'ad. Gile'ad is used here in its widest sense of all the Israelite territory east of Jordan. Cf. note on ch. 10: 17. unto Yahweh. According to this narrative, Mişpah seems to be regarded as the site of an important sanctuary. Cf. the remarks on pp. 447, 453. Mişpah. The accepted site is the modern Neby Samwil on a lofty eminence (2935 feet) five miles north-west of Jerusalem, appropriately named 'place of outlook' (cf. note on the eastern Mişpah, ch. 10: 17) as commanding the country round for a great distance. Neby Samwil is about three and a half miles nearly due west of Hirbet Ras et-Tawil, and a little north of due west of Tell el-Ful (cf. note on Gibe'ah, ch. 19: 12). Cf. Map, p. 465.

2. the chiefs. Heb. pinnōth (1 Sam. 14: 38, Isa. 19: 13, Zech. 10: 4) is explained as a figurative usage of the word meaning 'corner' (i.e. 'corner-stone') of a building. Cf. the usage of the Ar. rukn 'corner-stone,' and then 'noble.' out of all the tribes, etc. Reading מְלָאכָת יִשְׂרָאֵל with Gra., in place of מְלָאכָת יִשְׂרָאֵל 'even all the tribes,' which, as it stands, is awkwardly explicative of מָצַח 'the people.' G, F render 'and all the tribes.' The which we insert may easily have fallen out through haplography after מָצַח. four hundred thousand footmen. On the huge numbers, cf. pp. 446. me they thought to have slain. On this statement as compared with 19: 26, cf. p. 454. 5. they humbled. G, L, Æ add καὶ εὐπνεοῦσαν αὐτῷ, i.e. מְלָאכָת יִשְׂרָאֵל as in ch. 19: 26.
she died. 6. Then I took hold of my concubine, and divided her, and sent her throughout all the country of the inheritance of Israel, because they had committed lewdness and wantonness in Israel. 7. Here ye all are, ye children of Israel; give here your advice and counsel.' 8. And all the people arose as one man, saying, 'We will not any of us go to his home, neither will we any of us turn unto his house: 9. but now this is the thing which we will do to Gibe'ah; \( \text{we will go up} \) against it by lot, 10. and will take ten men of an hundred of all the tribes of Israel, and an hundred of a thousand, and a thousand of ten thousand, to fetch victual for the people, that they may do \( [] \) to Gibe'\( ^\text{th} \) of Benjamin according to all the wantonness that

6. lewdness. Heb. \text{zimm\( a \)}, as applied to sins of unchastity, is characteristic of H—Lev. 18\( ^{17} \), 19\( ^{29} \), 20\( ^{14} \)\( ^{b} \), and of Ezek. where it is used metaphorically of idolatry under the figure of whoredom and adultery—Ezek. 16\( ^{27} \), 43\( ^{68} \), 22\( ^{9} \), 23\( ^{21} \), 27\( ^{37} \), 36\( ^{44} \), 46\( ^{b} \), 49\( ^{13} \); so also in Jer. 13\( ^{27} \). Elsewhere of adultery, Job 31\( ^{11} \). Scholars who hold that \( \text{v}v.\)\( ^{1b} - ^{8} \) belong to the oldest narrative are forced by these facts to suppose that \text{zimm\( a \)} is a later insertion, the original narrative running simply 'because they had committed wantonness in Israel.'

8. \text{to his home.} Lit. 'to his tent.' On the usage of the phrase, cf. ch. 19\( ^{9} \) note. Perhaps we ought here to read the plur. \( \text{\( \epsilon \)\( \text{\( \eta \)\( \text{\( \alpha \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \)}} \), as is usual, rather than the sing. \( \text{\( \lambda \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \).

9. \text{we will go up, etc.} Inserting \( \text{\( \alpha \)\( \nu \)\( \nu \)\( \psi \)\( \varepsilon \)\( \omicron \)\( \tau \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \) with \( \text{\( \varepsilon \)\( \tau \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \nu \)\( \rho \)\( \sigma \)\( \omicron \)\( \omicron \)\( \mu \)\( \nu \)\( \sigma \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \) \( \text{\( \iota \)\( \nu \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \). So Ros., Stu., Mo., etc. This verb may easily have fallen out before \( \text{\( \lambda \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \). \( \text{\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \) reads simply 'against it by lot,' which clearly cannot be original. \( \text{\( \tau \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \nu \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \) 'we will apportion ourselves against it by lot,' which clearly cannot be original. \( \text{\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \) 'we will cast lots against it,' represent different attempts to fill the lacuna. Bu.'s \( \text{\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \) \( \text{\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \) is less probable than the emendations adopted. The reference of the casting of lots appear to be to \( \text{\( \nu \)} \), where Judah is selected to begin the attack, a statement which, as we have seen (p. 448), seems to stand out of relation to the main narrative in which all the tribes take part simultaneously in the battle.

10. \text{that they may do to Gibe'ah, etc.} Omitting \( \text{\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \), which is intruded in \( \text{\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \) between \( \text{\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \) and \( \text{\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \). R.V. renders \( \text{\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \theta \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)\( \nu \)} \), 'that they may do, when they come to Gibe'ah of Benjamin, according to all
they have done in Israel.' 11. Then all the men of Israel were gathered together against the city as one man, in con-federacy. 12. R' And the tribes of Israel sent men through all the tribe of Benjamin, saying, 'What is this wickedness that is brought to pass among you? Now therefore deliver up the men, the sons of Belial, that are in Gibehah, that we may put them to death, and extirpate the wickedness from Israel.' But (the children of) Benjamin were not willing to hearken to the voice of their brethren the children of Israel. 14. X And the etc.; but, apart from the extreme awkwardness of the position of the use of the prep. in a temporal sense (in place of or ) is unparalleled. is possibly a corruption of which has come in from the margin, where it was noted as a correction of . reading for , and placing it before renders . This yields a tolerable sense; but may be suspected of being a correction of the text of , , where we have the order of — , , , renders , , , , for . This yields a tolerable sense; but may be suspected of being a correction of the text of , , in place of which is an obvious error: cf. note on ch. 1912.

they have done. Reading plur. with , , in place of sing. masc. . Had the city been individualized, we should have expected the fem. sing.: cf. G-K. § 122 h.

12. tribe of Benjamin. Reading with the Versions for plur. of , which probably arose through unintentional imitation of at the beginning of the verse. The same error is found in 1 Sam. 921. The Jewish commentators explain the plur. by the assumption that ‘tribes’ is here equivalent to ‘clans’ ( ), Kimchi referring to the term Benjaminitclans enumerated in Gen. 4621; but such a usage is very improbable.

sons of Belial. Cf. 1922 note.

the wickedness. The Def. Art. is necessary before . Its omission in is due to erroneous division of the words— for —or to haplography.

the children of Benjamin. So , many MSS. of , , , . Kt. 'Benjamin,' simply.
children of Benjamin were gathered together out of the cities unto Gib'ea, to go out to battle with the children of Israel.

15. * And the children of Benjamin were mustered in that day from the cities twenty and five thousand men that drew sword, not including the inhabitants of Gib'ea, [] even seven hundred

14. out of the cities. 'Εκ τῶν πόλεων "πορεύσατε ἅπαντες ἰσακληροὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων."" 

15. twenty and five thousand. So Ἐα, ἐθ, ἑ, in place of Ἐ, 'twenty and six thousand.' The correction is necessary in view of the statement that after 25,100 had fallen (v.36) the survivors numbered 600 (v.47). The narrator is very precise in the matter of numbers, and we are hardly justified in following Kimchi, who suggests that the 1000 who are unaccounted for in comparison of the 26,700 of Ἐ, with the numbers given in vvv.35-47 combined may have fallen in the battles of the first two days. According to the parallel account (J) 18,000 Benjaminites fell in battle (v.44), and the redactor is content (vv.46,47) to raise this number to a round total of 25,000, ignoring the odd 100.

15b.16. not including, etc. The text adopted follows ἑ, 'praeter habitatores Gabaa, qui septingenti erant viri fortissimi, ita sinistra ut dextra proeliantes, etc.' This differs from Ἐ in omitting ἢκτας κολλητοὺς in v.16b, and ἢκτας ἐξ ἀποκόλλησιν in v.16a. So Ἐ, ἐθ, except that in v.16b they retain ἢκτας κολλητοὺς, which they treat as a relative sentence ('Εδοὺ ἐπεσκέπτησαν, Ἐκλόγον ἐπεσκέπτησαν, ἐθ ἐπεσκέπτησαν οὕτως ἐπεσκέπτησαν), a course which is followed by A.V., R.V.; but illegitimately, since such a rendering demands the insertion of ἢκτας before the verb, or (as Bu. suggests), of ἢκτας. As Ἐ stands, the meaning of 'ελθεῖν ἀνεμμένοι γύρω τοῖς οἱκονομοῖς ὁμοίας, lit. 'and were numbered the children of Benjamin . . . and the men of Israel were numbered'—a variation of order which is very idiomatic in Heb. (called by Driver, Tenses, § 160, Obs., 'the Hebrew equivalent of μετὰ . . . δὲ of the Greeks'). As for v.16a, omitted by ἑ, ἐθ, ἐθ—it is true that such omission might be due to homoeoteleuton (ἵνα οὐχ ἢκτας); yet it seems in the highest degree unlikely that both the inhabitants of Gib'ea and the left-handed warriors should have been described originally by identically the same phrase, '700 chosen men.' An alternative emendation of the text, favoured by some scholars, is to end v.16.
chosen men 16. [] that were left-handed; all of these were used to sling a stone at a hair and not let it miss. 17. And the men of Israel were mustered, not including Benjamin, four hundred thousand men that drew sword; all of these were men of war. 18. And they arose, and went up to Bethel, and enquired of God, and the children of Israel said, 'Who shall go up for us first to battle with the children of Benjamin?' and Yahweh said, 'Judah first.' 19. X And the children of Israel arose in the morning, and encamped against Gibe'ah. 20. J And the men of Israel went out to battle with Benjamin; and the men of Israel set the battle in array against them at Gibe'ah. 21. X And the children of Benjamin came out from Gibe'ah, and felled of Israel to the ground in that day two and

with רַּלְמֵה, making its subj. to be the children of Benjamin, and to retain v. 16 as it stands in ב, thus taking the genuine mention of the 700 chosen men to be to the experts with the sling. The objection to such a text (which has no support from the Versions) is that it leaves us in ignorance of the number of the Gibe'athites—an omission which, in a tale which is so exact in its numbers, is very unlikely.

