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The Book of Judges

$\frac{26}{34}$

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The
Composition of the Book of Judges.

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Louis Kuppin

To the
Memory of
Moses Mielzner
my beloved teacher and friend.

26
54

Preface.

In this Thesis I have merely attempted to give the results of Higher Criticism of the Bible regarding the Composition of the Book of Judges. This attempt has been most interesting and beneficial to me in that I gained a thorough knowledge of the ways and methods employed by Higher Criticism. Of course, in this field in which so many brilliant and excellent scholars labored, I can not lay any claim to originality. I have contented myself with reaping the fruits of their work and presenting them.

To Dr. Buttenwieser I desire to
express my thanks for his helpful sug-
gestions and guidance in the course of my
work, and also for his kind loan of
books.

A Bibliography of the Books
referred to is appended.

Bibliography.

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Chapter I.

Synopsis of the Book of Judges.

After the death of Joshua the idolatrous tribes invade and settle down in Canaan. Some succeed in taking possession of part of the territory, others who are not so fortunate, take up their habitation among the original population. There then appears to the Israelites the Angel of Yahweh who uproves them for sparing the inhabitants, and foretells the consequences.

The people are dismissed, Joshua and they go home to their respective allotments. After Joshua and his generation pass away, another generation arose which saw not

the wonders of Yalweh. They forsake Yalweh
 and served the gods of the people round about
 them. Yalweh was so provoked at their unfaithful-
 ness, that he gave them into the hands of their enemies.
 He raised up judges for them to deliver them
 from the power of their oppressors. But as
 soon as he died they would fall back again into
 their idolatrous worship. Now because they had
 transgressed the covenant he made with
 them, and in order to try their loyalty to him in the
 future, he did not extirpate those nations
 which Joshua left over. There comes a list of the
 nations which he allowed to remain to give
 the Israelites in the succeeding generation an op-
 portunity of to cultivate the art of war.

The Israelites offend Yahuveh and he gives them into the hand of Cushan-rishathaim. They cry unto him and he raises up Othniel ben Kenaz, who delivers them from the yoke of Cushan-rishathaim. But when Othniel died, the Israelites again offend Yahuveh who enabled Eglon King of Moab to prevail over Israel. The Israelites cry for help and he sends them Ehud ben Gera, who frees them from the power of Eglon, and the land enjoys peace for eighty years. After him came Shamgar ben Anath, who killed six hundred Philistines.

After this ^{death} the Israelites again offend Yahuveh and he gives them into the power of Jabin King of Hagar whose general is Sisera.

They cry to Yahweh and he raises up Deborah a prophet-
ess who arouses Barak to relieve the oppressed
Israelites. He collects the tribes of Israel and
they set out to battle with Jabin whose general
is Sisera. They defeat the forces of Jabin and Sisera
and free themselves from their yoke. In this
battle Sisera falls into the hands of a woman
Jael who kills him while he is asleep in her
tent. This triumph of the Israelites of course
is made the theme of the Song of Deborah.

The Israelites offend Yahweh and he delivers
them into the hand of Midian. They cry to Yahweh
because of their suffering and in answer to their
cry he raises up Othniel son of Joseph. He leads
his forces against Midian and their forces, and

defeats them, and thereby ruins Israel. Abimelech
a son of Gideon succeeds him as ruler of Shechem,
by having murdered all the other sons of his father
excepting Jotham who went to Mt. Gerizim and
gave vent to his feeling in the fable of the trees and
the thorn. After some time an evil spirit turns
the Shechemites to revolt from Abimelech, they
do so and go out to meet him. Gail ben Obad
a new comer also instigates the people of Shechem
to rise against Abimelech. Abimelech comes
with his forces and lays a ambush against Shechem,
and he fought the forces of Gail & defeated them. Abimelech
then takes his forces against the people once
more, and defeats them, and he himself was killed
by a millstone thrown from an upper window

a woman.

After Abimelech came Tola and Jair, who deliver Israel. - Then comes another introduction to another oppression in Israel.

The Israelites offend Jotham and he gives them over into the hand of the Ammonites. They cry to him, he raises up Jephthah, the Gileadite, who leads his men against the Ammonites and overthrows them. The Ephraimites are angry because Jephthah did not call them also to aid in the struggle against Ammon, but they receive their punishment for their insolence. Jephthah in answer to the vow he made sacrifices his daughter. After him come the Judges, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon.

We then have the stores of Samson which
are set forth the adventures and exploits of the
mighty Hercules.

After the Samson cycle of 5 times
then come the two stories in which are recorded
the perils of two tribes. In one the settlement
of the Danites and the founding of the Sanat
ayat Dan, and the other of the punish-
ment meted out to Benjamin for their
inhuman treatment of the Levite and
his concubine.

Chapter II.

Character of the Book and what the critics have deduced from it.

In the synopsis given of the Book of Judges in the preceding chapter, we are to suppose to have presented us the entire status of the Israelite tribes after the demise of the great leader Joshua. This status when viewed as a consequent outcome of that period I will remark that one generation passed, when there had taken place the conquest of the Land, which had been achieved in two successful campaigns, and the inhabitants dwelling in that region had been exterminated, and the various territories had been occupied by the tribes to which

Joshua has allotted them, when they are con-
 sidering this picture and that of the Book of Judges
 are all disposed to become somewhat skeptical
 and doubt the historicity of the situation
 shown in the two Books. Of a certain kind is the
 picture in Joshua the historian of our Book seems
 to have had no knowledge. He narrates as we
 may easily observe, in no presupposition of
 such a state of ^{affairs} conquest of Canaan and the
 possession thereof, not the slightest ^{does he give} evidence, and
 when one studies our Book carefully he becomes
 largely convinced that there is apparently a
 serious difficulty.

Aside from the first Chapter of Judges
 which treats of the invasion of the tribes in the land

of Canaan, the history of the several judges is of such a nature as to be inconceivable with antecedent conditions as are found in Joshua. Their deeds and efforts are to throw off the yoke which their enemies had imposed upon them, enemies who according to Joshua are supposed to be dead and gone, and to maintain their position among them. And there arises a seeming difficulty, to which we shall have occasion to refer later in this chapter. But still one would hold that the condition as is portrayed must be so after Joshua's death. Naturally this is derived from the opening clause of the Book of Judges, which makes it a continuation of the one preceding it. However a close examination of the accounts

of both Books leads us to hold a far different view, which we shall presently set forth. But before we do so, we shall touch upon a few other points which have been suggested in the course of our study.

The Book in question, from the title it bears, purports manifestly to be a continuous history of the Israelites under the Judges, from the generation succeeding the invasion to the "Days of the Philistines," preceding the establishment of the Kingdom. Here arises the question, does it hold good to its claim? Do we have one continuous and un-interrupted true narrative, relating the Israelitish history in the days of the Judges in

the chapters of this Book? The answer to this query may be gathered from these considerations. In our examination of the narrative we come across two obstacles which seem to controvert the idea of a unified presentation of Israelitish history. That section of the Book, which precedes 26th seems to present a break in the progress of the narrative; for 2^d does not take up the thread. A similar gap is to be found between 16³¹ and 17th, where the succeeding chapters in no wise connect with the subject-matter that goes before them. To all intents and purposes it is matter of a different kind entirely. No doubt, after these few suggestions, one will ask whether then the title is a misnomer, or whether there is any part of the Book

which bears it out. To this we reply that there is, and in strict propriety, only 2⁶-16³' does so, this section gives us the history of the tribes under the Judges.

Further examination reveals another very important fact, which is decidedly characteristic of that section in which the Judges history occurs. This fact is the double narration of the same story. We are often confronted with two somewhat different versions of the same event, which in some instances appear to be clothed in the garb of religion or legendry and natural history. Of two accounts of the same story that of Gideon clearly shows. In the first place there are to be found two calls

14.
of the horns which are in no way connected with
one another. Second, the narrative of the night
attack on the camp of Midian 7:15-24 is manifestly
a composite and can be separated without any
difficulty into two accounts, one in which
the horns figure, the other in which the jars
and torches. In the latter the panic is caused by
the shattering of the earthen vessels and the sud-
den flashing of hundreds of torches into the air.
The camp is surprised and alarmed by horns
on all sides. The Midianites in their confusion
thinking that the Israelite forces are upon them
"lay wildly about them" and kill one another. Of
the same attack on the Midianites, 8:4ff. seems to
relate and is somewhat too late. But there is evi-

doubt by the natural cause for the attack, viz. a personal motive, a desire on the part of Gien to avenge his brothers' blood, and from this, some critics have concluded that the account in ch. 6-7 is the religious or legendary one. The story of Abimelech is of a similar nature, two accounts, one natural and the other religious. In the story of Shechem we raised up against Abimelech by a new canon Gaa ben Abed, in the other an evil spirit sent by God bring about this hostility against him. This peculiar double narrative appears also in some of the other stories of the Judges, which can be separated in some cases, one from the other.

16.