Adopting our text, it is the Gibe'athites who form the corps of left-handed slingers; and it is worthy of notice that the warriors who, according to 1 Chr. 12 1ff., joined David at Si'lag, and who 'were armed with bows, and could use both the right hand and the left * in slinging stones and in shooting arrows from the bow,' were 'of Saul's brethren of Benjamin,' and their leaders are stated to have been Gibe'athites.

15. chosen men. Heb. ʾîš bāḥār, i.e. young warriors in the prime of manhood.

18. went up to Bethel. On the site of Bethel, cf. ch. 1 22 note. It lies eight miles to the north-east of Miṣpah (Neby Samwil). On the introduction of the sanctuary at Bethel, here and in v. 26, 21 2, as alien to the conception of the narrative which pictures the tribes as assembling 'unto Yahweh' at Miṣpah, cf. pp. 447, 453 ʾה takes Bethel to refer to 'the house of God' at Shiloh, on the assumption that the Ark was at Shiloh from the days of Joshua (Josh. 18 19) to those of 'Eli (cf. Mo. on vv. 27, 28).

enquired of God. Cf. note on ch. 1 1. On the incident recorded in this verse as modelled directly upon ch. 1 1, cf. pp. 448, 454.

21. felled ... to the ground. Heb. יָשָׂר ... . The rendering of A.V., R.V., 'destroyed down to the ground,' accords

* Cf. the explanation of the phrase פָּרָשִׁים given by G. ʾה—not simply 'left-handed,' but 'ambidextrous.'
twenty thousand men. 22. And the people, J the men of Israel, took courage, and again set the battle in array in the place where they had set it in array on the first day. 23. And the children of Israel went up, and wept before Yahweh until the evening; and they enquired of Yahweh, saying, ‘Shall I again approach to battle with the children of Benjamin my brother?’ And Yahweh said, ‘Go up against him.’ 24. So the children of Israel drew near against the children of Benjamin on the second day. 25. And Benjamin went out to meet them from Gibeah on the second day, and again felled to the ground of the children of Israel eighteen thousand men: all these drew sword. 26. Then all the children of Israel, and all the people, went up, and came to Bethel and wept, and sat down there before Yahweh, and fasted that day until the evening, and offered burnt offerings and peace-offerings before Yahweh. 27. And the children of Israel enquired of Yahweh, (for the Ark of the covenant of with the conventional rendering of hîšîth, but offers an unnatural expression in English. Ball points out (verbally) that in the present use of hîšîth we have a preservation of the original meaning of the verb as seen in the Bab. šâhātû of the T.A. Letters, which means 'to fall,' and would therefore in the causative stem (Hiph'il) naturally signify 'to fell.' So vv. 25, 35 (in the last case with om. of nîyn, ‘to the ground’). Cf. for the sense ‘cause to fall’ in Pi'el, Gen. 38:8.

23. And the children of Israel went up. We expect the place to which they went up to be mentioned. Probably this was originally specified as Mispah by the X narrator, and this name was cut out by RPF so as not to conflict with his own conception of Bethel as the central sanctuary. Cf. x, 20, where the words 'and came to Bethel' have been inserted by RPF.

26. burnt offerings and peace-offerings. The burnt offering (wholly consumed by fire on the altar) is here a piaulum, and is followed by the peace-offering as a communion-feast shared by Yahweh and His worshippers with the purpose of ratifying and strengthening the covenant-bond. On the origin and conception of these two forms of sacrifice, cf. the present writer's Outlines of O.T. Theology, pp. 55 ff. The precise meaning of šēleim, conventionally rendered 'peace-offering,' is somewhat obscure. For different views, cf. BDB. p. 1023.

27. the Ark of the covenant of God. This form of allusion to the Ark ('of the covenant, etc.') is due in the first place to Deuteronomic influence. In ancient narratives it is called 'the Ark' simply, or 'the Ark of Yahweh' (or 'of God'). Cf. the conspectus of allusions in NHTK. pp. 31 f.
God was there in those days, 28. and Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, stood before it in those days,) X saying, 'Shall I again go out to battle with the children of Benjamin my brother, or shall I forbear?' And Yahweh said, 'Go up; for to-morrow I will deliver him into thine hand.'

29. And Israel set an ambuscade against Gibe'ah round about. 30. X And the children of Israel went up against the children of Benjamin on the third day, and set themselves in array against Gibe'ah, as aforetime. 31. And the children of Benjamin went

28. Phinehas. There seems to be no doubt that the name is the Eg. Pe-nhēsi, 'the negro,' i.e. 'child of dark complexion'; cf. Lauth, ZDMG. xxv. (1871), p. 139; W. M. Müller in EB. 3728, and, for the general usage of the term nḥēsi, AE. p. 112. The Eg. origin of the name is an important point in favour of the historical existence of its bearer*; and this is strengthened by the fact that the name reappears as the name of a descendant †—the second son of 'Eli (1 Sam. 1:6, al.).

stood before it. The phrase, which is here employed of the service of the Ark as the typical embodiment of Yahweh's manifestation, is used elsewhere of the Levites' ministrations 'before Yahweh.' (Deut. 10:8, 18, Ezek. 44:15), and in the mouths of the prophets to illustrate their conception of their relation to Yahweh (1 Kgs. 17:1, 18:15, 2 Kgs. 3:14, 5:10). Standing in the presence of a master is the natural attitude of a servant who is ready to execute his behests (cf. 1 Kgs. 1:2, 12:6, Jer. 52:12, al.).

31. to meet them. Reading יָאָשֶׁת יָאָשֶׁת 'to meet the people,' on the ground (argued above, pp. 449, 453) that the use of יָאָשֶׁת is elsewhere in the narrative characteristic of the redactor ר, and that the change which we here presuppose is a very easy one.

* In the same way, the identity (generally accepted) of the name Moses (Heb. Mōšē) with the Egyptian Mōt, which appears as an element in theophorous proper names, e.g. Ahmose, Thutmose, and also as a name by itself, is historically important. Had Moses been merely a legendary national hero, Israelite historians would hardly have invested him with an Egyptian name.

† That the family of 'Eli represented the ancient legitimate priestly line—therefore the line of descent from Eleazar—seems to follow from 1 Sam. 2:25ff. The theory of the Chronicler (1 Chr. 24:9) that Sadok was a descendant of Aaron's firstborn son Eleazar, and Abiathar ('Eli's great-great-grandson) a descendant of his youngest (fourth) son Ithamar, is clearly a device intended to legitimitize the claim of Sadok's family to the highpriesthood. We note, however, that, according to the earlier theory of 1 Sam. 2:25, Sadok (who is clearly hinted at: cf. 1 Kgs. 2:27) is to be raised up on account of his superior moral claims as representing the mind of Yahweh, and nothing is said about his prior claim by birth, the contrary being in fact implied by vv. 26,28. Of Sadok's antecedents prior to his appointment by David we really know nothing. Cf. Weilh., Prolegomena, pp. 126, 138 f.
20. 33.]

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out to meet [them], and were drawn away from the city; and they began to smite and kill of the people, as aforetime, in the highways, of which the one goeth up to Bethel and the other to Gibe'6n, in the field, about thirty men of Israel.

32. And the children of Benjamin said, 'They are smitten down before us, as at the first': but the children of Israel said, 'Let us flee, and draw them away from the city into the highways.'

33. And all the men of Israel rose up from their and were drawn away. Reading ã with Ehr. in place of ã, which is anomalous in form (we should expect ã) and also awkward as an asyndeton. As Ehr. remarks, the ã may easily have arisen through a misreading of ã.

in the highways . . . Gibe'on. Reading ã in place of ã, 'to Gibe'ah,' with Bu., No., La., Kit., Cooke.

Heb. ñé still denotes, not a mere beaten track, but a properly 'made' highroad. Whatever view be taken as to the precise site of Gibe'ah (cf. 19 note), there is no doubt that it was on (i.e. just off) the main northern road which led to Bethel: therefore, on the reading of ã, the distinction here so clearly drawn between the two highroads is hardly explicable. Half a mile north-west of Tell el-Fûl and nearly due west of Hirbet Ras et-Tawil the northern road forks, one branch running north-west, and reaching Gibe'on (el-Gib) after three miles. Both roads 'go up' on the whole. The elevation at the fork is 2462 feet. The Bethel-road reaches Bireh (2824 feet) in some five miles, and then makes a further continuous rise to Bethel (2890 feet), which it reaches two miles further on. The Gibe'on-road falls at first in crossing the wady ed-Dumm (2298 feet) at three-quarters of a mile, and then makes a steady rise to Gibe'on (2535 feet) some two miles further. A line drawn from Mi'shah (Neby Samwil) to Hirbet Ras et-Tawil actually crosses the fork of the road: consequently a hostile army approaching Gibe'ah (assumed to have been at the latter site), and feigning a disordered retreat in order to draw the Gibe'athites away from their city, would naturally be spread out over the two roads. Cf. Map, p. 465.

in the field. According to our analysis of the sources, this is not a description of the site of Gibe'ah but the direct continuation of 'began to smite and kill as aforetime,' in the narrative of X. The object of the Israelites' feint of retreat was to draw the Benjaminites away from the city-precincts into the open country (cf. Josh. 8 26e), and thus to facilitate the capture of the city by the ambush.

33. And all the men of Israel rose up, etc. Here we have in J the direct continuation of v. 29. Having laid the ambush, the main army makes a move to begin the attack. The order of the sentence,
place, and set themselves in array at Ba‘al-tamar: X and the ambush of Israel burst forth from its place 'on the west of'

The construction of ḫr, ḫr, is hardly tolerable. We must read sing. eḥ in agreement with the collective 'ארש שיא, the narrative then continuing with the plur. verb ובֵית as in vv. 30, 32; or, accepting the plur. verb with the collective sing. subj., as in vv. 36b, 37, 46, adopt the plur. suffix ָיָּמִים.

Ba‘al-tamar. Unidentified. Eusebius (OS. 238 75) states that in his day there still existed a Beth-tamar near Gibe‘ah.

burst forth. Heb. יֹנָה. The verb גֹזָה is only used elsewhere in the O.T. of water bursting forth, Job. 38:8, 40:23. Ezek. 32:2 (doubtful) — cf. Gḥōn, 'the Gusher,' the name of the spring outside Jerusalem; or, of a child bursting forth from the womb, Mic. 4:10, Ps. 22:10 (doubtful), cf. Job. 38:8 already cited. The verb is frequent in Aram. in the ḥiph‘el, followed by the accus. בִּרְבּ 'battle,' in the sense 'movere bellum.' The emendation יֹרֵר (looked forth) (cf. מִסְרָא found), proposed by Grä., is much inferior to ḫr.

on the west of Geba'. Reading מְקֻנִּים with ג tert, גb, ג, and most moderns, in place of מְקֵעַר. Ma‘rē (treated by R.V. text as a proper name: cf. גb בָּדֵא Mapa‘yāse) is rendered 'meadow' by R.V. marg. (A.V. 'meadows'), on the assumption that it means a bare, naked place † (i.e. devoid of trees?): cf. the rendering of כִּבְסֵה 'plain.' § Such a bare open space would obviously be the last place which an ambush would choose for concealment. מִפְּרֵר 'from the cave (מְקֵעַר) which is in Geba',

* The hopeless difficulty in which this half-verse has involved commentators, upon the ordinary assumption that it is a continuation of the narrative immediately preceding, is well set forth by Mo. Mo. himself hesitates upon the verge of the conclusion which we have adopted:—' It might be suspected that the half-verse came from the older narrative, in which it would have a passable sense and connexion after v. 29, but the construction is so negligent, not to say ungrammatical, that the conjecture is hardly to be entertained.' Cf., however, the remarks on the construction made above. With the slight emendation there advocated it is perfectly idiomatic.

† מִפְּרֵר 'bare places' (י) in Isa. 19:7, rendered by R.V. 'the meadows by the Nile,' is itself too dubious to be quoted in support.

§ According to S.W.P. Great Map, xviii., there actually exists a Sahel Geba', i.e. 'plain of Geba', south-east of the village of Geba', but this appears too remote from the scene of action. Cf. Map, p. 465.
and this is improved upon by Ar., the half-verse being rendered, ‘and the ambuscades were in the caves of Geba’, looking forth from their positions, the plur. ‘caves’ being substituted for the sing. probably on the ground that one cave would not suffice for such a force (Ros.).

Geba’ is nearly two and a half miles north-north-east of Hirbet Ras et-Tawil, and three miles from Tell el-Fül; so that, if ‘to the west of Geba’ is literally interpreted, the ambuscade must have been placed at a considerable distance from the city. Not improbably, however, we may think of it as concealed in the valley which runs from the western side of Geba’ down to Hizmeh (so La.), from which it could rapidly proceed up the wady el-Hāfy to Ras et-Tawil. Cf. Map, p. 465.

Mo. effects a complete agreement with the Versions upon which we base our emendation by reading ‘west of Gibe’ah’ (Godó δυσφρῶν τῆς Гασσα, E ‘ab occidentali urbis parte’); but this surely cannot be correct, since west of Gibe’ah was the very direction in which the Benjaminites were advancing to the attack of the Israelite host. The whole account of the stratagem seems to indicate that the ambush attacked Gibe’ah from the east or north-east, while the Benjaminites were being drawn off to the west.

34. in front of Gibe’ah. Heb. המַעֲרֵה יִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. The sense of המַעֲרֵה יִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is somewhat obscure. It may be supposed that it denotes something more definite than ‘in view of,’ and is intended to describe the quarter from which the city was approached; and, if this is so, we may conjecture that it has the sense often possessed by the analogous expression יַרְדֵּה ‘before,’ viz. ‘eastward of’; cf. BD B, s.v. יַרְדֵּה, 7a (d). This is the quarter from which the city could be approached unobserved, and from which it would naturally be approached from the south-west of Geba’. Such a meaning suits the use of המַעֲרֵה יִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in the similar description of the capture of ‘Ai in Josh. 8. Here the ambush is west of ‘Ai (v.9), and the main army of Israel, advancing from the Jordan valley, would naturally come ‘in front of the city’ (i.e. eastward of it) before encamping on the north of it (v.11). La. takes a different view, holding that ‘in front of’ means that the ambush placed itself between the Benjaminites and Gibe’ah so as to cut off retreat—therefore, to the west of it. A different reading offered by twenty-seven MSS. of Heb and presupposed by ד (םלד) is המַעֲרֵה יִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ‘to the south of.’ This might describe the position of a force coming up the wady Zimry to attack Rās et-Tawil; yet the reading is hardly to be preferred to that of Heb.

* Three caves are marked at Geba’ in the SWP, Great Map, xvii.
chosen men out of all Israel, and the battle was sore; J but they knew not that evil was closing upon them. 35. X And Yahweh smote Benjamin before Israel: and the children of Israel felled of Benjamin on that day twenty-five thousand one hundred men: R² all these drew sword. 36. X And the children of Benjamin saw that they were smitten: J and the men of Israel gave place to Benjamin, for they trusted in the ambuscade which they had set against Gibe'ah. 37. And the ambuscade hasted, and made an onset against Gibe'ah: and the ambuscade opened out, and smote all the city at the edge of the sword. 38. Now the appointment between the men of Israel and the ambuscade was [] that when they should make a beacon of smoke to rise up

even ten thousand, etc. The reference is to the ambuscade.
but they knew not, etc. The subj. is clearly the Benjaminites who are the victims of the ruse; and the fact that they are not mentioned in the earlier half of the verse is an indication that we are dealing in this latter half with the other source (J). The antecedent statement in J must have described how the Benjaminites sallied forth to meet Israel at Ba'al-tamar (v. 33a); cf. Josh. 8:14, where the latter half of the verse bears a marked resemblance to the present passage.

twenty-five thousand one hundred men. I.e. all but the 600 survivors mentioned in v. 47. Cf. note on v. 16.


38. appointment. Heb. 모ְדֹּד, lit. (here) ‘appointed time’ (as very frequently; cf. BDB. s.v. 1a). The signal of the smoke-beacon indicated the 모ְדֹּד for Israel’s volte-face, but was not itself the 모ְדֹּד (we have no parallel for 모ְדֹּד = ‘appointed signal’).

was, that when, etc. Omitting the vox nihili בַּעֲדֵיה יִרְמְאוּ before הַלְעָכָה before יִרְמְאוּ with some MSS. of א, א, א, and all recent commentators, as corrupt dittography the immediately preceding יֵרְמְאוֹנָה ‘the ambuscade.’

סָמָךְ לַשְׁנֵי, lit. ‘that they should make great to send up,’ is followed by R.V., ‘that they should make a great cloud of smoke, etc.’ (A.V. is similar.) This rendering apparently regards בָּשָׂר as apocopated Imperat. Hiph’l of נְרָר—a view which would be just possible if the injunction were couched in the oratio recta (יחַרְב לְהַלְעָכָה ‘make great to send up,’ i.e. ‘send up as much as you can!’), but is of course out of the question when it is expressed obliquely with the suffix form בָּשָׂר. Some MSS. of י read בָּשָׂר ‘sword,’ which appears in אמ לֶאם הַשַּׁלֹּחַ thrown into the sentence without any intelligible
out of the city, 39. the men of Israel should face about in the battle. And Benjamin began to smite and kill among the men of Israel about thirty men; and they said, ‘Surely they are utterly smitten before us, as in the first battle.’ 40. Then the beacon began to ascend from the city in a column of smoke; and when Benjamin looked back, behold, the holocaust of the city rose up toward heaven. 41. And the men of Israel faced about; and the men of Benjamin were dismayed, for they saw that evil had closed upon them. 42. So they turned before connexion.