In this process of separation we are brought face to face with another peculiarity which characterizes the Book. Certain stereotyped phrases introduce and conclude the stories of the normal fudges, which appear to stand outside of the histories themselves. By certain harmonizations they are engrafted upon the original stock of the Book and by means of them the two different versions of the tale are combined. This is the stereotyped scheme or framework which is to be found: The Israelites by their defection offend Yahweh, He gives them into the power of their enemies for so many years, He then raises up a deliverer, who frees them from their oppressors, under him the land enjoys security for so many years. This

stereotyped scheme appears in the telling of these several fudges with but slight changes, but stands out in bold relief apart from them. (*)

This scheme of phraseology does not merely serve as a connecting link, but also as means to present the point of view in which the history of the whole period is to be regarded. This history has the semblance of "an almost rhythmic alternation of idolatry, subjugation, return to Yfench and liberation" (Tatke). This survey and conception of the period in this scheme which, as has already been said stands outside of the original stories and which will be proved later in this chapter, cannot be the product of that author or those authors who wrote the accounts originally. Who the author

* Nr. p. 15.

of this scheme as we shall shortly see. So far we have only named ourselves with these phases of the Book which give it its peculiar and distinctive character, but now we shall proceed to answer all the queries that have been raised, in a manner that will be more convincing, and we shall note the conclusion that the modern Biblical critics have come to from a close and minute study of the above named characteristics.

The point first brought up at the beginning of this chapter was the relation of the Book of Judges to that of Joshua. From the phrase in the first sentence אחרי מות יהושע one is led to the inference that this Book must be a direct con-

termination of the preceding one, and hence the events
 related in our Book must have occurred shortly
 after the death of Joshua and his generation.
 However such is not the case, and the infer-
 ence is an erroneous one.¹ for the following rea-
 sons. The contents of the first chapter is sufficient
 proof against such a view. The condition of the land
 it is here presented as that of invaders. They come
 singly, or in groups as the ties of kindred proximity,
 or community of interest united them. They fight
 for their own land with varying success or settle
 peacefully among the older people. The large cities
 with but few exceptions, the fertile valleys, the sea-
 board plain remain in the hands of the Canaan-
 ites. In Joshua on the other hand, united Israel

¹ Num. p. 10. W. p. 1.

under his leadership in two campaigns and in two
 decisive battles achieve the conquest of the
 whole land. In these wars the entire population
 is exterminated. After this overthrown the Is-
 raelites take possession of their territory. The diffi-
 culty here is not doubt obvious. If there had
 actually occurred this conquest and possession under
 Joshua, how come it that within so short a space
 of time all that he had accomplished became un-
 done? Surely there ought to be some mention of the
 revolution which brought it to pass that the
 Israelites were again forced to invade the country
 of Canaan. Surely some account is given of the
 coming of him who saved the dragons teeth, that
 in place of the population which Joshua had destroyed

man, woman and child, and the generation better
 able to defend ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} ~~from~~ ^{from} ~~up~~ ^{up} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~down~~ ^{down} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~right~~ ^{right}. Fur-
 thermore all that we know of the Israelitish
 history in Canaan goes to show that the Con-
 quest of Canaan was not achieved in a way as is
 presented in Joshua, that the subjugation of the
 country was partial and gradual. We further
 know that the Canaanites were not exterminated,
 and that many cities remained in their pos-
 session, and even in the time of the kings David
 and Solomon was the land subdued, and passed
 into the hands of the Israelites. On the other hand,
 the whole political and religious history of these
 centuries would be unintelligible if we were to
 imagine it as beginning with such a conquest.

of an an as is narrated in the Book of Joshua.^x
 The Song of Deborah alone is sufficient to prove
 this representation altogether false.^x Thus then,
 there can hardly be the least doubt that the Israel-
 ites' supremacy in this region was not achieved
 by one irresistible wave of conquest, but only
 after long and stubborn struggle lasting for gen-
 erations. Hence our Book, can by no means
 be a continuation of Joshua. The critics are in-
 clined to regard it as a parallel account of the in-
 vasion in which that of Judges is the truer.²

The next point brought up in the early part
 of this chapter was the unity of the Book. On the
 surface it purports to be one continuous account
 of the history of the Israelites in the days of the Judges.

^x Jer. p. 5. ² Jer. p. 9. 21. A. 1.

However, as has already been pointed out, this does not seem to be the case. The Book seems to be made up of three well defined and marked parts, the second of which only treats of the history of this period.^x All that precedes 2⁶ does not connect with it, and ^{it is} likewise ^{with} all that follows 16³¹,² where the subject matter differs widely from what is found in 2⁶-16³¹. Perhaps it might be urged that when Ch I is interpreted in the light of 2¹⁻⁵ it will form a most suitable and essential part for that which follows. For it shows how the old inhabitants were left in the possession of the chief towns of Canaan, whose religion became a snare unto the invaders, and because they failed to extirpate the people and their gods, all the evils that befell

^x Jer. ~~LXX~~. Dr. 160. ² Jer. ~~IV~~. Jer. ~~XX~~.

Israel in the succeeding generations were the consequences of not hearkening to the command bidding them to do so. But even here there is noticable an apparent contradiction, which we shall reserve for our discussion on the first Chapter when we take it up. However, the author of 2⁶-16³¹ can not have prefixed 1'-2⁵, despite the fact that when viewed in the light of 2¹⁻⁵ it is an appropriate beginning for the Book. In the first place this author's own extended introduction in (2⁶-3⁶) takes ^{no} notice of 1'-2⁵, and what is more by its connexion with Joshua affirmatively excludes it.^x This will be treated more fully later. From this point of view the critics have concluded that 1'-2⁵ must have been intro-

^x Num. XX. NK. p. XVIII.

duced by some editor or compiler later than the author of 2⁶-16³¹.^x

Similarly with Leviticus 17-21. In these chapters there is told the fortunes of two tribes, but not the slightest mention is made of Judges or champions divinely commissioned of oppression and deliverance, which characterize 2⁶-16³¹. If the distinctive historical view point and the pragmatism of the author of 2⁶-16³¹ is discoverable. From this it is concluded by the critics that this section of our present Book could not have formed part of that author's Book of Judges who wrote 2⁶-16³¹, and must have been appended by some later hand.^{x²}

^x. Num. XV. 21. XVIII. ^{x²}. Num. p. XV. Num. p. XVIII.

No doubt, about this time, it will have already become manifest that since the first and the third divisions of the present Book of Judges can in no way bear out the title of the Book, this must be done by the second division 2^d - 16th, that to it alone can the name "Judges" be applied. There is what Mowack says, "Der Name des Richterbuchs שופטים kommt eigentlich nur diesem zweiten Theil zu, denn nur er erzählt uns von שופטים ch. i. Richtern oder Rettern, welche Jahve dem bussfertig zu ihm sich wendenden erweckt hat, um es aus der Hand seiner Feinde zu befreien, in die Jahve es zur Strafe für seinen Abfall gegeben hat." This is the central and main part of the Book, comprising the history

of the fudges properly so called.

It is mainly this division of the Book which presents a composite nature, it is within these chapters that we come across the two somewhat different versions of the same story which have been combined by some author.* This author it is who introduces the stereotyped phrases and the point of view in which the history of the Israelites under the fudges is to be considered. He appears to be the author of this scheme or framework into which each of the stories of the fudges has been fitted. This framework or scheme is of a double nature, a religious and chronological one, and is met with in every tale. The following is its character. "And the children Israel did that which was evil in the eyes of Jahweh,

* W. L. G. Z. m. XXX, Dn. 166.

and the angry Yahweh was kindled against Israel,
and he sold them into the hands of Cushan-rishathaim,
and they served Cushan-rishathaim eight years, ...
and the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh and
he raised up unto them a deliverer Othniel and the land
rested forty years." In the case of every judge we
have the same succession of apostasy, subjection,
cry for help, deliverance, described in the same
way and phraseology, only now and then with
some slight variations. Let me notice how frequently
at or near the beginning and close of the narrative
of each of the greater judges, - greater because of the
prominence given to them, - the following expres-

sions occur. ויעשו בני ישראל הרע בעיני יהוה, וימכרם

ביד ... ויזעקו בני ישראל אל יהוה, ויתן יהוה בידן, ותשקט הארץ.

That this framework scheme stands outside of the original Judge narratives is evidenced by the fact that the Judges are not aware of oppression and deliverance of all Israel, which is the essential feature of the scheme, but only of tribal woes and suffering heaped upon them by their enemies from whom they struggle to set their tribe or clan free. As Harnack puts it, "es handelt sich in ihnen nicht um Ritters und Krieger über Gesamtisrael sondern um Stammeshelden, nicht um Abfall, Strafe durch die Noth und Befreiung Gesamtisraels sondern um Bedrängung einzelner bezw. mehrerer Stämme durch die Feinde und ihre Errettung aus der Hand derselben."^x

In the above we have exhibited to us

^x Harn. p. 15.

the religious phase of the scheme, the chronological however, makes no change, it follows the same plan. In the case of each of the greater judges we have given the duration of the oppression which preceded the deliverance, and of the peace and security which succeeded it under the judge's rule. The systematic succession of the judges - assembles that of kings, * as soon as one passes away from the scene of action another appears in his place. There are numerous difficulties in regard to the chronology of our Book, and the critics can not come to any decided agreement that would solve them."