39. the men of Israel should face about. Reading בְּכָל in place of בְּכָל for they said.’ Obviously the conclusion drawn by the Benjaminites was the result of their preliminary success in smiting Israel. The text of בְּכָל can only be explained as meaning that they began to be successful because they supposed that the same result was bound to ensue as on the preceding days. This, however, is clearly not the intention of the narrative. The confusion of 1 and בְּכָל is not uncommon: cf. ch. 16 21, 1 Sam. 21 0 for בְּכָל (G καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο), Jer. 37 16 אֲנַפִּים for בְּכָל (G καὶ ἤλθον); conversely 1 Kgs. 22 37 נַפִּים for בְּכָל (G ὤρι τεθνηκεν), Isa. 39 1 נַפִּים for בְּכָל (G ἠκούσεν γάρ, and so בְּכָל in 2 Kgs. 20 12).

40. The holocaust of the city. Heb. בְּכָל. The rendering adopted is that of Mo., who points to Deut. 13 17 for a similar use of kālāl in allusion to the destruction of a city by fire: ‘And thou shalt burn with fire the city and all its spoil as a holocaust to Yahweh thy God.’ R.V., rendering ‘the whole of the city,’ has to supply the words ‘in smoke’ after ‘went up.’ The similar passage in Josh. 8 30 has ‘the smoke of the city went up toward heaven.’

42. they turned. Reading בְּכָל in agreement with the singualrs
the men of Israel unto the way to the wilderness; but the battle overtook them, and they that were from the city were destroying them in the midst, 43. and they beat down Benjamin, proceeding, and the sing. suffix of following, in place of יי plur. So Bu., No., Kit. BH.

from the city. Reading מועט with יי (‘sed et hi qui urbem succenderant’), some MSS. of Σ, Mo. The reference is, of course, to Gibe'ah. The ambuscade, having burned the city, now joined in the attack of the Benjaminites in the field. Cf. Josh. 8 22. מזערים, ‘from the cities,’ must have arisen through dittography of the initial מ of מְשָׁאָל immediately following.

in the midst. Reading מַחֲבָּה with Mo., No., La. (cf. יי ‘ex utroque parte,’ יי אַל עָשָׁה וְיָכְרוּ מִן תֶּלֶם וּמַעֲרָה, as in Josh. 8 22, ‘And these others [the ambuscade who had just burned the city] came out of the city against them; so they were in the midst of Israel [lit. they were, as regards Israel, in the midst, some on this side, and some on that side: and they smote them,’ etc. The meaning of the phrase is the same in our passage, viz. that the Benjaminites were ‘in the midst’ of the Israelite forces, caught between the main army and the ambuscade which has issued from the city. In יי, R.V. ‘in the midst thereof,’ the reference of the suffix is obscure, and we may regard the י as properly the consecutive belonging to the verb which opens the next verse. Cf. note following.

43. and they beat down . . . Geba’. Reading מַהֲכָה אַחֲרֵי 변ָנָי, in place of יי מַהֲכָה וְעָרִים וְרָמִים יְהַמְּרוּ מִן עָשָׁה וְיָכְרוּ מִן תֶּלֶם וּמַעֲרָה, rendered by R.V. ‘They enclosed the Benjamites about, [and] chased them, [and] trode them down at [their] resting-place, as far as over against Gibeah.’ The text of יי is undoubtedly very corrupt. מַעֲרָה, ‘they surrounded,’ is strange in the description of a pursuit; and if the verb is preserved uncorrupted it seems almost necessary to regard the statement ‘they surrounded Benjamin’ as a marginal gloss upon הבנימ ב, which should be הבנימ ב in the preceding verse. Our emendation מַהֲכָה ב (so Ehr.) is based on יי קָאֵל קָטֶקֶפָּן, יי קֵל קָטֶקֶפָּן; cf. the use of the verb in a similar connexion in Num. 14 46 (יי קָאֵל קָטֶקֶפָּן אָנוּוֹת), Deut. 1 44. The disappearance of יי consecutive before the verb may be due to the fact that it has been taken as the suffix of the preceding הבנימ ב, which should be הבנימ ב (cf. note preceding). The suggested emendations מַהֲכָה ב or הבנימ ב have not the same support in usage.
pursued him from Noāh [] as far as over against Geba[] towards the east. 44. And there fell of Benjamin

... are suspicious as being asyndeta. The Hiph'il of רָדַף is otherwise unknown. The Hiph'il of רָדַף can hardly mean 'trod down,' the sense which is assigned to it by A.V., R.V. (we should expect קַל; cf. Isa. 63); but probably (as noted by Ros.) the meaning intended is 'overtook,' as in the Ar. Conjugation iv. and Syr. Ḥiph'el of the verb. The close similarity between the two verbs marks them as doublets; and one of them at least must be deleted from the text.* We read נִכְבָּה with La., Ehr. on the assumption that has been misread נ (cf. note on 'and were drawn away,' v. 31), and delete רָדַף as a doublet.

'rest' or 'resting-place,' is treated by R.V., Ber., Ke., Oet. as an Accus. of place; but such a usage would be quite without parallel even if the subs. had the Def. Art. prefixed. The sense in which the word is used in its context has proved a crux to the Versions. גֵּרָה, כַּאֲמַרְנָא אֲמַרְנָא כַּאֲמַרְנָא, treats it as a second Accus. after the preceding verb. פ (connecting with following verb) regards כְּדַמְיָה as an adverbial Accus., and quietly (easily?) slew him—hence A.V. 'trode them down with ease,' and similarly Ros., and Böttcher in Winer's Zeitschr. 11. i. p. 62; but this is a misuse of the meaning of כְּדַמְיָה. ו, ע, ע treat the initial כְּדַמְיָה as the particle כְּ; so פ somewhat paraphrastically, 'nec erat ulla requies morientium, i.e. כְּ of separation, 'apart from rest'; ע (connecting with preceding verb) כְּדַמְיָה מְכֵּה נְכֻלָּה, 'they chased them from their resting-place'; ע כְּדַמְיָה אֵלְשַׁהוֹן אֲמַרְנָא אֲמַרְנָא עָנָּה, treating כְּדַמְיָה as a place-name with כְּ as the terminus a quo. This last explanation, adopted by Houb., is favoured by Mo., who cites Noāh named in 1 Chr. 8 as the fourth 'son,' i.e. clan of Benjamin, and so possibly the name of a Benjaminite city or village. This we have adopted in our text (with La., and Driver in ET. xviii. p. 332) in default of a better solution; though, since it cannot be maintained with Mo. (SBOT.) that the terminus ad quem 'as far as over against Geba' requires a terminus a quo (there is none e.g. in Num. 14, Deut. 1), it must be admitted that the emendation is extremely precarious.† The only alternative seems to be to follow Bu. (with No., Kit., Cooke) in omitting כְּדַמְיָה as due to dittography, on the view that a scribe accidentally duplicated the words כְּדַמְיָה and the duplication eventually became כְּדַמְיָה כְּדַמְיָה and the duplication eventually became כְּדַמְיָה כְּדַמְיָה.

* It is conceivable that both may be marginal variants of רָדַף in the preceding verse.

† Luther and Stu. treat כְּדַמְיָה as a place-name defining the terminus ad quem, 'unto Menujah,' this being further defined by 'as far as, etc.' Cf. for this ch. 7, 'toward Seredah, as far as the edge of Abel-meḥolah.'
eighteen thousand men: all these were men of valour. 45. And they turned and fled toward the wilderness unto the crag of Rimmon. And they gleaned of him in the highways five thousand men, and they followed hard after him as far as Geba', and they smote of him two thousand men. 46. So all

In as far as over against Gibe'ah to the east, 'Gibe'ah' is certainly an error, since, as Mo. remarks, 'the Israelites clearly did not desist from pursuit in the immediate vicinity of Gibe'ah, that is, at the very start.' Since the fugitives had as their objective the crag of Rimmon to the north-east (cf. note on v. 45 for the site), it is natural to suppose that we should read 'Geba,' the two names (as noted on p. 464) being often confused. So Mo., Bu., La., Kit., Driver (ET. xviii. p. 332), Cooke. Why the pursuit ended at the point indicated hardly calls for solution, the reasonable inference being that the ultimate survivors had at this stage succeeded in getting clear away. Mo. remarks that 'Geba (Geba') lies in the line of flight from Gibeah (Tell el-Fül) toward Rammôn, and the great wady es-Suweinit, with its difficult passage between Geba' and Makhmās, would naturally check the pursuit.' Similarly, Cooke—'Jeba' lies on the way to Rammôn; but before the fugitives could reach their place of refuge (Rimmon, v. 46) the narrow defile of the Wadi Suwēnit (1 Sam. 14.4ff.), between Jeba' and Machmās would stop further pursuit.' The present writer can, however, state, from personal inspection of the wādī, that at any point at which it would naturally be encountered in a flight from Tell el-Fül or Rās et-Tawil to Rammôn it could be crossed without much difficulty. Only if the fugitives had gone out of their way towards the east, and then struck off northward at an angle, would they have found the wādī a formidable obstacle. Cf. Map, p. 465.