This religious-chronological scheme is the work of one of those authors who belong to that

school of historians called Deuteronomists*. The point of view from which these historians wrote is discernable in the scheme before us, which appears to be "an almost rhythmic alternation of idolatry, subjugation, return to God and liberation." This view is an outgrowth of the teachings of the prophets. They ever proclaimed that the rejection of Yahweh's word was the main spring of all corruption, but their pleadings and exhortations that the people depart from their wicked path, and take to heart their warnings, were ineffectual. Hosea represents unfaithfulness to Yahweh as the original sin from which all others sprang and with a figure drawn from his own unhappy home, brands this unfaithfulness with the name "prostitution" by which

* NK. p. 15. * NK. pp. XVI - XVII. NK. p. 16.

later writers so often characterize it." But for the conception issued Jeremiah's teaching of the unpardonable sin of Israel which brought the destruction of the nation was expiate. When the catastrophes of 597 and 586 took place, the predictions of the prophets seemed to be fulfilled, and the judgments of their threatenings verified. Nothing then was more natural than that the once despised and rejected words of these inspired men be put in a different light, and when this was done, it resulted in bringing about a new aspect of the religious life. The past was viewed from a different standpoint. Israel's bygone history was looked upon as a connected chain of guilt and sin, and all the misfortunes that befall it were directly traceable to its defection.

from Yahweh and idolatrous worship. "Ezekiel presents the exile as the punishment of the sins of Israel in the whole past: in Egypt, in the wilderness, in Canaan. It had always been a rebellious people, ever falling away from Yahweh into heathenism and idolatry."^x "In this light did the descriptions of the prophets write the history of the two kingdoms, using and adapting the old records to illustrate and enforce the great lessons which prophecy had taught."² To this school of history unknown as the Deuteronomist, the author of 2^d & 3^d Kings belongs.³

From the comprehensive survey given in the Introduction (2^d & 3^d) it can easily be observed that the author's aim is not merely to interpret and explain why such evils were the lot of Israel in the days of the Judges,

^x *Num. p. 2511*. ² *ibid.* ³ *Num. XVII. 171. II. 232.*

but he rather appears to have a more ardent purpose, viz. to impress upon his readers that defection from Yahweh is always punished, whenever Israel turns away from Him, he leaves it defenseless before its foes. His protection being withdrawn. He would warn his people against similar apostasy. Thus his motive and aim are far from being historical, not history for the sake of history, but history for religion and morality.*

To achieve his purpose the author had recourse to this method, viz. of converting local struggles of the individual tribes under their leaders or champions into that of all Israel.* Upon this basis he wrote his history. The conflicts of tribes or groups of tribes with their neighbors, became from his pen

oppression and deliverance of all Israel. That
 the struggles were such in which all Israel was not
 involved is most forcibly evidenced by the Song
 of Deborah, in which we observe that at so critical
 and momentous a time which seemed to con-
 cern the fate of all Israel, all the tribes were not
 present to take hand in the struggle. To carry
 his scheme out logically, he would even make
 a local worship, that of all Israel, which his religious
 point of view necessitates. Thus for instance,
 in the story of Gideon we have him transforming
 a local event into which all Israel participates.
 After the death of Gideon in chapter 8²³ we read,
 "The children of Israel went a whoring after the
 Baals and made Baal Berith their god." But from

The following chapter appears that Baal Berith was one of the patron deities of Shechem and some other cities belonging to the Canaanites. So he changed the local worship of the Canaanites into an idolatrous worship on the part of all Israel.

From the subject-matter that has already been presented, it might be inferred that the Deuteronomist whose hand is so largely recognizable in the Book, was the sole author of it, or the one who took the original stories and adapted them to his preconceived ideas. However, such is not the case. Our Deuteronomist in this work is combining the stories of the Judges seems to have been anticipated by a pre-Deuteronomic author styled Rje.^x Numerous repetitions and slight dif-

^x Mr. ~~XX~~ NK. IX-XV.

ferences of diction and spirit from those which are noticed
 in the Introduction (2^d-3^d) and in the other introduc-
 tions to the two books of the several Judges, 6th-10th,
 has led some of the critics to suspect such an author-
 ship. There are some who are inclined to view these
 differences occurring in those places as results of
 interpolations. The arguments for the existence
 of a pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges are the
 following, taken from Moore pp. XXI-XXV. (a).
 "The elements which are admitted by almost to be-
 long to the principal Deuteronomic stratum in the
 book do not seem to be superimposed upon it, but
 embedded in it, and they are more immediately united
 with their context than the additions by which later
 editors often try to heighten the effect of the text are united to.

(b. If the author or editor of the present Book of Judges made all these additions in 2^d-16th we should expect to find his mark upon ch. 17-18, 19-21 also, which certainly invite a moral comment and application quite as much as some of the stories in the body of the work; but no trace of such an improvement is to be discovered in these chapters. (c). The language of the parts of the book in question is distinguished from that of the Deuteronomio writers and editors generally by a more marked affinity to one of the older sources of the Hexateuch (E). (d) Some of the tales, e.g. that of Gideon (ch 6-8) are composite, two somewhat different versions of the same story have been united by a third hand which does not appear to be that of the author of the book but of

an earlier redactor. It is not a remote conjecture that this redactor is also the author of the non-Deuteronomistic element in the introduction (2⁶-3¹) and other parts of the Book. (E). The Deuteronomistic Book of Judges did not include ch. 17, 18, 19-21; the closing formula 15-20 may be taken as an evidence that it did contain ch. 16; 22-25 is an editorial substitute for ch. 9 which has obviously not passed through the hands of the Deuteronomistic author. But 17, 18 and the primary version of the story in ch. 19-21 are akin to the older narrative in 2⁶-16³⁴ and 16 the death of Samson is unquestionably from the same source as ch. 13-15; ch. 9 itself composite, is too closely connected with 6+ to be of a different version. The simplest hypothesis is that those chapters were contained in an

earlier collection but were omitted by the Deuteronomic author from his book as unsuitable to his purpose.^x Some of these arguments bring up points which have not been as yet considered, but these will be, when we discuss the various chapters themselves.

The sources from which this pre-Deuteronomic author has drawn, critics are of the opinion that they are similar to those found in the Hexateuch J and E, the Yehwistic and Elohistes, which were united by a later hand Rje into one composite history and this similarity has led them to ask themselves whether it is not really identity, i.e. whether the pre-Deuteronomic Judges was not a part of the greater prophetic history which they designate by the symbols JE and its sources J+E.^x

^x Mr. Xxx.

The composite character of some of the stories of the Judges was due to this conjecture, and some are disposed to hold that our author has drawn from just those sources and combined them, being designated by the symbol Rje.^x These sources contained the history of the conflicts in various parts of the land with the native population, or with new invaders and of the heroic deeds of Israel's leaders and champions in these struggles.² These were combined, being at times interwoven so closely as to make the strands inextricably, so at times paragraphs of J + E being alternately transcribed. In this work in order to bring his sources into harmony or to preserve the connexion the author had to insert matter of his own and in some places adding with a free hand.^{x2} This is largely the nature of Rje's

^x Num. XXIV XXV Num. XL. ² Num. XXIV. ^{x2} Num. XXXII.

work of the pre-Deuteronomic author.

After him early in the 6th century came another author belonging to this school of historians known as the Deuteronomist who took this work of Rjc as a basis of his own. His hand is recognizable in the introduction ^{and conclusion} to the several stories. The critics can distinguish his distinctive style and vigorous pragmatism from that of his predecessor. His Deuteronomic Book of Judges which he produced did not "supplant the older work upon which it was founded." JE's history was in existence long after the exile.^x
 Our present Book of Judges was a product of an editor of the 5th or 4th century B.C. who united JE's Book which included Jud. 1-2, 9, 17, 18, 19-21 which D had omitted, because they served not his purpose; with the

D, and traces of his hand are discernable by the entries
in minor glosses. * In this wise was the Book of
Judges composed.

Chapter III

The Relation of Ch. I to Joshua and the Book in which it stands.

When in the preceding chapter we treated the relation of the Book of Judges to that of Joshua, we saw clearly that the former could not be a continuation of the latter, for it would be quite impossible to account for the origin of the anachronism laid down especially in the first chapter of our Book on the supposition of the historicity of the account of Joshua. Incidentally we remarked in this particular connection that many of the modern Biblical critics are disposed to view them both as parallel accounts of the Conquest of Canaan, mutually excluding one another, and ^{thus} the representation of one

contravenes that of the other in all essential details.*
 Perhaps we did not elaborate this view then to the
 same extent that it ~~will~~ ^{is} now done, however this is the
 import of it. Upon close examination of Joshua we
 find therein contained the following passages par-
 allel to those of Jud. I. Jos. 15⁶³ agrees almost ver-
 bally with Jud. I⁷ (the Benjaminites' failure to capture
 Jerusalem), the only material difference being that
 in the one this failure is laid to the charge not of
 Benjamin but of Issach. Jos. 15¹³⁻¹⁴ agrees in the main
 with Jud. 1^{10-11, 20}; Jos. 17²⁻¹³ with Jud. 1^{27^{ff}}; Jos. 16¹⁴ with
 Jud. 1²⁹. In Judges these passages stand in close in-
 terconnection, which however is not the case in Joshua.
 There they are broken up and scattered, so loosely
 attached to their context, that by their removal, the

*M. p. 9 2K. p. 1.

critics have shown that the text gains power and lucidity of presentation.^x

This last statement would undoubtedly lead one to the inference that these parallel passages in Joshua are not an organic part of it, and this is really what the situation is. However, there are some scholars who entertain the opinion that just because these parallel passages do exist in the preceding book, and in them are related several most important things which also occur in Judges I, that this chapter is a recapitulation of the events which took place in the life of Joshua. As a disproof of this contention we need but cite the arguments showing that these passages form not an essential and vital part of that work.

^x *Num. p. 5. D. 162.*

This becomes apparent from the following considerations. In the first place, as has already been hinted above, they do not connect with the context in which they stand. Secondly, they are tried at variance with that conception of the conquest and settlement of Canaan which pervades, and is at the basis of the book. Being parallel to Josh. 1 they accentuate that view of the Israelite history in Canaan which is presented in Josh. 1. This we have observed to be contrary to the account of Joshua, and hence these far-fetched passages which are the true accounts of the history of the Israelites in this period, can not in any wise accord with Joshua. It is not for a moment to be doubted that the author of Joshua did not have his true facts

as a basis of his work, but these he made fit in with his preconceived ideas of Israelite history. He reconstructed the material which he found treating of the Conquest, bearing a close relation to the original of Josh, from the theological standpoint.^x In doing this he did not in the least have any qualms of conscience in ascribing the experiences of several tribes to all Israel, and of transferring events which happened in succeeding generations to the first period of the invasion, thereby substituting "the theological ideal of a conquest by the people of Jehovah for the sober reality."^x as confirmation of this may be adduced the Israelite history of later times. The history of David and Solomon, as a disproof of the occurrence of the Conquest as

^x Num. 10.

set forth by this author may be cited, ^{and also} the Song of Deborah. Now in as much as the parallel passages strongly conflict with his presentation, they cannot be organic parts of the Book of Joshua.

To account for their presence in that Book by maintaining that they were inserted from Judges by a later hand seems plausible, but critics like Budde and others of the same school, are in favor of the view that both the passages in Joshua and those of Judges are excerpts from what was once a detailed survey of the conquest of Canaan.* They are also of the opinion that ^{of} these parallels those of Joshua preserve the original text, while in Judges they have been intentionally altered.† This hypothesis receives confirmation

* Num. p. 6. Num. p. 2. Deut. p. 163.

from the fact that there are passages in Joshua to which
 Judges bears no parallel, which appear to the critics
 to be derived from the same source, vide, Jos 13^{1,3}, & spec.
 Jos 17¹⁴⁻¹⁸.⁴ This source they think is J's history
 of the conquest, and to this they have arrived from
 their study of the preceding Book, where they observed
 that the author uses J pretty freely in the begin-
 ning of his history of the invasion down to the
 taking of Hebron and the treaty with the Gibeonites
 but in the succeeding chapters he abandons
 J.²

Below extract from an old history of the
 Israelite settlement in Canaan Jud. I in the
 light of 2¹⁻⁵, which now gives this chapter its con-
 nection with the Book, may be regarded as a

⁴ Num. p. 6. Num. p. 2.

² Num. p. 4.

suitable introduction to the present Book of Judges.
 But this position did not occupy in the original
 plan of the Book for these reasons. 1. No reference
 in the Introduction to Judges proper (2^d 3^d) is made
 to Ch. I which is also not entirely consonant with
 it. 2. As an immediate continuation of Jos 24¹⁷⁻²⁸
 stands Jud. 2⁶⁻¹⁰. When the division into books
 was made the intrusion of Jud. 1⁶⁻²⁵ between two
 consecutive sentences of the narrative, led to the
 creation of a new close for Jos 24. Verses 28-31 were
 restored from 2⁶⁻⁹ which 13 2. 33 are regarded as
 fragments from another source which fitted
 as well as the close of the history of that genera-
 tion.*

However 2¹⁰⁻²⁵ is not from the same source

as Ch. I which it connects with the Book and explains in what sense and with what purpose it was prefixed. That this part is not from the same hand is evidenced by the fact that it contradicts Ch. I. For it makes plain that Israel's failure to conquer the whole land is not due to the strength of its walled cities or their superiority in the art of war, but to their disobedience to the command of Jehovah not to spare any of the Canaanites. These verses are regarded by the critics as coming from the hand of the editor who introduced Ch. I in this place, and in order to make the latter true, he has to produce something that would bear the stamp of the school of Hebrew historiography.

called Deuteronomie. But the substance of 2^{16-52a} does not exactly agree with 2⁴⁵, still less with 2²³ 3¹⁻³ and therefore cannot be ascribed to the author of that introduction.^x - We shall now attempt to separate the various parts which make up our present Chapter 1-25.

וְיָהִי אַחֲרֵי מוֹת יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ^{21a} This clause comes from the hand of the canonical editor in order to divide the books of Joshua and Judges.^{x2} - 14 This verse seems to be superfluous. Nothing more is gathered from it than what we already know from the context. Further more it anticipates the testimony of the result of the campaign which is found in 15-7. It is probable that the critics that the redactor by abridging his sources filled it with general statements from the context.³ - 18. This verse flatly contradicts the audience

^x Ver. p. 57. ^{x2} Mpp. 10. HK. p. 2. ³ Mpp. 7. HK. p. 3.

can not be genuine. Probably it was inserted by the editor
 who misinterpreted v. 7. ^x-171 There are notes that Joshua
 gains the victory of Jericho as in Jos. Caleb is supposed
 to have achieved it. Jos. in the opinion of the critics is the truest
 version of the work of the editor. ^{x2}-178 This verse and the
 one following contradict each other, as is for that reason
 attributed to the hand of the editor, and also because its
 phraseology is strikingly different from the rest of the
 chapter. ^{x3}-172-175, thus we have already considered before.

^x Mr. 21. ^{x2} Mr. p. 22. Mt. pp. 4. 5. ^{x3} Mr. p. 37. Mt. p. 5.

Chapter IV.

The General Introduction and the Views set forth in it. The accounts of Athriel and Ehad.

II⁶ - III²¹.

We have now come to that part of the Book wherein the peculiarities mentioned and discussed in the second Chapter, are contained. The Deuteronomic phraseology and points of view are to be found in the general introduction to the history of the period. The scheme of the Deuteronomic writer stands out plain, the pragmatic introductory and closing formulas in which each of the stories of the Judges is set. His interpretation and judgment of the history in almost rhythmical alternation of idolatry, rapaciousness, return to Yahweh and liberation is

fully presented, by means of which he would
warn his contemporaries against similar policy,
thus making his purpose religious and moral,
the lesson of the history being for him the ultimate
aim.

A typical example of this historian's scheme
is the account of Athriel ben Kenaz, who delivered
Israel from Cushan-rishathaim. It is regarded
by the critics as decidedly typical, purposing no
further than this, as its aim. * We have the open-
ing and closing expressions appropriately expanded
to their complete typical form, and the fulness
of presentation has created the suspicion that
it serves no other purpose than to be a prototype.
This has also led to the casting of the shadow of doubt

* Num. 24. Deut. 23. * Num. 24.

highly improbable as a historic fact.* The oppression
 of Israel by an enemy from the north, its liberation
 by Ethaniel who lived in the extreme south, seems to
 transcend the bounds of possibility. This involves
 the capture of all the Ameanites strongholds? What
 is more, we know that Judah was cut off from the
 central tribes by a girdle of Ameanite cities, just
 as the latter were cut off from the northern tribes.
 Thus, from all appearances this account can
 not claim the historic authenticity that some of
 the others do.

In the account of Ehud's liberation of the
 Israelites from Eglon, king of Moab, we are furnished
 with the first sample of the author's peculiar em-
 ployment of his tone material. He has taken this

* Mr. p. 16; 2K. p. 23. * 2K. p. 15.

historical fact, which he found in one of the sources, and has fitted it into his framework to carry out his moral purpose. The usual pragmatic setting and closing are manifest, which have explained the beginning and then of the third story.²² He has also converted a local struggle, as he does in other cases, into one in which all Israel was involved, which as has already been seen, is another of his characteristics. The concrete facts of the story remain intact, these he does not seem to have tampered with,²³ a thing that is also true of some of the other stories in the Book.

The fact has already been mentioned, that this Book of Judges proper is largely a composite. Especially true is this of the narratives of the large

²² Mc. p. 26, 27, p. 90. ²³ Mc. p. 90.

introductions, ^{the history of the great folks,} and some of the stories have been with
 the success that is possible under such circum-
 stances, separated into the different strands
 which make them up. In the general introduction
 26-36 there is plain evidence that the narrative is
 not homogeneous, * then and discoverable numerous
 repetitions, and what points still more clearly to this
 fact, ^{is the} existence of conflicting reasons given in
 220-36 for Yahweh's leaving some of the native
 nations within the limits of Palestine. The points
 of view set forth ⁱⁿ which the history of the Judges
 to be reviewed do not seem to talk with one an-
 other. The very fact that there are points pre-
 sent to show that these points can not have
 been written by the same hand. Thus in 2"-19 A is

* W. p. 63 H. p. 16.

asserted that the wars of Israel were the consequence of
 Yahweh's punishing the surrounding nations against
 them as a punishment, and for their departure from
 Him, gave them new in the victory. But why
 he raised up a Judge who freed them from the yoke
 imposed upon them by their oppressors. This is clearly
 recognizable as the religious-chronological scheme
 of the Deuteronomist which sets forth his view.
 In 12:9 the cause of Israel's misery and suffering is
 falling away from Yahweh, but which, here we are
 told, are heaped upon them not by the nations
 which were surrounding them, but which re-
 mained in the Land of Canaan, whom Yahweh had
 not exterminated, because of Israel's disloyalty to
 the covenant made with Him, and the super-

of the enemy was the source of damnity to Israel. In
 122 the reason given for the survival of these nations
 was to test Israel's loyalty to Jehovah and his ability,
 whether or no, it will be left a stray by the idolatry of
 the Canaanites. Now, if the former reason is the
 true one, then this one falls to the ground, for in
 the one, the nations are left as a punishment for past
 events, defection in the days gone by; in the other, they
 are allowed to remain in order to try Israel in the
 future. Furthermore, of such a purpose 3rd is utterly
 ignorant. That the nations are allowed to remain
 is due to Jehovah's desire that His people from genera-
 tion to generation may have occasion to cultivate
 the virtues of which He develops, and ^{learn by} experience
 the superiority of their God to those of the heathen.