44. all these, etc. Heb. הַיְוָ֖ה יַעַדְּשֵׂהוּ הָאֲשָׂדֶ֥שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה הָאֶ֖שֶׁה H introducing the Nominative with some emphasis—a mark of late and inferior style: cf. G-K. § 117 m.

45. the crag of Rimmon. Eusebius and Jerome (OS. 1466, 28798) mention a village named Rimmon fifteen Roman miles north of Jerusalem. The identification by Rob. (BR.3 i. p. 440) with the modern Rammôn, three and a half miles east of Bethel, 'situated on and around the summit of a conical chalky hill, and visible in all directions,' is generally accepted. Cf., however, Addenda, p. xxi, where the claims of a rival identification are discussed.

as far as Geba'. Reading מִן אִֵ֑לֶּכְּנָ֖ל יִּשְׂרַ֣אֵל יָדַ֣֣ע לֹ֑א יָדַ֣֣ע לֹ֑א יָדַ֣֣ע לֹ֑א יָדַ֣֣ע לֹ֑א יָדַ֣֣ע לֹ֑א יָדַ֣֣ע לֹ֑א יָדַ֣֣ע L which, as vocalized, can only be regarded as a proper
that fell of Benjamin were twenty and five thousand men that
drew sword in that day: all these were men of valour. 47. But
there turned and fled towards the wilderness unto the crag of
Rimmon X six hundred men; J and they abode on the crag of
Rimmon four months. 48. And the men of Israel turned back
unto the children of Benjamin, and smote them at the edge
name 'unto Gid'om'—a locality which is otherwise quite unknown
to us.

There should be no doubt that the emendation adopted is correct.
The reference occurs in the redactor's interpolation, vv.
the sole object of which is, not to supply fresh topographical information, but (cf. p. 448) to cure the discrepancy between the figure 18,000 in
v.48 (J), as compared with 25,100 in v.36 (X). As a means of accomplishing this, he had in his sources two scenes of action to which the
slaughter of further Benjaminites (making up, in round numbers,
25,000, v.48) might be assigned: (a) the battlefield, which, as we
learn from vv.31-32, extended over the m'sillōth, 'highways,' west and
north-west of Gibe'ah (cf. note on v.31); (b) the line of flight, which is
described in v.48 as extending (from the battlefield) 'as far as over
Geba.' Thus, on the view that the 18,000 fell on the battle-
field before the flight (a deduction implied by the placing of v.48
before v.46), he assigns (a) an additional 5000 as the result of a
grape-gleaning (for the use of the verb 'ōlāl, cf. the subs. ôlōlōth in
ch. 8.2 note), i.e. a careful going over the m'sillōth a second time to
wipe out stragglers; and (b) 2000 more as overtaken in the pursuit
before it was abandoned on reaching 'as far as Geba.'

A casual suggestion thrown out (though not adopted) by Mo. in
a footnote in his Comm. (p. 444) is that we might vocalize the word
in יָשְׁלָה בַּגִּבְאוֹן as an Infinitive, יָשְׁלָה בַּגִּבְאוֹן 'till they cut them off': cf. the use of
the verb in ch. 21, 'One tribe is cut off (גֵּרָה) to-day from Israel.'
This has been adopted by succeeding commentators (so Bu., No.,
La., Kit., Cooke). Clearly the syntax will not admit of such a
reading. Considering that Benjamin is referred to in the sing. both
immediately before (הִנָּה) and immediately after (סַלַּל), the writer's choice, had he meant to use such an Infinitive, would have lain
between יָשְׁלָה בַּגִּבְאוֹן (cf. 1 Kgs. 22, Ps. 18.38), and, preferably,
(28.48, al.).

The reading of שׁפִּי, 'Gibe'on,' is adopted by Gra.; but this city lay
in the wrong direction.

48. turned back unto the children of Benjamin. The reference is
to the non-combatants (old men, women, and children) whom they
found at home in the cities and villages.
of the sword, both inhabited city, and cattle, and everything that there was; moreover all the cities that there were they set on fire.

21. 1. Now the men of Israel had sworn in Miapah, saying, 'There shall not any of us give his daughter to Benjamin to wife.' 2. R P And the people came to Bethel, and sat there until the evening before God, and lifted up their voice, and wept sore. 3. And they said, ‘Wherefore, O Yahweh, God of Israel, hast this come to pass in Israel, that there should be missing to-day one tribe from Israel?’ 4. And on the morrow the people rose up early, and built there an altar, and offered burnt offerings and peace-offerings. 5. And the children of Israel, said, 'Who

both inhabited city. Vocalizing מֵהֶם, lit. 'both city of men,' as in Deut. 2:31, 3:6, Job 24:14, with several Heb. MSS., Stu., Wellh., Mo., etc., in place of מֵהֶם מָאָר, which, if genuine, would seem to mean 'both city of entirety,' whence R.V. 'both entire city.' The subs. מֵהֶם only occurs again in Isa. 1:6, Ps. 38:27 (מֵהֶם כָּלָה) in a different connexion ('soundness' of body). Even with our emendation the sequence (lit.) 'from city of men unto cattle, unto everything, etc.' is rather strange. R P reads מִכָּלָה מַעֲבַרְ-מָעְלָה לַמִּיִּמֶּשׁ מִכָּלָה מַעֲבַרְ-מָעְלָה לַמִּיִּמֶּשׁ מִכָּלָה מַעֲבַרְ-מָעְלָה לַמִּיִּמֶּשׁ מִכָּלָה מַעֲבַרְ-מָעְלָה לַמִּיִּמֶּשׁ מִכָּלָה מַעֲבַרְ-м Daughter from mankind to cattle, etc.': cf. Gen. 6:7, Ex. 9:29, 12:22, Lev. 27:28, Num. 3:13, Jer. 50:5, 51:18, Ps. 135:8. This reading, which is adopted by Gra., is certainly easier. Kit. מֵהֶם 'from men,' omitting רִית.

21, 4. and built there an altar. The statement is difficult to explain in view of 20:26-28a, according to which Bethel was the scene of the priestly ministrations of Phinehas, and the Israelites had already offered there the same forms of sacrifice as are mentioned in the present passage—clearly (it is implied) on the ancient altar pertaining to the sanctuary. Mo. and Bu. regard the statement relating to the new altar as a gloss; but, considering that the Bethel-passages, here and in ch. 20, appear to emanate from the late redactor R', it is difficult to conjecture what purpose a still later interpolator could have in view in making a fresh altar take the place of the old and orthodox altar as pictured by the priestly writer. May we conjecture that certain elements from one of the sources underlie R's work in vv. 2:6, and that among these there was an allusion to the building of an altar at Miapah?
5. for the great oath, etc. The definite form in which the reference is couched seems to point to a recognized formula, the provisions of which were well understood (Mo. compares 1 Sam. 14:24, 26, 28). Failing this explanation of the Def. Art., we must infer that it points back to an earlier mention of the oath—in which case it is probable that here again we have an element from one of the sources. R.V. 'for they had made a great oath, etc.,' does not bring out the force of the Heb.

6. is cut off. Lit. 'is hewn or lopped off,' like a branch from a tree (so Mo., who compares Isa. 10:33, 14:12). In place of יַעַל some MSS. read יָכָל 'is withdrawn or subtracted,' which, though possible, is not so forcible as the accepted text.

7. for them, for the survivors. Here 'for them' originally found its reference in a part of J's narrative which has been omitted by R". Thus, to make the allusion clear, R" has added 'for the survivors' (cf. v.16a).

8. Jabesh of Gile'ad. The name is preserved in the wādy Yābis, which runs into the Jordan from the east about nineteen miles north of the mouth of the Jabboḳ; but the site of the city has not been identified. Eusebius (OS. 225:83, 268:81) describes it as lying 'on the mountain' (table-land) beyond Jordan six Roman miles from Pella on the road to Gerasa. Rob. (BR. 3 iii. p. 319) proposes the ruined site ed-Dér on the southern edge of wādy Yābis, six miles from the Jordan; but this site, though the right distance from Pella (H. Fahil), is off the road to Geras and, according to Merrill, unmarked by really ancient remains. Merrill (DB. ii. p. 524) favours the ancient site Meryamin on the northern side of wādy Yābis; but this, though stated by him to be 'about seven miles from Pella,'
J sent thither twelve thousand men of the most valiant, and commanded them, saying, 'Go, and smite the inhabitants of Jabesh of Gile'ad at the edge of the sword, with the women and the little ones. 11. Rv And this is the thing that ye shall do; every male, and every woman that knoweth cohabitation with a male ye shall devote to destruction, J<but the virgins ye shall save alive.' And they did so.> 12. And they found of the inhabitants of Jabesh of Gile'ad four hundred virgin girls, that had not known a man Rv in respect of cohabitation with a male;

appears, as measured on the map, to be not more than two or three miles distant.*

Jabesh is mentioned elsewhere in the O.T. solely in connexion with the history of Saul. It was the rescue of the city from Nahash the 'Ammonite which (according to the J narrative 1 Sam. 11) gave Saul the opportunity of proving his ability as a leader and led to his election to the kingship; and in grateful memory of this rescue the inhabitants of Jabesh, after the death of Saul at the battle of Mount Gilboa', recovered his body from the wall of Beth-she'an where it had been hung by the Philistines, and buried it, together with the bodies of his sons, in or near their city (1 Sam. 31 8-13). David, on his succession to the kingship at Hebron, sent a message of thanks to the Jabeshites for this action (2 Sam. 2 4ff.), and eventually brought back the bones of Saul and his sons from Jabesh and buried them in the ancestral tomb of Kish in the land of Benjamin (2 Sam. 21 12ff.). The selection of this city—so friendly and faithful to Saul—for a shameful part in a narrative which deals with an atrocious deed committed by Gibe'ah, Saul's native city, suggests with some reason that the leading motive in the story may have been deep antipathy to the memory of Saul and his adherents. Cf. p. 447.

11. but the virgins . . . did so. Adding ἀλλά τινὰς ἑτοὶ τινὶς καὶ τινὶς γυναῖκας. ἐξερήσατε. Cf. E 'virgines autem reservate.' The addition is indispensable in view of the fact that the saving of the virgin girls was the prime purpose of the expedition.

12. four hundred virgin girls. It is not unlikely that, according to J, there were only four hundred surviving Benjaminites to be provided with wives.

* There is a discrepancy in the position of Meryamin as given by the Smith-Bartliolomew map and the EB. map, the former placing it barely two miles south-east of H. Fahil and three and a quarter miles north-west of deir Halâweh, (ed-Dèr), while the latter places it nearer the wády Yâbis, three and a half miles south-east of H. Fahil and two and a half miles north-west of ed-Dèr. Smith's Map VI. in HG. agrees more nearly with EB.
J and they brought them unto the camp to Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan.  
13. Then the whole congregation sent, and spake unto the children of Benjamin that were on the crag of Rimmon, and proclaimed peace to them. 14. And Benjamin returned at that time, and they gave them the women that they had saved alive of the women of Jabesh of Gilead; and yet so they did not find enough for them. 15. And the people were moved to pity for Benjamin, because that Yahweh had made a breach in the tribes of Israel. 16. And the elders of the congregation said, ‘How shall we do for wives for the survivors, seeing that women have been destroyed out of Benjamin?’ 17. And they said, ‘How shall a remnant be left to Benjamin, that a tribe be not blotted out from Israel, seeing that we are not

to Shiloh. Why the camp should be represented as transferred from Mispah (or Bethel) to Shiloh cannot be divined. Mo. thinks that the editor may be already shifting the scene to prepare for the narrative of vv. 19 ff., though, as he adds, ‘that story is really quite incompatible with the presence of the Israelite encampment at Shiloh.’

which is in the land of Canaan. The same curious definition is found in Josh. 21 2, 22 9, with reference to Shiloh, both passages belonging to the Priestly source. The second passage, which relates how the two and a half tribes leave Shiloh to return to Gilead, east of Jordan, suggests that ‘in the land of Canaan’ may be the equivalent of ‘west of Jordan,’ as distinct from east of it (cf. Josh. 22 10); but in any case, the fact that the site of Shiloh has to be defined at all indicates a very late date for the comment. Cf. the exact description of the site in v. 19.

15. Yahweh had made a breach. For the phrase, cf. 2 Sam. 6 8. Similarly (verb יִתְנַב) 2 Sam. 5 8, Ex. 19 22 24.

17. How shall a remnant be left. Reading בְּגָם as suggested by some MSS. of אֵלֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתְנַב instead of יִתְנַב אֵלֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתְנַב אֵלֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, with Mo. (who offers the alternative verb יִתְנַב), La., Kit., Driver (ET. xviii. p. 332), Cooke. יִתְנַב בְּגָם. ‘An inheritance of a remnant for (or pertaining to) Benjamin,’ is freely expanded by A.V., R.V. into ‘There must be an inheritance for them that be escaped of Benjamin’; but even if we grant the legitimacy of this rendering, there still remains the difficulty that the question deals with the territory of Benjamin, whereas the context makes it clear that the immediate concern was to secure that the tribe itself should not be
able to give them wives of our daughters?ʹ for the children of Israel had sworn, saying, ‘Cursed be he that giveth a wife to Benjamin.’ 19. And they said, ‘Behold, there is the feast of Yahweh in Shiloh yearly,ʹ R⁵ which is on the north of Bethel, on the east of the highway which goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebanon. 20. X And they commanded the children of Benjamin, saying, ‘Go and lie in wait in the vineyards; 21. and see, and, behold, if the daughters of Shiloh come forth to dance in the dances, then come ye forth from the vineyards, and snatch ye every man his wife from the daughters of Shiloh, and go to the land of Benjamin. 22. And

blotted out. Oort reads מְנַעֲשָׁה ‘let there be left, etc.,’ following ס"; while Bu., No., prefer מְנַעֲשָׁה ‘let us leave, etc.’

19. Behold there is, etc. Bu. is doubtless right in regarding these words as addressed to the Benjaminites, and as directly continued by v. 20 in the original narrative. The insertion of the topographical note in v. 19 has necessitated the resumption, ‘And they commanded, etc.’

the feast of Yahweh. The Heb. term הָגָה properly means ‘a pilgrimage’ (cf. Ar. hagg); and though the description of the festival suggests that it was local in character, it may have been attended by pilgrims from the country round. Cf. the description of the position occupied by Shiloh as the religious centre for festival-pilgrimages in 1 Sam. 1, 2.

which is on the north, etc. The modern Selûn (cf. ch. 18 31 note) is, as described, nearly ten miles north-north-east of Bethûn (Bethel), two miles east of the high road to Nâblus (Shechem), and three miles east-south-east of el-Lubbân (Lebonah).*

of the highway. Vocalizing נִלְכָּת with the Def. Art., in place of פָּנָה.

20. And they commanded. כִּבְרֵה, in place of Kt. דְּבָרָה.


* In the phrase יָכְדִּיעַ נַעֲשָׁה cf., for the Construct State before the prep., G-K. § 130 a, n 9, and, for the לְוֹכָדִיָּה with the Construct State, G-K. § 90a. The normal phrase is יָכְדִּיעַ נַעֲשָׁה, cf. ch. 29, al.
21. 22. [THE BOOK OF JUDGES 493

when their fathers or their brothers come to complain unto you, ye shall say, 'Grant them graciously to us; for we took not every man his wife in battle: for ye had given them to us, ye would now be guilty.' 23. And the children of

22. their fathers or their brothers. Reading fem. suffixes נַבֵּנֵי, נַכְנֵי, in place of the erroneous masc. suffixes of ב. Similarly we must read נַכְנֵי or נַכְנֵי (Ezek. 16:64) for נַכְנֵי in the request 'Grant them graciously, etc.' With the mention of the brothers as likely to be prominent in demanding satisfaction, cf. Gen. 34:7ff., 2 Sam. 11:2ff.

To complain. On Kt. בֹּרֶכֶת, cf. ch. 6:22 note. בֹּרֶכֶת substitutes the normal בְּרֵכַת.

unto you. Reading בֹּרֶכֵּת with בֹּרֶכֶת, בְּרֵכַת, בְּרֵכַת, in place of בֹּרֶכֶת 'unto us.' The aggrieved Shilonites would naturally complain directly to the captors, rather than to Israel at large.

ye shall say. Reading בֶּרֶכֶת in place of בֹּרֶכֶת 'we will say.' The emendation is necessitated by that immediately preceding, and by the words of the speech which follow ('to us,' 'for we took not every man his wife, etc.'). The retention of בֹּרֶכֶת involves emendation of the speech: cf. notes following.

Grant them graciously . . . be guilty. Reading נַכְנֵי for נַכְנֵי (as suggested by Stu.) and נַכְנֵי for נַכְנֵי. The Benjaminites are to appeal to the complaisance of the Shilonites, adducing two reasons: (1) that the Shilonites were not bound to a vendetta on account of the rape, since the maidens had not been captured in battle; (2) nor, on the other hand, had they given their daughters to the Benjaminites, and so they were not guilty of infringing the oath (v. 18). The measure adopted by the Benjaminites had in fact steered a middle course between capture with bloodshed, which must have forced a quarrel on the Shilonites, and request for the maidens as a voluntary gift, which, if granted by the Shilonites, would have brought them under the curse. The double Accus. in נַכְנֵי נַכְנֵי is exactly paralleled by Ps. 119:29 נַכְנֵי נַכְנֵי, 'Graciously grant me Thy law.' The Def. Art. in נַכְנֵי does not necessarily refer to any specific battle (cf. 1 Sam. 26:10, 30:24, 2 Sam. 19:4), though it is possible to find in it an allusion to the great battle of ch. 20.

* The renderings of A.V., 'because we reserved not to each man his wife, etc.' R.V., 'because we took not for each man [of them] his wife etc.' stand in daring disregard of the meaning of the common Heb. idiom.
Benjamin did so, and took wives according to their number, of the dancers that they had forcibly carried off: and they went and returned unto their inheritance, and built the cities, and dwelt in them. 24. And the children of Israel departed thence at that time, every man to his tribe and to his clan, and they went out thence every man to his inheritance. 25. In those days there was no king in Israel: every man was used to do that which was right in his own eyes.