Clearly these at variance prints view can not come from the same pen.

The critics have been able to separate two parallel accounts each of which is almost completely preserved. One of them (E) is assigned 2^o, 1-10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21. This is regarded as the principal narrative substance, lacking perhaps some words as, "And the Baalim and Ashtaroth" before 2^o. To the other belong 2^o, 12, 14^o, 15, 19, in which the nexus between 17 & 18 is wanting, having been supplemented by the words of E. This is to be noted. The account of these, affirms the critics, exhibits the conception and expression characteristic of the Deuteronomist (D.). Although E & D agree in the general introduction, there are slight differences worthy of note. In E the sin of Israel is the worship of the Baals and Ashtaroth, the

gods of Palestine (2³), and the adoption of the religion of the
 surrounding nations (12 ex 10⁶). In E they are delivered into
 the hands of Pharaoh (20¹⁰ 14²), in D sold into the power
 of the enemies who surround them (146¹⁵) with which
 compare 3¹² (Moab) 6¹¹ (Ammon) 10⁶ (Ammon) 13⁵ Phil-
 istines. In E they do not obey their judges but persist in
 apostasy (17) in consequence of which Yahweh resolves not
 to drive out any more of the nations which Joshua left
 un subdued. (20, 21), in D a reform under each judge is fol-
 lowed by his death by a worse relapse (18, 19). "Besides
 these two sources there appear fragments of a third.
 2²³⁻³⁶, 2²³⁻³² are ascribed to the author of the first
 Chapter J, for they obviously belong to a different circle
 of ideas from 2²⁴ or 2²²⁻³⁴. In 2²³⁻³² Yahweh does
 not drive out the people of Canaan so that this according

generations may have experienced war. This is for
 think the critics, accords well with Talmudic to him
 it is ascribed. * 1234 is regarded as an editorial addition
 connecting the statement of 23rd with the time before the
 death of Joshua. The moon would conjecture that the
 editor has substituted for an original Israel, Joshua.
 To Rje are attributed 30:6, 22-3/20 to the redactor.
 The story of the mid being but a prototype of his scheme,
 cannot be ascribed to him.

A similar composite nature seems to be the
 story of Shun, although for a long time its unity and
 integrity remained unquestioned. Of late years critics
 have come to the conclusion that the text of the pragma-
 tic formulas of D which are to be found at the beginning of
 the close, there are not least other sources, and some

* Num. p. 90 v. 2. Num. p. 90. 24. p. 25.

have tried to separate them into J & E. However successful this attempt has been matters little for our purpose, it is sufficient to know that the text is not a unit, though some of the critics have not agreed upon the separation into the sources J & E*. That there are indications of a double account can be seen from the following: There is a double audience given to Elisha, 19, 20; a double escape, 26^a 26^b; there is a difference as to the report, 23, 24, and it seems probable also from 27-29 that there is a double attack on the part of the Israelites. The critics agree upon this story being a very old one, of which the historicity need not in the least be doubted*.

We have already considered the most important points of the introduction in 2^a 3^a; the relation of the

* Wm. B. 91. 211. p. 25.

different points of view, and thus seems worthy of discussing the text further. And likewise does it seem in reference to the account of the fall of Jericho which is decidedly typical and Deuteronomistic. However we shall treat the story of Ehud - V 12-14. There is the usual introduction of the Deuteronomistic author, his pragmatic formula making up the verses, excepting the names Eglon and his conquest of Jericho, the Palm City, which belong to the original text - V 25-29. The narrative here does not seem to be a free arrangement and repetition, which the critics think is due either to the interference of the editor or to the attempt to combine the two accounts. ¹ V 12 is the original sequel of 126, and 29 of 27, which give us two complete and parallel accounts. ² - V 30. There is the usual closing formula

¹ Gen. 12.102.

of D which ends each of the 5th & 7th of the several judges.
 - 131. In this verse we have a short notice from
 person called Shanyar who is generally classed with
 the "minor judges." The verse exhibits none of the dis-
 tinctive formulas of 10¹⁻⁵ / 28¹⁻⁵. Furthermore he is
 entirely ignored by 4¹ which connects immediately
 with 130 (Shun). From these facts critics have con-
 cluded that the account of Shanyar was inserted
 being a hand later than the editor who introduced
 the "minor judges."

Chapter II.

The Relation of Chapter 5 to 4.

The war with the Canaanites and the defeat and death of Sisera are the subject of the Triumphal Ode ch. 5 as well as of the prose narrative ch. 4. In the narration of these events however, the poem is in many places somewhat obscure and unintelligible, chiefly due to text corruption, but the general tenor is clear. From the impression it gives because of its vividness, fervor, truth, its elevation and intensity of feeling, the critics and scholars are disposed to attribute it to one who has witnessed the great events it commemorates. In the opinion of many Deborah herself is the author of it. The superscription which ascribes it to her has led to this view. But against it is brought the fol-

finding. In the case before us, as it often occurs in others,
 there is no direct way of ascertaining the age of the
 superscriptions, and in as much as at times
 they are in error, too much stress can not be laid
 upon the one in question. Furthermore, the version in
 12, עורי עורי דבורה, עורי עורי דברי שיר, and 15 in which
 she is spoken of in the third person, are brought as proof
 against her authorship. Verse 7 might support the
 contention of the title, but the form of the verb may
 be either first person or the second, and the latter
 seems to accord with 12. But whether Deborah
 is the author or no, the ^{greater part of the} critics are agreed that
 she is a contemporary, and a witness could have
 written this Song of Triumph, and not some
 century or centuries later as some would have it.

* Jer. 2. 132. ¹² (From Mr. Seville, Barnes.).

Kürten writes, 'From an entirely alien point of view that it is right ascribed gall competent judges to a contemporary'.* Oras Studen has expressed himself to the same effect, "mit diesem glühenden Hass kann bloss ein Betheiliger, der den Hohn eines übermüthigen Unterdrückten an sich selbst erfahren hat, sich über todtten Feind aussprechen, nicht ein Jahrhundert später lebender Dichter." **

Chapter 4 deals also with same events, but is a prose account, and now we shall examine the relation of one to the other, the prose to the poetry. These are the main differences in the two. In ch. 4 the force that is at the back of Barak can ask 9 ten thousand men, recruits from the two

* From Mr. ad locum. ** From H. ad locum.

Tribes Zebulun and Naphtali, whereas in ch. 5
 all the tribes, Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir (Man-
 assah), Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali take part
 in the struggle, with the exception of the remote tribe
 Dan, Asher, Ruben, Gilead beyond the Jordan. The latter,
 however, are bitterly reproached for standing idly by
 in a cause that involves the fate of all Israel. Thus
 we observe that it is the uprising of a whole people
 there, the uprising of two tribes. In the conflict
 of the latter the leader of the enemy is the king of
 Hazer, Jabin whose general is Sisera. In the
 poem, Sisera, ^{the knight,} appears to beat the head of all the
 kings of Canaan who came to combat with Israel.
 This is further confirmed by the fact that his

queen-mother is here represented as sitting in his palace, whose ladies in waiting are princesses, expecting his return. A further difference is the discrepancy of Sisera's death. In the prose version he is fast asleep on the ground in the tent of Jael, who taking a hammer drives a tent peg through his temples into the earth. In the poetic account, he is portrayed as standing at the entrance of the tent drinking milk from a bowl, when Jael falls him a crushing blow and he falls dead at her feet.

Upon further study of the account in ch. 4 there is revealed to us the striking fact that it is not entirely self-consistent. From all appearances Jabin king of Hazor has nothing to do with the conflict, he takes no part in it whatever. His supposed general,

Sisera, here, as he is represented in the poem, is the real
 protagonist, and he appears to be living in that he has a
 residence town, remote from Hazor. We have here
 also a very confused idea of the battle and the flight.
 The Israelites assemble at Kedesh in Naphtali, and
 march to Mt. Tabor. Sisera advances against them
 from Harosheth, and the battle takes place in the plain
 at the foot of the mountain. Sisera's forces are routed and
 they flee with the Israelites hot on their heels. Sisera
 himself escapes on foot to their campment &
 is taken the Kenite in Kedesh. This flight from the battle
 field to so remote a place can hardly be imagined. What
 is here extremely strange is that in his flight he passed
 the very doors of his master's city but preferred to take
 refuge in the tent of a nomad than with the walls of the city.