A different text is represented by some MSS. of א, and by ℹ, הלאשה אתוועא, ברו וילאבר (or וילאבר) יניקה אתוועא בק פו-
lambda (similarly ℹ with omission of בק), א"פ miseremini eorum: non enim rapuerunt eas jure bellantium atque victorum; i.e. ( retaining אתוועא and putting the speech into the mouth of the Israelites) 'Regard them favourably, for they did not receive each his wife in the war.' This text is adopted (with variations in the rendering of אתוועא) by Mo., Driver (ET. xviii. p. 332), Cooke. Here 'in the war' is taken to refer to the raid on Jabesh, which had not sufficed to provide wives for the Benjaminites in question. Since, however, the narrative of Jabesh belongs (on our theory of the sources) to the other source, we must (if we accept this text) trace in the verse the hand of א"פ, harmonizing and connecting the two narratives—and this not simply (with Mo.) as regards the words 'for they did not . . . in the war,' but as regards the whole verse, since the conception of the carrying of the grievance 'unto us' surely involves the Priestly theory of a central judicial authority. Bu. regards the text of א"פ as due to variation in the sources, according to one of which the Shilonites bring their complaint to Israel (אלהים ואמרן תנו אתוועא יא לא להוה יא לע קסוד), but, according to the other, bring it directly to the Benjaminites (אהלך ואמרת אתה יא לא להוה יא לע קסוד).

23. took wives, etc. Ros. and other commentators compare the Roman legend of the rape of the Sabine women in order to provide wives for the followers of Romulus (Livy, Hist. i. 9).

25. in those days, etc. Cf. p. 410.
DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

PLATE I.

Two scribes taking note of spoils after an Assyrian victory. The bearded man is writing Assyrian in cuneiform upon a clay tablet, using an angular stylus which is held through the full of the hand to impress the characters upon the soft clay. The other man, who is marked by his shaven face as a foreigner, is writing with a pen upon a roll of leather or papyrus, and employing, no doubt, the West Semitic alphabetic script, to make his entry in a language which we may conjecture to be Aramaic. It is interesting in this connexion to note that a general list of titles and offices contained in ii. R. 31, 64b-65b mentions together A.BA mât Assur-a-a and A.BA mât Ar-ma-a-a, i.e., perhaps, 'an Assyrian secretary' and 'an Aramaean secretary' (the honorific title A.BA='elder' is here thought to correspond to dupšarru 'tablet-writer,'* the Heb. tîphšar of Nah. 317, Jer. 5127). The representation is part of a large relief from Kouyunjik (Nineveh) figured in Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, 2nd Series, Pl. 26, and is now in the British Museum, Kouyunjik gallery, west wall, series Nos. 4-8. It dates from the seventh century B.C. Similar pairs of scribes are figured in Layard, op. cit., Plates 26, upper tier, 19, 29 (both with scrolls), 35, 37, 50. Cf. the remarks on this Plate on pp. 255 f. of the Commentary.

PLATE II.

Figs. 1 and 2. A figure described in pictographic writing as ilu Šamaš (the Sun-god) contends with antelopes and lions.

Fig. 3. Gilgameš contends with antelopes and lions. The arrangement of the figures is identical with that of figs. 1 and 2, the only difference being that Gilgameš takes the place of ilu Šamaš. That the figure on this seal is Gilgameš is indicated by his full-face representation, and the arrangement of his hair in six locks: cf. Plate III. figs. 1 and 2. Cf. p. 400.

* Cf. Delitzsch, Paradies, p. 258; Beiträge zur Assyriologie, i. p. 218; Sumerisches Glossar, p. 4.

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Fig. 4. Gilgames and Engidu struggling with a bull and lion respectively. On the manner in which Engidu is tearing asunder the hind legs of the lion, cf. note on Judg. 14:6.

Fig. 5. Three Gilgames-figures wrestling with similar figures. The vanquished figure appears to have been thrown by impact of the victor’s thigh against his leg—a form of throw which may perhaps be intended by the obscure phrase יי יפפ ‘leg upon thigh’ in Judg. 15:8 (cf. note ad loc.). Cf. also the seal figured by Hayes Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia (1910), fig. 199.

The five figures included in this Plate are reproduced by permission from Delaporte’s Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux ... de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

PLATE III.

Fig. 1. Gilgames struggling with a lion. He appears to be throwing it by impact of his knee against its back, or by turning it across his thigh (cf. description Plate II. fig. 5), possibly in order to break its back (cf. Hayes Ward, op. cit., fig. 157). This is the finest figure of Gilgames in existence. Note especially the characteristic arrangement of his hair in six locks. The seven locks or plaits (נַפָּלָה) of Samson may perhaps be analogous. Cf. pp. 379 f., 404.

Fig. 2. On the left, Gilgames and his friend Engidu contend with the heavenly bull (the bull of Anu). On the right, Gilgames is represented in contest with a lion. This seal illustrates very clearly the fact that, in this and similar representations, we really have to do with scenes from the Gilgames-epic (against the view of Sayce, as quoted, p. 401, footnote). The description of the contest with the heavenly bull (sent against Gilgames by the god Anu at the request of Ištar, in revenge for the hero’s rejection of her advances: cf. p. 397 of the Commentary) exists in a fragmentary state on Tab. vi. ll. 92 ff. of the Epic. Engidu is described as taking the bull ‘by the root (thick part) of its tail’ (ina kubur sibbatisu, l. 147) and ‘by its horns’ (ll. 134 ff.), exactly as he is doing on the cylinder-representation. Engidu is always figured with the face and torso of a man, but with the hind legs, tail, horns, and ears of a bull. When first introduced in the Epic he is described as human, but dwelling among the beasts of the field and sharing their characteristics (Tab. i. col. ii. ll. 35 ff.). Having been enticed away from their society, he becomes the inseparable companion of Gilgames, and the sharer of his adventures.

Fig. 3. The Sun-god (ilu Šamaš) issuing through the gates of sunrise, which are held back by attendants, and stepping on to a
DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES


The three figures in this Plate are reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum from wax-impressions specially made for the writer through the kindness of Dr. L. W. King.

All the figures in Plates II. and III. are examples of Sumerian or early Semitic Babylonian art not later than the third millennium B.C.

PLATE IV.

Gilgameš with the lion as represented in Assyrian art. The relief is from the palace of Sargon (reigned B.C. 722-705) at Khorsabad (Dur-Šarrukin), and is now in the Louvre. From a photograph by Braun et Cie.

PLATE V.

Two reliefs from Carchemish, illustrating the spread of the Gilgameš-myth to the Hittites.

Fig. 1. Two identical full-faced figures like Engidu as represented on Babylonian seals, with hind quarters, tail, horns, and ears of a bull, but human face and torso, holding spear and advancing left and right. Two lion-headed human figures behind, wearing short tunics. One threatens Engidu with a weapon.

Fig. 2. A figure full-faced like Gilgameš, but with Hittite cap, kilt, and boots, holds a lion or lioness by the hind legs with his right hand and a bull by the horns with his left hand. A stag and two lion-cubs (?) are in the field. These figures of Gilgameš and Engidu are the only full-faced figures among the representations from Carchemish.

Dr. D. G. Hogarth, who dates the reliefs about the ninth century B.C., points out that, while Babylonian or Assyrian influence is manifest, the technique is characteristically Hittite, the relief returning quite steeply to the bed of the plane. Contrast the Assyrian figure of Gilgameš in Plate IV.

The figures are reproduced, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, from Carchemish: Report on Excavations, 1914, ed. D. G. Hogarth.

PLATE VI.

A colossal figure from Amathus in Cyprus: height 4 m., 20, breadth of shoulders 2 m. The art is Phoenician; and the figure, which doubtless represents Herakles-Melkart, illustrates the spread of the
Gilgameš-myth westward. M. Al. Sorlin-Dorigny, who describes the figure in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1879, pp. 230-236, states that it originally had an ornament on the top of the head, inserted a little behind the horns, in a hole measuring four centimetres in diameter and twelve centimetres in depth. From the edge of this hole all the locks of hair diverge, some, short and wavy, falling over the forehead, others, long and smooth, forming six tresses ('ondulations') in the Assyrian manner, then dividing themselves into three great bunches of curls which rest on the neck and shoulders. The two horns are imperfect. Assyrian influence is very marked in the treatment of the beard.

It will be observed that, while the figure generally suggests Gilgameš, especially as regards hair and beard, there is more than a suggestion of Engidu in the horns and in the manner in which he is rending the lion by tearing its hind legs asunder (cf. Plate II. fig. 4).


**NOTE ON THE MAPS OF PALESTINE**

The Maps of Palestine at the end of this volume have been prepared by Messrs. Bartholomew, who are responsible for the coloured contours and all other physical features. The site-identifications have been carefully weighed by the present editor, whose aim has been to admit no identification which does not seem to him to be reasonably assured upon historical and philological grounds.

The editor is indebted, in the first place, to the Map of Western Palestine, in twenty-six sheets, from surveys conducted under the auspices of the *PEF.* (scale one inch to the mile: cited in the Commentary as *SWP. Great Map*), and to the Arabic Name List prepared for the Survey by Prof. Palmer: for the modern names in Map V. he is chiefly indebted to the map of the Negeb in *EB.*, and to Prof. Guthe’s *Bibelatlas* (1911), as well as to the excellent map by Dr. Hans Fischer in *ZDPV.* xxxiii (1910).