These discrepancies and inconsistencies the critics think to be the result in all probability, at least in part, from an attempt to combine two narratives, ^{x2} one of which relates of a war waged by the tribes of Benjamin and Naphtali against Jab in King Hazor, the other of a war with Issachar, King of Harosheth, and his allies of which the Song tells. The two were harmonized by making Issachar, Jab's general. ^{x2} Some critics would have it that Heber originally belongs to the Jabir story and Jael to the Issachar, and when the two accounts were combined, they were harmonized by making Jael the wife of Heber, and further they would conjecture that perhaps Jabir met a fate at the hands of Heber similar to that of Issachar at the hands of Jael, and thus the accounts were made one. ^x The sources are considered same to be J+E^{x3}, by

^{x2} Mr. p. 109. NK. p. 31. ^x Mr. p. 109. NK. pp. 31, 37. ^{x3} NK. p. 31.

others alone.^x

TI-3. Here too we have the usual introduction of the Deuteronomist; the tendency to turn the struggle of the Israelite tribes into the history of the Israelite nation. This is made manifest by the transformation of Tabin / King of Hazer, into King of Amaan. - שר צבא יבץ, these words are the clause corresponding to $\sqrt{176}$ are a product of the one who combined both stories. - $\sqrt{173}$. Here is the regular close of the story. - 5' The title was probably prefixed by the editor. ^x who incorporates the poem into his Book of Judges. - ותשקט $\sqrt{13}$ ארבעים שנה. This is the editor's chronological note. האריך.

Chapter VII.

VI - IX.

We point out in one of the early chapters as a peculiar characteristic of the Book the double narrative, that is, the two somewhat different accounts of the same story which have been united by a third hand. If this is true of any of the tales of the Judges, it is unquestionably so of the one before us, viz. the story of Gideon and the Midianites. Evidence of a double narrative are not a few in ch. 6 & 7, for example, method of expression, point of view, sudden and abrupt breaks in the progression of the thread of the narrative due to unskillful harmonization of the double accounts. Of the latter we have a fair sample in verses 7-10. To the distinct

Druchite, Yalweh sends a prophet in answer, & then
 says, who recalls to them the great deeds of Yalweh and
 recites the fundamental law: "You shall not adopt
 the religion of the Canaanites," which law however
 they have violated. With this introduction the
 speech suddenly breaks off. The purpose of the
 prophet's words is not given. There is then lack-
 ing the positive accusation and denunciation
 of Yalweh's anger, which in its discourses
 make manifest, cf 21-5, 1011-16. We are left in the
 dark by this abrupt discontinuation of the piece.
 From this the critics would infer that it is not
 likely that the author who originally wrote the
 discourse left it without that part which
 gives it the reason for its being, but that the compiler

dropped it out when he rejoined 71, 72 from the parallel narrative.^x

A decisive break in the progression of the story of Gideon and his attack on the Midianites 23+ 24th give ample proof. We are told previously to how as to the success of the first attack on the enemy, Gideon raised all Israel for the pursuit, and how the Ephraimites intercept the flight of the Midianites, whose chiefs Oreb & Zeb they capture and put to death. As a conclusion to the entire affair, we hear the Ephraimites finding fault with Gideon after he had succeeded so well in his attack on the enemy. They inveigh against him for not having called them in the beginning, and their wrath becomes pacifying when

Bidun says

מה עשיתי עתה ככם, הלא טוב עללו את אפרים

מב ציר אבי עזר, בידכם נתן אלהים את שרי מדין, ומה יכלתי

עשות ככם:

Continuing the account given by Bidun and arising when the victory has been gained, when there was no more strife with the enemy. Ch. 8¹⁻³ seems to be the appropriate conclusion for the business. But in 8⁴⁻⁵ we find that Bidun is still pursuing the enemy without any interruption. With these numbers at his back he follows the enemy across the Jordan with no certain prospect of success, as is evidenced by his failure to secure food from the people as both Amasai and Penniel for his furnished men. He finally succeeds in capturing

an unimpaired prisoner. But Tabanna's account is strange after that which goes before it, and Obirius does not connect with it. No-thing can make clear that here we have a double-narration of the same event. This is regarded by some critics as the true one, setting forth the hero's motive for attacking the Zidonians, because it gives the natural and not the religious motive, viz. the desire to avenge the blood of his brothers.*

A further evident and conclusive indication of a double narrative in our story is the following. We read in 6²¹⁻³² that in the night after his call, Gideon at the command of Yahweh destroyed the altar of Baal in Ephraim.

*. Mt. p. 57. 18.

his native city as well as the Ashera which stood
beside it, and in its place he built an altar to Yahuah
and as a votive offering he burnt a bullock using
the wood of the Ashera for fuel. The following
day his townsmen were full of indignation, and
demanded that the perpetrator of the outrage
be put to death. However Elihu's father with-
stood them saying "Will ye contend for Baal?
will ye save him? If he be a god, let Baal con-
tend for himself." In consequence of this speech
Elihu received the name of Tubbbaal. This
conflicts with what has been said in an
earlier part of the chapter. There he has al-
ready made an altar of the great stone under
the oak of Ephraim, where he saw Yahuah

sitting, and offered upon it the first sacrifice
 which the flames reaching out of the altar devour
 and the Dict himself ascends heavenward
 in the flames. Now it can easily be seen that
 the author of 124 when he narrates the build-
 ing of the altar יהוה שבים, could not have
 gone on to relate the erecting of another to
 Jehovah in 1254. Now does it appear that
 this writer of the latter verses had before him
 124-24. In 125, the sacred tree of Ephraim in the
 land of Gosh is the spot where Jehovah ap-
 pears and there is not to be found the slightest
 intimation that Israel is addicted to heathenish
 cult, or is visited with calamities as punish-
 ment for its defection. In 126, the village

altar Baal in the recapitulation of which
 Joash is no doubt most likely to be
 ground before Yehovah with his
 people. The two accounts do not agree,
 though they both trace their origin to the person of
 Ahab. The critics have conjectured that we have here
 not a free amplification of the story by a later hand,
 but part of a parallel narrative, which is ascribed to
 E. 7. Another proof of the double narrative is the story
 of the king's death which we have already considered
 in the second chapter.

There is here also to be observed the Deuteronomist
 author's transformation of a local struggle into that of
 all Israel. We have had occasion once before, when
 treating upon this phase of the Deuteronomist

scheme, to make reference to his having changed a
 local worship into one in which all Israel partici-
 pated. From 6³⁴ it is observable that he had his own
 clan Abiezir or perhaps the tribe of Manasse at his
 back, and they may have crushed the original
 three hundred men of 8⁴⁴. This seems to be the
 version for source. The alliance of the other tribes,
 and their aggregated numbers, a thing characteristic
 D. come from another source E.^x The first few sentences
 of ch. 6 give evidence of this change by the hand of D the
 Midianites and the allies are represented as coming
 against all Israel, and in all probability, they are men
 and material forays into this section of the country some
 Be'lam tribes, and these have been ultimately turned
 into subjugation and oppression for seven years.^{x2}

^x Num. i. 196. ^{x2} Num. p. 172.

This is but one of the instruments in the hands of D to enforce his moral teaching of the history of Israel in the days of the judges.

17-6. The pragmatic introduction and formulas of D are not so little he has interwoven them with the original text, which makes separation extremely difficult. The names that are here mentioned are in the opinion of some critics, exaggerations coming from the hand of the editor. * - 17-24. This account of the first call of Gideon has no connection with what precedes 17-10; it would find its premises in 12-6. Nor does that which follows this passage 17-24 appear to be a sequel of it. For all intents & purposes it is as if we were called Gideon. There are undoubtedly positive proofs of a horrible narrative. In 17-24 the editor has made some changes.

* 2nd ed. p. 177. ** 2nd ed. p. 183.

In 177 we can see that Siran recognizes the messenger of Yaloveh, but desires for assurance *sheva* as in, such as is given in the sequel, however 17^b anticipates 124 in a way that the original author of the verses could not have done. 17^a connects with 17^a. Thus then 17^b seems to be an insertion by the same hand perhaps that tampers with the other parts of this narrative and shown in 120^x - 121. מלך ארץ יהודה בענין, thus conflicts with 122, 23 in which we see that the visitor is still present, perhaps an addition suggests 122^{x2}.

131. אֵיךְ יִרְיֵב לוֹ יוֹמֵת עַד הַבֹּקֶר, these words

occasionally difficult and are regarded as an addition, a visitor. ^{x3} - 134. This seems to the critics to belong to the first narrative 11-24, to have originally followed 124. 133 may then be from E and part of 135 also. ^{x4} - 635, this appears to be in conflict with 723, but that the latter verse is the original

^{x2} Mr. p. 187. ^{x3} Mr. p. 188. 189. ^{x4} Mr. p. 194. ^{x5} Mr. p. 196.

cannot be decided with any degree of accuracy. - 1536 must have
 been preceded in E by some account of a call of Gideon to the
 deliver Israel which after 6¹¹⁻²⁰ might have been left out
 of Rje. x. - 7¹⁶⁻²¹. These verses giving the account of the horn
 and jar & torch attack have been considered even, & elsewhere.
 (see we shall give the sources to which each belongs, to J may
 be ascribed the latter, to E the former.^{x2} Each would then
 run thus; "E 16²⁴⁻²⁵ and said to them 17⁶ 18²⁴⁻²⁵ 20²⁴⁻²⁵ from 20²⁵
 22²⁴ (in part) 23⁴. J = (He gave them or they took empty jars & torches in
 the jars 16²⁴, and he said to them, See from me what to do and
 do likewise (17⁴). They surrounded the camp, Gideon gave the signal
 by breaking his jar (19²⁴) and they broke the jars and grasped
 the torches (2 in their left hand and in their right hand their
 swords) and said For Yahweh and Gideon!! 20²⁴. And they
 stood as they were around the camp and all the camp ran away.

^x Num. p. 197. ^{x2} Num. p. 208.

and $\text{פלוס } (21) \text{ to } \dots (122 \text{ in part})^{x1} - \text{v} 23 \text{ an additional addition}^{x2}$
 $\text{v} 24, 25 \text{ with } 8^{1-3} \text{ from the close of the narrative } E^{x2} \text{ v} 23 -$

$\text{וַיִּדְרֹשׁ אֶת מִיָּדָיו}$, interrupts the connexion of the account
 of the death of Ahab + Zeeb and the bringing of their heads to
 Sidon. The words are regarded as an attempt to harmonize
 7^{23} with $8^{4+5} x3 - p 266$. This half of the verse seems to be an
 e. det. in exaggeration. The catalogue of things not used
 is superfluous + interrupts the narrative. $74 - \text{v} 29 \text{ יִבְרָךְ יְיָ}$
 $\text{בְּן יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּבִיתוֹ}$. This verse seems to stand out of place. $\text{v} 28$
 brings the story of Sidon to a formal close and hence $\text{v} 29$
 can not stand after it. "Buck conjectures that it is too after
 8^3 , being the conclusion of the first of the two stories of the rout
 of Midian". $x5 - \text{v} 30-35$. These verses present the thought
 and expression of the Deuteronomist. $x6$ Beside the pragmatic
 formulas of these verses contain matter that is divine

$x1$ Num. p. 205 $x2$ Num. p. 213. $x3$ Num. p. 215. $x4$ Num. p. 232. $x5$ Num. p. 233. $x6$ Num. 12 v.

from Ch. 9, and it is now not an introduction to Ch. 9 but as a substitute for it,^x in as much as this chapter was not included by D in his *Book of Judges*.^{*} The story of Abimelech was unsuitable for his purpose, its moral was judicious and fair, and for that reason omitted.^x

Ch. IX.

The history of Abimelech differs from the others in 2⁴-16³ in that it has no introduction or conclusion as the Deuteronomist has provided for the rest. The story of Gideon is concluded in the usual way in 8²⁵; the introduction to that of Ephraim follows. The critic has inferred from the absence of D's frame work in which the other tales of the Judges are fitted, that the history of Abimelech was not included in the Deuteronomist's *Book of Judges*.^x However it exists in an older Yahwistic

^x Num. p. 234. ^x Num. p. 235. Hb. p. 23.

Book which I worked over. They also see in the same sources as are found in ch. 6-8, and that I had it before him or, evidently § 32-33 - which is a brief substitute for it. It was inserted by a later hand which wrote § 30-33 to introduce it.

This story too is not a unit. Here also we have a double narration of the same event. For in 22-25 we note that an evil spirit sent by God stirred the Hukemites against Abimelech; in 26-29 they are incited to revolt by a family of new emigrants headed by Gidal ben Elbet. There are also given the religious and the natural causes. The sequel of the first is to be found in 34-45, of the second in 30-41. Thus two complete narratives are here, and the awkward repetition that an observer might expect. The favorable

Joatham is regarded by the critics as cognate to the first of these narratives with its premises in 1-6. The account in which Gaal is the instigator of the revolt of the Shechemites is ascribed to J, the other to E.^x

Joatham's fable of the trees who chose a king, with its pointed application to the citizens of Shechem and their new lord, is believed by many scholars to be a piece of Hebrew folk-lore which the author of 7-21 borrows and applies.^{x2} In this view they seem to be confirmed by the fact that the application does not altogether correspond to the fable.^{x3} In 1-15 the question is whether the trees are acting in good faith in making the thorn king, in 16-21 it is whether the Shechemites have acted in good faith towards the house of Jerubbaal in making Abimelech king. The looseness of ^{the} connexion is patent.^{x5}

^{x1} Dur. p. 238. ^{x2} Mo. p. 245. 248. p. 87. ^{x3} Mo. p. 245.

Chapter VII.

The Minor Judges^{X-XII} and the Septuagint account.

We had occasion in one of the preceding chapters to employ the term Greater Judges. This was used in counter distinction to what is known as the Minor Judges. They are Minor because they are not given in the Book the prominence that the others have. Detailed particulars, characteristics of the Greater Judges are lacking in the Minor. In regard to them we have only brief notices, like extracts from a chronicle, giving the name of the clan,^x the number of years each judge Israel, and the place where he was buried. In some instances there is added a sentence or two about the numerous prosperity, matrimonial alliances and the possessions of the judge, the character of his conduct

^x Num. p. 271.

to the critics that these judges are really not individuals but classes.^x

When we compare these six minor judges, Tola, Jair, Izan, Elon, Abdon, with whom Shamgar is of the same rank, we are confronted by a difference. They are introduced in formulas bearing no similarity to those of the greater judges, (Abimeel), Ehud, Barak, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah and Samson. The former stand entirely outside of the religio-chronological scheme which enfames the latter. We meet not with the "hymnical alternation of idolatry, subjugation, return to Yahweh and liberation." Nor is there to be found any reference to the number of years of the suppression, nor indication of the length of the rule is discernable. From this it is patent enough that

^x Num. p. 271. Jm. p. 96.

they could not have been introduced into the Book by the author of our historic-chronological framework. Hence critics have reached to the conclusion that these minor Judges were inserted by a hand later than the Deuteronomist author, perhaps with the purpose of making the number of twelve Judges.^x

In the passage before us (10¹-15) we have another introduction to a period of oppression, perhaps intended for a new period, which repeats and enforces the moral of the history. Here also, as has been seen in 2⁶-3⁶ there are the pragmatic expressions of D and his peculiar point of view, and just as we have noticed in the early introduction (2¹-3⁶) that there were differences in phraseology and survey of the history, so also in this passage similar phenomena are to be discovered, hence this too can not be the work of one hand.^{x2}

^x Num. p. 271. HK. pp. 15, 95, 96. ^{x2} Num. p. 276. HK. p. 97.

Besides D & E which largely make up the passage, there are not likely other writers recognizable, especially in some additions and expansion of the text. Thus for instance, the critic would have it that the catalogue of foreign religions which includes all those of the neighboring nations, Syria, Phoenicia, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, is most probably a secondary amplification, coming from some editor.* In the phrase יִמְכְרוּ בֵּיד פְּלִשְׁתִּים, some would see an attempt on the part of the latest editor to extend the scope of the introduction so as to include chapters 13-16. ** Verse 11 clearly shows that more than one hand has been at work here. The enumeration of Israel's oppressors is to all appearances the result of such work. The deliverance from the Ammonites, and the oppression of the Philistines and deliverance from

* Jer. p. 276. 21. 12. 97. ** Jer. p. 277.

them were still future, and could not very well be appealed to as most potent evidences of Yahweh's goodness in the past. These and other difficulties are the results of the later scribes and editors. As to the purpose of this introduction after what 26-36 the critics differ. Budd would have it as an introduction to the Philistine of passage. "It tells us, however, that the immediate followed the story of Shun and that the sequel has not been preserved." *

The story of Ephraim that is not a unit. The long argument defending Israel's title to Gilead has been considered by the critics as matter entirely foreign to the original narrative. ^{x3} It seems in part to have been taken word for word from Num. 20, 21, and although it purports to be addressed to the king of Ammon, it is

*. Frankm. p. 276. ^{x2}. Nr. p. 279. ^{x3}. Nr. 293.

fact speaks mainly of the relations of Israel to the Moabites. This we observe from the following. The conduct of the present king is contrasted with that of Balak king of Moab, who did not war on Israel. Chemosh is the national god of Moab, as is Yahweh of Israel, and it is here mentioned instead of Milcom, the god of Ammon. Furthermore, the places named in v. 26 are well known Moabite cities.* From these considerations the critics would conclude that it is a late interpolation, the object of which was to make good Israel's claim to the possessions it had between the Arnon and Jabbok.* The introduction of this long interpolation has done some injury to the context. v. 30 is an the original sequel to v. 29, with sense to

* Mr. p. 283.

belong after 131, 129 is a doublet to 132. * Ch. 12¹⁻⁶; thus-
 lion, some critics think it an imitation of 8¹⁻³.
 The resemblance is obvious but it does not follow
 that it is a direct copy. "The Shibboleth scene is too
 original to be attributed to a 'tendency' fiction, espe-
 cially as it has nothing to do with the supposed ten-
 dency." * Moon thinks the source of the story is
 II.

17. The genealogical error in this verse which
 makes him a son of Gilead is most likely due to a
 misunderstanding of the patrilial adjective יִשְׂרָאֵלִי,
 and his expulsion & the legitimatizing of Gilead
 comes from a literal interpretation of 17.^{x3} - 14. This
 verse beside 5a is superfluous, and 5a is editorial^{x3} - 129. In
 this verse the redactors endeavor to recover the thread

* Num. p. 283. *² Num. p. 306. *³ Num. p. 285.

of the narrative which is broken by the long interpolation.
12. Here we notice the formula found at the close of
each of the Minor Judges, and this has caused much
discussion among the critics in regard to the Chro-
nology & Composition of the Book: In the succeeding
verses are the accounts of the rest of the Minor
Judges, who have already been considered.

Chapter VIII.