The identification of ancient sites depends upon the labours of a number of investigators in the past, among whose works mention may be made of Dr. Robinson’s *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (a work which, though based upon travels undertaken so far back as 1838 and 1852, still possesses very considerable value), the *Memoirs* of the Survey of Western Palestine published by the *PEF.*, Sir G. A. Smith’s *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (first published in 1894), and Prof. F. Buhl’s *Geographie des altem Palästina* (1896).
NOTE ON THE MAPS

The only British maps of Palestine marking ancient sites which are thoroughly trustworthy are those contained in EB.; and the help afforded by these was usefully supplemented by Prof. Guthe's Bibel-atlas already mentioned. Other British maps depend chiefly upon the site-identifications contained in the SWP. Mem., and embodied in the maps published by the PEF. which mark ancient sites; and these, while offering much that is valuable, are unfortunately vitiated by many identifications which are highly dubious, and by some which are positively misleading.* This stricture extends, unfortunately, in some degree even to the folding map (scale four miles to one inch) published under the direction of Mr. J. G. Bartholomew and edited by Dr. G. A. Smith, which is in many respects the most useful general map which can be employed.†

As occasion arose in the Commentary, the attempt has been made to note and illustrate the modifications which ancient Biblical names

* Dr. Driver's warning (NHTS.² p. xcv) may well be reiterated:—'The identification of a modern with an ancient site depends mostly, it must be remembered, in cases in which the ancient name itself has not been unambiguously preserved, partly upon historical, but very largely upon philological considerations: and men who are admirable surveyors, and who can write valuable descriptions of the physical features, topography, or antiquities of a country, are not necessarily good philologists.'

† Since the maps for the present Commentary were printed, there has appeared (1915) the long-expected Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land, edited by G. A. Smith and J. G. Bartholomew. This is a work which takes first rank among Biblical Atlases for beauty of execution, and which contains much that is of first importance to the student—notably the valuable maps of Jerusalem at different periods, and modern Jerusalem illustrating recent discoveries, which have already appeared in G. A. Smith's Jerusalem (1907), and the sectional maps of Palestine on the scale of one inch to four miles which represent a revision of the folding map to which allusion has been made above. These latter maps will naturally be the most consulted of all that are contained in the Atlas; and it is therefore to be noted with regret that they have not undergone the thorough revision which was anticipated by Dr. Driver when he expressed the conviction (NHTS., p. xcv) that the forthcoming Atlas was 'likely to prove in all respects adequate and trustworthy.' To take some points which strike the eye—sect. iii. still contains the preposterous identification of Betsaanim with Sabel el-Alimil which depends (cf. note on ch. 4.11) upon A.V.'s erroneous rendering of 'élón 'terebinth' as 'plain.' In the Orographical map 11-12 the 'plain of Zaanaim' still stands; and here and in sect. map vii. we have the 'plain of Mamre' (A.V.'s error for terebinths of Mamre). In sect. vi. Gibe'ah is identified with Geba' and both with the modern Jeba' (Geba'), in face of the cogent Biblical evidence noted on ch. 19.12 that Gibe'ah is distinct from Geba', and of Dr. Smith's own adoption (Jerusalem, ii. p. 92, n 3) of the commonly received identification of the former with Tell el-Fül. Other impossible, or highly improbable, identifications (hardly palliated by the fact that they are marked with a query) are 'Ain-Helewah=Abel Meholah (cf. ch. 7.28 note), 'Osh el-Ghurāb=Rock 'Oreb (ch. 7.28 note), Kh. 'Erma =Kiriath-Je'arim (ch. 18.12 note), Tell Deir-'Allah, north of the Jabbok=Succoth (surely, in spite of the Talmudic identification with Dar'ala, to be looked for south of the Jabbok: cf. p. 220). The identifications of Kefr Ḥasan with Ashnah, and of Ta'lat Heisa with the Ascent of Luḥith, which are now (as contrasted with
have undergone in their reproduction in modern Arabic form.* This is a subject which needs, and would repay, more detailed and systematic study than it has as yet received, at any rate in this country. The only scientific attempt to grapple with the subject (so far as the present writer is aware) is that by G. Kampffmeyer in his articles entitled *Alte Namen in heutigen Palästina und Syrien* in *ZDPV.* xvi. (1892), pp. i-33, 65-116; xvi. pp. i-71, which well repay careful study. Even a superficial examination of the site-identifications which have so far been fixed or proposed suggests that, while, on the one hand, we have to be on our guard against conclusions which have been drawn in ignorance of philology, yet, on the other hand, there is danger lest we should be limited by too strict a regard for the philological laws, as ordinarily understood, which govern correspondence between Hebrew and Arabic forms. When, as must have happened in a multitude of cases, ancient names have been preserved for centuries merely by oral transmission among ignorant peasants, it is surely inevitable that they should sometimes have assumed a form which, as compared with the original, would seem to be incapable of being brought under the laws of correct philological interchange. Further, there is evidence which indicates that, in some few cases at least, the modern name as transmitted has assumed a form which possesses no sort of philological connexion with the ancient name, and has been suggested merely by a rough assonance with its original. Such a case has been noted in the modern name of the Ḥishon, Nahr el-Muḥatta', i.e. 'river of the ford,' which has almost certainly arisen through assonance with the ancient city-name Megiddo of unknown meaning in the near vicinity.‡ Other instances are probably to be seen in the modern name 'Aid el-Māʾ, 'the feast of water,' or, in a variant form, 'Aid el-Miyyeh, 'the feast of the one hundred,' which has been plausibly suggested as the modern equivalent of 'Adullam,

the folding map) marked with a query in deference to Dr. Driver's strictures in *JTP.* xxii. pp. 495, 563 f., should surely have been omitted altogether. We also find, without so much as a query, the very questionable identifications el-Lejîn = Megiddo, instead of (as now established) Tell el-Mutesellim nearly a mile to the north (cf. ch. 12 note), Ṭūbās=Thebez (cf. ch. 9 note), Tell esh-Sheri'ah = Sharuhen, edh-Dhaherlyeh=Debir (an identification which, though generally accepted, is really based upon a wholly false etymological conclusion drawn by Conder, and is therefore at best nothing more than a guess at the site, apart from any connexion in name: cf. ch. 11 note). On the other hand, the identification of Lifṭa with Nephtoah, which is philologically sound and also suitable to the description of Josh. 15:8, 18:18 (and which the present writer would have included in his own map without a query, if he had made the investigation embodied under ch. 18:18 before the completion of the map) is not noticed at all; and Kuryet el-'Enab, which strong probability marks as the site of Kiriat-Je'arim (cf. ch. 18:11 note) is simply marked (with a query) as the site of the obscure Kiriath of Josh. 18:8 (where the text is very possibly at fault).

* Cf. the footnotes pp. 21, 23, 24, 27, 29, 282, 305, 377, 439.

‡ Cf. note on 'the rills of Megiddo,' ch. 5 10.
and in ‘Ain Şārah for the well (or cistern) of Sirah (2 Sam. 3:20). Doubtless a number of such cases might be collected.

Even when we find a satisfactory correspondence between a modern and an ancient name, this in itself by no means settles the problem of identification. It is clear that there has occurred a certain amount of drifting of ancient place-names, the names being now attached to modern villages or to remains which cannot go back so far as O.T. times. Instances of this may be seen in Erîhâ (= Jericho, Heb. Yĕriḥô) which is now the site of a modern village one and a half miles south-east of the mound called Tell es-Sulṭân which undoubtedly represents the site of ancient Jericho; Umm Lâkis, which probably preserves the ancient name of Lachish,* though the ancient site of this city is fixed with high probability at Tell el-Ḥasy, three miles to the south-east; Zer’in, which corresponds accurately with Jezre’el, though, as Prof. Macalister has recently pointed out (cf. ch. 6:33 note), the modern site contains no remains of an antiquity approaching the O.T. period.

To be ideally complete, the evidence for identification of an ancient site should be threefold:—(a) The philological equivalence between the ancient and modern names should be satisfactory. (b) The site should be attested by the evidence afforded by Biblical and extra-Biblical historians. (c) Examination in situ should be able to prove the existence of remains of a sufficient antiquity.

The meaning of the geographical terms which occur in Arabic in the maps is as follows:—

‘Ain (plur. ‘Ayún) = spring.
Bîr or Bîrâh = well.
Čeb. = Čebel = mountain.
Čisr = bridge.
Ḥ. = Ḥirbet = ruin (ruined site).
Kefr = village.
Nahr = river.
Râs = head (headland).
Sahel = plain.
Ta’lat = ascent.
Tell = mound (usually formed by débris of ruined city).
W. = Wâddy = watercourse (cf. p. 88).

* The interchange between k and ğ which is involved has been thought to constitute a difficulty. Cf., however, the converse interchange in the modern Kānah as compared with the ancient Қanah (cf. p. 24).
The following orthographical corrections of names in the maps should be noted:—

MAP II.

For Hapharaim read Ḥapharaim.
" Gilboa " Gilboa'.

MAP III.

For Wādy Ḫanāh (W. Ḫānāh) read Wādy Ḫanah (W. Ḫānāh).
" Kefr 'Ānā read Kefr 'Ānā.
" Mukmās " Mukmāṣ.
" Ebal " 'Ebal.
" Žor'ah " Žor'ah.
" Miṣpeh " Miṣpeh.
" er-Rumnāneh read Rammōn.
Before Liftā add Nephtoah.
" H. Šār add Ja'zer ?

MAP IV.

For H. Gālā read H. Gālā.
" Ziḳlag " Šiḳlag.
" Beth-ṣūr " Beth-ṣūr.
" Nezib (Bēt Naṣīb) read Neṣib (Bēt Naṣīb).

MAP V.

For Boṣrah read Boṣrah.
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