The Samson Cycle of Stories. XIII-XVI

The hero of whom these chapters XIII-XVI narrate, contrasts remarkably with the leaders of whom account is given in the foregoing chapters. The exploits and adventures of the Danite hero differ widely from those of the Champions of Judges, Ehud, Deborah-Barak, Gideon, Jephthah. The latter are heroic champions, who at the head of their tribesmen "turne to flight the armies of the aliens" and deliver their countrymen. Samson on the other hand, is a man endowed with prodigious strength, who single handed destroys numerous Philistines, due to a desire to revenge himself for the wrongs met at their hands, but

in all these adventures he does not appear as the champion deliverer of Israel. These exploits, as it can readily be seen, did not lend themselves in the least to the moralizing bent of the Deuteronomist, who has given the stories the briefest introduction. The familiar formulas which embrace the histories of the other judges are here at their lowest terms. That he at all included them in his Book may be taken as evidence of their being too great favorites to be suppressed.* In the primacy of the entries, these stories more clearly than any of the others in the Book bear the marks of popular origin, which perhaps were repeated for generations and generations of Israelite story-tellers before they were first written down.** These stories of the cycle need not all

* *Num.* p. 313. ** *Num.* p. 314.

be of one age, and it seems to the scholars that the story contained in ch. 13 is far much later age than the rest, but being so similar in form and substance they would attribute them to the same writer. Later hands have made some additions in ch. 13+14 with the result that the narrative of the later is somewhat confused. Being stories that bear the stamp of antiquity, they are regarded as coming from the oldest of the sources J.^{XL}.

VI. The usual Deuteronomist introduction. - 14¹⁻⁴. In these and in the verses following some editor has introduced confusion by inserting the words יוֹאֵל וְכָאֵל. Where we expect reference that Samson's father refused to comply with his son's request, but from וְכָאֵל and so it can be seen that the author intended to convey the idea.

Samson, on his own accord, since his father refuses to negotiate a marriage in the ordinary way, contracts a marriage of a different kind, in stead of the bride being taken to his father's house, she is to remain with her parents. Now it has been conjectured that the confusion which is apparent in the text is due to a later writer, who taking offense at Samson's disregard of parental authority, altered the text of the verses, trying to make it appear that Samson's parents yielded and negotiations for an ordinary marriage were entered upon. * However the changes were not carried out systematically, and the failure to do so has betrayed the writer's motive. * When the interpolations are removed, we have a plain straight forward account. - *V. 9 a*. This part of the verse is

* *Num. p. 329.*

secondary because the slaughter of the Philistines
 has no consequence in the story. * - 15²⁰. It is thought
 by some that this closing formula was inserted here
 by an editor who omitted the tragic end of Samson, which
 was restored later by another hand. * - 16³ וישפט את
 ישראל בימי פלשתים, this is the closing formula
 found at the end of the other Judges.

Chapter. IX.

The Two Additional Stories.

Our attention has been called in the Chapter in which we set forth the Characters of our Book, to the fact that the Book has not a unit, that is, giving us one complete and continuous history of the Israelites under the Judges. We showed this clearly, making apparent the difficulties existing in the progress of the narrative, especially after 1631, where matter of an entirely different nature is presented. We find here two stories, that of Micah's idols and the migration of the Danites, and that of the assault on the Levite and his concubine and the consequences resulting therefrom to the tribe of Benjamin. Now since these stories

tell not of oppression and deliverance of Israel,
 from the oppressors by champions raised up of Jehovah,
 but of the fortunes of two tribes, they can not have
 had a place in the Deuteronomic Book of Judges. In the
 stories themselves no evidence is to be found of the
 Deuteronomic moralizing, and was much as they
 lack the peculiar fragmentary, and there is no
 trace of a Deuteronomic redaction in the narratives
 themselves, they can not have been included in
 D's Book of Judges^x. However, the critics think
 that since 17 + 18 seem to be combined in a manner
 similar to 6-8, Rie might have done this, since
 his work was much more extensive than D's Judges.

In the first of these two stories there is to be
 found also the double narration, and it is possible

^x No. 6. XXX. H. p. 140.

for the critics to disengage two strands of narrative.
 The first runs somewhat as follows: "Among the
 Ephraim, Micah by name, had a shrine (בית אל הים)
 containing ephods and teraphim, and consecrated
 one of his sons as a priest (17:1-5). Afterwards, a wandering
 Levite from Bethlehem in Judah, in search of em-
 ployment, came that way and was hired by Micah,
 who installed him in the place of his son, rejoicing
 that he had now a regular priest (2-10. 11a, 12-13). The
 Danites, who have as yet made no permanent set-
 tlement send out an exploring party (14:1-24). They come
 to Micah's house and pass the night there (24). They
 fall in with the priest and inquire "What business
 hast thou here?" (30). He replies that Micah has hired
 him as priest (40). They bid him consult the oracle

for them (55), and receive from him a favorable response (56). They come to Laish, and find its people secure and confident (7). Returning, they urge their clansmen to go against the place, which will be an easy conquest, and a most desirable possession (8x9x10x). Accordingly, six hundred fighting men of the clan, with their families, set out on the expedition (11x12x13). The spies apprise them that in the village are an ephod and teraphim (14). The armed band halts at the gate (16), while the spies go to Micah's house to take the ephod and teraphim (15). The priest, who is standing at the door, demands what they are doing (17x18x19). They bid him hold his peace and come with them and be the tribe's priest (19). Without more ado, he takes the images and accompanies them; they join the main body and march

away. Micah ruins the villages and pursues them, but is driven back by rude threats. (20-26). The Danites take Laish, and set up Micah's images in their sanctuary. (27, 29, 30-31). The second account is not so complete, preserves especially toward the end. It begins by relating the circumstances under which Micah's images (pen and massah) were made, for which has been stolen from his mother (17-4). For his priest he has a young Judah Levite, who was living in the neighborhood (12), whom he treats as one of his own sons (11 & 12). The sending out of the Danite exploring expedition must have been related substantially as in the other account. (12-13). As they came in to the vicinity of Micah's house, they recognize the voice of the young Levite and turn aside. He either inquires of him what he is doing there or, as the text

Band 85 Micah had done to me (4a). They find Lash dwelling in secret, after the manner of the Phoenicians. They report to their kinsmen at home, and bid them make no delay to occupy the land (8-10). They accordingly journey from their former seats (11). In their way they come to Micah's home, and turn aside thither to the house of the young sevirite and salute him (12). In what follows it is very clear that they got possession of Micah's parcel and Massekah and carried him off, it is probable that the young sevirite accompanied them voluntarily. To this source 31 seems to belong.^x The first of these stories is ascribed to J, the other to E.^{x2} The second version, some critics are inclined to think has for its motive the distinguishing of the sanctuary at Dan. But there does not appear in the story itself any

^x Jer. p. 367, 368. ^{x2} comp. 369.

face of condemnation or approach^x.

The second story of the two additional ones to the Book, that of the war with Benjamin accounts of their treatment of the Levites and the ensuing. This story is entirely different from the other found in the Book. The numbers of the combatants are extremely large, and appear to have been greatly exaggerated. All Israel brought up an account of the actions of the Benjaminites, came together, seemingly in its own accord. This latter situation seems rather surprising, after we have seen that at no time was Israel united, nay not even at such a time when the whole nation was rather all the tribes were imperilled; some of the tribe stood idly by, giving no helping hand to the common cause. There there is a spontaneous unity in

the part of the tribes, a unity that is not political, as might be expected from past history, but rather religious. What is more striking is the action being that of a general assembly of the church. This conception is decidedly foreign to the Book, which the critics assign in the post-exilic stratum in the Hexateuch and to the Book of Chronicles.* The language of Jud. 20 seems to place it in the same category. Ch. 19 & the end of 21 are regarded as of the same character as the other stories of the Book, 20 21¹⁻¹⁴ give every evidence of late date.*

The explanation that is offered for the peculiar facts named above is this, viz. that some author who was a contemporary of the Chronicler took the old source which told the story how the Israelites punished the aborigines at Gibeon, and presenting from his point of view, how

* Zuck p. 104.

the congregation of Israel should take such a matter in hand. In this quasi Mishnaic presentation the author probably followed the old narrative and preserved much of its language.* Perhaps this old narrative was itself composite*, being redundant and compressed in 145-15.* The source of the oldest form of this story is thought to be J. Attempts have been made to analyse the chapters, but Moon thinks with no conspicuous success.*

145-9. In these verses the Lenthio representation is repeated on the point of going but is persuaded to postpone his departure. I have surmised because of the difficulties found that we have here two sources which have been combined by an editor. The primary narrative seems to be in 146-15a-b-9 (in part)*. The rest may be either a second source or the result of an editor's amplification.*

* Zemp. p. 435. ** Zemp. p. 410.

If we agree to the former alternative, then we shall under-
stand in the same manner that the main story of the
night at Bethlehem, and thus the fifth day is the result
of the fusion of the two accounts. * - 20²⁹⁻⁴⁴ In this descrip-
tion of the battle I have sought to be much emphatic. In
v. 35 the Benjaminites are defeated and the battle is over.
v. 36 brings us back again to the beginning of the battle,
the stratagem and discomfiture of the Benjaminites is
re-told. This second account in the joining of the
on two is the older, and is the source of v. 29, 36-37 & 38
ב'מִיָּם קָהָם אִיךְ מֶלֶךְ בִּישַׁר אֵל, אִישׁ 20 - 21 * 2 - 47 44 24 40 39

*This final comment of the pen of
history might have originally stood after 123.*